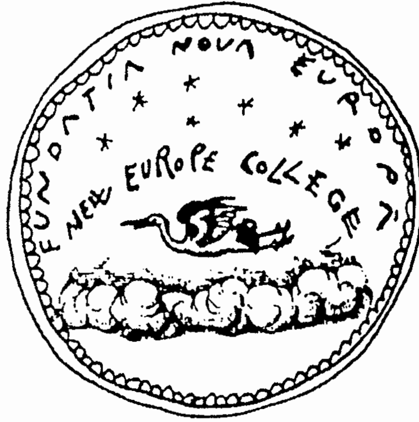
New Europe College Yearbook 1995–1996



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HUMANITAS

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HUMANITAS
BUCUREȘTI

Cover design
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ISBN 973-28-0455-6

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The Gastronomic Discourse

History, Mentalities and Signs

Foreword

Meals and cooking are a constituent of tradition; they characterise a people, a community, a trend of thought. They are intricately connected to the 'image' a community wishes to give of itself, and one of the possible emblems of that community. The mythical, ritual, and symbolical value of cooking and food throughout various periods and areas hardly needs to be argued.

The basic assumption of the present investigation is that gastronomy's 'spectacular' character, its capacity to appeal, simultaneously, to taste, smell, and sight account for it being (perceived as) a phenomenon of mass culture, one which has left an indelible mark on mentalities. Therefore, the investigation focuses less on gastronomy as such (which is a fairly elusive sign), and much more on *the gastronomical discourse*,[1] as rendered manifest in books about 'the art and science of choosing, preparing and eating good food' (A.S. Hornby). The gastronomical discourse is seen as *a semiotic system capable of framing mentalities and ideologies*.

Texts taken into consideration range from travel memoirs and the memoirs of famous cooks, manuscripts of recipes, cookery books and cuisine encyclopaedias, to historical documents such as chronicles, wills, dowry acts, household inventories; menus, bills of fares, catalogues of exhibitions and collections have also been consulted.

The premises of this essay are the following:

Gastronomical discourse has a heterogeneous, encyclopaedic character. It comprises recipes and practical information ('how to buy, store, preserve, cook and serve'), along with data pertaining to political economy, marketing and law, and facts about geography, climate, history. Collateral information (e.g. 'certain shells secret mother-of-pearl, which is used to make buttons'; 'the potato has been brought from the West Indies' a.s.o. cf. *infra*), fables, anecdotes and myths are equally present. Meant for instruction and amusement, the gastronomical discourse is often a token of its Enunciator's cultural loading, a narcissistic piece ('*Exegi monumentum aere perrenius*'), an example of 'art for art's sake'. It inscribes

celebration and ceremony; it mirrors a particular manner of experiencing daily events, and is a means of civilising people.

Here are some of the points to be demonstrated:

1) The gastronomical discourse is an *epistemic discourse*, i.e. a means by which the epistemic subject is inscribed *in* (a given) culture and expresses his position *towards* (that) culture. It consists of warnings, pieces of advice, a codified etiquette; cultural symbioses and cultural 'métissage' take place on this ground. A comparison between France, England, and the Romanian cultural space is made on these bases from a philosophical perspective.

2) The gastronomical discourse is a *performative discourse*; it mediates between the 'actual' and the 'possible', between the previous performance of the Enunciator and the probable, future one of the Enunciatee. In 1841, M. Kogălniceanu and C. Negruzzi wrote about 'tested' recipes ('rețete *cercate* de bucate'). This particular type of discourse needs (to mimic) the warranty of authenticity. The philosophical problems of 'truth' and 'falsehood' are no less relevant in so far as the gastronomical discourse is concerned.

3) The gastronomical discourse has *a special kind of referent*:

(a) it deals with cooking, viz. with an ephemeral, perishable 'object', intended for consumption, as well as for delight; and

(b) it is a self-referential, autonymic discourse; from this perspective, it has a 'perennial', second-grade referent, namely its own language. Gastronomical discourse is a means of preserving individual as well as collective identity; it is a generator of 'styles' (e.g. styles of language, styles of cooking, table manners, etc.).

4) More often than not, the gastronomical discourse *aims to legitimate its own status* (cf. *infra* Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût*). Owing to its encyclopaedic nature, to its prescriptive and persuasive goals, gastronomical discourse presents the cuisine — and its 'internal environment' — as a kind of epic: it is interspersed with legends, stories, and personal recollections, often blown into a 'hyperbolic' dimension. This way, the cuisine and its environment become equally *credible* and *fictional*, while the gastronomical discourse is close both to popularised science and to paraliterature. In certain cases the latter category merges into literature,[2] as, for instance, in the *Grand Dictionnaire de cuisine*[3] by Al. Dumas.

5) Although iconography is sometimes as important as the linguistic text in the process of fictionalisation (cf. R. Barthes, *Mythologies*), the gastronomical discourse always *subordinates the iconic sign to the indexical one*, the latter offering more possibilities to kindle imagination.

6) Just like every other type of discourse, the gastronomical one *outlines a specific Enunciator and a specific Enunciatee*. Depending on the individual characteristics of the two, the gastronomical discourse entails a predisposition

for day-dreaming and wishful thinking, if not a feeling of frustration. It induces the awareness of (one's own) limitations; it points out at a possible identification, or at a 'difference'; it deals with identity and alterity, with the constitution of the self and the image of the other(s). A scale of generic and epistemic values can be thus established. Especially in post-modernity, and provided the Enunciatee and the Enunciator belong to different (mental) periods and/or areas, the gastronomical discourse, just like the fictional, is often read for pleasure; one enjoys its stylistic characteristics, its 'exotic' features, its ludical nature ('You whip the ingredients and you enjoy their smell'), the atmosphere it evokes.

7) The gastronomical discourse offers the 'ideal' image of a (dreamt-of) time, space, and social status. It is a means of nostalgically reliving the past ('Those were the days when...'); of appropriating an exotic space; of rejecting another (mental) period and/or area ('In the Middle Ages people used to eat with their fingers'). The attitude towards cooking, as is expressed in the gastronomical discourse, *reflects the evolution of mentalities*. Since the gastronomical discourse is, usually, anchored in a specific culture and primarily addresses people pertaining to that culture, it is devoided of (often strong) *nationalistic* accents ('Plats régionaux de France et d'ailleurs'), especially up to the Second World War.[4] The analysis of the gastronomical discourse can equally reveal the *frivolity, elitism, conviviality* etc. of one community or another.

8) In most cases, the gastronomical discourse is also *a philosophical meditation*. Brillat-Savarin associates the appetite for fermented drinks with the anxiety towards the future. Epicurism, detachment, asceticism, are but some of the philosophical trends voiced by the gastronomical discourse. The latter also reveals unexpected facettes of the relationship between 'science,' tradition, and empiricism.

9) Gastronomical discourse is *a means of inter-cultural and trans-cultural communication*. Therefore, the essay deals with cultural variation and cultural universalia, and with the relationship between culture and mass culture, such as derives from the analysis of this particular type of discourse.

10) The research is based on concepts such as *high-power culture* (characteristic of hierarchical societies), and *low-power culture* (typical of 'egalitarian' communities), borrowed from present-day conversational analysis.[5] Though the rules of 'what to serve, to whom, and under what circumstances' are less codified nowadays than they used to be, they still involve what contemporary pragmatics calls 'face threatening acts'.[6] The above mentioned phenomena by the Investigation of the gastronomical discourse may shed new light on these issues while revealing some intricate facettes when considered from this perspective.

The basic methods of investigation are borrowed from history and historiography, from contemporary pragmatics and language philosophy. Though a more 'discreet' presence, genre analysis and semiotics won't be neglected.

Research is relevant for the study of daily life, both 'private' and 'collective'.[7] As is the case with every study of mentalities, its object lies, broadly speaking, mid-way between history and literature. Like all *studies of pragmatics*, it is equally placed between linguistics and philosophy.

The essay aims to open up new perspectives towards history, anthropology, philosophy, sociology, art history, and literary history.

Thus, specialists in the various fields just mentioned might derive some benefit from the present investigation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. A Theoretical Approach

French gastronomy, gastronomical writings, and table manners are an essential topic not only because of their doubtless intrinsic value, but also because one cannot tackle *any* European cuisine (as a phenomenon) without referring to the French one. French influence is always there, always relevant, even though it has been exercised in different ways — directly or indirectly, to greater or lesser extent — in different areas. French influence over the European cuisine has also greatly varied with time. *Written* testimonies (in either direct or indirect sources) are fundamental to this effect.

Let it be said from the very beginning that, as a rule, when it comes to tackling French cuisine, we tend to forget a basic fact: French cuisine acquired its status of pre-eminence only in the latter half of the eighteenth century, only during the beginning of the nineteenth century did its reputation become a highly deserved one.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, it was as 'bad' and indigestible as the Turkish cuisine, for instance.

A chronological approach is unavoidable and will, therefore, be applied in all the three cases taken into consideration here.

At this stage of the investigation, conclusions are more or less implicit and fairly obvious.

References to *food* proper will be avoided as much as possible. As already stated, the study focuses on *texts*. However, every now and then, reference to relevant information about food, table manners, and table settings is unavoidable.

For objective reasons, the survey rarely goes beyond the *titles*, *names of authors*, and *years of 'publication'* of the works taken into discussion. Such details have been considered to be significant enough for the study of mentalities in

general, and for that of the cuisine as a cultural-semiotic system able to shed light upon civilisation in particular.

B. Some Remarks about Food in Mediaeval Western Europe

During the Middle Ages, Western cuisine was essentially *international*. The causes of this phenomenon are fairly obvious. Roughly speaking, Western civilisation had a unitary character. It was centred around royal and aristocratic courts. Marriages and wars facilitated frequent contacts among groups of people living comparatively far away from each other. Religious orders were dispersed across the entire Catholic world. Crusades and the troubadours added a final, decisive touch to this cultural 'unification', which reflected upon food and table manners.

The interest of mediaeval cooks lay more with the overall effect of a meal, than in specific dishes. They were equally concerned with 'disguising' the natural qualities and taste of food as much as possible. A dozen highly spiced ingredients were hashed and mixed together in such a way that it could hardly be guessed what one was eating. Moreover, the early recipes which have come down to us are extremely vague as regards measures and weights. This means that, on the one hand, it is next to impossible for a modern cook to reconstruct a mediaeval dish, and, on the other hand, that even in those days a cook could easily spoil a dish in a moment of oblivion. J. L. Flandrin[8] pointed out another general characteristic of mediaeval cuisine, fairly important for the present discussion. Flandrin notes that the mediaeval belief, according to which people's humours were influenced by what they were given to eat, contributed to a general feeling of tolerance. This apparently minor remark proves that there is a direct relationship between mentalities and the attitude towards food.

Only from the middle of the seventeenth century, that is after the Renaissance — i.e. the second large-scale phenomenon which contributed to the cultural unification of Western Europe — do written records become sufficiently abundant and clear, to enable us to trace (with certain claims to accuracy) the development of 'classical', 'typical' French — or English — cuisine, both for the aristocratic milieu, and even for the peasantry.

Along this line, Froissart (1333–1400) complains of a feast at which a great number of dishes were served, so strange and so disguised that one could hardly guess what one was eating. The practice of mixing all sorts of inharmonious elements in a single dish went on a par with the fashion of piling up various kinds of meats and vegetables on a single platter. This practice was typical of the French aristocracy. As early as 1333, and probably even earlier, the Dauphin

had a dish of twelve chickens, or six cut in half, served on Tuesdays. This custom was particular to all the princes and great lords.[9]

The Northumberland Household Book, an English document dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, gives a list of the birds which were eaten at that time. Geese, plovers, teals, woodcocks, seagulls, snipes, quails, larks and cormorants were among the most frequently served. Swans, cranes and herons10 were also eaten on a large scale until the middle of the seventeenth century. Their first mention — as game — in the *Lex Salica* dates back to the eighth century. Fish, lampreys and porpoise were very common, too.

As is well known, for obvious reasons, meat was always highly salted. Ever since the Crusades, spices of all kinds had become extremely popular. Almonds were also used on a large scale in mediaeval cookery. This seems fairly strange, since one can hardly expect almonds to have been cheap. Apparently, prices have not always been a crucial factor in food consumption.

Another characteristic dish served at mediaeval aristocratic tables was the so-called *banqueting stuffe*.[11] It consisted of a combination of sweets and spices, eaten after dinner, usually even after grace was said. In order to have their *banqueting stuffe*, guests moved, as a rule, to a different room, or even to a different — smaller — building, especially designed for this purpose. *Banqueting stuffe* were supposed to help digestion; nowadays they are considered the forerunners of chocolate mints.[12]

The first reference — known so far — to *banqueting stuffe*, a dish and a custom which had spread throughout Western Europe, is in the *Menagier de Paris*, written in 1392 (cf. *infra*).

The history of the West European gastronomical discourse begins with this book.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL SURVEY FROM THE CRUSADES TO WORLD WAR II

A. France

A manuscript called *Traité de cuisine*, written about 1306, and preserved at the Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes, contains the first gastronomical references in France known so far.[13] The manuscript was edited in 1860. Apparently, the text enjoyed only a moderate reputation.

Historians of civilisation unanimously consider that the foundations of French gastronomy were laid in the latter half of the fourteenth century, as the

gastronomical discourse was first put into text by a collection of recipes called *Le Viandier*, authored by Guillaume Tirel, called Taillevent. Taillevent was born about 1310. It is said that he was 'la première vedette chretienne de la gastronomie.'[14] He was also known as an alchemist. It seems that, with Taillevent, cuisine begins to be included among the noble arts. Anyway, the fame enjoyed by the *Viandier* is testified to by the fact that its first printed version dates back to as early as 1490, shortly after the invention of the press.

Le Menagier de Paris, dating from 1392, enjoyed equal fame throughout the late Middle Ages. The text quotes a certain Maistre Helye, who seems to be *the* reference of the moment.

