FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINT: THE CASE OF MAESTRO MARTINO'S *LIBRO DE ARTE COQUINARIA*

Lino Mioni

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Doctoral Committee

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Committee Chair, H. Wayne Storey, PhD

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Committee Member, Andrea Ciccarelli, PhD

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Committee Member, Massimo Scalabrini, PhD

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Committee Member, Joel Silver, PhD

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Committee Member, Richard Wilk, PhD

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al sole del mio inverno

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Lino Mioni

FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINT:
THE CASE OF MAESTRO MARTINO'S *LIBRO DE ARTE COQUINARIA*

This dissertation focuses on Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, the first culinary recipe collection declaring the name of its compiler. It aims to analyze the evolution of culinary recipe collections from manuscript to print, the steps in this evolution, and the different roles that authors, printers, and editors have played in this evolution at the time of the introduction of print. By carefully examining Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, in its content and in its different material instantiations – from its original manuscript form(s) to the different appropriations in printed editions –, the ultimate goal of this dissertation is to show how the study of less canonical texts – in this case culinary recipe collections – can contribute to a better understanding of the impact that the introduction of a new technology had in the ways human knowledge and cultural heritage is created, disseminated, and preserved. Focusing on culinary recipe collections, a type of text that reflects more common practical knowledge than individual creativity and aesthetic value, this dissertation will demonstrate how the transition from manuscript to print forces us to consider both content and medium as two faces of the same phenomenon of communication. Moreover, this dissertation aims to reconsider the, often times, excessive importance given to the content to the detriment of the medium used to disseminate that very content. Content and medium influence each other and hence should not be analyzed separately. By analyzing them both in their complementarity, we can reach a better understanding of both the work and the society that produced it and the society for which the

work was produced. While being considered the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in terms of culinary and gustatory taste, Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, in all the forms in which it has been transmitted to us, can also be used as an explanatory example of the impact the introduction of print had on the creation, dissemination, and preservation of human knowledge and cultural heritage.

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Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abbreviations

Manuscripts from the *Liber de coquina* textual tradition

AM1 Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque Internationale de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1339, cc. 1r-15v. Also known as *Anonimo meridionale*.First published by Böstrom (1985).

AT1 Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 93r-103r; the title appears in 94r. Also known as *Anonimo Toscano*, or *Libro de la cocina*. First published by Zambrini (1863).

LCB Châlons-en-Champagne (olim Châlons-sur-Marne), France, Bibliothèque Municipale Georges Pompidou, Ms. 310, cc. 1r-80v. Also known as *Liber coquinarum bonarum*.

LIB1 Paris, France, Bibliothéque National de France, Ms. lat. 7131, cc. 96*v*-99*v*. First published by Mulon (1968), but also by Faccioli (1987) and Sada (1995).

LIB2 Paris, France, Bibliothéque National de France, Ms. lat. 9328, cc. 133*v*-139*v*. First published by Mulon (1968), but also by Faccioli (1987) and Sada (1995).

LIB3 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1768, cc. 160r-189v.

SaF Sankt Florian, Austria, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. XI. 100. First published by by Weiss Adamson (2011).

Manuscripts from the 12 *Ghiotti* / Gluttons textual tradition

AF Firenze, Italy, Biblioteca Ricciardiana, Ms 1071 cc. 40r-67r. Also known as *Anonimo fiorentino*. First published by Morpurgo (1890).

AM2 Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque Internationale de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1339, cc. 15v-24v. Also known as *Anonimo meridionale*. First published by Böstrom (1985).

AS Nice, France, Bibliothèque Victor de Cessoles, Musée Massena, Ms. 226, cc. 1r-16r. Also known as *Anonimo senese*. First published by Rebora (1987)

AT2 Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 86r-91v. Also known as *Libro di cucina*. First published by Guerrini (1887)

BDV1 London, U.K., British Library, Ms. Additional 18165, cc. 1r-21v.

BDV2 Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque Internationale de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1089, cc. 3r-37r.

AV1 Venezia, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat XIV, 232 (=4257), n. 142.

AV2 Roma, Italy, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 255. Also known as *Anonimo veneziano* or *Libro per cuoco*. First published by Frati (1899).

Manuscripts ascribed to Maestro Martino

P	Unknown private collection.
RdG	Riva del Garda, Italy, Biblioteca Civica, Archivio Storico, Martino de Rossi *De modo et ordine oservandi in coquinare*. First published by Benporat (1996).
V	Vatican City, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinate Latino, Ms. 1203. First published by Benporat (1996).
W	Washington, District of Columbia, U.S.A., Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections Division, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collection, Ms. 153. First published by Faccioli (1966).

Online Resources

EDIT16	Censimento Nazionale delle Edizioni Italiane del XVI secolo. Available at http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ehome.htm
ISTC	Incunabula Short Title Catalog, the British Library International database of 15th century European printing. Available at https://data.cerl.org/istc/
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalog. Available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/.

Introduction

Venice, September 18, 1469.

With a 5-year privilege granted to Johannes von Speyer to print Horace's *Letters* and Pliny's *Natural History*, printing is officially sanctioned and introduced in the city of Venice.[1] This is not the earliest attempt to introduce the new technology of movable type printing in the Italian peninsula, nor is Johannes von Speyer the first to attempt it. Nevertheless, the circumstances under which printing is officially introduced in Venice will produce results that did not happen in other parts of the Italian peninsula where other printers had opened their shops, started their business, and practiced their new art. Thanks primarily to its socio-economic vitality, Venice is the place where printing will be able to settle, develop, and thrive in ways that had not been possible and will not be possible in other parts of the Italian peninsula.[2] As Plebani says, just thirty years after the official introduction of print "Venice had become in a short time the undisputable capital of European printing and such will it remain till the middle of the *Cinquecento*."[3]

[1] Fulin 1882: 99-100, n.1. See online http://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/preview/privilege/idprivileges/11/.
[2] According to the Incunabula Short Title Catalog – ISTC (available at https://data.cerl.org/istc/) – books printed in Venice (3,557) between 1450 and 1500 represent 34.87% of all books printed in the Italian peninsula (9,932) and 12.49% of all books printed in Europe (28,483). As for the first half of the 16th-century, and according to the Universal Short Title Catalog – USTC (available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/), books printed in Venice (9,834) represent 49.00% of all books printed in the Italian peninsula (20,068) and 8.73% of all books printed in Europe (112,585). For a USTC based visualization of the growth of printing centers in Europe between 1450 and 1650, see Kemp 2020, also available at https://pwrb.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/off-to-the-bar-chart-races-the-largest-print-centres-through-time-1450-1650/.
[3] My translation. Original: "Venezia era divenuta in breve tempo l'indiscussa capitale dell'editoria europea e tale sarebbe rimasta sino alla metà del Cinquecento (Plebani 2004: 10).

It would not be accurate to think that the reproduction of the same text in multiple copies only became a reality with the introduction of print. In fact, multiple copies of the same text are not the result of the introduction of the printing press at all. Professional copying was already at work by the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, mainly because of the foundation of universities, the subsequent development and expansion of a new reading public and, more generally, due to an increased need and market for books. The establishment of universities, these new learning institutions not linked to specific religious orders and, most importantly, located within city walls, allowed the expansion of the readership and, consequently, fomented the growth of the demand for written texts. The movable type printing press should be understood as the answer to the new demands of an evolving society and not so much as the primordial spark that set such a societal change in motion. The introduction of print did have an undeniably positive impact on the normalization of language, on the increase of literacy levels, and on the spread of new ideas. But the movable type printing press was first and foremost the result of the interplay of technological improvements encompassing different interrelated activities such as paper making, wood working, and metal working. Moreover, we need to frame the efforts and accomplishments of movable type printing like other commercial enterprises that, by capitalizing on societal changes already at play, were able to turn and to use the latest technological improvements to their advantage.

Paper started to be produced in Western Europe as early as 1056 in the Islamic part of the Iberian Peninsula. Paper production spread eastward through Southern France and reached the north of the Italian Peninsula in the 13th century. Although still an expensive commodity, paper was being produced in larger and larger quantities: besides being used for the preparation of

official documents, paper with different degrees of quality was penetrating different aspects of daily life substituting vellum and parchment for all activities involving handwriting from record keeping to the transmission of the written word.

Although they involved different technologies and specializations, the creation of patterned textiles, the production of coins and seals, the embossing of leather, the stamping of images to decorate hand written texts and their bindings all partake the same primordial idea of transferring one image from one type of material support to another. The increased availability of paper, along with its increased quality, made it "the ideal medium for mass production of pictures and texts."[4] It is in this sense that we should consider wood block printing as the antecessor of movable type printing. Most importantly, during the 14th century, wood block printing on paper started to grow as a commercial activity and revealed the large-scale commercial potential of the mechanical reproduction of images. A new public, not necessarily educated and literate, could make use of – and purchase – new commercially available printed images for religious and devotional purposes as well as for recreational ones like, for example, playing card sets.

Both woodblock and movable type printing achieve the mechanical reproduction of an image over a surface: the main difference lies in the nature of the image that each system reproduces. Pictures narrate stories and everyone can interpret them because they represent common and shared knowledge based on cultural constructs (e.g., images of saints) and everyday human experiences, like in the case of calendars and prognostication. On the other hand, the

[4] Febvre and Martin 1976: 46.

symbols of the alphabet are representations, more or less univocal, of the sounds of a given language. As symbolic representations, they are arbitrary abstractions and their possible combinations represent words, which are the building blocks of a given language. In order to be interpreted, the symbols of the alphabet need to be known in the relationship they establish with the sound they represent. Moreover, it is necessary to know the combinatory rules that allow those individual sounds to work with one another in order to produce words. In this sense, and unlike pictures, alphabetic symbols require formal understanding because they do not reproduce objects in the real world. To become a fluent and confident user of those symbols, education and training are required. As symbolic representations, symbols of the alphabet are common and shared knowledge exclusively among those who have been exposed, initiated, and educated in this symbolic system.

Focusing on the written word, movable type printing was, in its inception, exclusively directed to a public that was not only familiar with but also well-versed in the written language; it was a public that could read and write and that, of course, represented a minority of the population. Most of the earliest efforts of movable type printing were directed to printing literary and classical works destined to educated elites, but soon printers and editors understood the potential of the new technology for other possible markets both in terms of types of text and in terms of readership.