Both *Le Viandier* and *Le Menagier* were meant for aristocratic banquets. The first references to table luxury can equally be traced back to these books. In effect, throughout the

Middle Ages, table luxury was to develop gradually into a (minor) art, and to reach its climax, much like every other art, during the reign of François I. During the Renaissance, just as in all other domains, the Italian influence prevailed as regards the cuisine, table manners, and tableware. To mention only the best known examples, Benvenuto Cellini designed and executed ornamental pieces of gold and silver for the table of François I, whose daughter-in-law, Catherine de Médicis, introduced the use of forks.[15] Her suite included several cooks, who introduced Italian recipes to France. The first ice-creams, equally of Italian origin, were served at French aristocratic tables following Catherine's marriage to Henry II. In effect, as far as the assimilation of Italian cuisine in France is concerned, the way had been paved, a couple of years before the arrival of the first Medici queen in France, by the publication of *Le Batiment des recettes, nouvellement traduit de l'italien en langue française*, in Lyon, in 1541.

The famous alchemist and stargazer Michel de Nostradamus was also the author of an *Excellent et moult utile opuscule à tous necessaire, qui desirent avoir connaissance de plusieurs exquises recettes, divisé en deux parties*, published in Lyon, in 1555. To this very day, it is considered a remarkable treatise. The second part of it, called *Traité de confitures*, contains recipes of fruit preserves known to have been tested, among others, by Louis XIII. Nostradamus' contribution to the art of cooking is considered relevant because he knew how to adjust to the French taste — and to the French fruits — various recipes originating in the Middle East, and brought to Italy by the Arabs from Spain.

In France, the attitude towards food changed with the Renaissance, by which time people began to wonder whether the food they were eating was good for their health. In England (cf. *infra*), similar concerns had been voiced even earlier. One should emphasise, however, the fact that interest in one's health had always been a fairly permanent theme in French gastronomical writings, ever since the sixteenth century; it replaced earlier concerns about the sin of gluttony, or rather rephrased them in a manner more adequate to a post-Renaissance mentality.

It is worth mentioning that, with the help of the Florentine cooks who had followed the two Medici queens, the tradition was established of a *distinct* and *distinguished* French cuisine, all the more so as, in the castles, the standards of living were fairly high, and the premises for refinement had already been created. The development of 'technology' — even though, for obvious reasons, still a small-scale phenomenon — was yet another important factor to this effect.[16]

During the Renaissance the number of inns in France increased. They have become almost an institution, and, supposedly, mediated *'la mise en culture d'une cuisine populaire.'*[17]

As regards the mutations in the cuisine, and in the gastronomical discourse, seen as an infallible sign (among many others) of a specific (changing) mentality, Classicism is as important an age as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In effect, it is highly time to specify that the development of the cuisine follows — granting very few exceptions — the 'classical' periods in the history of civilisation.

The title of the *Almanach parisien en faveur des étrangers : Contenant, par ordre alphabetique, l'indication de tout ce qui est necessaire à savoir pour un étranger. Ce qui comprend le logement, la nourriture, l'habillement, les voitures* is significant in this respect. Houses, food, clothes, and coaches are considered relevant for the image of the Other; they rank among the emblems of a community; 'aliens' willing to be accepted by a community should first appropriate them. The almanac came out in the late sixteenth century. Awareness of the *difference* between the self and the Other, and the inclusion of cooking among the tokens of identification mark the passage between two eras; they occur, for the first time, at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Classical age.

One and a half century later, the image of the Other, as reflected in French cookery books, had become much more specific. The *Apologie des modernes ou reponse du cuisinier français autour des dons de Comus au patissier anglais*, published in Paris in 1740, explicitly 'opposes' the French and the English, on the one hand, and *cuisine* as a whole, to *patisserie* as a part, on the other hand.

In the seventeenth century, the French cooking technique began to be organised by combining work and ingredients *in a modular way*, with a view to providing efficiently executed and infinitely variable meals and dishes. This mental attitude was on a par with various other aspects of seventeenth and eighteenth century thought, which paved the way to the Enlightenment.

During the autocratic reign of Louis XIV, both the cuisine and table manners and table ceremony, as well as other related aspects bear witness to a relevant change of mentalities.

The year 1650 saw the appearence of *Le cuisinier français enseignant la manière de bien appreter et assaisonner toutes sortes de viandes grasses et maigres, légumes, patisseries et autres mets, qui se servent tant sur les tables*

des grands que des particuliers, written by Pierre François (dit) de La Varenne. The book was a big success at the time. Its second edition appeared in 1651, i.e. a year afterwards; several other editions came out in the next twenty years. *Le cuisinier français* was the first French cookery book to arise endless disputes, arguments, and quarrels. The book marked a turning point in French cuisine, which was to be quite different afterwards. As regards mentalities, La Varenne's treatise is important, because it is the first book of this type to place side by side, in its very title, *les grands* et *les particuliers*, viz. the noblemen and the bourgeois. The rising of Colbert from the status of a petty clerk to the office of Minister of Finance was not such a surprising phenomenon. It was backed by similar events occurring in various other fields. Last but not least, this relevant change in mentalities which made room for the social acceptance of the bourgeoisie was registered on the cover of a cookery book.

Pastry also developed during the reign of Louis XIV. *Le patissier français. Où est enseignée la manière de faire toute sorte de patisserie, trés utile à toute sorte de personnes*, which had a first edition in 1653, and a second one in 1654, is one of the first books in the field.

It is also significant that in 1654 appeared Nicolas de Bonnefons' *Les délices de la campagne. Suite du jardinier français, où est enseigné à préparer pour l'usage de la vie tout ce qui croit sur la terre, et dans les eaux. Dedié aux dames ménagères.* A second impression came out in 1655; others followed in 1679 and 1682. *Les délices de la campagne* was published more than a century before the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. At least as far as cookery is concerned, there is reason to believe that their influence appeared on a fertile ground. The fact that the book is dedicated to housewives and no longer destined for the almost exclusive use of the *chefs* employed in noble or rich households is equally significant, especially as compared to what happened in England (cf. *infra*), where the middle class was much more present as an explicit reader of cookery books.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is illustrated by Massialot's *Cuisinier royal et bourgeois*, which came out in Paris in 1691. The book contains simple, gratifying recipes. The royal table and the bourgeois, although dealt with in different sections of the book, are less separated than before, since they were allowed to coexist, beginning with the very title. Moreover, whenever the book refers to bourgeois cuisine, it is explicitly addressed to women. Therefore, the *Cuisinier* reflected some of the changes which took place in society, while also marking the mutation in taste. These developments equally mirror in the six editions the book had within twenty-five years.

Coffee, tea, and chocolate were introduced in France by the middle of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the first book of recipes and sundry information dedicated to these ingredients, i.e. Philippe Sylvestre Dufont's *Traités*

nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé, et du chocolat, only came out half a century later, viz. in 1685. Strangely enough, gastronomy books do not always keep pace with gastronomical fashions.

In the chapter on gastronomy in *Histoire de la vie privée*, Jean-Louis Flandrin[18] refers to *the progress of individualism* in the seventeenth century, shown in the wide-scale introduction of personal plates, glasses, forks, knives, and spoons. According to him, this phenomenon was generated not only by the concern for cleanliness, but also — and basically — by the fear to get in touch with the other.

Flandrin also points out that even in the seventeenth century, to say nothing of the previous epochs, the handbooks of civility and good manners were full of precepts concerning the dishes and joints of meat which ought to be served to the lord of the house and to his guests of honour, and in what order the other guests should be served. He emphasises that, strangely enough, this hierarchical group structure made room for the admission of lower-class members more easily than the apparently egalitarian group structure which, slowly, replaced it.

Since during the reign of Louis XIV everything connected with the king must be (or at least, seem) aristocratic, table ceremony also interfered with heraldry. The petty noblemen serving at the king's table acquired the right to add certain cuisine utensils to their coats-of-arms. It goes without saying that, no matter how self-important the king's 'officiers de bouche' may have become as a consequence, members of the genuine aristocracy[19] could but look down on their 'colleagues' from the kitchens and the caves. In actual fact, as far as the social status of the 'officiers de bouche' is concerned, they stood in between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

However, as far as cookery books are concerned, the bourgeoisie began to be taken into consideration only in 1756, with the publication of Menon's *Cuisinière bourgeoise*. The rising of the bourgeoisie equally signified a comparative emancipation of women (it is the second time that women are explicitly referred to in a cookery-book destined for the bourgeoisie). Strangely enough, at least if the phenomenon is taken into account from an up-to-date perspective, women's emancipation seems to have been helped a great deal by the production of cookery books specially addressed to them. Cooking, considered ever since the end of the nineteenth century as one of the worst servitudes, had been a basic factor of middle-class women's emancipation throughout the eighteenth century in France. The main condition to this effect was that the cuisine should be put into text. In ninety percent of the cases, it was put into text by men.

As will be shown further, a similar phenomenon took place in England, but its roots can be traced much earlier. As a consequence, the examination of English cookery books shows that both the group structure of society, and the 'tableau' of the dominant mentalities were rather different (cf. *infra*).

Anyway, as already indicated in the introduction to this chapter, it was only by the eighteenth century that France began to enjoy the reputation of having

the finest cooks and the best food in Europe. At the turn of the century, French cuisine began to spread all over Europe. The best known example is that of the famous Antonin Careme (d. 1833), who was chief cook to George IV, and then to czar Alexander I.

Nevertheless, this phenomenon had been prepared much earlier. Vincent de La Chapelle's *Le cuisinier moderne qui apprend à donner à manger toutes sortes de repas, en gras et en maigre, d'une manière plus délicate que ce qui a été ecrit jusqu'à present*, published in The Hague in 1735, was immediately translated into English.[20] *The Modern Cook* appeared in London in 1735. Seven years later, the book was reprinted in French.

The first *dictionary* of cuisine came out in Paris in 1767. It was called *Le Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de distillation, contenant la manière de préparer toutes sortes de viandes, de volailles, de gibier, de poisson, de légumes, de fruits, etc.* Apart from the fact it was well received by the society of the time, the publication of the dictionary can be considered an event, because it is a text which demonstrates: (1) that the cuisine has already defined its own referent, and (2) that it aims, even though implicitly, at the status of an autonomous field, of an 'industry', with branches and sub-branches.

Under the circumstances, there is no wonder that Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers par une societé des gens de lettres* (1751–1777) grants cuisine a special chapter. From now on, cuisine's *droit de cité* is unchallenged.

Significantly enough, 1782 saw the appearance of the first *history of private life*, viz. Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la vie privée des français depuis l'origine de la nation jusqu'à nos jours*, in which the development of the cuisine holds pride of place. Revised in 1815, the book stands proof that the evolution of gastronomy and of the gastronomical discourse underwent developments similar to those of any other art or science; after having defined its scope, referent, Enunciator and Enunciatee, it is integrated in its appropriate context, namely the history of private life. The following history of private life came out shortly before the next turn-of-the-century. In 1888 Alfred Franklin's *La vie privée d'autrefois. La cuisine* (reprinted 1980) appeared in Paris, while a third one, the already quoted *Histoire de la vie privée*, edited by Philippe Aries and Georges Duby, has come out this turn-of-the-century (and of the millennium). Now, it is not without relevance that all these three treatises are the work of French authors. The first two focus, almost exclusively, on France. The latter does open perspectives on other West European areas, such as the Italian and the English, and occasionally on the German, the Flemish and the Spanish ones; though more discreet, the French-centred perspective is, nonetheless, still obvious. Once again, the development of the gastronomical discourse proves to be an adequate mirror of mentalities.

Returning once more to eighteenth century France, it is worth mentioning that the institution of the boarding-house (Fr. *les tables d'hôte*) was then 'imported' from England. The first *table d'hôte* was established by Boulanger, in 1765, in Paris.

Restaurants appeared about the same time. The first high-class restaurant was inaugurated by Beauvilliers, in 1782, in Paris. It was called 'La grande taverne de Londres', and it held the highest renown for over twenty years.

The French Revolution was a crucial moment for gastronomy, as for everything else. The aristocratic traditions, banned during the years of Terror, and during the Civil War, are quickly adopted by the nobility of the Empire. At the same time, the bourgeoisie becomes more open-minded and convivial. It seems, actually, that the *nouveaux riches* of the Empire had a contribution to the instauration of the 'service à la russe' (the custom of bringing the dishes to the table one after another, of serving all the guests simultaneously, and of offering the same food to everybody). Since everybody was served same dishes at the same time, the Russian service was more 'democratic'. The introduction of the 'service à la russe' was followed, by way of consequence one might say, by the re-structuring of the menu. From that moment on, the menu consisted of four basic courses, i.e. *hors d'oeuvres, entremets, rôti* (which was the main dish) and *desserts*. It is also relevant that, after the Revolution, a new term appeared, namely *grand cuisinier*. Its existence and wide-scale use are indicative of a change of social status: from that moment on, cooks were no longer considered servants.

Immediately after the Revolution, the spirit of the Enlightenment permeated all the fields of culture and civilisation, including gastronomy and the gastronomical discourse.

In 1802, Grimod de la Reynière published his *Almanach des gourmands*, which lay the foundations of *gastronomical criticism*. Grimod de la Reynière was the first to give dishes a name. The custom has been preserved to this day. De la Reyniere was also the one who, in 1803, established the first *jurys dégustateurs de vins*.[21]

With Grimod de la Reyniere's *Almanach* and especially with Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût* (1824, cf. *infra*), *gastronomical literature* became a genre, and a new *gastronomical ideology* was put forth. Soon enough, this ideology was to become systematic.

Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût* came out in Paris in 1824. As Dan Grigorescu pointed out, ever since, it has been considered 'a point of reference for an important moment in the history of a century which was to bring about deep changes in people's attitudes towards the existential facts of the individual and of society.'[22] The same author rightfully emphasised that the book was 'an eloquent synthesis between the traditions of the literary *salons* and the scientific tendencies which were to lead to the final victory of positivism in 1842.'[23]

Brillat-Savarin's text is, among other things, a handbook of perfect hospitality, and a pretext for meditation. Gastronomy is considered an autonomous art, while meals are an occasion for learned yet relaxed conversation among guests. The author speaks about senses in general, and about taste in particular; about appetite; about the properties of foodstuffs in general; about thirst, drinks, and drinking; about the pleasure of dining together; about *gourmands* and *gourmandise*; about the relationship between eating, sleeping, and dreaming; about fasting and exhaustion; about restaurants and restaurant-keepers. The final chapter of this essay dwells a little longer on Brillat-Savarin's 'philosophical' remarks and on their relevance for the relationship between gastronomical discourse and the evolution of mentalities.