Latin was the dominant language for the transmission of knowledge, but soon the books printed in vernacular languages became increasingly profitable. In the second half of the 15th century, books published in Latin in the Italian peninsula still dominate over those printed in

vernacular Italian (with 78.11% for books printed in Latin versus 12.02% for books printed in vernacular Italian). The first half of the 16th century shows a clear increment in the number of books published in vernacular Italian (41.3% for books printed in vernacular Italian against 51.34% for books printed in Latin). Vernacular Italian surpassed Latin in printed books in the second half of the 16th century (with 55.99% of the market share for vernacular Italian against 40.19% for Latin).[5] As far as books printed in Venice, our analysis of the data suggests that the distribution of the two languages – Latin and vernacular Italian – in printed books, although with some minor differences, follows the same pattern illustrated above regarding books produced in the rest of the Italian peninsula.[6]

As we said before, manual reproduction of written texts answered the needs of a specific reading public that relied on the manuscript form and manuscript culture. Since its beginning, movable type printing relied on pre-existing texts in manuscript form: manuscript culture served at the same time as influence and as inspiration for movable type printing both in the content to be disseminated, and in the graphic solutions to be adopted. At the same time, those developing movable type printing were able to understand the speed and the new directions of the ongoing social and economic changes. Print tapped into the traditional way of creating, disseminating, and preserving knowledge and managed to elevate it successfully to a higher production and commercial level. In its beginnings, movable type printing managed to produce successfully exact copies of texts in higher numbers than had previously been possible in manuscript form, but soon it also fostered the creation of new versions of old content. In addition, the faster

[5] All data obtained through searches in USTC.
[6] For the second half of the 15th century, 80.45% for Latin and 18.88% for vernacular Italian; for the first half of the 16th century, 49.06% for Latin and 42.87% for vernacular Italian; and for the second half of the 16th century 43.43% for Latin and 53.28% for vernacular Italian.

dissemination of previously existing content facilitated the rapid increase in new content being created, printed, offered, and sold to readers. Along with texts of religious nature, the first decades of printing focused on the dissemination of classical text in Latin and Greek, that humanists had been rediscovering. At the same time, and paying attention to the shift of readership, movable type printing was also responsible for the translation of those classical texts into vernacular languages as well as the translation between vernacular languages of literary works. A new readership was eager to buy new printed texts and, simultaneously, newly printed texts helped the development of a new readership.

An example of this type of new texts can be seen in Bartolomeo Sacchi's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, which is considered the first printed cookbook. In his work, Bartolomeo Sacchi, also known as Platina,[7] combined an extensive knowledge about health and well-being, taken and re-elaborated from different classical sources, with a structured sequence of culinary recipes attributed Maestro Martino, a renowned contemporary cook, which Platina translated from vernacular Italian to Latin. In doing so, Platina brings together a technical manual on cookery from his times – Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* – with information about health, well-being, and ingredients taken from classical sources in order to provide a contemporary humanistic approach to nutrition blending together scholarly and practical knowledge.

[7] Bartolomeo Sacchi was born in 1421. The name *Platina* is the Latinized version of his birthplace, Piadena, a small city in the river Po valley, is situated approximatively 20 miles west of Mantua, in the southeast of present-day Lombardy.

Initially written and printed in Latin, the *De honesta volutpate et valetudine* was translated in vernacular languages: French, German, and vernacular Italian. While the original text in Latin, along with its French translation,[8] were disseminated in several editions printed all over Europe over a long period of time,[9] translation in vernacular Italian did not seem to have met public favor.[10]

Initially disseminated by Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, Maestro Martino's work – the *Libro de arte coquinaria* – will be the source text used for different printed editions from the first decade of the 16th century well into the 17th century. Based on Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, those printed editions, most of them printed in Venice, will define and dominate the production of printed cookbooks and foster the creation of other culinary works that will define the culinary taste of the Italian Renaissance.

This dissertation focuses on Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, the first culinary recipe collection declaring the name of its compiler. It aims to analyze the evolution of culinary recipe collections from manuscript to print, the steps in this evolution, and the different roles that authors, printers, and editors have played in this evolution at the time of the introduction of print. By carefully examining Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, in its content and in its different material instantiations – from its original manuscript form(s) to the different appropriations in printed editions –, the ultimate goal of this dissertation is to show how

[8] For the history of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* in French translations, see Tomasik 2007.
[9] According to Notaker (2010:140-147 and 327-336), the first edition of the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* in Latin is from about 1470 ([Rome: Ulrich Hahn]?) and the last is from 1541 (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe). As for the French editions, the first is from 1505 (Apr 18. Lyon: François Fradin) and the last 1588 (Paris: Jean Ruelle's widow).
[10] According to Notaker (2010: 281-283), the first edition in vernacular Italian is from 1487 (Dec. 15. Venice: [Hieronymus de Sanctis and Cornelio]) and the last from 1516 (June 1, Venice: s.n.).

the study of less canonical texts – in this case culinary recipe collections – can contribute to a better understanding of the impact that the introduction of a new technology had in the ways human knowledge and cultural heritage is created, disseminated, and preserved. Focusing on culinary recipe collections, a type of text that reflects more common practical knowledge than individual creativity and aesthetic value, this dissertation will demonstrate how the transition from manuscript to print forces us to consider both content and medium as two faces of the same phenomenon of communication. Moreover, this dissertation aims to reconsider the, often times, excessive importance given to the content to the detriment of the medium used to disseminate that very content. Content and medium influence each other and hence cannot be analyzed separately. By analyzing them both in their complementarity, we can reach a better understanding of both the work and the society that produced it and the society for which the work was produced. While being considered the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in terms of culinary and gustatory taste, Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, in all the forms in which it has been transmitted to us, can also be used as an explanatory example of the impact the introduction of print had on the creation, dissemination, and preservation of human knowledge and cultural heritage.

Chapter 1 is a preliminary chapter in which I establish the foundations for my research and analysis. First, I identify the object of my analysis: culinary recipe collections considered separately from other types of recipe collections. I consider how food, its preparation and consumption, intersects with medicine and religion. This chapter is an important starting point for our discussion of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as one of the first steps toward the separation of food preparation from of medical and, to a certain extent, from religious

prescriptivism, while, at the same time, toward the transition from cookery to culinary arts. This transition from cookery to culinary arts can also be seen under the lens of the evolution from nourishment to pleasure, from food preparation to food appreciation, from food consumption to banqueting.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the anonymous culinary recipe collections from the 14th to the 15th century. Starting by tracing the history of how culinary recipe collections have been studied, the goal of this chapter is to illustrate the first instances of culinary recipe collections produced in the Italian peninsula. These first instances of written culinary recipe collections stem from two textual traditions, namely the *Liber de coquina*'s and the *12 ghiotti* / 12 gluttons' textual tradition. In the analysis of these manuscripts, special attention is given to the texts produced in vernacular Italian. The analysis of the texts belonging to each textual tradition provides the necessary background that helps establish the novelties introduced by Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*.

Chapter 3 engages in presenting the figure of Maestro Martino and introduces the manuscripts ascribed to him. Starting with how Platina presents Maestro Martino and expanding to other sources, I examine the ways in which the literature has presented, studied, and analyzed Maestro Martino and the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The analysis of the manuscripts directly attributed to Maestro Martino provides more information about his biography and illustrates the cultural reality in which Maestro Martino lived. Such an analysis also helps to reach a better understanding of the culture that produced the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, both in its content and in its materiality.

In chapter 4, I provide a detailed analysis of the content of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The analysis starts with the internal structure and content organization of the Maestro Martino's text. A second part of the chapter is devoted to the analysis of ingredients and procedures as they are presented in the different chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Subsequently, and considering that this is a technical manual, I focus on other technical aspects of cookery, such as measurements and tools, how they are used and mentioned in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. A third section of this chapter discusses how the text communicates with its intended audience, as well as the characteristics of this audience. The last section of the chapter presents the novelty of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, its contributions in terms of culinary and gustatory taste and, most importantly, its innovative character in terms of communication with an audience.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the appropriations in print of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Focusing on those printed works that use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, this chapter analyses how, in the transition from manuscript to print, the new medium introduces new values, attributes, and elements that, while not present in the original form of the manuscript, reshapes the original material. Nonetheless, the editorial success of these appropriations in print of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is directly ensured by the innovative character of the content of Maestro Martino's work.

After the in-depth analyses of chapters three to five, chapter 6 will conclude and answer the initial research questions laid out in chapter one about the pivotal character of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in

terms of culinary and gustatory taste. My analyses of culinary recipe collections in vernacular Italian between the 14th and the 16th century, of the way they change through time, and of the changes they underwent with the introduction of print, illustrate and strengthen the idea that any analysis that privileges the content over the medium – or the medium over the content – will always give a partial account of any aspect of the creation, dissemination, and preservation of culture.

1. Preliminary considerations

Food and food preparation are part of everyday and everyone's life. The transformation of raw ingredients into edible food is arguably an activity specific to humans,[1] an activity that humans have developed to levels that no other animal form has. Ultimately, food preparation and its subsequent consumption contributes to and ensures the physical continuation of the individual and of the social body, as much as sexual reproduction ensures the continuation of the species.[2] Like any other human activity, preparing food, regardless of whether it is for oneself or for another or for a group, represents a knowledge that is acquired, learned, shared, and taught. It is a type of knowledge that is often taken for granted but that, nonetheless, constitutes a cornerstone of human experience. Exactly because it pertains to an everyday necessity – that of eating to stay alive –, the acquisition of culinary knowledge usually occurs in an informal educational setting – within the family or within a small social group – and it serves the purposes of that individual or of that small group. Professional training and formal education are required for those who desire to embrace the culinary professions.

Culinary recipes are a recorded set of instructions to prepare food for human consumption. When recorded and handed to others, culinary recipes are the instruments that ensure the preservation and the transmission of culinary knowledge for informal (and formal) culinary education. This is true at a personal and at an interpersonal level. At a personal level,

[1] Wrangham 2009: 1–14.
[2] Pellegrino Artusi (1910: 11) presents this idea in his *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene* citing a personal letter received by Olindo Guerrini (pseudonym of Lorenzo Stecchetti) (1910: 11). See Artusi et al 2009: 9 for the English translation. As we will see later on, Guerrini is among the firsts to edit culinary recipe collections in vernacular Italian.

one writes down a few notes so that next time s/he will remember, for example, the ratio of the ingredients for a specific dish. At an interpersonal level, those same notes might serve as a surrogate when the individual with that knowledge is not available to illustrate how to prepare that specific dish. Culinary recipe collections are usually passed along family (or social group) lines: they ensure the possibility of reproducing those culinary recipes in the future and the preservation of the identity of the group: a good example of this is found in family recipe notebooks, recipe boxes, etc. The same dynamic is present in larger social groups with community cookbooks and fundraising cookbooks. These two types of cookbooks incorporate some of the elements of the commercial cookbook, intended as a specific type of culinary recipe collection created, written, printed, and distributed to generate revenue and profit. The distance between the organizer/recorder of a culinary recipe and the end user of that recipe ranges from non-existing – as in the case of one's personal culinary notes, in which organizer/recorder and end-user overlap – to, potentially, unlimited, as in the case of the author of a post in a culinary website or online blog. In between those two extreme, printed cookbooks represent by far the most common, and commonly used, medium between the organizer/recorder of culinary recipe(s) and the audience of her/his culinary recipe collection.

Starting with the seminal work of anthropologists Sydney Mintz (1922–2015) and Mary Douglas (1921–2007), in recent decades there has been a renewed interest in the study of food in all its aspects: its production, its consumption, its social and symbolic values. At the same time, for the general public, the last few years have witnessed an exponential growth of culinary content – in many cases overabundant, if not redundant – offered to users avid to see food, discover it, try it out, and experiment it in new unknown combinations. Not only do we eat food:

we share it, we prepare it, buy it, and, in few cases, grow it. But we also talk about it, write / blog about and take pictures of it; we discuss and dispute its qualities, its origins; we argue over its components, its nutrition values, and its positive or negative contributions to our health and well-being, as well as over the sustainability of our food system. The ever-expanding market of cookbooks and culinary recipe collections in different formats has literally flooded the public sphere with a renovated interest in how we eat, what we eat, where our food comes from, and in the impact of human consumption on our planet resources, although not always with positive results.

The overarching research question of this dissertation requires us to focus on when and how the introduction of print contributed to the definition and the development of the cookbook as an editorial genre. In order to obtain more granular results, we must work within a specific temporal and spatial framework. Our analysis will consider vernacular Italian culinary recipe collections produced in the Italian peninsula between the end of the 14th and the 16th century, in the transition between manuscript and print culture. We will grant a special attention to those culinary recipe collections that, having been originally produced in manuscript form,[3] were later used in printed editions. In order to proceed we need first to present and discuss several aspects of the culture of the temporal and spatial frame in focus: the Italian peninsula between the 14th and the 16th century.

Ranging approximatively from the second half of the 14th century – the end of the Black Death in Europe – to the full-scale expansion of the Europeans kingdoms into what, at that time,

[3] To be precise, *produced* is here used in technical terms and refers to the fact that the content is communicated to the audience in *manuscript form*: it is not to be considered a synonym of *written*.

was defined as the *New World*, the time frame we will focus on witnessed profound cultural and societal changes. In this time, the central and northern parts of the Italian peninsula have already witnessed the transition from the medieval municipalities to larger political and geographical bodies, usually dominated by local powerful families, the *signorie*. It is in this period that these regional political bodies with political power limited within family groups – the *signorie* – will start to evolve into what will later become the modern states. It is also a period of relative economic growth and expansion but it is also a time of instability and unrest.[4] At the end of the time frame of our analysis – by the end of the 16th century –, we witness the complete decline of the Italian peninsula as the center of the old continent and the rise of other countries – Spain, England, but most of all France –, as the new centers that will inform and mold the future of the continent in geo-political, economic, and cultural terms.

Human nutrition and consumption are determined by the interrelation of natural and commercial factors with cultural ones.[5] The availability of specific ingredients for human consumption is the result either of local production or of commercial exchanges. Ultimately, the acceptance of one ingredient within a food system is the result of the interplay of cultural elements that act upon its availability.[6] Tomatoes, potatoes, and corn – just to give some examples – were introduced in Europe after the encounter with the *New World*, but these foods had to be accepted as edible items and in order to be introduced in the food system of the old continent. Besides some extreme cases, the very concept of what is edible and what is not is not exclusively linked to natural and commercial factors. In this sense, culinary recipe collections –

[4] For an overview of the history of the Italian peninsula of this period, see Duggan 1994: 36-65.
[5] See Grieco 2012: 29; Mintz 1985: 8.
[6] Montanari (2006: 61-66) asserts that taste is the result of interacting social factors.

analyzed historically – are a reliable indicator to analyze how much – and in which ways – a new ingredient has become part of the accepted ingredients of a specific geographical area. But culinary recipe collections offer us more than just information about ingredients. Analyzed beyond their culinary content, culinary recipe collections can offer a broader understanding of the society in which they were created and the cultural changes they were undergoing.

There are several differences between our modern idea of food preparation and that offered by the culinary recipe collections we will analyze in this study. There are technical and technological differences, but there are also conceptual ones. Nowadays we measure temperature and the amounts of ingredients using methods that result from scientific knowledge and technological advancements. On the other hand, the culinary recipe collections analyzed in this dissertation convey information about temperature and weight differently as we will see in chapter 4. On the more technical side, our access to a highly controllable heat source makes cooking a much less dangerous experience than in the past, when constant care and attention was required by wood, fire, flames, and smoke. Besides these technical and technological differences, there are cultural aspects that inform and influence food, its preparation and its consumption. For the time span we will work with, and in order to fully understand the content of the texts under analysis, it is important to briefly introduce and discuss the interplay between food and society, food and medicine, as well as the interplay between food, religion and morality.

Social factors influence food choices and food habits. Our modern way of understanding food is based on socio-economic factors – which, of course, lead to social stratification – rather than the different social functions attributed to different social groups. The importance of social

separation in the Middle Ages also incorporated ideas of different dietary systems that specifically dictated which foodstuff was appropriate to each social class. The main social differentiation was between those who ruled, temporally and spiritually – nobility and church –, and those who were ruled – the rest of the population. Such a hierarchical structure also implied that the function of the rest of the population was to respect as well as to support and to work for the benefit of those designated to rule. As pointed out by Grieco,[7] these distinctions were so pervasive that they were also visible not only in the opposition between rural and urban centers but in the food system and in the distribution of specific food items according to the social status.[8] For example, meat and fish were destined almost exclusively to the higher ranked ruling class, whereas vegetables and less processed grains were the common staple of the commoners. The same opposition exists between fresh and preserved food and ingredients. Fresh meat and game are exclusively destined to the nobility, whereas preserved meat – normally from lower quality cuts – was for the lower part of the social scale. Preserving food had, at that time, the great disadvantage of almost overpowering the original taste of the ingredients due to the heavy use of vinegar and salt. Cooked and prepared food were also more frequently found in the table on the nobility, whereas raw and uncooked vegetables were the staple of the serfs. The preparation of food and transformation of ingredients into edible food items is also something that needs to be done *for* the master *by* (his/her) serfs.[9] The problematic social status of cooks in

[7] Grieco 1999.
[8] On the topic of food item specificity in different social classes, see also Montanari (1994 43-47).
[9] Goody 2006: 510, 514. Although Goody's goal is to discuss the alleged cultural advantage of Europe ("a Eurocentric attempt to project an apparently temporary advantage back into past times to establish uniqueness of an inevitable progression that did not, could not, happen elsewhere" (2006: 504)), his remarks about social stratification and food preparations are pertinent to our work. Moreover, his considerations about paper production in China are also extremely important for our analysis: while focusing on the transmission of culinary knowledge from manuscript to print in a specific language – such as vernacular Italian – and in a particular geographical region – the Italian peninsula – it is by no means my goal to establish any qualitative superiority of those culinary expressions.

the past is a result of the lower social origin of those in charge of food preparation, regardless of the success they might obtain.[10]

In order to understand the way food was conceived and used during the time period in analysis, it is important to analyze the relationship between food and medicine. The connection between food and medicine will undergo important changes with the scientific revolution from the middle of the 16th century onward but it is important to remember that some radical changes are the result of slow ongoing reformulations. As this dissertation will show, cookbooks provide insightful perspectives on those changes as well.

Still today, in Italian, the word *ricetta* / recipe is used both for a medical prescription and for a culinary preparation.[11] The same happens in other Romance languages – as well as in English *recipe* – due to the Latin origin of the word and to the fact that Latin was for centuries the language of international and scientific communication. Originally, the word *ricetta* designated the instructions given by a physician for the preparation and for the administration of a medicine. Its etymology, from the Latin verb *recipĕre* / to take, to receive, implies accepting the prescription from an authoritative source, the physician. The connection between medicine and food derives from a pre-scientific view in which food and nourishment – when used appropriately – could help maintain and restore health, understood as the point of balance

[10] Notaker 2017: 14.
[11] This is also true in English. The word *recipe*, deriving from Latin and having the same etymology than the Italian *ricetta*, has still the meaning, although considered archaic, of a formula used for the composition or a medicine (cfr. "recipe, n."*OED Online*, Oxford University Press, December 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/159522. Accessed 15 February 2020). Moreover, the symbol *Rx* – in American English – represents a medical prescription but it derives from "the initial letter of classical Latin *recipe*: take, 2nd singular present imperative of *recipere* RECEIVE *v.* In medical prescriptions, as the opening instruction: take." ("R, n., #14" *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, December 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/156942. Accessed 15 February 2020). See also Capatti & Montanari 2003: 155.

between different constituents. As for these constituents, we need to look back in time and analyze how natural philosophy understood and explained natural life.

The Greek philosopher Empedocles postulated in the 5th century that all existing life derived from four basic elements: fire, water, air, and earth. His contemporary Zeno spoke of hot, cold, moist, and dry as four basic qualities. A century later, Hippocrates and his followers synthetized what became known as *humoral theory*. Still based on a four-element system, Hippocrates defended that four bodily fluids are at the center of human life: blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. These four bodily fluids correspond to the intersection of the four qualities proposed by Zeno. According to Hippocrates' system, blood was moist and hot; yellow bile was hot and dry; black bile as dry and cold; and phlegm as cold and moist. In this 4-element system, to the four bodily fluids corresponded also the four seasons: spring, being wet and hot aligned with blood; summer, hot and dry, with yellow bile; fall, dry and cold; and winter, cold and wet, with phlegm. By claiming that only four combinations of Zeno's qualities were possible, Aristotle was the first to speak about four temperaments – sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic – conceived as the dominance of one humor – respectively blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. But it is Galen of Pergamon – active in the 2nd century CE – who will influence medieval medicine and dietary knowledge more profoundly. Bringing together different aspects of the humoral theory developed so far, Galen was able to conceptualize a system that added the idea of balance of the temperaments. He postulated the existence of nine temperaments: four in which one quality prevails; four in which two qualities are balanced; and a perfect state, in which all four qualities are balanced. Galen was also the first to introduce the notion of different degrees of intensity of the basic four qualities. The foundation of Galenic medicine relies on the

principle that the nature of every living thing is a combination of hot and cold, dry and moist. The prevalence of one quality over the others required an intervention to restore the balance of the four qualities which represented the status of perfect health. The balance of those four qualities depended on different combination of variables such as age, gender, time of the year, social status, etc.[12]

Nutrition was considered the most effective way to correct the imbalance and restore health as well as to maintain health. In the case of an imbalance – let's say a situation excessively hot and moist – medical intervention would require the administration of foodstuff eminently cold and dry. At the same time, a healthy individual needed to strive to maintain that balanced state with well-tempered and balanced food. This is exactly the point in which medicine and food preparation intersect. Good cooks are those who know the ingredients, their nature, and their characteristics. They know how to combine them in order to maintain the balance of their qualities in order to avoid any imbalance. A food preparation was considered to be good if it maintained a balanced combination of different ingredients and their characteristics. This idea informed not only the preparation of one dish, but also the sequence of dishes in a meal or in a banquet.[13] The notion of being good – at that time – implied the notion of being healthy, of being good for the body.[14] All literature pertaining to food, medicine and diet is imbued with this idea and, as we will see, it will be only in the 15th century that the food preparation will begin to part from medicinal and dietary notions and to focus more on the taste of the individual.

[12] See also Capatti & Montanari 2003: 121.
[13] Ending a meal with ripe cheese – something that some people still defend today – is reminiscent of a Galenic perspective on the process of digestion and is present in Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (see Capatti & Montanari 2003: 128).
[14] Scully 1995a: 40-49

Nonetheless, it is important for us to point out that the language used in the culinary recipe collections we will analyze is still imbued by those pre-modern ideas about food and diet. We will see that ingredients are better prepared in one way than in another, that specific ingredients require to be treated in a specific way, require a specific sauce, or want a specific spice. As pointed out by Flandrin,[15] spices, above all ingredients, besides being used as social status markers, were the elements used primarily to compensate, or, to use a much-utilized expression, to *temperare* / temper any food,[16] and therefore obtain a balanced dish.[17] For the period of our analysis, it is therefore imperative that we consider that cooking was considered the art of combining food elements not for their taste but for their intrinsic characteristics.[18]

The interrelation between food and religion is another important aspect to discuss before dwelling on our analysis of the texts. The dominant religious culture of the time is pre-Reformation Western Christianity and, as it is to be expected, it influenced many aspects of everyday life. The relationship between religion, as well as morality, with food practices is a vast and tempting topic but we will limit our discussion to the religious prescription of fasting and its consequences on the menu.