Over half of Jean-Paul Aron's *Le mangeur du XIXe siècle* is dedicated to the evolution of restaurants, and their possible typologies (according to prices, menus, customers, etc.) throughout the nineteenth century. In spite of their earlier establishment, restaurants are, basically, an achievement of the 1800s. Restaurants multiply, diversify, and develop in Paris, especially after the Bourbon Restoration; their menus and service are a token of the dominant mentality of their customers. Aron's book demonstrates this,[24] while implying that, as far as mentalities are concerned, in France, restaurants contributed to class segregation; they discharge a function similar to that played by cookery books in England (cf. *infra*). Restaurants are considered a fundamental institution in nineteenth century France; they are subject to improvement and decay, help civilising the lower classes, and indicate the acceptance in, and/or exclusion from, the aristocracy, the upper middle class, the dandies, or the artistic circles. Restaurants are also differentiated according to the kind of weddings celebrated there.[25] A close interdependence is thus established between social life, private life, and restaurants; between civilisation and mentalities. Aron's remark is also significant in this respect: 'Remarquez les courbes quasi-symetriques de l'histoire gourmande: l'âge d'or qui culmine entre 1812 et 1825 et lentement se degrade jusqu'à la grisaille petite-bourgeoise de la monarchie constitutionnelle et l'établissement, en sens inverse, qui s'encanaille, se debride de 1855 aux rejouissances de l'Empire declinant.'[26] Anyway, it is by no means irrelevant that restaurants develop and are more and more fashionable as a consequence of the decay of the aristocracy. The chefs of fashionable restaurants are those previously employed by aristocratic courts, a fact which contributes to the restaurants' prestige.[27] About the 1850s, dining out began to be increasingly fashionable, a fact which paved the way for Escoffier's reforms (cf. *infra*).

According to J.-P. Aron,[28] restaurants can also be classified according to their caves. The rising bourgeoisie, eager to attain higher social status, duly considered the improvement of their cuisine, but neglected wines. This is not only a characteristic of restaurants (most of which were frequented by the lower-middle

improving the menus and inventing new dishes, and particularly in 'tout ce qui est relatif à la table,'[33] viz. silverware, glass, crystal, china, lighting, flowers, tablecloths, and napkins. He was also the first to introduce music in high-class restaurants.

Auguste Escoffier published a lot. Apart from the *Revue de l'art culinaire*, issued in 1878, he wrote *Les fleurs de cire*, first published in Paris in 1885 (a second edition of which was printed in 1910). He is also the author of a *Guide Culinaire*, which came out in 1902; until 1985, the guide was reprinted five times in France by Flammarion. In 1912, he published *Le livre des Menus*, also with Flammarion. Between 1911 and 1914, Escoffier published in London the gastronomical journal *Les carnets d'Epicure*.[34] More important still, towards the end of his life, Escoffier published his memoirs, entitled *Souvenirs inédits. 75 ans au service de l'art culinaire*. The book's latest edition appeared in Marseilles, in 1985.

In 1926, Escoffier was awarded the Daneborg Cross by the Danish sovereigns. In 1928, he also became an officer of the *Légion d'honneur*.

All these facts and all these distinctions show that, during the first half of the twentieth century, French cuisine (and French civilisation, of which cuisine is a part) attempted to reach the status of high-power culture; both the French and the representatives of other nations rank it as such.

The final chapter of the present work will give a few more details as regards the interdependence between the gastronomical discourse and a dominant mentality, with special reference to Escoffier's *Souvenirs*.

B. England

The first collection of old English recipes (preserved at the British Museum) dates back to 1381. It was, however, *The Forme of Cury*, a roll of ancient English cookery, compiled about 1390, and considered of obvious French origin, that had the strongest impact on English cuisine during the late Middle Ages. In a study written about a decade ago, C. Anne Wilson[35] appropriately remarked that English mediaeval cookery books indicated 'ideal menus', which were put into practice, if at all, only as far as their general characteristics were concerned. Wilson points out that 'the earliest ideal menus which have come to light so far are those appended to two copies of the *Forme of Cury*, made probably in the late 14th century. The group comprises seven separate menus, five for fleshdays and two for fishdays. Three of the fleshdays menus are specified as 'for around Michaelmas', 'at Eastertime', and 'at Pentecost.'[36] Each menu is laid out in three courses, which suggests they were intended for important feasts. Everyday meals and even some minor feasts only comprised two courses.

According to present-day knowledge, the first cookery book was printed in England in 1500. It is identified, according to information in its colophon, as '*This is the Book of Cookery*'.

Half a century later, in 1558, the first *translation* of a cookery book came out in England. It is called *The Secrets of the Reverend Master Alexis of Piemont*, and has the long subtitle 'Containing excellent remedies against diverse diseases, wounds and other accidents, with the manner to make distillations, perfumes, confitures etc. A work well approved very profitable and necessary for every man. Translated out of French into English.'

A glimpse at the title reveals several reasons for which it is possible to consider the gastronomical discourse as a partial mirror of mentalities:

(1) translations of cookery books from French into English can be traced back at least to the mid-sixteenth century (actually, to the second half of the fourteenth century, if the manuscript of *The Forme of Cury* is to be taken into account).

(2) Italian influences (Piemont is a duchy in north-western Italy) reached England via France (though, of course, one cannot disregard other possible channels).

(3) Cooking is one of the possible household skills: to make distillations, perfumes, or confitures are equivalent actions; they come second to curing diseases, wounds, and other accidents. Though it varies within certain limits, this third characteristic is constantly present in English cookery books, from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.

(4) Women are either excluded from among the explicit recipients of this text or, what is even more plausible, they are included in the generic category of 'man[kind]'.

Certain alterations of this context can be noticed upon examination of a book published fifteen years later, in 1573, namely 'The Treasury of Commodious Conceits, and Hidden Secrets, Commonly Called The Good Housewife's Closet of provision for the health of her husband. Necessary for the profitable use of all estates, gathered on of sundry experiments lately practised by men of great knowledge.' Along with recipes for all kinds of sweets, the book includes recipes to ease digestion, 'to make the face fair and the breath sweet,' 'to make hair as good as gold'. Household medicine, cosmetics, and preserves are the outcome of what was then state-of-the-art chemistry ('experiments practised by men of great knowledge') and range among 'the hidden secrets' to be found in 'a good housewife's closet'. The health of the good housewife's husband could hardly be considered as the main concern of the book. A contemporary reader would be tempted to interpret this specification as more of a trap designed to lure husbands into buying the book. Along the same line, the text is considered as 'necessary for the profitable use of all estates'. The above-mentioned characteristics

seem to indicate the contribution of cookery books (i.e. of books including cooking recipes among their multifarious topics) to the development of a 'democratic' mentality. The presence of the word 'conceit' in the title is equally relevant. *Conceit* (It.: 'concetto') is a baroque concept which was to make a poetical career during the following century. In England, as much as in France, gastronomy was regarded at the end of the Renaissance, as a discipline between science and art.

A Direction for the health of magistrates and students was published in 1574. It is interesting to note that while mediaeval manuscripts had been intended for the banquets of the nobility, the books previously mentioned were devised 'for the profitable use of all estates' and aimed to contribute 'to the health of every man.' Historical truth is hard to aim at and, even harder to reach; it involves taking into account a large body of sociological data, much of which is either missing, or extremely difficult to get at. Nevertheless, even if, in practice, things might have differed, it is fairly relevant that the Enunciators of those books felt the need to say so.

The above-mentioned book was designed 'for the health of magistrates and students'. This explicit preoccupation with people's health might have been a reaction against the unhealthy — or at least tasteless — meals of the Middle Ages. Awareness as to *sex difference* and *class difference,* as well as the attempt to bridge the gap, ought to be emphasised, too, all the more as they are manifest much earlier than in France. In effect, English cookery books can be considered to have contributed to a great extent to the formation of a middle- class mentality.

As far as sex difference is concerned, the perspective of *The Good Housewife's Jewel,* published 1585, is explicitly reverted. The acknowledged Enunciatee is no longer the wife, but *the husband.* The title of the book is *The Good Housewife's Jewel wherein is to be found most excellent and rare devices for conceits in cookery* [...]. *Also certain points of husbandry, very necessary for all husbandmen to know.* The presence of 'conceits' in the title is not a coincidence either (cf. *supra*).

During the late Renaissance and early Baroque English cookery books concerned themselves not only with (the health of) both sexes and of all estates, but also with (the health of) all ages. In 1586 appeared *The Old Man's Dietary* 'for the preservation of old persons in perfect health and soundness.' The book was 'Englished out of Latin'. Its preoccupation with *mental health* is equally important.

The Householder's Philosophy, published in 1588, is worth mentioning *(1)* because it was 'first written in Italian by that excellent Orator and Poet Signor Torquato Tasso,' and *(2)* because the second specification in the subtitle, 'whereunto is annexed a diary book for all good housewives', presents it as one of the first *specialised* cookery books.

Specialised bibliographies[37] clearly indicate that, from 1500 onwards, cookery books are extremely frequent among English non-literary publications; the presentation made here is the result of a selection. Two of the books which came out in 1600 have been considered worthiest of mention. The first comprises *Natural and artificial Directions for health, derived from the best philosophers, as well modern, as ancient.* It was written by William Vaughan, 'Master of Arts, Student in the Civil Law.' The philosophical implications of gastronomy, as well as the opposition between the 'natural' and the 'artificial' — presented as an example of *coincidentia oppositorum* in the book — are expressed in the very title. The second publication which deserves special mention is called *Delights for Ladies to adorn their persons, tables, closets and distillations; with beauties, banquets, perfumes, and waters. Read, practice, and censure.* On the one hand, the book continues the line opened by Alexis of Piemont; on the other hand, unlike the previous examples, it is explicitly designed for an aristocratic and intellectual elite. This is only natural, since we are in full swing of the Baroque.

One of the first (English) culinary almanacs was a month-by-month 'dietary', which came out in 1605. It included a long list of the food animals in season. Separate sections were dedicated to quadrupeds, fowls (including a great number of wild birds), and fishes.

The Stuart age is characterised by the publishing of scores of books entitled 'ladies cabinets opened' and 'queen's cabinets opened'. Two examples are enough to illustrate this point, viz. *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen, or the art of preserving, conserving and candying, with the manner how to make diverse kinds of syrups, and all kinds of banqueting stuffs*, printed in 1608, and *The Ladies' Cabinet Opened, wherein is found hidden several experiments in preserving and conserving; Physic and Surgery; Cookery and Housewifery*, of 1639.

Such books are worth taking into consideration for a number of reasons: *(1)* they explicitly continue a trend inaugurated in the late Middle Ages; *(2)* paradoxically enough, it is the aristocratic ladies who are supposed to take after the housewives, and not the other way round; and *(3)* even if these books are *projects,* and not *testimonies* as to what a lady's cabinet *should* contain, since the genre is illustrated by so many titles, it is quite possible that the ladies' cabinets *did* contain such recipes and that ladies did possess such knowledge. Provided this phenomenon were a real one, it would account for the ladies' resisting later on in India, in the Middle East, and elsewhere in the British Empire.[38]

Along quite a different line, another fact deserves special mention: the 'ordinary' was a kind of public restaurant, where a set meal was served, corresponding to the 'table d'hôte' of the inn.

As already mentioned, La Varenne's *Cuisinier français* was translated in 1653. From this moment on, the French cuisine, can be said to gain ground in England. The various avatars of this phenomenon will be registered in due time.

The penetration of the French influence paved the way for other influences as well. Thus, *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected, Taught, and Fully Manifested, Methodically, Artificially and according to the Best Tradition of the English, French, Italian, Dutch, etc.*, which came out in 1661, is the first to openly acknowledge sundry European influences. It is interesting to note that the title of the book might be a pastiche of the title of Rembrandt's famous painting *The Anatomy Lesson...*, all the more so as the Dutch sources are explicitly mentioned.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Charles II's wife, Queen Catherine of Braganza, introduced the habit of tea drinking in noble English households. Javanese cups without handles were used at the beginning. It is not irrelevant that tea came to England via Portugal, and not directly from Asia. This is only one example showing that the British Empire had next to no influence on English habits.

The year 1664 inaugurates a new era in English gastronomic texts. The first *Cook's Guide* appears then, i.e. the first collection of recipes and practical advice addressed directly to 'professional' cooks, no longer to ladies, gentlewomen, and housewives. This does not mean, however, that the latter category will be neglected from now on. On the contrary: to give just two examples, a book entitled *The Ladies' Delight* was published in 1672, whereas *The Accomplished Lady's Delight* came out in 1675. Stress should be laid, however, on the fact that such books are no longer entitled 'companions' or 'directions' but *delights*. It means that, from now on, it is considered advisable for a lady *to take pleasure* in her household, i.e. the educational dimension is always there, only the persuasive means have changed. The publication of such books equally indicates, although implicitly, a kind of 'labour division', viz. meaner tasks are left in charge of the servants.

As a matter of fact, the year 1677 saw the appearance of *The Complete Servant-Maid, or the Young Maidens' Tutor, Directing them how they may fit and qualify themselves for any of these employments* [...]. A list of employments follows, comprising the waiting-woman, the housekeeper, the chambermaid, the cook-maid, the under-cook maid, the nursery maid, the diary maid, the laundry maid, the housemaid, and the scullery maid, and indicating a fairly specialised 'labour division' even among servants within the same household. The same remark applies to the men servants. In 1692 appeared the *Perfect School of Instructions for the Officers of the Mouth*. Several specifications are necessary concerning this book, which once again actually inaugurates a series. It is important that the French influence takes over in English gastronomy once more. This phenomenon is indicated, first of all, by the presence of the term 'officer of the mouth' which is a naturalisation into English of the French term 'officier de bouche'. A list of the 'officers of the mouth' includes 'The Master

of the Household, A Master Carver, A Master Butler, A Master Confectioner, A Master Cook, [and] A Master Pastryman'. The book is designed therefore to a highly aristocratic household (or rather to a household which aims at being highly aristocratic). To follow the French fashion is compulsory in such a case. Notice also the presence of the term 'master' in the designation of all these employments. Just like the French 'maître', 'master' means both *lord* and *maestro*. As it always happens at the turn of a century, a change of mentality occurs — and can be detected after a close examination of texts connected with gastronomy. In the above-mentioned case, it is fairly important that, a couple of years before the eighteenth century is officially inaugurated, men dominate over women even among servants.

It is by no means a coincidence that this trend is confirmed, for instance, by *The Whole Duty of a Woman, or a guide to the female sex, from the age of 16 to 60*, published, significantly enough, in 1701. The book consists of 'directions how women of all qualities and conditions ought to behave themselves in the various circumstances of this life, for their obtaining not only present, but future happiness.' The boring, didactic style of the book, as well as the clear indication that, once again, men take over women for a fairly long period of time, are only a few obvious indications that the baroque is over, while the eighteenth century has undoubtedly begun.

This brief series of remarks about the reflection of mentalities in turn-of-the-century cookery books cannot be concluded without mentioning *The Family Dictionary or Household Companion*, published in 1695. Among other things, this book is an attempt to inoculate the idea that the *family* is quite essential for the development of society. Half a century later, *The Family Magazine*, published in 1741, was to inaugurate a genre.

Coming back to the French influence on English gastronomy and gastronomic texts, it is fairly significant that a book entitled *The English and French Cook* was published in 1694. It is only now, about two decades after the instauration of the Orange dynasty, that 'the English' and 'the French' can coexist on the cover of the same book (incidentally, a book of cookery).

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1702 an English translation was published of Massaillot's *Cuisinier royal et bourgeois*, as well as of *Les Nouvelles Instructions pour les confitures*, by the same author. Eleven years after the books appeared in France, they introduced in England the new style of representing plates on the table-top.

Even if fairly easily accepted in aristocratic milieux, the French influence stimulated concurrence. As Elizabeth Robert Pennell remarked, 'when the French chefs book [i.e.] Massaillot's *Cuisinier* was translated into English, [it] threatened to rob the English cook of his glory at home'[39]. Consequently, English cooks tried to make their recipes entirely different, just 'to win the market.'

Their response was almost immediate. In 1708, Henry Howard published *England's Newest Way in All Sorts of Cookery,* which reached its third edition only two years later. As the title indicates, the book does present England's *newest* way. It mentions, for instance the recently adopted usage of the *remove,* i.e. of having the dishes succeed each other on the table. Plates were no longer simultaneously present on the table, as it had been the custom till that moment. In effect, this fashion is an equivalent of the *Russian service,* introduced in France — and via France — in the whole Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This apparently insignificant detail tells a lot about the lack of an English cuisine and of English table manners. Whatever their origin, dishes, trends, fashions become important only once they have been sanctioned in France. Otherwise, they are just local customs.

It is time to specify that in England, the restaurant seems to have grown out of the eighteenth century charitable interest in preparing food for invalids; the food was delivered to them at home. Soon enough, the scope of the original plan was widened to include serving *ordinary customers on the spot.* Once again, as shown in the previous chapter, the first restaurant was opened in Paris, by Boulanger.

The examination of cookery books and household treatises which came out in the latter half of the eighteenth century is extremely important, too. A new trend is inaugurated, and a new mentality is reflected, among other things, in the texts about the cuisine. The books published after 1750 include more and more notions of *marketing, management,* and domestic *economy.* This was only to be expected, since it is in England that the science of economy was founded. Had we not know it already, we could infer it from glancing through the titles of cookery books.

Thus, as early as 1750, the book entitled *The Country Housewife's Family Companion* specified that it gave 'profitable directions for whatever relates to the Management and Good Economy of the Domestic Concerns of a Country Life, according to the present practice of the Country Gentleman's, the Yeoman's, the Farmer's wives in the counties of Hertford, Bucks and other parts of England [as well as] frugal methods for victualising harvest-men'. It is not irrelevant that, from the very start, these notions of management and domestic economy were meant for all ways of life, and for all parts of the country. Cookery and household books in England contributed towards the formation of the middle class (cf. *supra*) and the promotion of a unifying mentality.

The book on *Domestic Management,* published in 1800, is equally relevant to this effect, as it deals with 'the Art of conducting a family; with instructions to servants in general,' and is 'Addressed to Young Housekeepers.' When it came to marketing and management, even servants were supposed to share this knowledge.

Following the same line of thought, it is important that a book called *The British Housewife* appeared in 1770. It is the first time that the qualifier *British* [and not 'English'] is appended to the explicit Enunciatee. The examination of the book demonstrates, however, that the adjective 'British' was only a void sticker, a synonym for *English.* Actually, the Empire is mentioned for the first time on the cover of a text on gastronomy in 1809, when *The Imperial and Royal Cook* came out. This title is an oblique indication that the idea of the Empire has become relevant (or is being promoted as relevant) for a larger category of people.

The year 1810 is significant because of the appearance of two cookery books which indirectly point to a change which has occurred in the collective mentality, namely *The Female Economist,* a title which needs no comment, and *The Housekeeper's Domestic Library.* The later obliquely persuades the housekeepers to borrow books from public libraries, and even to have books of their own.

As far as cookery books printed in England until the beginning of the nineteenth century are concerned, it is equally important that Nicolas Appert's *Art of preserving all kinds of animal and vegetable substances for several years* was translated in 1811, immediately after its publication in France. The year 1811 also marked *The Return to Nature,* with John Frank Newton's book. This is a late echo of the French Encyclopaedists's influence as well as 'a defence of the vegetable regimen; with some account of *an experiment made during the last three or four years in the author's family*' [author's italics].

The *Culinary Chemistry,* which came out in 1821, is a scientific treatise aiming to be considered as an object of mass culture. The concept was, certainly, novel at the time, but it is quite important that the book claims to be 'exhibiting the scientific principles of cookery, with concise instructions for preparing good and wholesome Pickles, Vinegar, Conserves, Fruit, Jellies, Marmalades, and various other Alimentary substances employed in Domestic Economy, with observations on the chemical constitution and nutritive qualities of different kinds of food.' As plainly indicated by this extremely long title, the tendency towards 'rational,' 'scientific' eating, typical of Germanic peoples, begins to materialise at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The author, Frederic Accum, was an 'operative chemist, lecturer on practical chemistry to the arts and manufactures; Member of the Royal Irish Academy; fellow of the Linnaen Society; Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of the Royal Society of Arts, Berlin, etc. etc.' From this author's perspective, cookery is definitely a scientific discipline and a 'noble' one, too.

Culinary 'oracles' are also quite frequent during the first half of the nineteenth century. *The Family Oracle of Health; Economy, Medicine, and Good Living,* published in 1824, and *The Housekeeper's Oracle* published five years later, are just two examples.

The most important development in nineteenth century England was the gradual, yet by then irrevocable, influence of French cuisine, its naturalisation and wide-scale acceptance. This process, which had begun with the publication of *The French Cook,* authored by Louis XVI's former chef, continued with the printing, in 1824, of *The Art of French Cookery,* by A. B. Beauvilliers, the well-known Paris restaurateur. As early as 1825, 'an English Physician [Antonin Carême], many years resident on the Continent, published a book of *French Domestic Cookery,* combining Economy with Elegance, and adapted to the Use of Families of Moderate Fortune.' Two of Carême's books were translated into English shortly after his death: *The Royal Parisian Pastry Cook* (1834), and *French Cookery* (1836), 'comprising *L'Art de la cuisine française ; Le Patissier royal ; Le Cuisinier parisien,* by the late M. Carême, some time chef of the kitchen of His Majesty George IV.' Strangely enough, however, Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût* (1824) was not translated until much later.

As was only to be expected, the almost unreserved adoption of French cuisine — primarily by the upper classes, and in theory, if not necessarily in practice — was followed by a somewhat greater opening towards other peoples' cuisine, the existence of which was at least acknowledged, if not accepted. Another book, also called *French Domestic Cookery,* published in 1846, was 'combining elegance with economy; describing new culinary implements and processes; the management of the table; [...] French, German, Polish, Spanish, and Italian Cookery.' This slight tendency of giving up the deeply-rooted insular mentality is also accounted for by the unprecedented development of tourism among the upper classes and the members of the intelligentsia.

Significantly enough, the same year 1846 saw the appearance of *The Jewish Manual* comprising 'practical information in Jewish and [on] modern cookery, with a collection of valuable recipes & hints relating to the toilette.' Whether the manual was an indirect appeal to tolerance and to the acceptance of the Other, or whether it was an equally indirect acknowledgement of ethnic segregation is difficult to establish.

The Victorian Age was dominated by the unmistakable influence of the French chef Auguste Escoffier (cf. *supra*). As far as the aristocracy were concerned, the return to 'traditional' English cookery was no longer possible, except for breakfast. All the reforms to be introduced from now on until the 1940s regard table manners and dinner habits,[40] but hardly cooking proper.

Whereas during the eighteenth century and earlier, the principal meals were breakfast, dinner (at midday), and a light supper, from the middle of the nineteenth century social habits require that a large dinner be served in the evening, around 8 o'clock or even later. The 'timetable' and composition of the other meals changed accordingly. Breakfast was served earlier, and luncheon, the newly invented meal, at midday. The habit of people's changing for dinner and men's

'obligation' to wear the newly invented 'dinner jackets,' another Victorian invention, have been preserved at least until the outbreak of World War II. Dinner jackets acquired 'international fame', too. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it became more and more common for English men and women to dine out together, instead of — or in parallel with — entertaining guests at home. Supper after theatrical and operatic performances had become a habit since the final years of Queen Victoria's reign. Restaurants where women of quality could be taken out remained, however, rather exclusive until the end of World War I.

To sum up only some of the inferences which can be made from the considerations briefly made so far, it seems rather strange that the British Empire hardly influenced the English cuisine before the beginning of the nineteenth century (nor will, until after World War II, when, 'exotic' cuisine became international). Stranger still, neither could Scottish, Welsh, or Irish influences be detected. Not even a passing remark about the presence of such texts was ever made in English cookery books.

On the other hand, it has been shown that the Italian influence was fairly obvious during the Renaissance, and that, though not always welcome, French influence on the English cuisine was fairly substantial during various epochs, (irretrievably so from the Victorian age onward). Compared to French cuisine, the English appears to be more 'democratic,' addressing nearly all social categories, contributing to what might be called the emancipation of women, and reflecting a more 'unified' collective mentality. English cookery books contributed to what is usually called 'low-power culture,' typical of constitutional monarchies. The industrial revolution and the founding of political economy are also reflected in various tokens of English gastronomical discourse. So are table manners, rules of politeness, and sex segregation.

C. The Romanian Principalities[41]

As far as the cuisine and the gastronomical accounts are concerned, circumstances are slightly different in the Romanian principalities, as compared to the other areas taken into consideration so far. Therefore, the data briefly supplied in this section will also differ, to a certain extent.

Until as late as the 1650s, when the first cookery book is attested, one can hardly speak of gastronomical discourse proper in the Romanian principalities.[42] What is more, most of the references to food, eating, and table manners are to be found in the accounts of foreign travellers[43] in this territory. Even so, fairly relevant inferences can be made as regards the relationship between food and mentalities in the Romanian principalities[44], as well as concerning the intricate relations between food and table manners, on the one hard, and the development of civilisation[45], on the other hand.

Ibn Battuta (1304–1377), a Muslim traveller to the south-eastern parts of the area here taken into consideration, speaks of the scarcity of water supplies in Dobrudja and describes the way in which grapes, apples and quinces are stored the year round. *Les anciennes chroniques d'Angleterre* (14th–15th century) mentions the underground granaries, for cereals, oats, and all sorts of grains. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a French traveller, Pierre Lescalopier,[46] refers to the 'grand daily feasts' he attended in Alba-Iulia; at about the same time, the Polish monk Joan Leleszi,[47] dispatched to visit a Franciscan hermitage in Alba-Iulia, writes of the frustrations of all kinds he had to suffer there: 'Dinner is served without any order or method, the servants, who are all heretics, mock us and threaten us.' That is why he further requires that a good, Catholic cook be sent to his rescue. But that is also why the accuracy of his account can be doubted; it might result from ethnic and religious tensions. All the more so, since during the same period, Stefan Santo, a Hungarian traveller,[48] has an extremely critical attitude in the very opposite direction. Santo criticises the abundance of food in the Jesuit College in Cluj.[49] The Italian Antonio Possevino, who travelled to Transylvania during those very years, also notices the inhabitants' intemperance, as well as their afternoon naps, which, in his opinion, predispose to illness. In about 1590, another Italian, Franco Sivoré, states that, while travelling through Wallachia, he noticed 'such an abundance of foodstuffs of all kinds, and everything was so cheap, that a big household could live on very little money.'[50] He also mentions several kinds of fish, and gives information about hunting. Sivoré equally draws a list of foodstuffs exported to Ancona[51]. He considers Wallachian food 'refined and well-cooked,'[52] although he does not specify what it consisted of. Sivoré's most important remark concerns the fact that 'the ruling Prince used to eat Italian dishes; to this effect, he kept Italian and French servants, who were very skillful.'[53]

It is fairly relevant that, at that time, Italian influence was fairly strong, too.

In 1582, John Newsberie, an English traveller through southern Bessarabia, remarks the cheapness and abundance of foodstuffs.[54] It is to Newsberie that we are indebted for one of the earliest recipes recorded in the Romanian principalities; it describes the preparation of sturgeon eggs.[55]

Linguists agree that the Turkish loan words *bacan* (grocer), *cataif* (whipped cream cake), *ciulama* (white sauce stew), *chioftea* (minced-meat ball), *musaca* (eggplant stew), as well as the Greek loan words *conopidă* (cauliflower) and *fistic* (pistachio) made their way into the Romanian vocabulary in the seventeenth century. In their view, in the eighteenth century, such dishes were no longer the exclusive privilege of aristocrats, being equally served to the members of their households.