Early Christianity was relatively bland about diet if compared to other religious traditions. It is by the 5th century that an increase in dietary restrictions, in terms of fasting and

[15] Flandrin 1999: 315-317.
[16] Both in Italian and English the verbs *temperare* / to temper share the meaning of mixing and combine ingredients.
[17] See also Scully, "Tempering Medieval food" 1995.
[18] Capatti & Montanari 2003: 121. As Albala points out (2012: 213-230), other theories on diet and nutrition emerged between the end of the 15th and then in the 16th century – the most important being Paracelsus and his rejection of humoral theories – but the texts we analyze are tied to previous knowledge and conception about food, diet, and nutrition.

abstinence, becomes more visible.[19] The reasons for that have a profound moral nature: considering that indulging in food – both in quantity and quality – would lead to lust, fasting was "seen as a way of both cleansing the body and controlling sexuality."[20] This is by no means a new perspective: both Greek philosophy and medicine defended the idea that both food and sex should be used in moderation. Fasting was a point in common among different forms of asceticism during the first centuries of Christianity and it focused on the idea of recovering the direct connection with God that had been lost by the sin of Adam and Eve, a sin directly connected to gluttony.[21] The early Church, more than celebrating the excesses of the hermits and their practices, strongly encouraged temporary fasting. These forms of temporary fasting were directly connected with specific celebrations or with specific times of the year: "About 150 days of the year in total were set asides as fasting days."[22] Besides some established exceptions, fasting was therefore a constantly present practice in everyday life and, of course, we can see it reflected in the culinary literature as well.[23]

But what did fasting mean for Christianity? It meant "abstaining from certain food and eating only one meal after vespers" according to a very specific and strict liturgic calendar.[24] Besides the 40 days between Ash Wednesday and Easter Sunday, Fridays, Wednesdays and Saturdays were considered fasting days: if to that we add other days in preparation of religious

[19] Just to be precise, "fasting" refers to the quantity of food to be ingested, whereas "abstinence" usually refers to the types of food items.
[20] Weiss Adamson 2004: 185. On the same topic, see also Scully 1995a: 59.
[21] Albala 2012: 197. As Albala points out, "a religiously inspired type of food guilt was indelibly imprinted on the European consciousness" to the point that gluttony is considered and included in the Seven Deadly Sins. See also Montanari 2015: 107-117.
[22] Albala 2003: 196.
[23] Scully 1995a: 61-62.
[24] Weiss Adamson 2004: 186.

festivities, we see that fasting days corresponded indicatively to one third of the year.[25] Fasting days limited the moments of the day in which the ingestion of food was allowed – much like during Ramadan for Muslims – as well as the types of food to be eaten. The history of what was permitted to be eaten during fasting is an interesting one. At the beginning of Christianity, while still not strictly and officially regulated by the Church authority, fasting was strict and included abstinence from meat, fish, eggs, milk and dairy products, wine, and oil. Fish was soon included into the allowed food items,[26] but milk, eggs, and dairy products were considered at the same level of meat for a long time.

For the period of our texts, it is in 1491 that the Church declares that eggs, milk, and dairy products were allowed during fasting.[27] We should not consider that date as the one that introduces the change. As Weiss Adamson points out, by declaring it, the Church sanctioned and finally accepted practices that were already being debated and in use as the culinary literature from northern Europe attests.[28] The acceptance of dairy products – especially butter, but eggs as well – among the foodstuff allowed during fasting is particularly interesting. The analysis of the use of different fats – animal based, vegetable based, and milk based – their distribution and complementarity show how food practices are the result of regional availability and local culinary practices. Moreover, culinary practices, in some cases, are the driving forces of dietary – and hence cultural – prescriptivism.

[25] Möhren 2016: 59-60.
[26] Laurioux 2002: 105.
[27] Weiss Adamson 2004: 189, following Kühnel 185: 229. See also Montanari 2015: 115.
[28] Weiss Adamson 2004: 189.

As we know, olive oil, together with bread and wine, is one of the most emblematic elements of Mediterranean food cultures but it is also a cultural element inscribed into Christianity and its food habits. The use of olive oil as a culinary staple is therefore first and foremost a use that reflects its availability as a local product and not an external imposition. Being specifically a product from southern Europe, olive oil is not freely available all over the continent. At the same time, the fasting regulations imposed by the Church were to be followed by all Christianity regardless of its geographical location. For southern European communities, thanks to the availability of olive oil, it was easy to use it instead of animal fat in culinary preparations: more than easy, it was part of culinary practices.

In northern Europe, in the absence of affordable olive oil, finding a suitable substitute for animal-based fat (lard and fresh or cured animal fat) for fasting time was a problem.[29] Considering the difference between meat and milk, butter – processed from the milk and not from the meat of an animal – was considered a viable substitution that would not go against the religious regulations regarding fasting and therefore a suitable alternative to olive oil during fasting periods. [30]

The opposition between olive oil and butter – as we will see in our analysis – is not as clear as we are sometimes prone to think with our current perception of the use of fat in culinary practices. In terms of culinary fats, it makes more sense to establish the dichotomy between

[29] Talking about animal fat, it is important to establish the difference between the animal fat that derives from the lipid materials of animals (natural fresh or cured animal fat or processed such as lard) and those fats produced from the fat and protein components of milk, such as butter.
[30] Albala 2012: 197.

vegetable and animal fat, where butter represent a third element that stands somewhere in between those two general categories for the reasons presented before.[31]

What is even more interesting is how culinary recipe collections deal with religion-based dietary restrictions. Although fast days occupy a rather large part of the calendar, fasting was considered an imposition and a non-restrictive diet was clearly preferred. The rich presence of so-called *imitation dishes* – dishes that resembled regular time dishes but were prepared with lean ingredients – clearly shows that creativity was vastly used to go around and beyond the restrictions imposed by religious authority.

If we look at cookbooks produced and printed in the Italian peninsula, we see that it is in the second half of the 16th century that Italy produces its fully-fledged culinary treatises. In 1549, in Ferrara, Giovanni de Buglhat and Antonio Hucher publish Cristoforo Messisbugo's *Banchetti*.[32] The same work will be printed in Venice just a few years later, in 1552, by Giovanni della Chiesa under a different title.[33] While the first edition opted for a quarto format (and 111 leaves),[34] the Venetian publisher opted for the more manageable octavo form. All 18 subsequent editions of the work will be printed in Venice in the same octavo format between 1556 and 1626.[35] In 1560, in Venice, Michele Tramezzino prints Domenico Romoli's *La singular dottrina*, choosing an octavo format for the first edition, with slightly less than 400 pages. The nine subsequent editions will be printed in Venice in that same format from 1565 to 1637. In 1570, in

[31] For the opposition between olive oil and butter in 14th and 15th-century Italy see also Capatti & Montanari 2003: 100-105.
[32] USTC no. 842265 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/842265.
[33] USCT no. 842264 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/842264. Vide also Notaker 2010: 299, #906.2.
[34] Vide note 33. According to USTC the foliation of the first edition is [8] 22 [2] 71 [9] for a total of 112 leaves. Notaker also offers the same foliation (2010: 299, #906.1).
[35] Vide Notaker 2010: 298-305, #906.1-906.20.

Venice, Michele Tramezzino prints Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera*. This is a massive publication: printed in quarto with 458 leaves. In quarto will also be all 12 subsequent editions, printed invariably in Venice between 1574 and 1643.[36]

It is curious that at the beginning of the 15th century, just a hundred and fifty years before such an explosion of printed cookbooks, culinary recipe collections were still anonymous and, more importantly, they did not have the aura of elevated intellectual activity that Messisbugo's, Romoli's and Scappi's works would have. The first question I plan to answer with this dissertation is: How does the genre of culinary works develop from the anonymous recipe collections of the 13th and 14th century to the fully fledged printed culinary treatises of the second half of the 16th century? Underneath this question, there is the even deeper question of how food preparation – as a specific field of human knowledge – transitions from being subsidiary to something else, namely medicine, to a stage in which it deserves printed manuals and treatises to transmit and disseminate its specific knowledge, skills, and practices.

In this dissertation, I propose that it is the pivotal character attributed to Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance that will serve as the foundation for the development of the genre. The previous literature highlights the pivotal role of this text in that transition both in terms of culinary and gustatory terms. While agreeing with this historical description, in this study I intend to go beyond this equation and claim that the

[36] See Notaker 2010: 281-315. If we leave aside all the editions of the *Epulario* that we will analyze in chapter 5, the only titles to be published are: Eustachio Celebrino's *Opera nova di ricette* (Venice 1526 by Francesco di Alessandro Bindoni and Mapheo Pasini), the *Opera nova de ricette* (printed between 1520 and 1530), Alessio Piemontese's *Secreti* (Venezia 1555 Sigismondo Bordogna). But these are works that include culinary recipes among recipes of different nature.

Libro de arte coquinaria should also be considered an important step towards the separation of food preparation from medicinal and, to a certain extent, from religious prescriptivism. A detailed and multifaceted analysis of Maestro Martino's work in the transition from manuscript to print culture demonstrates that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* plays a crucial role also in the transition from cookery to culinary arts, from nourishment to pleasure, from food preparation to food appreciation, and from food consumption to banqueting. In other words, my dissertation shows that Maestro Martino's work is more significant than previously acknowledged. Moreover, as my analysis will show, Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is also the text that will give birth to the editorial genre of the printed cookbook.

2. Culinary recipe collections before Maestro Martino

This chapter focuses on the anonymous culinary recipe collections produced in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries and prior to Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. These anonymous recipe collections were produced both in Latin and in vernacular Italian and fall into two distinct textual traditions: the *Liber de coquina* and the *12 Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons textual tradition. The *Liber de coquina* textual tradition represents the earliest examples of culinary recipe collections and is witnessed in seven known manuscript produced both in Latin and in vernacular languages. Its origin, as well as its name, derive from the title of two manuscripts composed in Latin and available at the *Bibliothèque National de France*. Scholars believe this tradition began around the end of the 13th century. The recipe collections that belong to the *12 Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons textual tradition are produced exclusively in different varieties of vernacular Italian and are known only in the Italian peninsula. There are eight texts attributed to this tradition which are considered to have been produced in the 14th and the 15th centuries. We will begin with an historical overview of the study of culinary recipe collections and proceed with an in-depth comparison the texts of the two textual traditions.