All sources describing princely feasts in Moldavia and Wallachia throughout the later Middle Ages record the presence of musicians, who used to sing and play Turkish music outside the dining-room, in the inner court of the palace.

A rather hyperbolical feast, offered to the Turkish ambassadors attending the coronation of the Transylvanian Prince, was described by Evlia Celebi (1611–1684?).[56] Special stress is laid on the forty loaves of white bread, each of them brought to the feast in a cart dragged by two bulls. Each loaf of bread is said to have been 20 yards long, 5 yards wide, and as tall as a man. The special means employed to bake this fairly 'hyperbolic' bread is minutely explained, so that the description of the loaves of bread becomes plausible.

As regards princely — and aristocratic — table manners in the Romanian principalities, one of the first recorded mentions is to be found in *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Teodosie* [The Teachings of Prince Neagoe Basarab to His Son Teodosie (ca.1520)].[57] The text details 'how the ruling Prince should sit at table', how the boyars and the ambassadors should be placed around the table, and provides several moral precepts (e.g. not to drink too much). Another text following the same line was written much later, in 1726; called *Cartea de învățătură a Prințului Nicolae către fiul său, Prințul Constantin* [The Book of Advice of the Late Prince Nicolae to His Son, Prince Constantin] the book states, among other things, that 'the ruling Prince ought to lead an austere life, and not waste his fortune on sumptuous feasts.'[58]

Remarks on table ceremony and the hierarchy of the boyars waiting at the Prince's table are made in various chronicles. Misail Călugărul [Missaiyl the Monk] annotated the Moldavian Chronicle written by Grigore Ureche (1600–1667), with remarks regarding table ceremony. While describing the table ritual, Missaiyl makes ample reference to the functions discharged by the 'officiers de bouche,' viz. the lords attending the ruling Prince's table.[59] In his turn Gheorgachi, author of *Condica de ceremonie* [Court Ceremony Chronicle],[60] describes the feasts offered by the Prince to his boyars, and those offered by the Princess to her ladies. Sometimes, women join their consorts after dinner, the Prince dances with the Princess, and the boyars dance with their ladies. Gheorgachi mentions another interesting detail, namely that the Princess and her ladies used not only to drink wine, but also to make toasts. All chroniclers agree that there were three compulsory banquets offered by the ruling Prince to his boyars, i.e. at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter.

The Prince's banquets — and mimetically, the aristocratic ones — ended with coffee and fruit preserves. Coffee was prepared in the Turkish manner; sometimes, it was accompanied by a kind of liqueur, 'vutca'.[61] These were served in a separate room. Coffee is mentioned for the first time in the memoirs of Paul of Alep[62], in the first half of the seventeenth century (during the reign of the Moldavian Prince Vasile Lupu). The first mention of coffee in the Romanian principalities is contemporary to the 'documents' that record the introduction of this beverage in England and France, though it had reached Western Europe through a different channel.

While describing the banquet offered by Vasile Lupu to the Patriarch of Antiochia, Paul of Alep specifies that tables were covered with white tablecloths and napkins, plates were made of silver or gold, and dishes were covered with gold lids, removed when the guests were served. Glasses were made of crystal; the cups were made of China or silver. The bottles of wine and spirits were kept in ice buckets made of wood. Paul of Alep's memoires are the first document to give such details. The Prince and the Patriarch dined at a separate table, they were served a different wine, and their glasses had a different design from those of the other guests.

Paul of Alep also mentions the existence of countless taverns in Moldavia and Wallachia, which sold wine, spirits, and other beverages in great quantities.[63]

According to him, during fast days, people used to eat various kinds of beans and green peas, boiled in water, without any oil; they also had sauerkraut and drank apple juice. Oil, olives, pressed caviar, octopus, lemon juice, chick pea, rice, and vermicelli were brought by Greek merchants from European Turkey. These products were meant for the use of the Moldavian aristocracy. Paul of Alep says that they were almost unknown to the peasants, or to the inhabitants of Moldavian boroughs.

The latter must have eaten plenty of game during the second half of the seventeenth century, for the German traveller Conrad Jacob Hiltenbrandt[64] specifically recounts how full of game, mainly partridge and blackgame, the markets in Iași were.

During the same period, the Scandinavian Clas Brorson Ralamb[65] gives an accurate description of the table manners of the Wallachian princely court. The description reminds of a late Renaissance tableau:

'The Prince invited me to a banquet. When my coach arrived at the gate of the garden, I was met by five marshals, carrying silver sticks in their hands. The Prince himself met me at the door of his kiosk, where the table was laid. The high-ranking officials, the courtiers, and a few companies of German infantry were outside the kiosk. As soon as I went in, the Prince took me to the table, where we both sat in two high armchairs; the Transylvanian ambassador sat on a bench. On the table, there were only four silver trays, covered by iron lids. After we had talked for a while, dinner was brought in. At that moment, we were joined by the two members of my suite and the Prince's highest officials. The Prince and I ate out of four to six silver trays; all the others ate out of tin trays. The cuisine was good and the food quite well prepared; courses were constantly changing.'

Several testimonies, dating from 1700, about table ceremony at the court of Antioch Cantemir,[66] contain various details which make it possible to draw a comparison between the Moldavian court and that of Louis XIV, such as described by Saint-Simon and Madame de Sévigné[67], with respect to table ritual.

The Moldavian Prince is shown to eat by himself, at a small table, placed at a higher level than the long tables occupied by the boyars. During the meal, the prince might have chosen to favour one of his guests or another by sending over a couple of dishes from his own table. At the end of the feast, one of the high officials would rise and drink the Prince's health; he would be followed by all the other guests. Nevertheless, at the end of the feast, Oriental habits took over, as, two by two, all boyars came to kneel on a carpet at the Prince's feet, and drank a last cup of wine in his honour.

All these descriptions are corroborated by Demetrius Cantemir,[68] well-known scholar and Prince of Moldavia (1710–1711). The similarity of details in three different texts stands proof to their authenticity.[69] Having been a ruling Prince himself, Cantemir is also the first to provide relevant information about the *everyday* meals of a prince. Usually, they took place in the small dining-room, or in the princess' apartments. At dinner, the prince used to invite a couple of his officials, sometimes several captains in his army or even one or two soldiers who had long served him. Once in a while everybody had their turn. While the prince's dinner was apparently fairly 'democratic', at supper, some sort of a 'camarilla' seems to have been encouraged: only those who took special pains to please the prince were invited. In her turn, the princess may have joined the prince for dinner or, alternatively, she may have ordered to have it in her own apartments, with some of her ladies. Neither in *Descriptio Moldaviae* nor elsewhere is there any mention of an intimate meal taken by the princely couple. According to Cantemir, the guests' plates are changed several times during the meals, probably with every new dish being brought in. The prince's meals (be they official banquets or not) come to an end when the Prince puts his napkin on the table. After grace is said, the Prince, bare-headed, takes leave of his guests. These go home accompanied by the Prince's musicians, who go on playing in the streets. The next day, the boyars thank the Prince for the banquet, and apologise for any inconvenience they may have committed while under the influence of alcohol.

Several sources, both Romanian and foreign, mention the habit of brushing the teeth after meals.

According to present-day knowledge, one of the first gastronomical texts (a cooking-book proper) to have been preserved was published at the beginning of the reign of the Wallachian Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714). It is called *Cookery Book Writing about Fish and Crawfish Dishes, Oysters, Snails, Medicines, Herbs, and other Fastdays and Meatdays Dishes; Each One According to Its Appropriate Place.*[70] There is no mention of the author. The manuscript is much earlier. According to Marin Cazacu,[71] a later, hand-written copy, dates from 1649. The items mentioned in the title seem to have been eaten on a large scale at that time. A rich variety of fishes are mentioned; oysters are no rarity

at all. Neither are capers or mushrooms. Many of the recipes betray an obvious Italian influence, though the book still mentions Oriental cookery appliances, like *filigean, tingire, tipsie,* etc. The Italian influence is not surprising; during the same period it was fairly strong in Wallachian architecture, too, and it is basically accounted for by the fact that Wallachia had quite strong trade relationships with several Italian cities during the seventeenth century.

The years 1711 and 1715 saw the beginning of a new historical epoch in Moldavia and Wallachia respectively. The ruling Princes no longer belonged to the local aristocracy; they were appointed by the Turkish Sultan from among rich Greek merchants[72] living in the Phanar district of Constantinople. As was only to be expected, there was a strong Greek influence in all cultural spheres; cuisine was not exempted from this general trend. Neagu Djuvara[73] specifies that, during the eighteenth century, in urban areas, the Turkish-Byzantine cuisine was reigning in every milieu, and was used by all social classes. Specific dishes had been adapted to local traditions and had become 'national dishes'; such was the case with *sarmale*.[74] But it was also through the Phanariotes that the influence of the French cuisine became fashionable in the aristocratic milieux.[75]

At about the same time Francesco Griselini,[76] an Italian traveller through Banat, speaks about the cuisine of the poor people in this part of the Romanian space:

'Their usual dishes are very simple and consist mainly of vegetables; they are spiced with a lot of garlic and onions, but are not so salted. Salads and cakes are cooked with pork fat, and during fastdays, with flax oil. The Romanians breed all sorts of poultry: hens, turkeys, ducks, and geese, but eat them only at very important holidays. Even the poorest people eat a pig at Christmas, and a lamb and pies at Easter.'

It is quite relevant that the number of bakeries throughout Moldavia and Wallachia increases constantly in the eighteenth century; their number doubles within twenty years, their equipment is more and more sophisticated, their products become more and more diversified.[77] Pastry and confectionery products developed on a wide scale in eighteenth-century Moldavia and Wallachia, just as they did in (Central and) Western Europe.[78]

The abundance of food in aristocratic milieux seems to have reached its climax at the end of the eighteenth century. Ștefan Lemny[79] specifies that 'a dinner where only three dishes and three glasses of wine were being served was considered to be of very low quality. The richness of meals was meant to convey an image of luxury and well-being of the aristocratic courts,' in spite of any temperance prescriptions.[80]

Viscount of Marcellus,[81] recounts in some detail the fairly 'exotic' simultaneous celebration of four weddings in Bucharest in 1820. One of the brides was the ruling Prince's youngest daughter. By the end of the feast 'at a signal, the two bands joined their efforts, and [...] all the guests drank to the health

of the four newly-wed couples. At that moment, several mercenaries, armed with daggers, destroyed several huge candy cages, placed at the two ends of the hall. Hundreds of canaries and thistle finches suddenly flew out of the cages which had hidden them from view and, followed by the mercenaries, rushed towards the guests, offering them love poems, written in Greek [...] and which were attached to their necks.' This mediaeval and baroque practice had been a custom in West-European countries from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Its rather late presence in the Romanian principalities is yet another proof that, no matter how big a phase difference, a 'historical' phenomenon has to cover all the required stages before fading away from general practice.

Before moving one step further, a few words are necessary regarding the peasants' food and recipes.[82] Documents in this respect are even scarcer, at least until the second half of the nineteenth century, when systematic ethnographic investigation began to be carried out. Therefore, when investigating peasant cookery one needs to be even more cautious then when other social categories are brought into discussion.

An issue of the journal *Transilvania*[83] shows that, although cereals have always been the basis of peasant food, they have been far from abundant throughout history. Buckwheat and even tree bark have been employed to produce a substitute of flour. The famous *mămăligă* (polenta), various kinds of (corn) flour, cakesand, porridge were more frequent than bread. Some travellers consider *mămăligă* tasteless, whereas others[84] find it delicious. Neagu Djuvara[85] states that, throughout the later Middle Ages, Romanian peasants used to eat especially *mămăligă* with cheese and/or onions; sometimes they also ate beans with bacon and paprika. At religious and family feasts, they used to have chicken.[86] According to the same author, peasants considered beef unhealthy, but even the poorest peasants used to sacrifice a pig at Christmas. Well-to-do peasants used to buy fish and salted meat from the nearest boroughs. During the summer, they ate honey and fruits; in many cases, fruits were dried and kept for the winter. Nettle, garden sorrel, and lettuce were eaten mainly in spring. Hardly ever did the peasants go to the tavern during the week. Tavern keepers were also grocers, selling spices to the villagers. Inns were extremely rare in the countryside.

The author of an anonymous volume of travel accounts, printed in Frankfurt in 1793,[87] says that his hosts in a village on his way to Cluj, offered him honey, eggs, butter, ham, white bread, and old wine in earthenware pots.

In 1993, the Museum of the Romanian Peasant edited a booklet containing *24 rețete țărănești*.[88] The recipes had been gathered in the 1970s. However, the well-known patriarchal life-style of Romanian peasants, their famous conservatism, and their reluctance -or extreme caution — to adopt novelties, favour the dating of these recipes back, if not to times immemorial at least a couple of centuries ago. The sample recipes in the book stand proof to the intricacy, imagination, and even refinement of traditional peasant cookery.[89]

Some oblique information about what peasants in the Făgăraş mountains used to eat in the 1950s is to be found in the second volume of Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu's memoirs.[90] The data supplied by the book provides further proof that life in the countryside has not changed for centuries, and neither did peasant food. Ogoranu's memoirs also give occasion to a few (bitter, but objective) considerations about the close relationship between the Romanians' Christian feelings, and their food.

All excerpts to this effect show that, as far as cooking is concerned, (Romanian) peasants are 'atemporal'. Things have changed quickly in the last decades and peasantry as a class is disappearing; nevertheless, this problem lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

Middle Ages are considered to have come to an end in 1784 in Transylvania,[91] and in 1821 in Moldavia and Wallachia.[92] Western influence became increasingly stronger during the first half of the nineteenth century; as is well-known, it reached a first climax in 1848. In this respect, a gastronomic 'event' took place in 1841, when the enlightened politicians and writers M. Kogălniceanu and C. Negruzzi published their famous book entitled *200 Reţete cercate de bucate, prăjituri şi alte trebi gospodăreşti* [200 Tested Recipes of Dishes, Cakes, and Other Household Duties]. The specification in the subtitle is fairly relevant: 'Printed at the expense and under the care of a society striving for the progress and excellency of the Romanian nation.' The cookery book is seen by its authors as a factor of progress and civilisation, and the privilege of an élite. In a pertinent article[93] published in 1990, Henry Notaker points out that, in spite of Kogălniceanu's 'genuine and serious' interest in cookery, notwithstanding the fact that 'the book was truly innovative and was intended to produce a culinary *revolution*, and that, since it went into three editions, it was successful, [...]. Nevertheless, the cookbook does reveal certain ambiguities in Kogălniceanu's attitude: between national and foreign; bourgeois and popular, modern and traditional.'[94]

The reflection of these 'ambiguities,'[95] rightfully detected by Notaker, is extremely important since the book closely preceded the 1848 revolution, in (the preparation of) which the authors (particularly Kogălniceanu) took an active part. Once again, the gastronomic discourse stands out as the sign of a (prevailing) mentality.

A new epoch begins with 1848, the year which lays the premises for the foundation of modern Romania. The partial unification which took place in 1859,[96] and especially the accession to power of Carol I in 1866, the Declaration of Independence in 1877, and the proclamation of the kingdom in 1881 were the steps which perfected the process. In this comparatively brief period of time, existing gaps were bridged in nearly all fields of culture and civilisation.[97] Gastronomic texts do not fail to reflect this process.

A book of recipes translated from the French (the work of a certain Robert, 'an excellent cook from France') came out in Iasi in 1846[98]; it marked the

beginning of a long series of translations of French cookery books, not to be detailed here.

The next publication, entitled *Romanian Cookery,* comprised 'various recipes for dishes and refreshments' and was printed in Bucharest in 1865. The author is not mentioned. The book contains 224 recipes, listed alphabetically; they cover all the branches of cookery. This book shows, among other things, that buffet-type refreshments were being served to the Romanians enjoying high-life. The dishes are miscellaneous, bearing proof to both a Western and a Balkan influence.

One should mention that all of the cookery books printed in the Romanian principalities from the 1850s onwards are preceded by a foreword with a marked didactic, prescriptive, (ludical), and epistemic orientation. Considerations about how to lay the table, in what order to serve the dishes, about the precedence of the guests etc. become as important as remarks about the properties of various kinds of meat and vegetables, about how to store and preserve them; in effect they are as important as the recipes themselves. This is one proof out of many that the gastronomic discourse has quickly acquired 'droit de cité'. Gastronomic texts stand proof that in this field, just like in many others, gaps have been quickly — and adequately — filled in during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Romania's complete integration in Western European civilisation was also achieved by these means.

Another relevant book is called *The Good Housewife.* It was signed by Ecaterina Steriady, the wife of some colonel, and came out in Galaţi in 1871. The book marks the transition towards 'modern' *haute cuisine*, to be adopted on a wide scale after 1900. It contains scores of recipes for sweet preserves, sherbet, fruit in light syrup, pastry, cakes, and puddings. The place of apparition is quite relevant, too. From now on, cookery books cease to be destined to an élite, and tend to address wider audiences. The fact they were published in various provincial towns such as Galaţi, Focşani, Bacău, Craiova etc., or Caransebeş, Sibiu, Oradea, and no longer solely in the capital cities of the three provinces bears witness to the same process: de-centralisation had begun.

At the same time a marked attempt of rising the living standard in the country-side is also systematically being made. Housekeeping schools are established nearly everywhere; they are mostly attended either by young girls from the town suburbs and from the countryside, or, even more often, by orphan girls who were taken care of by the Government. It was only natural that housewifery, and primarily cookery, should hold pride of place in such establishments.

In the book describing the *Organisation of practical works in the vocational school of Princess Elena Home*, Bucharest, 1907, Margarita Miller-Verghy dedicates a whole chapter to the dishes and preserves that girls learn to cook in school, as well as to the practical activities involved in maintaining the kitchen,

pantry, etc. in the best order and perfectly clean. She also lays stress on the fact that the girls should be taught to cook unsophisticated dishes, since they ought to be prepared for a simple life, devoid of any kind of luxury. It is worth mentioning that, in spite of the author's acknowledged didactic aims, the 'simple, economical dishes' she suggests indicate that the lower middle-classes (to which the girls belonged) were far from poor, or devoid of imagination. This handbook was by no means unique. It just inaugurated a genre, further illustrated by many other treatises.

The turn of the century was also illustrated by the publication of various cookery books and public lectures addressed to the farmers' wives; their aim was to improve the variety of food and to enhance its quality. Perhaps the most relevant quality of such texts is that they are completely devoid of any tinge of nationalism, rural propaganda, or inferiority complexes. To give just one example of the kind, an undated book, called *The Farmer's Wife's Cookery,* by Maria Dobrescu, includes 23 recipes based on potato, 12 on cabbage, 3 on sauerkraut, along with recipes for 10 bean dishes, green peas dishes, 3 lentil dishes, 4 pumpkin dishes, etc. Traditional dishes for funeral meals, pieces of practical advice concerning poisonous mushrooms a.s.o. coexist with various suggestions for improving several dishes and for modernising them. It is equally worth mentioning that in a much later book, dedicated to *Modern Cookery,* printed by the famous Socec Publishers in the early '20s, Maria Dobrescu appears to hold various international diplomas issued by housekeeping schools in Switzerland and Belgium.

A marked care for people's health is also to be noticed at the turn of the century. *The Queen of the Cuisine, or Universal cookery for healthy and sick people* (Bucharest, 1900),in which the anonymous author compiled more than a hundred recipes for ordinary dishes, sweets, pastry, liquors, etc., seems to have enjoyed the highest reputation in this respect. The book was reprinted six times before World War I.

As already mentioned, the end of the nineteenth century was equally characterised by a wide-scale opening towards West-European cuisine, which came to be adopted not only by the aristocracy (which had favoured it long before), but also by the middle class. Several cookery books (as well as memoirs, letters etc.) stand proof to this effect. One example is an anonymous book called *The Three Main Cuisines, or the Romanian cuisine, the French, and the German,* Bucharest, 1894. A non-dated *Cookery Book* by M. Sevastos, dealing with 'the Romanian cuisine, the French, the Russian, the Greek, the Italian, the Turkish, the Hungarian, the Polish, and the German cuisine,' which appeared in Bucharest at about the same time, is indicative of an obvious tendency towards the acclimation of all cultures, as well as of the lack of any possible complex at the awareness

that Romanian civilisation stands at the crossroads of so many influences, coming from various other cultures.

This opening towards the Other was on a par with similar movements taking part throughout Europe.

In fact, from the last decades of the nineteenth century onwards, and particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, the gastronomic discourse covered a wide range of levels depending on the cultural loading of its Enunciatees. It oscillates between 'high culture', addressed to an élite and having a marked philosophical and ludical character, and 'mass culture', which mainly aimed to civilise the lower classes, to enhance the competence of housewives, and to make the lesser bourgeoisie more open-minded. There are cases in which all these tendencies can coexist. The general cultural context (which favoured democracy and pluralism, but equally an avant-garde mentality) makes such a phenomenon quite natural. Therefore the publication of a book dealing with *1001 dishes. Cookery Book for Families and Restaurants, Cuisine de Luxe, and Diet Cuisine* was not shocking at all. The book appeared in Bucharest, at the well-known 'Universul' Publishing House, and was signed by C. Bacalbaşa, a writer and one of the most interesting figures in Romanian gastronomic discourse.

The book bears witness to a variety of mentalities which prevailed among members of the aristocracy and of the upper middle classes in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The survey included in the beginning is worth special mention. The author asked five ladies and five gentlemen to give the recipe of their favourite dish. Their rhetoric varies with their level of education, social status, wealth and knowledge of the world. A close examination of the dishes chosen, of the recipes, and of each author's style allows for a fairly accurate image of a well-defined and rather large section of Romanian society. Self-reference and reference to the Other (one's equal, one's superior, or one's inferior in standing) equally offer rich food for thought. Throughout the following decades the book enjoyed several revised editions.

The first volume of Bacalbaşa's compiled reminiscences called *Bucureştii de altădată (1871–1884)* [*Old Bucharest (1871–1884)*], published in Bucharest in 1927, describes exquisite, de luxe restaurants, as well as cheap student pubs with 'menu fixe'; in the case of the latter, table manners, table service, and food quality improved, indeed, in the period under discussion. Mass civilisation was obviously in ascension.

The unprecedented cultural and economic development of Romania in the inter-war period materialised in a few interesting 'details' which occurred in gastronomy, and in the gastronomical discourse.

Mention should be made, first of all, of a *Romanian-American Recipe Book,* compiled by Elisabeta-Lorin, which came out in Bucharest in the early thirties. The professed aim of the book was to familiarise the Romanian public with

the American cuisine (which, at that time, seemed rather exotic). Keeping proportions, the phenomenon reiterated, on a smaller scale, the general trend of exploring 'exotic' spaces, and approaching so far unknown disciplines, which occurred in Romania immediately after World War I.

In 1939, just before World War II broke out, the above-mentioned text had a counter-part in the *Savoury Rumanian Dishes and Choice Wines,* a collection of over 100 Romanian recipes simplified and adapted to the American taste. The book, written in English, was published in Bucharest.

A second characteristic of inter-war Romanian gastronomic discourse was the return into favour of traditional Romanian cuisine. Books like Emil Procopiu's *Recipes of the Ancient Cuisine,* Cîmpulung, 1931, far from indicating a nationalistic tendency, were meant to confer long forgotten dishes a touch of distinction. Turkey with apricots, snail soup, soup of vegetable marrows filled with minced meat, caper sauce, octopus ragout are only a few of the 'picturesque' dishes recommended in the book.

All of the above-mentioned characteristics of inter-war gastronomical discourse in Romania are important enough, and they ought not to be neglected. However, both the period and Romanian gastronomical discourse in general, are best illustrated in the work of Al. O. Teodoreanu, [99] a humorist, epigramist, newspaperman, and lawyer. He was famous for his weekly gastronomical chronicles, published in various newspapers,[100] and later gathered in several volumes.[101] Apart from the often original recipes included, Al. O. Teodoreanu's chronicles are interesting primarily for the ludical-philosophical considerations about the relationships between gastronomy and culture, on the one hand, and gastronomy and mentalities, on the other hand. In 1933 he wrote, for instance, that 'not unlike history, the study of cuisine finds itself between science and art. Its progress can indicate the level of civilisation attained by one people or another, although it does not depend exclusively on this factor. There is no doubt, for example, that the English are an extremely civilised people, although their cuisine is almost inexistent. On the other hand, there is a lot to say about the Russian cuisine. [...]

Civilisation and culture have never attained equal development on all levels.'[102] As regards Al. O. Teodoreanu's contribution to the study of mentalities, one should notice that, in the very same year 1933, he remarked: 'Balkan civilisation ends there where, among other things, in restaurants one hears only whispers, as customers are patient and the staff well-bred.' He also noted that 'The manners of the staff in a restaurant can never be more distinguished than those of the customers.'[103] One could quote such witty remarks almost *ad libitum.*

As regards Al. O. Teodoreanu's improvements on vernacular recipes, it is quite relevant that the various *metissages* he suggested aimed at giving certain traditional Romanian dishes the status of *haute cuisine.* For instance, when giving

the recipe for *sarmale,* he suggests to allow them to simmer in two pints of Cotnari wine,[104] diluted with plenty of Italian tomato sauce. He adds: 'A bottle of white Port could successfully replace the Cotnari, since the latter became so scarce.'[105] As for the appropriate wine to accompany the *sarmale,* Teodoreanu suggested Bourgogne.

One could write an entire essay about Teodoreanu's gastronomical remarks; though one has to refrain from further expanding upon them here, one should mention, however, that according to Teodoreanu's implicit assumption, the status of a certain dish — by extension, of an entire cuisine — depends not so much on the ingredients used or on their quantity, as on the consumer's concern to refine it, and, even more, on people's *attitude* towards that particular cuisine, on the general environment in which they place it.

A provisional, and by necessity, partial conclusion concerning the historical survey of written references to gastronomy in the Romanian space shows that, roughly until 1800, there are scarcely any references whatsoever to peasant food, and especially to recipes of peasant dishes. Strangely enough, it is the knowledge of Romanian peasant mentality, their tendency to live for centuries in closed, unchanged communities, that allows us to infer the kind of food peasants had throughout the Middle Ages, basic recipes, and their main attitude towards food. As a rule, whenever other social classes are concerned, the process takes place the other way round: it is the study of the gastronomical discourse that contributes to outlining group mentalities. As regards the aristocracy, accounts by foreigners who travelled to princely courts in this part of the world before the end of the seventeenth century are contradictory enough. There are cases when the food and the table manners customary in a particular place at a given time are described as 'exquisite' by one foreign visitor, and as quite 'unpalatable' by another. Foreign travellers seem to have been struck either by certain extreme *differences* ('exoticism', 'poverty', 'unparalleled richness') from, or by *similarities* to, their own cultural environment. A permanent interplay between subjectivity and objectivity can easily be noticed.

Historians seem to agree that gastronomy and table manners reached their 'peak' moments (1) in the mid-seventeenth century, during the reigns of Matei Basarab (Wallachia) and Vasile Lupu (Moldavia) when, in spite of a, roughly, one-hundred-year phase difference, (table) civilisation in the two principalities was close to that of Renaissance Western Europe, and (2) at the turn of the eighteenth century, during the reigns of Constantin Brâncoveanu in Wallachia and Demetrius Cantemir in Moldavia, when the influence of Western habits — though largely indirect — was even more poignant.

A fairly interesting cultural metissage occurred during the Phanariote epoch, when Greek, Turkish, French, and vernacular influences intermingled. Towards the end of this period, the passage from a south-eastern to a western type of

civilisation made a decisive step. This process was to be continued — at a comparatively slow speed — until the mid-nineteenth century, and continuously accelerated from the beginning of the reign of Carol I until the outbreak of World War II.

Compared to the other two Romanian Principalities, Transylvania seems to offer a more varied and colourful image as regards food and table manners. The cohabitation of various ethnic and religious communities contributed to this effect.