2.1. The study of anonymous recipe collections.

The study of culinary recipe collections produced in the Italian peninsula during the Late Middle Ages started at the end of the 19th century with the works of Francesco Zambrini (1863), Olindo Guerrini (1887), Salomone Morpurgo (1890), and Lodovico Frati (1899). Each of these publications focused on a single manuscript text. Zambrini published the so-called *Anonomio*

Toscano (AT1), also referred to as *Libro de la cocina*;[1] Guerrini the *Libro di cucina* (AT2);[2] Morpurgo the *Anonimo Fiorentino* (AF);[3] and Frati published the *Anonimo Veneziano* (AV), also referred to as *Libro per cuoco*.[4]

In 1966, and later in 1987, thanks to the publishing efforts of Emilio Faccioli,[5] more culinary recipe collections in vernacular Italian were published. Two years after Faccioli's initial publication, Marianne Mulon published for the first time the two manuscripts produced in Latin and held at the *Bibliotèque National de France*.[6] These two manuscripts together represent the textual tradition of the *Liber de coquina*. According to Mulon, they both have been produced in the region of Naples during the House of Anjou ruling period.[7]

The publication of critical editions of individual texts gave rise to the publication of general overviews about the production of culinary recipe collections in the Italian peninsula. These overviews analyzed the connections and relationships between the texts. The first systematic study in the field of culinary recipe collections is Jean-Louis Flandrin and Odile Redon's article "Les livres de cuisine italienne das XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles" (1981).

[1] Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 93r-103r. For more details see Hieatt, et al. 1992: 324, #12; and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[2] Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 86r-91v. For more details see Hieatt, et al. 1992: 324, #12; and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[3] Firenze, Italy, Biblioteca Ricciardiana, Ms. 1071, cc. 40r-67r. For more details see Hieatt, et al. 1992: 358, #120; and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xi.
[4] Roma, Italy, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 255. For more details see Hieatt, et al. 1992: 354, #109; and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[5] Faccioli 1966, and 1987.
[6] Paris, France, Bibliothèque National de France, Ms. lat. 7131, cc. 96*v*-99*v*, and Paris, France, Bibliothèque National de France, Ms. lat. 9328, cc. 133*v*-139*v*, labelled respectively A and B in Mulon (1968).
[7] See Laurioux 1996a: 35, note 8.

Drawing on recent discoveries and analyses of culinary recipe collections in vernacular Italian and their connections, Bruno Laurioux, in his "I libri di cucina italiani alla fine del Medioevo: un nuovo bilancio", published in 1996, claims that the culinary texts in vernacular Italian derive from the two aforementioned textual traditions: the tradition of the *Liber de Coquina*, and the tradition that became known as of the *12 Ghiotti*, the twelve gourmands.[8] Similar conclusions were proposed by Claudio Benporat and assembled together in his volumes *Storia della gastronomia italiana* (1990) and *Cucina del Quattrocento* (1996). Carnevale Schianca, in the introduction of his volume *La cucina medievale. Lessico, storia, preparazioni* (2011), also asserts that the Italian culinary literature of the late Middle Ages derives from those two traditions.[9] The main difference between Laurioux and Carnevale Schianca is that Laurioux positions the production of the Italian manuscript culinary texts in a broader European perspective, while Schianca clearly maintains that the origin of Italian culinary texts is within the geographical borders of the Italian peninsula. Martellotti, in her *Liber de coquina* (2005) claims that the culinary texts of the Italian peninsula were originally elaborated at the court of Frederick II in vernacular and later translated into Latin in the *Liber de coquina*. This perspective has been criticized by Laurioux.[10]

Despite these differing opinions on the *stemma codicum* for the *Liber de coquina* tradition, scholars do agree that late medieval culinary texts in vernacular Italian derive from the *Liber de coquina* and from the *12 Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons textual traditions.

[8] Laurioux 1996a: 35-41.
[9] Carnevale Schianca 2011: ix
[10] See Laurioux's review of Martellotti's 2005 volume in *Le Moyen Age*, 3 (2006) pp. 724-725, and Weiss Adamson 2011: 239-240.

2.1.1. The *Liber de coquina* textual tradition.

We will begin with two recipe collections written in Latin and held in Paris at the *Bibliothèque National de France* (BnF): LIB1[11] and LIB2[12]. Mullon published a critical edition of the first of these two manuscripts and some of the variants of the second.[13] Following Novati,[14] Mulon suggests that both manuscripts were produced in Naples in the Angevin court. For Laurioux,[15] it is certain that the content of the two exemplars of the *Liber de coquina* originated in Italy but he overtly questions the specific location of production as being the Angevin Naples, as proposed by Mulon followed by Rebora and Benporat.[16] As Laurioux points out, manuscript A was produced around the end of the 13th, or beginning of the 14th century,[17] and was copied in France, not even Italy,[18] which confirms the European distribution of that text.

Probably due to the old character of its contents, by the end of the 14th century, the *Liber de coquina* undergoes profound modifications that take form in different manuscripts. The first of these new versions – LIB3[19] – is a manuscript held at the Vatican Library: it was copied in Heidelberg between 1461 and 1465 in Latin and recipes are displayed in a radically different

[11] LIB2= Paris, France, Bibliothéque National de France, Ms. lat. 9328, cc. 133*v*-139*v*. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 353-353, # 106; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[12] LIB1 = Paris, France, Bibliothéque National de France, Ms. lat. 7131, cc. 96*v*-99*v*. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 352, # 104; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[13] Mulon (1968) labelled LIB1 and LIB2 respectively A and B.
[14] Novati 1900 and 1903.
[15] Laurioux 1997b: 35.
[16] Rebora 1987 and Benporat 1995.
[17] Laurioux 1997: 36 and note 16.
[18] Also confirmed by Carnevale Schianca (2011: xiv).
[19] LIB3 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1768, cc. 160r-189v. For details, see Hieatt, et al. 1992: 358, #121; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv; Laurioux 1997: 37 and note 17. In Laurioux 1997: 37 note 17, there probably is a typo: where it reads "Pal. lat. 1796", it probably should read "Pal. lat. 1768".

order than in its predecessors.[20] LIB3 displays 162 recipes, a slightly smaller number as opposed to the 172 of LIB1 and the 171 of LIB2.[21]

2.1.2. The evolutions of the *Liber de coquina* tradition.

At the end of the 14th century, a reorganized version of the content of the *Liber de coquina* was translated for the first time into an Italian vernacular, Tuscan, under the name of *Libro de la cocina*. Published by Zambrini in 1863, it became known as the *Anonimo Toscano* – AT1.[22] Carnevale Schianca says it was produced in Tuscany between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. According to the same scholar, the manuscript comprises 175 recipes plus ten culinary precepts followed by an appendix with 15 pharmaceutical recipes: most of the recipes are a nearly accurate translation from Latin into vernacular of the recipes of LIB1.[23] This will not be the only translation into vernacular languages of materials from the *Liber de coquina*.

A very different version of that same material was copied in vernacular Italian in Southern Italy by the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. According to Böstrom (1985), who published it for the first time, the *Anomino meridionale* – AM1[24] –seems to derive directly from the *Liber de coquina*. Laurioux asserts that this translation probably derives

[20] See Laurioux 1997: 38, and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[21] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[22] AT1 = Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 93r-102rb; the title appears in 94r. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 324, #12; Laurioux 1997: 38 and note 20; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii. The text was first published by Zambrini (1863).
[23] Cernavale Schianca 2011: xii.
[24] AM1 = Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque International de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1339, cc. 1r-15v. See Bagnasco & Innocenti 1994, t. II, p. 1798; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xii. The first modern edition of this text was published by Böstrom (1985).

indirectly from the *Liber de coquina* via another manuscript – SaF[25]–,produced in Latin, probably in Austria, held in Sankt Florian at the Augustner-Chorherrenshift Stiftsbibliothek, and edited by Weiss Adamson in 2011.[26] Following Böstrom, Carnevale Schianca reiterates that AM1 was produced in southern Italy between the end of the XIV and the beginning of the 15th centuries; it comprises 146 recipes, 48 of which are also present in AT1.[27]

In the 1430s, another manuscript, very different from the original content of the *Liber de coquina*, was produced. According to Carnevale Schianca,[28] it was compiled around 1430 and 1439 by an anonymous "N" who describes himself as a medical doctor from Assisi and titled his manuscript *Liber coquinarum bonarum* – LCB.[29] A copy of this manuscript was produced in Bergamo, in the north of the Italian peninsula, by a copyist from Strasbourg in December 1481. According to Carnevale Schianca, this copy comprises 141 recipes derived from AM1 and LIB.[30]

The original tradition of the *Liber de coquina* is composed of seven manuscripts: five in written in Latin (LIB1, LIB2, LIB3, SaF, and LCB) and two in vernacular languages – *toscano* and *meridionale* – (AT1 and AM1). Of all the manuscripts of the *Liber de coquina* tradition, LCB and LIB3 are the only two manuscripts whose texts have not yet been published in a critical

[25] SaF = Sankt Florian, Austria, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. XI. 100. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 356, #113; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv; Laurioux 1996a: 38 and note 23. First published by Weiss Adamson (2011: 239-258).
[26] Laurioux 1997: 38. This is where Laurioux and Martellotti clearly disagree: Martellotti poses AM1 at the beginning of the LIB tradition whereas Laurioux considers it an evolution of the original materials of LIB.
[27] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xii-xiii.
[28] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[29] LCB = Châlons-en-Champagne (olim Châlons-sur-Marne), France, Bibliothèque Municipale Georges Pompidou, Ms. 310, cc. 1r-80v. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 326, #17; Laurioux 1996a: 38-39, and note 24; and Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.
[30] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiv.

edition: of the latter manuscript, Claudio Benporat has offered a translation in contemporary Italian.[31]

2.1.3. The 12 *Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons textual tradition.

Unlike the *Liber de coquina* tradition, the 12 *Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons tradition is exclusively produced in vernacular Italian languages and only known in the Italian peninsula. The relationships among the eight texts ascribed to the 12 *Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons tradition are weaker than those among the text of the *Liber de coquina* tradition, that we described in the previous section. The common elements in all these recipe collections are related to ingredients and to servings. In these cookbooks, and unlike the recipe collections of the *Liber de coquina* tradition, the quantities of the ingredients to be used are clearly declared as well as the number of people each recipe will serve. The most common figure for the number of servings is twelve, which is why the name of this tradition mentions that specific number.[32] At the same time, it is widely accepted that Tuscany, and more specifically Siena, is the geographical origin of this tradition. For these reasons, several commentators mentioned a possible close relationship between these 12 Gluttons, or Gourmards and the *brigata spendereccia* of Siena referred by Dante in Inf. XX, 124-132.[33]

The oldest of the manuscripts ascribed to this tradition is presently held in Florence at the Biblioteca Riccardiana: it became known as *Anonimo Fiorentino* or AF and it was first published

[31] Benporat 1997: 25-66.
[32] See Redon & Bertolini 1993: 38-39.
[33] See Redon and Bertolini 1993: 36.

by Morpurgo in 1890.[34] Following Carnevale Schianca, it was copied around 1338-1339 and comprises 57 complete recipes.[35] According to Laurioux, although it is an incomplete manuscript, the text reveals a feature that is considered almost unique in medieval cookery books: quantities and proportions are systematically mentioned in the text which reveals the author is extremely precise.[36] This precision has to be considered as the capacity of providing exact calculations of the relative amount of each ingredient according to the number of servings mentioned in the recipe. In previous recipe collections, quantities and serving were never delineated, and it is therefore extremely difficult to try to extrapolate these two values.