CHAPTER THREE

A FEW EPISTEMIC PROBLEMS

As shown in the present essay, gastronomy is, among other things, what Le Goff calls 'a deformed history of a community.'[106]

The implicit — or explicit — postulate of any gastronomical discourse is that gastronomy responds not only to *concrete needs*, but also to *abstract desires* and *theoretical curiosity*. That is why, in most cases, the gastronomical discourse is also a *philosophical meditation*. For instance, in his *Souvenirs culinaires*[107] Escoffier claims that to never loose one's head — even under the most difficult circumstances — is a good cook's first maxim. In his turn, Brillat-Savarin entitles a chapter in one of his books 'An episodic meditation on the end of the world'.[108]

Since gastronomy is, to a certain extent, a 'guilty pleasure', it is closely related to *hedonism* and *epicurism*, but also to *detachment, asceticism,* and *masochism*. These are as many trends illustrated by the gastronomical discourse.

The philosophical problems of *truth* and *falsehood* are also quite relevant in the case of gastronomical discourse. In his memoirs,[109] Escoffier explains how he once invented a dish called 'The Nymphs', and pretended it was made of chicken; behind this sticker, he dissimulated the frogs, because certain people claimed to hate frogs.

Gastronomical discourse is a ground on which cultural symbioses and cultural metissage take place (see *supra*).Once again Escoffier's views[110] are illustrative of such an assumption. He claims that circumstances have pushed him to deeply change the service and to adapt it to the necessities of the extremely speedy life of our times, further expanding on the invention of new methods of dressing and the creation of new material. He concludes that in a time of permanent changes and transformations, it would be absurd to pretend to fix for ever the destiny of an art so intricately related to fashion, and as transient as fashion itself.

Therefore, the gastronomical discourse is also a piece of 'art for art's sake'. The same Escoffier[111] tells us about *'Un diner tout en rouge'* (A dinner all in red). He explains that a group of young dandies, who had won on red at the roulette, decided to give a dinner in which everything would be red: meat, fruit, ice-cream, sauces, carpets, tapestries etc. That dinner turned into a *show*. Elsewhere he explaines, referring to a recipe, that 'the mixture of pineapple and creme Chantilly will give the illusion of a beautiful sunset.'

Besides, the gastronomical discourse also inscribes *celebration* and *ceremony*. Escoffier draws our attention to this fact when he writes that people use to keep the menu of a christening, a marriage feast, or a family celebration, and that such menus should be a reflection of circumstances, a kind of poem reminding of a pleasant time spent together.

More often than not, the gastronomical discourse aims to legitimate its own status. Once more Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût* is conclusive.

Lyotard[112] refers to the necessity of presenting science 'as an epic'. In this way, he adds, both science and the institutions supporting it will become *credible*. For instance, Brillat-Savarin suggests several 'gastronomical tests' in order to see whether a guest is 'initiated'. He ludically speaks of the 'ritual' dimension of gastronomy.

In effect, the gastronomical discourse is the expression of a specific way of experiencing daily events. For instance, in his *Souvenirs culinaires*, Escoffier explains that while serving as an army cook during the Franco-Prussian war, a forthcoming battle or retreat would lead him to improvise not only a new dish, but also a new way of preparing it. In his memoirs,a dish may cause him to remember an event, or the other way round.

The gastronomical discourse allows the reconstruction of the immediate reality, to which it aims to confer a quasi-eternal dimension. In this case, the gastronomical discourse usually focuses on a *specific reality*, one which already enjoys some fame; the Enunciator only increases its fame by giving it a temporal dimension. Thus, the chapter called 'L'épreuve du feu' (The Fire Test) in Escoffier's book refers both to the battle, and to the preparation of a 'roast-beef à la broche'. He also mentions the 'menu suggested and offered by Gambetta to the Prince of Wales (1874),' assuming that it was then that the bases were laid for the Entente Cordiale between France and England, which was to be officially signed only in 1907. The menu is supposed to present the event in a better, nobler light, in their turn, event and participants grant the menu a certain glamour.

The gastronomical discourse is also a prescriptive discourse. This feature includes it in the same category as *medical prescriptions*. In effect, in Romanian and in German, 'medical prescription' and 'cooking recipe' are still designated by the same term, i.e. *rețetă* and, respectively, *Rezept*. This was also the case with Old French, Old Italian, and Old English.

The gastronomical discourse is a didactic discourse as well. Escoffier's 'Preface' to the *Guide for Young Cooks* contains several pieces of advice meant to ensure the success of a recipe, and is equally a meditation on teaching, learning, and improving oneself.

The gastronomical discourse also addresses the issues of 'centre' and 'periphery', 'fragmentary' and 'whole'. Escoffier, in his memoirs, speaks about the *merlan*, long considered a 'rather vulgar fish'. The French chef defends it, explaining that the merlan is not so famous, 'only because its name is not romantic enough. Were it renamed *l'Etoile de Mer*, it would be the king of all fish.' Talking of 'centre' and 'periphery', 'fragmentary' and the 'whole', *polysemy* plays an important part. Escoffier explains that Katinka, a famous ballet-dancer, once told him that she was fond of crawfish, but hated to decorticate it with her own hands. Therefore, the chef invented a dish in which the crawfish was already decorticated; it was 'disguised' in the dressing so far used for fish. He called the dish 'Le reve de Katinka' (Katinka's dream) because (1) Katinka loved crawfish and (2) the crawfish was already decorticated, as Katinka had always wished it to be.

Sometimes, polysemy equally mediates the superposition of the 'gastronomical' and the 'political' meaning. This phenomenon was explained by Escoffier who recollects how he dubbed a pate *la Sainte Alliance*. It consisted of genuine foie gras d'Alsace, and truffes from the Perigord. This he considered to be an *indestructible alliance*; in spite of all the political events that might disturb the atmosphere, this *alliance* was to be always a jewel of the French cuisine.

Menus are often so fanciful as to be anchored into an *imaginary world*, which is made to seem *contingent* and *actual*. This imaginary world becomes *real* and *possible* for a very brief interval (the time of cooking and eating). In this process, the role of discourse is essential, for it proves that the imaginary is possible, and can (seems to) become real.

Sometimes the gastronomical discourse can be read as a possible expression of language philosophy. Brillat-Savarin's 'Preface' to his *Physiologie du goût* includes a metalinguistic discussion concerning the French language. In his turn, Auguste Escoffier claims that, after barely six months of experience, he began to take a deep interest in the composition of menus. He was keen on finding sweet and agreeable consonances for the names of dishes, which were bound to bear an analogy to the dish itself. A well-formed menu had to be evocative... The problem of the adequacy of the metalanguage to the object-language is explicitly phrased.

Since gastronomy *is* an industry, and is supported by industry, the gastronomical discourse makes use of *industrial terms*. An example at hand is 'brigade de cuisine'. It is also significant that authors speak of 'research' in the field of gastronomy, of the 'falsification' of a recipe, and so on.

The attitude towards cuisine, as expressed in the gastronomical discourse, reflects the evolution of mentalities. The present work should be seen as an attempt to prove the existence of this phenomenon throughout the past centuries.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

Hardly any recipes have been given in the present paper. The original plan has been changed several times. Many of the problems which the author had originally meant to expand upon, or at least to tackle, have been left aside.

The historical approach was unavoidable since what was aimed was a scientifically-based philosophical conclusion. Reduced to a minimum though it was, the survey amounted to some ninety per cent of the space granted for the present essay. Only a limited number of pages was therefore available for 'philosophical' speculations. Most of them remain implicit.

The author genuinely hopes that the basic issues have been tackled in such a manner as to provide readers with 'food for thought' and encourage them to further explore the intricacy of problems set forth so far, their relevance for various fields of the humanities, and especially their capacity to illustrate a possible comparative history of mentalities.

All this is a reservoir for the future.

Notes

1. In contemporary linguistics, *discourse* means, basically, (a) an intermediary step between the enunciation and the utterance, and (b) a synonym for the text, or for the utterance. (Cf. A.-J. Greimas; J. Courtès, *Semiotique. Dictionnaire raisonne de la theorie du langage*. Paris, Hachette, 1979.)

In the present paper, *discourse* is, more often than not, equivalent to *text*. However, since all kinds of texts have been taken into consideration (cookery books, chronicles, wills, dowry lists, household documents, treatises of cuisine, etc.(the second meaning is neither neglected, nor does it contradict the former; whenever cuisine and table manners are concerned and put into text, they are underlined by a specific enunciation, framework, capable of outlining a specific *genre*, characterised by its own rules, even if, in practice, it is seldom materialised as such.

2. Literary references to gastronomy lie beyond the scope of the present paper. Ethnological and anthropological references and interpretations have also been left aside.

3. For an analysis of Dumas' *Grand dictionnaire de cuisine*, see M. Neț, *'Alexandre Dumas: le pays où il fait mort,'* cf. 'Le moi, la cuisine, la creation' (forthcoming).

4. Cf. Jane Grigson, *English Food*. A New Edition of the cooking classic. Revised and Adapted by its Author. London, Ebury Press, 1992, p. X: 'All too often, books on English food [...] end cataclysmically with the outbreak of the Second World War'. In effect, in order to

ensure adequate distance, this study is no exception to this 'rule': none of the texts here taken into consideration were written after 1940.

5. Cf. Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni, *Les interactions verbales*, III. Lyon, PUL, 1993.

6. Cf. Erving Goffman, 'On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction,' in *Language, Culture and Society*, Ben G. Blount (editor). Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974, pp. 224–249.

7. Essential contributions in this field have been made by the French *Ecole des Annales* and by the authors of the *Histoire de la vie privée,* Philippe Aries and Georges Duby (coordinators), 6 vols., Paris, Seuil, 1985–1986. For objective reasons, references to the latter, throughout this essay, follow the Romanian translation: *Istoria vieții private* [translators Ion Herdău (I-II), Maria Berza and Micaela Slăvescu (III-IV), Constanța Tănăsescu (V-VI)]. București, Meridiane Publishing House, 1994–1996.

8. Jean-Louis Flandrin, in *Histoire de la vie privée* (*Istoria vieții private*), V:3.

9. Cf. William Edward Mead, *The Mediaeval Feast*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1931.

10. Joop Witteveen, 'On Swans, Cranes and Herons.' (I-IV). In, *Petits Propos Culinaires*, 24: (1987), 22–31; 25: (1987), 51–57; 26 (1987), 65 — 73; 32: (1989), 23–34.

11. Cf. C. Anne Wilson, 'The Evolution of the Banquet Course; Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects.' In, C. Anne Wilson (editor), *Banqueting Stuffe. The Face and social background of the Tudor and Stuart banquet.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991, pp. 9–35.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

13. Cf. *inter allii*, Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, *Savouring the Past. The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789.* London, Chatto & Windus. The Hogarth Press, 1983.

14. Cf. William Edward Mead, *The Mediaeval Feast*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1931, p. 50.

15. Forks were introduced exclusively for the dessert and, since they were still a luxury and therefore supplied in small stock, especially ladies used them.

16. One example is provided by the castle of Chenonceaux. Built across the river Cher, a tributary to the Loire, the castle offers ample ground for speculation as concerns a virtual sketch of the relation between science, art, the cuisine, and a certain *Weltanschauung* as the basic constituents of mentality. First of all, as is well known, the three-storey castle is built *over* the river, linking its two banks like a bridge. The kitchens are in the basement; their windows are placed at water level. A stroll through the long upper floors galleries allows the visitor a complex, simultaneous, partial, and ever changing view of the river, of the Italian gardens in front of the castle (a fashion introduced in France at about the same time), of the woods beyond it, as well as of some details of the outside architectural 'ornaments' (corniches, balconies, etc.). As the visitor strolls along the gallery, the perspective is continuously changing; the castle is built in such a way that one has the impression of manipulating a camera and 'creating' artistic effects. Things change, however, once one reaches the basement. One of the first things to notice is that the castle used to have running water, which was extremely rare at the time even at Italian princely courts, and all the more so in aristocratic French castles. The presence of running water in the grand kitchens of Chenonceaux is, perhaps, accounted for by the castle's relative proximity to Clos-Luce, the manor near Amboise where Leonardo spent the last years of his life. The Palazzo Sforzesco in Milan (were Leonardo lived before moving to the court of François I) did have running water, not only in the kitchens, but also in the bathrooms; one equally knows that Leonardo introduced to France a lot of technical improvements, not necessarily all of his own invention. The relationship between the existence of running water and a flourishing cuisine needs hardly be argued. A second, even more relevant detail, which strikes the visitor of the Chenonceaux kitchens, especially if the tour had begun on the upper floor, is the extremely special view one has when looking through the windows. As already mentioned, they are at the level of the water. More important still, the protruding balconies at ground-floor level function as a kind of eaves; they prevent on lookers from catching the slightest glimpse of the sky above, or of the trees on the banks, otherwise then as a reversed reflection in the water. At twilight, the sun, always invisible from the kitchen windows, can be seen as a reflection in the river, too. The topos of the 'upside-down world' functions as a 'reality' only for the people in the kitchen. The kitchen is a universe apart, governed by its own laws, and enjoying its own compensations. The intricate connection between the cuisine and architecture is fairly obvious, too.

17. Cf. Alfred Gottschalk, *Histoire de l'alimentation et de la gastronomie depuis la Préhistoire jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris, Hippocrate, 1948, I, p. 341.

18. Jean Louis Flandrin in *Histoire de la vie privée*, Philippe Aries and Georges Duby (coordinators). Romanian translation, *Istoria vieții private*, vol. V, p. 33.

19. These were those entitled 'a monter dans les carrosses du roi', viz. whose nobility dated at least back to 1399.

20. The examination of English cookery books in the next chapter sheds light on new facettes of this phenomenon.

21. Jean-Paul Aron, *Le mangeur du XIX[e] siecle.* (Paris, Denoel/Gonthier, 1973), mentions malicious comments according to which, owing to this idea, Grimod, as chairman of the juries, had an opportunity to enjoy free meals. Similar malicious remarks claim that the introduction of the 'service a la russe' may be accounted for by the difficulty of assessing how much anyone was eating.