Similar precision regarding ingredients and servings is found in two other manuscripts: one incomplete and the other one, luckily, complete. Both were produced, according to Laurioux,[37] in the beginning of the 14th century and became known *trattato* "di buone et dilicate vivande" – BDV1 and BDV2.[38] According to Carnevale Schianca, the first of the two manuscripts presents only 102 recipes of the 128 declared in the index: the text of these recipes is almost identical to the text of the second manuscript which is complete.[39] If the precision of ingredients and number servings is kept in these two manuscripts, the order of the recipes is radically different from the text of AF which shows that these two manuscripts represent a new formulation of the content AF.[40]

[34] AF = Firenze, Italy, Biblioteca Ricciardiana, Ms 1071 cc. 40r-67r. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 328-329, # 26.
[35] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xi.
[36] Laurioux 1996a: 39; 1997b: 212.
[37] Laurioux 1997b: 212.
[38] BDV1= London, U.K., British Library, Ms. Additional 18165, cc. 1r-21v. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 334, #44.
BDV2 = Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque International de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1089, cc. 3r-37r.
[39] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii-xiv.
[40] See Laurioux 1996a:40, note 28; 1997: 212.

Another formulation of the contents of AF (Ricciardiana, Ms. 1071) is found in two manuscripts which can be grouped together because they share linguistic features of the Venetian vernacular language. The fact that both are written in vernacular Venetian reinforces the idea that the initial Florentine content of this tradition moved outside of the geographical boundaries that marked its inception.[41] The first of these two manuscripts – AV1[42] –is from the beginnings of the 14th century and it comprises one folded sheet. Laurioux says that this manuscript, probably produced at the end of the 15th century, has three recipes in common with the other manuscript – AV2[43] –which are unique to these two texts.[44] This latter manuscript was published by Lodovico Frati in 1899, and included 92 recipes.

A different evolution of the text of the *Anonimo Fiorentino* includes two other very similar manuscripts, the second of which is closely related to a third one. The first of these two manuscripts is included in the same compilation where we found the first translation into vernacular Tuscan of the *Liber de coquina*. Known as the *Libro di cucina* – or AT2[45] –,it was produced in the Tuscan area in the second half of the 14th century and it was first published by Olindo Guerrini in 1887. According to Carnevale Schianca, of the 156 recipes listed in the index, the manuscripts presents 92 complete recipes (and one fragment of a recipe) of which 13 are repeated.[46]

[41] See Redon & Bertolini 1993 for the historical evidence of this possibility.
[42] AV1 = Venezia, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat XIV, 232 (=4257), n. 142. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 359, #124; Laurioux 1997: 212; Laurioux 1996a: 40, note 29.
[43] AV2 = Roma, Italy, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 255. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 354, #109.
[44] Laurioux 1996a: 40, note 29.
[45] AT2 = Bologna, Italy, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 158, cc. 86r-91v. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 324, #12; Laurioux 1996a: 40, note 30; Laurioux, 1997: 212; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[46] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.

The second of the two manuscripts is presently held in Nice (France) and was defined as *Anonimo Senese* – AS[47] –by Giovanni Rebora, who curated the publication of the text.[48] It is composed of two gatherings, produced by two different hands and it comprises 53 recipes.[49] This second manuscript is closely related to another recipe collection, included in a codex produced in Southern Italy which also includes the translation into southern Italian vernacular of the *Liber de coquina* that we saw in the previous section. Known as *Anonimo Meridionale 2* – AM2[50] –,it was produced between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries and comprises 65 recipes.[51]

In summary, among the texts of the 12 *Ghiotti* tradition there is a technical filiation – related to the quantities of the ingredients and the number of servings – rather than the textual filiation that exists among the texts of the *Liber de coquina* tradition.

2.2. The anonymous recipe collections before Martino: an analysis

The presentation of the anonymous culinary recipe collections and their textual traditions, given in the previous section, gives a clear idea of the complexity of the source materials we will be working with. Nonetheless, to understand the extent of Maestro Martino's innovations, it is imperative that we establish a more detailed content analysis of those texts before the production of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. For feasibility reasons, out of the 15 manuscripts mentioned –

[47] AS = Nice, France, Bibliothèque Victor de Cessoles, Musée Massena, Ms. 226, cc. 1r-16r. See Hieatt, et al. 1992: 346-347, # 86; Laurioux 1996a: 40, note 30; Laurioux 1997: 212; Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[48] Rebora 1987: 1528-1560.
[49] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[50] AM2 = Lugano, Switzerland, Fondation Bibliothéque International de Gastronomie (B.IN.G.), Ms. 1339, cc. 15v-24v. Published by Böstrom (1985).
[51] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xii.

seven from the *Liber de coquina* tradition and eight from the *12 Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons tradition – we will limit our analysis to 7. More precisely, we will consider those substantial collections of recipes in terms of number of recipes included[52] produced mostly in vernacular Italian[53] that have already been published in critical editions.[54]

We will analyze the seven manuscripts that fall into our selection, grouping them according to their textual filiation, the textual tradition to which they belong. AT1 and AM1 from the *Liber de coquina* tradition, and AF, AT2 (from 14th century), AM2 (between 14th and 15th centuries), AS and AV2 (from 15th century) from the *12 Ghiotti* / 12 Gluttons tradition. Within each tradition we will, whenever possible, take into consideration the chronological evolution that occurs within that tradition between the 14th and the 15th centuries, the time in which Maestro Martino was active.

2.2.1. The tradition of the *Liber de coquina* in vernacular Italian: AT2 and AM1

The two texts from the *Liber de coquina* tradition – AT1 and AM1 – were both produced approximatively between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. The first of the two manuscripts – entirely in vernacular Italian – was produced in the Tuscan area, whereas the second one in Southern Italy.[55] According to Carnevale Schianca, AT1 contains 175 recipes, ten culinary precepts, and 15 medicinal recipes: of these, approximatively 90 recipes are a vernacular translation of recipes from the *Liber de coquina* tradition and 48 are in common with

[52] AV1 will not be considered for being just one folded folio.
[53] LIB1, LIB2, LIB3, SaF, and LCB will not be considered for having been composed in Latin.
[54] BDV1 and BDV2 are unpublished to this date.
[55] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xii-xiii.

AM1.[56] Always following Carnevale Schianca, AM1 contains146 recipes but this manuscript is elaborated in both Latin and vernacular Italian.[57] One aspect to note is the presence of recipes intended as remedies to cure physical conditions.

Both manuscripts seem to display some sort of internal organization. Sequence of recipes with the same main ingredient follow each other but are not grouped together as in a specific chapter or section, though this is not always consistent. Ingredients seem to be the organizing factor: not a specific culinary preparation, nor a specific liturgical time in which to prepare that recipe, nor the health situation of the recipient of the prepared dish. After a recipe, in some cases, variants – generic variants as well as variants either for Lent or for the ill – are presented.

By the way recipes are presented in both manuscripts it is possible to establish that the text presupposes a reader who is skilled in cookery. The scarcity of details on quantities, on cooking times, and the freedom to choose among the many possible variants confirm that the text is produced by an experienced and professional cook who is addressing another professional cook. At the end of several recipes in AT1, the recipes give indications about how to present the prepared dish to the *signore* / the master, something that confirms that the recipes were written by and for professional cooks at the service of nobility or individuals who can afford salaried professional cooks. AM1 does not display a title for the recipes but the name of the preparation is mentioned right at the beginning of the recipe.[58] Contrary to AT1, AM1 does not give any indication about the recipients of the prepared dishes which might strengthen the idea that these

[56] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xiii.
[57] Carnevale Schianca 2011: xii.
[58] An example could be "Affare grano di riso tolli grano et lavalo forte et … / to do rice, take rice, wash it well …" (Bostrom 1985: 8, 15).

recipe collections were written by and for professional cooks. Both texts, though, are the results of a long series of reworking and translations of an original collection of culinary recipes.

2.2.2. The tradition of the *12 Ghiotti*: AF, AT2, AM2, AS, and AV2

As we said before, the textual tradition of the *12 Ghiotti* is known only in the Italian peninsula and was transmitted exclusively in Italian vernaculars. The five witnesses that we will examine from this textual tradition were produced from the 14th to the 15th century. The oldest manuscript – AF – was produced in Florence in the first half of the 14th century. From this initial recipe collection, extremely precise as we have seen, derives AV2 – a recipe collection in vernacular Venetian – as well as three other recipe collections – AT2, AS, and AM2 – all sharing different levels of similarities.

The first manuscript of this tradition AF has 57 recipes of which two are incomplete – the first and the last lacking respectively the beginning and the end. The 55 recipes display a rather similar internal structure which is indicative of a well-organized attempt to structure culinary information. The title of the recipes is given by a sentence like *Se vuoli fare* / If you want to prepare, followed by the name of the preparation and the number of servings. The title is followed by a list of ingredients usually prefaced by the 2nd person imperative verbal form *togli* / (you) take. The recipes then continue with the necessary steps to concoct that specific culinary preparation. At the end of each recipe, there are always indications on how the prepared dish should taste and look – which usually refer to color – followed by indications on how to adapt the quantities of ingredients for a different number of servings. Not all AF recipes have all these

components, but it is apparent that there is a clear attempt to give all the necessary information in the most consistent way possible. If, at first, we have the impression that AF is very didactic, we should be careful in drawing this conclusion. The omission of cooking times still shows that the alleged user/reader of this collection is an experienced cook, or at least someone with familiarity with a kitchen. Instead of specific cooking time indications, the recipes usually resort to resultative verbal forms like *e quando è cocto* / and when it's cooked, which implies that the user of the recipe collection already has the knowledge and skills to determine if an ingredient is cooked or not. One more thing to note is that the manuscripts in the 12 *Ghiotti* tradition contain no recipes intended for the sick. In both AT1 and AM1 from the *Liber de Coquina* tradition, some medicinal recipes were interspersed between culinary recipes.

The other manuscripts of this tradition share some recipes with AF and in some cases also some of its features. All manuscripts display some sort of name for the recipe, either specific or generic.[59] The number of servings – always present in AF – appears less frequently in AV2 and in AS, even less frequently in AT2, and is totally absent in AM2.

Still regarding the number of servings, it is interesting to note that in AS the number of servings is also connected to the use of adjectives such as *ricchi* / rich*, gentili* / gentile, to describe the *ghiotti* / gluttons or *goditori* / pleasure-loving. Like AF, also the other manuscripts in this tradition do not offer indication of any cooking times besides resultatives constructions, as previously discussed. AS and AV2 provide some indication on how the final dish should look and taste, whereas AT2 and AM2 do not. AV2 is the only one that, in some cases, gives indications on how to adapt the quantities of the ingredients in relationship to the number of

[59] Specific in the sense of a specific name for the preparation, and generic in the sense that it simply provides its main ingredient.

servings. At the same time, AM2 is the only one that, right after the *incipit*, offers some indication of how the recipe collection is structured, something that no other manuscript of this tradition offers.[60]

Unlike the the manuscripts from the *Liber de Coquina,* tradition, those belonging to the 12 *Ghiotti* textual tradition seem to have been written for a different socio-economic environment. All the recipes are written for the same type of guests – usually12 individuals of the same type and who share the same characteristic: rich, gentile, gluttons, and pleasure-loving. They are not described as noble, or named by their title, but rather they are identified by their wealth and by their love of food. Another feature that clearly marks the difference between the two families of recipes collection is the total absence of medicinal consideration in the manuscripts ascribed to the 12 *Ghiotti* textual tradition.

[60] *In prima parte parliamo de apparecchiare carne de vaccha, secundo de apparecchiare carne de castrone, terçu de apparecchiare carne de porco, quarto de apparecchiare carne de pulli. Poy tractamo de apparecchiare herbe et legume et tenerume de pescie. Brevemente perché se mecte in sapore uva gresto vederamo; in quanti modi se fa agresto, si se fa de uva acerba et de barbari, lo quale è meliore*. / In the first part we talk about how to prepare beef, then how to prepare wether (castrated lamb) meat, third how to prepare pork meat, fourth how to prepare poultry meat. Then we discuss how to prepare vegetables and legumes and fish. Briefly we will see why we put grapes in verjuice, in how many ways verjuice is done, if it is done with unripe grapes or of barberry, and which is better (my translation).

3. Maestro Martino and his manuscripts

3.1. Martino's figure

Bartolomeo Sacchi (Piàdena 1421 – Rome 1480), also known as Platina,[1] is the author of the first printed book on cookery, the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Printed in Rome in after 1470,[2] and composed in Latin, Platina's work is situated within a humanistic perspective in which order and *misura* should govern and organize human life in general. Platina devotes a substantial part of his work to nutrition and to the preparation of food. It is in the sections directly devoted to food that Platina refers to a precise historical figure.

In the 11th chapter of book I of his work, titled *De Coquo* / On the Cook,[3] Platina outlines the characteristics that a person in charge of food preparation should possess. At the end of this section, the author refers to an individual whom he considers to be the quintessential representation of a cook and the ideal model for anyone who aspires to become a cook.[4] He says:

> *Novicomensi nostra aetate coquorum principi, et a quo obsoniorum conficiendorum rationem accepi, sit omnino, si fieri potest, persimilis. Non sit*

[1] The name *Platina* is the Latinized version of Piàdena, his birthplace, located in the southern part of Lombardy, between Cremona and Mantua.
[2] The first edition of the *De honesta voluptate* was not clearly dated and, therefore, the dates suggested in the scholarly literature differ slightly within a 5-year range. The ISTC dates it "around 1475" (istc no. ip00761000 availble at https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00761000). Vicaire (1890: 687) dates it *vers* /around 1474: Benporat (1990: 61, and 64) follows Vicaire. Milham dates it "c. 1470" (Milham 1988:79) which is followed by Notaker (2010: 327, #1001.1).
[3] *Coquum habeat arte et longa experiential doctum, patientem laboris et qui laudari in ea re maxime cupiat. Careat is omni squalore ac spurcitia, cognoscat apposite carnium piscium holerum vim atque naturam ut quid assum quid elixum quid frictum fieri debeat deprehendat. Caleat gustu decernere quae salita nimis et quae fatua sunt.* / One should have a trained cook with skill and long experience, patient with his work and wanting especially to be praised for it. He should lack all filth and dirt and know in a suitable way the force and nature of meats, fish and vegetables so that he may understand what ought to be roasted, boiled, or fried. He should be alert enough to discern by taste what is too salty or too flat. (Milham 1998: 118 / 119).
[4] Milham 1998: 118 / 119.

> *gulosus et edax, ut Marisius Gallus, ne quod dominum edere oportet ispe intercipiat at devoret* / If possible he should be completely like the man from New Como [Martino], the prince of cooks of our age, from whom I have learned the art of cooking food. He should not be gluttonous or greedy, as was the Frenchman Marisius, so as not to appropriate and devour what his master was supposed to eat.[5]

Platina refers to this individual using his geographical origin, a common practice at the time: this person is defined as *Novicomensis*, i.e. the one from New Como. This individual is described as *nostra aetate coquorum principi*, the prince of cooks of our age, from whom Platina himself has "learned the art of cooking food".

Platina will refer to this same individual one more time at the very end of the 41st chapter of book VI (*Cibaria Alba* / White Food). After giving the recipe for *blancmanger*, Platina makes a remark about his own preferences when it comes to taste and clearly states that the present times represent, in his opinion, the highest peaks of gastronomic and gustatory taste.[6]

> *Quem coquum, dii immortales, Martino meo Comensis conferes, a quo haec scribo magna ex parte sunt habita. Carneadem alterum dices si de rebus propositis ex tempore dissenterem audieris*. / What a cook, oh immortal gods, you bestowed in my friend Martino of Como, from whom I have received, in great part, the things of which I am writing. You would say he is another Carneades if you were to hear him eloquently speaking ex tempore about the matters described above.[7]

At the end of this remark, Platina takes the opportunity to praise explicitly one individual. Besides referring to him by his geographical origin, *Comensi* (from Como), Platina reveals the actual name of this individual, Martino, and describes him as his friend. Once again, Martino is declared as the source that Platina draws from, and his eloquence on cookery is further asserted.

[5] Milham 1998: 118/119.
[6] Milham 1998: 292/293.
[7] Vide *supra*.

There are several aspects that need to be taken into consideration here.[8] First, though, we focus on three simple points: (a) Platina and Martino knew each other personally; (b) he praises Martino's professional qualities; c) he considers Martino his source of inspiration, as well as the source of most of the recipes he includes in his *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. According to Benporat's *Storia della gastronomia italiana*, Platina's work circulated in manuscript form, and it was finally printed in 1474 by Ulrich Han probably in Rome.[9] Platina wrote it and had it printed in Latin and, as he himself declared, his work contained Martino's recipes. Platina's work would obtain extraordinary and immediate success: three publications in the following year Venice (1475), Cividale del Friuli (1480) and Leuven (1485). Editions in other languages would soon follow. The first edition in vernacular Italian was published in 1487; the French edition in 1505, the German edition in 1542, not to mention other unauthorized and plagiarized versions. The *Catalogo del fondo italiano e latino delle opera di gastronomia sec. XII-XIX* gives a total of 26 editions in Latin published from 1475 to 1583, seven editions in French from 1505 to 1588, seven editions in vernacular Italian from 1487 to 1516, and six editions in German from 1530 to 1542.[10]

Although the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is the first printed book on cookery, and it had an immediate and long-lasting success, the novelty of the medium should not obfuscate another important aspect of its content. Platina's work is also the first printed work in which the

[8] Martino's and Platina's work are structurally different: whereas Martino's is a cookbook *tout court*, Platina's book focuses on health and well-being from different perspectives among which eating, and therefore food preparation, is one aspect. Nonetheless, Platina's recipes are taken directly from Martino's cookbook, as Platina himself acknowledges. Chapter 5 will present a more detailed description of Platina's work along with other appropriations in print of Martino's work.
[9] Benporat 1990: 61, and 64. See note 2 for the different dates of publication attributed to Platina's work.
[10] Bagnasco & Innocenti 1994: 1318-1324, vol. II. For other details about the success of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* see also Vehling (1941: 128-132), Milham (1977 and 1979), Benporat (1996: 55), and, more recently, Notaker (2010: 327-336, 140-146, 281-283, and 230-231).

attribution of culinary recipes is taken into consideration. For the first time, an individual in charge of food preparation is elevated to a new status: from this point in time onwards, the name of a cook will be considered worthy of being mentioned and remembered.

As we have seen, Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* contains what we can consider the first reference to Martino, to his life as a cook, and to his work. The editorial success in print of Platina's work, even though it refers to Martino as the *prince of cooks of our age*, as an outstanding chef, and as extremely refined in the art of preparing food, was not enough to grant Martino the recognition he apparently deserved. The *prince of cooks of our age* remained a literary figure for centuries. In fact, the rather obscure and intriguing reference contained in Platina's work was decoded only four and a half centuries later.

In the 1920s, Joseph Dommers Vehling, a German-born chef, gastronome, and book collector, was surprised that the author of the first printed book on cookery, Platina, was at the same time the first librarian of the Vatican Library. Intrigued by this apparent incongruence, a humanist librarian with a passion for cooking, Vehling was eager to discover more information about Martino, the source of Platina's recipes. The first piece of information that Vehling could find was in volume one of the catalogue of the collection of Baron Jerome Pichon, a French collector.[11] This was the first historical evidence of the existence of a cookery text in manuscript form attributed to a person named Martino. This manuscript, now in an unknown private collection, was more recently described by Albinia Catherine de la Mare in a volume dedicated to the Renaissance Italian scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito, who produced the first page of the text of

[11] Pichon and Vicaire 1897: 170, #591.

the manuscript. The title of this manuscript gives some clear information about Martino.[12] It reads:

> "LIBRO DE ARTE CO | QVINARIA EDITO | PER LO EGREGIO | E PERITISSIMO | MAESTRO MARTI | NO COQVO DEL R^{MO} | S. CARDINALE DE | AQVILEIA".

Vehling was also able to acquire another manuscript attributed to Martino. This second manuscript, presently held at the Library of Congress displays a slightly different title: [13]

> "LIBRO DE ARTE COQVINARIA | COMPOSTO PER LO EGREGIO | MAESTRO | MARTINO COQVO OLIM DEL | REVERENDISS MONSIGNOR | CAMORLENGO | ET PATRIARCHA DE AQUILEIA."

The titles of these two manuscripts, that present themselves in a precise chronological order, give us some starting information about Martino, his biography, and his professional life. The first manuscript describes Martino's employer as the Cardinal of Aquileia,[14] whereas the second manuscript describes him as being *Monsignor Camorlengo* and Patriarch of Aquileia.[15] The person who, during the XV century, held the two positions – Patriarch of Aquileia and Camerlengo of the Holy Catholic Church – is Ludovico Trevisan (Venice, November 14, 1401 – Rome, March 22, 1465). Trevisan was born in Venice in 1401: he was nominated Patriarch of Aquileia on December 18, 1439, Camerlengo on January 11, 1440, and Cardinal on July 1 of the same year. He died in Rome on March 22, 1465. As for Martino, we know that he was employed

[12] De la Mare & Nuvoloni 2009: 174-175.
[13] Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153.
[14] Martino's employer is the same individual, referred as Cardinal of Aquileia and Patriarch of Aquileia, as we will discuss later when focusing on this specific manuscript.
[15] The Camerlengo is the official title of the Head of Apostolic Chamber of the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

by Ludovico Trevisan, according to the privately held manuscript, but that he was no longer at his service when the second manuscript was produced.

According to Claudio Benporat and Bruno Laurioux, besides the manuscript in the unknown private collection and the manuscript presently at the Library of Congress, there are at least two other manuscripts, directly attributable to the same Martino: the Vatican Library manuscript Urbinate Latino 1203 and the *Riva del Garda* manuscript, respectively.[16] Unfortunately, the Urbinate Latino 1203 lacks the title page and therefore does not provide us with relevant biographical information about Martino as the previous two manuscripts. Nonetheless it contains striking similarities to the text in the previous two manuscripts. For this reason, scholars consider this manuscript part of the Martino tradition, even if the text does not actually mention the name of Maestro Martino. According to Benporat, the Urbinate Latino 1203 is very similar both in content and in time of production to the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153; the sequence of the chapters is the same as well as the order of the recipes in each chapter.[17]

These two manuscripts were apparently produced indicatively at the same time. According to Benporat, the Urbinate Latino 1203 includes several mistakes and erasures possibly due to a less careful copyist. Following again Benporat, both manuscripts – the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 and the Urbinate Latino 1203 – seem to have been produced

[16] Benporat 1996: 18-21; Laurioux 1996a: 41-50.
[17] Benporat 1996: 37.

for illustrious individuals considering the rubricated initials and the titles of the recipes that are in a different color.[18]

Our analysis uncovered two major differences between these two manuscripts that were never mentioned in the previous literature. The latter manuscript, the Urbinate Latino 1203, does include a table of contents at the beginning of the work – exactly like the manuscript held in the private collection, described by Pichon and Vicaire and by Albinia de la Mare.[19] On the other hand, the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 does not have a table of contents. After the last recipe, presumably the same in both manuscripts,[20] the Urbinate Latino 1203 concludes the text with the word *finis* followed by six other *carte*. The Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 is not closed by any formulaic word and the last recipe is followed by a considerable number of empty *carte* or leaves, 18 to be precise.