22. Dan Grigorescu, 'Cuvînt înainte,' in Brillat-Savarin *Fiziologia gustului*, București: Meridiane, 1988, p. 17.

23. Dan Grigorescu, *loc. cit.*

24. 'Sur ces mentalites antagonistes la table nous informe. Desormais, il faudra discerner les restaurants qui perpetuent les fastes de l'age d'or de ceux qui flattent les gouts de la bourgeoisie raisonnable; parmi les tables de luxe, celles qui illustrent la chere et d'autres, les vantards; enfin la table classique et les bistrots ou d'authentiques mangeurs se rassemblent, operant, jusque dans les bas-fonds, la synthese de la gourmandise et de la fronde'. J.-P. Aron, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

25. '[Les restaurants] se pretent aux nouveaux usages; dans l'escalier, de plus en plus frequement, on y croise des mariages. De la meilleure bourgeoisie, il est vrai: des avoues qui epousent des heritieres et qui paient leur charge le jour du contrat. Le *Cadran bleu*, vers 1835, semble un peu en baisse. On s'y marie aussi, mais ce sont les noces du commerce de detail'. J.-P. Aron, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

27. Cf. J.-P. Aron, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

28. *Op. cit.*, pp. 120 sql.

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 120

30. *Op. cit.* p. 181.

31. *Op. cit.*, p. 1

32. The fact that Great Britain had been a constitutional monarchy ever since the latter half of the seventeenth century might be considered as one of the principal causes of this phenomenon.

33. Auguste Escoffier, *Souvenirs inédits. 75 ans au service de l'art culinaire*, Marseilles, Jean Laffite, 1985.

33. Auguste Escoffier, *Souvenirs inédits. 75 ans au service de l'art culinaire*, Marseilles, Jean Laffite, 1985.

33. Auguste Escoffier, *Souvenirs inédits. 75 ans au service de l'art culinaire*, Marseilles, Jean Laffite, 1985.

35. C. Anne Wilson, *art. cit.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

37. Arnold Whitaker Oxford's bibliography of *English Cookery Books (1500–1850)* alone includes more than 300 titles.

38. Alexandru Paleologu indirectly supplies an additional argument in favour of this supposition. In his dialogues with Stelian Tanase (*Sfidarea memoriei*. București, Du Style, 1996), he explains that English governesses used to instruct young Romanian aristocratic girls so as to be able to do without servants, viz. to be capable of doing all the household jobs themselves. The author also refers to Queen Maria of Romania (Queen Victoria's grand-daughter), whose diary bears witness to her having been brought up in the same way.

39. Ever since the end of the sixteenth century, cookery books and gastronomical treatises included folding-plate illustrations showing how a table should be laid.

40. One of the most important reforms was the acceptance of women at table (with the obligation, however, to get up after the meal was over, and retire to the drawing-room, leaving men to discuss over a glass — usually more — of port).

41. The geographical space here taken into consideration is that occupied by the Romanian Kingdom from 1918 (December 1st)to 1940 (June 26). Historically speaking, the Romanian territory consisted of three principalities, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. Though necessary for the non-Romanian reader, a historical sketch of the main avatars of the three provinces lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

42. Historians agree, however, that less than twenty percent of the chronicles and historical documents in the archives have been deciphered and interpreted so far. Therefore data in this chapter should be taken *cum grano salis*.

43. Cf. *Călători străini prin Țările Române* vol. I–VIII (Bucuresti; Academiei Publishing House). Cf. also *Călători străini prin Țările Române* vols. IX–X (typescript). I would like to thank Dr. Georgeta Penelea-Filitti, Head of Department, 'Nicolae Iorga' Institute of Historical Sciences, who kindly allowed me to consult the typescripts.

Cf. also Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor prin călători*, (Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House), 1981; Dan Amedeo Lăzărescu, *Imaginea României prin călători*, (Bucharest, Academiei Publishing House), 1985; Sandi Ionescu, *Bibliografia călătorilor străini*; George Potra, *Bucureștii văzuți de călătorii străini (secolele XVI–XIX)*, (Bucharest, Academiei Publishing House), 1992.

44. For obvious reasons, any reference to the ethnological and anthropological impact of food and eating have been left aside. A fairly rich bibliography in this respect is available.

45. The accounts of foreign travellers contain a host of variations and contradictions. Once again, such documents should be considered with caution.

46. Pierre Lescalopier in: *Călători străini...*, vol.II, p. 439.

47. *Călători străini...*, vol.II, p. 463.

48. *Călători străini...*, vol.II, pp. 491–492.

49. There are two dishes of meat, at noon, on meat days, and two dishes of fish on fish days. First they serve pastry, then beef or sheep, followed by chickens cooked with pepper and safran, then purees, and finally fruits and cheese. Chicken is often replaced by geese, while beef and sheep may be replaced by hares or wild game. The greatest luxury characterises their

food and drinks. [...] Dinner also consists of two meat dishes. [...] The second dish of meat is always hen, or deer, or hare. In the market, a female deer is sold for three chickens.'

50. Sturgeons and carps, cut into quarters, salted and smoked were sent to Constantinople, where they were highly appreciated.

51. Honey, wax, butter, cheese, wheat, barley, cattle, smoked fish, and salt.

52. *Călători străini...*,vol.III, p. 13.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

54. He claims that twenty eggs were sold for a talent, a large hen for two; markets were full of beef, bacon, bread, wine, beer [a kind of beverage made of fermented barley], mied, and especially fresh fish (sturgeon, carp, pike, and mackerel).

55. *Călători străini...*, vol.II, p. 1582.

56. *Călători străini...*, vol.VI, pp. 581–582.

57. *Apud* Dan Simionescu, *Literatura românească de ceremonial*. Bucharest, Fundația Regele Carol I, 1929.

58. *Apud* Dan Simionescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

59. Missayil mentions 27 officers. His list opens with the High Chancellor and ends with the Third Cup-bearer. In between range the First Cup-bearer, whose office was to fill the Prince's cup at feasts; the High Stewart, who used to supervise the Prince's table; the Lord Stewart, who had to carve the meat served to the Prince's table; and the High Lord, charged with bringing in the sweets and fruit preserves. There is no room to enter here into all the details of this complicated table ceremony, or into the various offices discharged by the boyars.

60. Gheorghachi, *Condica de ceremonial* (1762).

61. *Apud.* Dan Simionescu, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

62. *Călători străini...*, vol.VI, pp. 37–38.

63. He also claims to have seen no drunkard in the streets. On the other hand, all records clearly indicate that the boyars used to drink a lot during the Prince's banquets. At the end of the feasts, some of them were so drunk that they could not walk without the help of the servants.

64. *Călători străini...*, vol.V, pp. 586–587.

65. *Călători străini...*, vol.V, pp. 610–611.

66. The Polish ambassador, Rafael Leszczynski, who condescended to find Antioch Cantemir's court refined enough to suit his taste (*Călători străini...*, vol.VIII, pp. 173–180); secretary De la Croix (*Călători straini...*, vol.VII, pp. 263–268).

67. Cf. Saint-Simon, *Memoires*. Paris, Pleiade, 1972; Madame de Sévigné, *Lettres*. Paris, Pleiade, 1953.

68. D. Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*. Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1970.

69. Cantemir makes no mention of the boyars' final kneeling; he must have been concerned with conveying a more 'European' image of his country.

70. Dr. Ioana Constantinescu, of the 'Nicolae Iorga' Institute of History, has kindly allowed me to consult the revised edition, *O lume printr-o carte de bucate*, before publication.

71. Marin Cazacu, 'Introducere,' in: *O lume printr-o carte de bucate*. Bucharest, Fundația Culturală Română Publishing House, 1997.

72. The Phanariote epoch lasted until 1821.

73. Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient si Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne*. Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1995, pp. 237–238.

74. Minced-meat rolls, wrapped in (sour) cabbage leaves.

75. Various recipes preserved at the State Archives in Bucharest and Iași stand proof to this effect. Dr. Lia Brad-Chisacof, Institute for South-Eastern European Studies, kindly

lent me the transliteration of several of such recipes, which show that French, Greek, and Romanian terms were interchangebly used. This was a period of transition for culture as a whole, not only at the linguistic level.

76. *Apud* Ştefan Lemny, *Sensibilitate şi istorie în secolul XVIII românesc*. Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1990, p. 50.

77. Neagu Djuvara, *op. cit.*, p. 239, mentions the existence of 19 bakeries in Iasi in 1750, and of 37 in 1770. Newly discovered documents indicate an even higher number.

78. It is equally important that both the quality of flour and the weight of the loaves of bread were stipulated by law. Neagu Djuvara, *op. cit.*, gives the names of two famous confectioners in Iaşi, *Cristian* (whose name appears in a document from June 9, 1721), and *Ilie*, his son (whose name is mentioned in a document from January 22, 1752). These were just two of the most fashionable confectioners. Archival materials provide us with many other names and places.

79. *Op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

80. Texts concerned with the relationship between people's health and their food can be found in some of the very first books printed in the Romanian principalities. An interesting, though far from complete, chronological list is given by G. Brătescu, *Grija pentru sănătate. Primele tipărituri de interes medical în limba română*. The list begins with Coresi's *Exempla* (Braşov, 1581), and continues with the popular *Calendare*, quite frequently published in the eighteenth century, which indicate the healthy food prescribed for every month (including recipes, proportions and counter-indications). The encyclopedic nature of such texts lends them a strong didactic character. As it was shown in the previous chapter, such calendars had appeared in England one and a half century before.

81. In George Potra, *Bucureştii văzuţi de călători străini (secolele XVI–XIX)*. Bucharest: Academiei Publishing House, 1992, pp. 127–128.

82. Most of the materials in this respect were kindly provided by Dr. Irina Nicolau, of the Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest.

83. *Transilvania*, 2, 1993.

84. Paul Beke, *apud* Ion Bălan, 'Pîinea cea de toate zilele.' In *Transilvania*, 2 (1993), pp. 137–140.

85. *Op. cit.*, pp. 239–240.

86. A few specifications are in order here. Though neither *polenta*, nor *cheese* are typically Romanian dishes, their combination obviously is. The kind of cheese varied with the region. I have been able to count at least forty kinds of cheese. Along the same line, Tudor Pamfile, *Industria casnică la români* [Household Industry with the Romanians], Bucharest, 1910, mentions ten different kinds of sour milk, and explains their different preparation, taste, and qualities. He does the same concerning every diary product, though he overlooks a fairly large lot of cheeses. Meat and fish are treated in the same way: once again, his list is far from exhaustive. As regards *chicken*, this sticker could generically stand for hen, duck, goose, turkey, guinea hen etc.

87. *Apud. Alimente sfinte şi hrana de leac* [Blessed Foodstuffs and Medicine Foods]. Bucharest, Muzeul Ţăranului Român, 1992, p. 12.

88. *24 de reţete ţărăneşti*, Georgeta Roşu, Dan Ştefănescu, Ioana Bătrânu, Adrian Hotoiu (eds.), Bucharest: Muzeul Ţăranului Român, 1992.

89. By way of example, here are the ingredients for *nettle soup*: a cast-iron kettle full of nettle, 2–3 carrots; 1 parsley root; 1 celery; 2–3 onions; oil; 1 spoonful of flour; tomato sauce; a jug of milk, 1 pot of borsch; parsley leaves; salt.

90. Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu was the leader of an anti-Communist group, which led a guerilla-like war in the Făgăraş mountains between 1948 and 1956. Apart from a very accurate analysis of what Communist terror meant, Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu's book *Brazii se frâng dar nu se îndoiesc niciodată* (Timişoara: Marineasa Publishing House, 1992, 1994) comprises a fairly complete description of peasant life during the process of collectivisation. He describes the way in which the houses were built, what foodstuffs were to be found, and the precise places where they were stored.

91. With the revolt of Horia, Cloşca, and Crişan.

92. The year the revolutionary upraise, led by Tudor Vladimirescu, put an end to the Phanariote regime.

93. Henry Notaker, 'Romania: Cooking, Literature and Politics. A Cookbook from Moldova, 1841,' in *Petits propos culinaires*, 35 (1990), pp. 7–23.

94. For a detailed description of the dishes, and the question marks raised by their selection, see *art. cit.*, pp. 17–19.

95. The printer is Christ. Ionnin.

96. The re-unification of all Romanian territories was completed on December 1st, 1918. It was to last until June 26th, 1940.

97. Henry Notaker, *art. cit.*, p. 15.

98. For an accurate account of this phenomenon on all the levels of social, political and cultural life, see Mircea Eliade, *L'epreuve du labyrinthe*, Paris, Gallimard, 1980.

99. In 1926, almost a decade before Al. O. Teodoreanu, Henriette Krupensky-Sturdza published an *Amusing Cookery-Book Written by a Grandma*. The playful style of the recipes, the remarks about the cheap quality of life before the war, when 'a modest family, living on a clerk's salary, could only seldom afford to eat sturgeon caviar, etc.', the considerations about the quality of the guests, as being determinant for the pleasure given by a meal, her almost philosophical remarks about the interdependence between people's age and the degree of consideration they are shown etc., turn Mrs. Krupensky-Sturdza into a precursor of Al. O. Teodoreanu, although she is almost forgotten nowadays. In fact, Henriette Krupensky-Sturdza constitutes the link between C. Bacalbaşa and Al. O. Teodoreanu.

100. Mainly *Adevărul literar si artistic* (1933–1934), *Bilete de papagal* (1928), *Lumea* (1930), *Magazinul* (1933), *Vremea* (1934).

101. The most complete (though not exhaustive) volume is *De re culinaria*, Bucharest, Sport-Turism Publishing House, 1977. Quotations in this chapter are from this volume.

102. Al. O. Teodoreanu, *De re culinaria*, p. 12.

103. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

104. A variety of Tokay, acclimated to the soil of south-western Moldavia in the fifteenth century.

105. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

106. Jacques Le Goff, *Imaginaire medieval*. Paris, Gallimard, 1985, p. 8.

107. Auguste Escoffier, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Owing to the unavailability of the English version of the book, all mentions here made refer to the Romanian translation.

108. *Op. cit.*, pp. 150–152.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

110. *Op. cit.*, pp. 106–107.

111. Op. cit. 164.

112. J. F. Lyotard, *La condition post-moderne* [Romanian translation, Bucharest, Univers Publishing House, 1979], 1993, p. 15.