The Riva del Garda manuscript – discovered and held at the *Archivio Storico* of Riva del Garda, Italy – also displays a title that reveals biographical information about Martino. It says:

> "Libro de cosina composto et ordinato p[er] lo egregio | homo mag[ist]ro martino di rossi dela valle de bregna | m[edio]lan[en]sis diocessis descenduto de la villa de turre nato dala | casa de s[an]to martino vidalis coquo del Ill[ust]re s[igno]re Jo Jacobo | trivultio et expertissimo in questa arte et como legeray | prudentissimo".

The title of this manuscript provides a wealth of biographical information. First, it provides a fully detailed birthplace; second, it says that Martino is presently working for Gian

[18] Benporat 1996: 38.
[19] See Pichon and Vicaire 1897: 170, and De la Mare & Nuvoloni 2009: 175.
[20] Respectively "Pastello volatilo" in the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153, and "Per fare pasteli volativi" in the Urbinate Latino 1203.

Giacomo Trivulzio (Milano 1441 – Chartres 1518); and, lastly, it reiterates the idea that Martino is an experienced cook.

So far, we have presented evidence from four manuscripts and focused our attention exclusively on the biographical information about Martino provided by the titles. The four manuscripts are: a) the one in an unknown private collection (P); b) the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 (W); c) the Vatican Library MS Urbinate Latino 1203 (V); and d) the Riva del Garda MS (RdG).

According to manuscript P, Martino was employed by Ludovico Trevisan and we can assume that he was at his services up until his death in 1465; we can use this same year for the *terminus ad quem* for the elaboration of that manuscript. Manuscript W, which describes Martino as former chef of Ludovico Trevisan, is produced after 1465. Considering the similarities both in content and form between W and V, we can assume that also V is produced after 1465. Lastly, manuscript RdG offers more specific information about Martino, his origins and his next employer, the famous *condottiere* Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: this last information help us in saying RdG was produced towards the end of the 15th century.

Three scholars have compiled all this information about Maestro Martino's biography and, although with some discrepancies, they come to similar conclusions.[21] Martino, born in the Blenio Valley, in what is today Swiss Canton Ticino, starts working as a cook in Milan. He

[21] Respectively Benporat (1996: 19-21), Laurioux (1996: 47-48), and Lubello (2009 and 2013: 297-298). According to Benporat, Martino spends some time in a Southern Italian location after his professional experience in Milan and before his stay in Rome (1996: 19-21). See also Jenkins 2007.

works for the Duke Francesco Sforza from 1457 to 1461, or 1462. Subsequently, he is employed by Ludovico Trevisan, the Patriarch of Aquileia in Rome. During the time he spent in Rome, Martino meets Platina who in 1462 had moved to Rome following his patron Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. It is approximatively in this period that Platina starts working on his *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* which, as we know, contains Martino's recipes. During this period manuscript P is produced. According to Laurioux, after the death of Ludovico Trevisan in 1465, Martino works as secret cook for the popes Paul II (August 30 1464 – July 26, 1471) and Sixtus IV (August 9, 1471 – August 12, 1484).[22] It is in these years that manuscripts W and V are produced. Later, Martino starts working for Gian Giacomo Trivulzio around 1480. The RdG manuscript is most likely produced after that. According to Benporat, manuscript RdG originally included, among other things, the menu of the banquet given in honor of the wedding between of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio's son, Gian Niccolò (1479-1512), with Paola di Ridolfo Gonzaga.[23] Considering that the wedding took place in 1501, and that Gian Giacomo Trivulzio dies in 1518, we can safely conclude that the RdG manuscript was produced at the beginning of the 16th century.[24]

Scholars disagree about one aspect of Martino's biography: according to Benporat, after leaving Milan and before moving to Rome, Martino spent some time in an undefined Southern

[22] Laurioux 2006: 569-571.
[23] Benporat 1998: 114. A more detailed description of this manuscript will be provided later in this chapter.
[24] Benporat cites evidence that the wedding took place either in 1501 or in 1503 but he concludes that *il ricettario è stato integralmente redatto nei primi anni del '500, in ogni caso dopo le nozze Trivulzio-Gonzaga* / the recipe collection was compiled in the first years of the '500, for sure after the Trivulzio-Gonzaga wedding. (Benporat 1998: 116).

Italian location with a clear gastronomic Catalan influence, which could confirm some novel aspects of Martino's preparations.[25]

3.2. The manuscripts attributed to Martino

Four manuscripts are attributed to Maestro Martino. Three of these manuscripts, respectively the privately held manuscript (P), the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 (W), and the Riva del Garda manuscript (RdG), mention explicitly the name of Maestro Martino on the title page. The Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203 (V), due to the lacking title page, does not bear any direct attribution to Maestro Martino. Nonetheless, its strong similarities to the contents of W allow us to consider that, even if indirectly, manuscript V is part of the Maestro Martino manuscript tradition.[26] As previously shown, these four manuscripts are produced in three phases. The historical evidence provided allows us to state that manuscript P is the first to be produced; manuscripts W and V follow, and RdG is the last manuscript of the sequence. This will also be the order in which we will proceed with the detailed analysis of these manuscripts and their provenance. For manuscript P, we relied on secondary sources for our analysis; for manuscripts W and RdG we relied on our physical analysis of the manuscripts; for V we analyzed the manuscript its digitized version.[27]

[25] As we will see later, this idea of Martino spending time in an area of Catalan influence is the base of Benporat's idea that the *Anonimo Napoletano* (manuscript Buehler 19, New York Pierpoint Library) is an integral part of Maestro Martino's own work. Scully (2000, 2015) does not rule this out completely, but, at the same time, does not fully endorse it neither. Laurioux (2006) does not mention the *Anonimo Napoletano* and assumes that Martino's professional activity starts in Milan at the Sforza court, continues in Rome, and concludes with Gian Giacomo Trivulzio.

[26] Benporat 1996: 37.

[27] Manuscript W is available online at https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2017medren60856/. Manuscript V is available online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.1203. As for RdG, there is no online digital version of this manuscript.

3.2.1. Manuscript P

As confirmed by several authors, manuscript P is presently in an unknown private collection.[28] It was sold at auction in London, U.K., on November 13, 1974. Years later, it was in the hands of the Milanese rare book dealer Alberto Chiesa who, according to Bruno Laurioux, in 1994 declared he was no longer in possession of the manuscript.[29] Even though we do not have access to the manuscript directly, it is possible to gather some information about it through collection and auction catalogues, and other bibliographical sources that mention this manuscript.

In 1883, the manuscript is included in the sale catalogue of the collection of Ambroise Firmin-Didot.[30] In 1897 the manuscript appears in Jérôme Pichon's (1812 – 1896) rare books and manuscripts collection catalogue, published by Jérôme Pichon himself and George Vicaire.[31] The same Georges Vicaire, some years before, in 1890, had published the famous *Bibliographie Gastronomique*.[32] Interestingly, the Pichon and Vicaire catalogue repeats almost in its entirety the description of the manuscript given in the sale catalogue of the Ambroise Firmin-Didot collection. The 1883 sale catalogue was cautious in identifying the Cardinal of Aquileia.[33] On the other hand, Pichon and Vicaire identified the cardinal with the historical figure of Marino Grimani.[34]

[28] Benporat 2001: 63, note 1; Laurioux 2006a: 505-6, and notes 331 and 332.
[29] Laurioux 2006a: 506 and note 333.
[30] *Catalogue des livres précieux* 1883: 49, n. 33.
[31] Pichon and Vicaire 1897: 170, n. 519.
[32] Vicaire 1890.
[33] The 1883 catalogue describes the Cardinal of Aquileia as "parait être le célèbre cardinal Grimani."
[34] "… Marin Grimani, neveu du Cardinal, coadjuteur d'Aquilee en 1517, cardinal en 1527" (Pichon and Vicaire 1897: 170, n. 519).

In the 1897 Pichon's collection catalogue, manuscript P is titled as "*Martino Dell'Arte coquinaria*" and it is described as a manuscript on parchment (*sur vélin*) with a cursive handwriting from the beginning of the 16th century. It contains five preliminary folios, which include a table of contents, and 106 pages of text in which we can find culinary recipes "*au nombre de plusieurs centaines*". The description mentions a title in colored capital letters, with a big initial capitalized letter *p* illuminated "*avec beaucoup de goût et au debas de la page est peint un médaillon avec un écusson en blanc*".[35] Interestingly, as pointed out by several scholars, the title page of this manuscript included an unfinished coat of arms.

According to Laurioux, the authors of the catalogue mistakenly identified the Patriarch of Aquileia as being Marino Grimani who was nominated Patriarch of Aquileia in 1517 and Cardinal in 1527.[36] When Pichon and Vicaire published their catalogue, at the end of the 19th century, no connection had been established yet between this manuscript and the Martino mentioned by Platina. As we have seen, Platina starts working on his *De honesta voluptate* in the beginning of the second half of the 15th century. It is hardly conceivable that the Martino mentioned by Platina could have been still working after 1527, the year in which Grimani was nominated Cardinal.

Laurioux states that, according to Platina's scholar Mary Ellen Milham, this same manuscript was sold at auction by Sotheby's on June 27, 1898 (item n. 411).[37] Manuscript P is

[35] Pichon and Vicaire 1897: 170, #591. "With a lot of taste and at the bottom of the page is painted a medallion with a coat of arms in white" (my translation).
[36] Laurioux 1996a: 43-44, note 45; Laurioux 2006b: 505, note 329.
[37] Laurioux 1996a: 43 note 41; referencing Milham 1972: 129.

mentioned in the 1903 Jacques Rosenthal's *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica*.[38] The description of manuscript P is, in some aspects, similar to the information provided by the Pichon and Vicaire catalogue, though very much condensed. Martino is presented as the cook of Cardinal Grimani of Aquileia; the title is *Dell'Arte Coquinaria*; the manuscript is in parchment with five preliminary folios and 106 pages of text. Unlike what Pichon and Vicaire had estimated – that manuscript P was produced at the beginning of the 16th century –, the *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica* says that manuscript P was produced around 1440 and mentions the blank coat of arms as well.[39]

In 1974, manuscript P appears extensively described in the catalogue for the November 1974 Christie's auction in London.[40] In this catalogue, the manuscript is dated from the second half of the 15th century, correcting the erroneous assumption of previous sources that considered it from the 16th century. Describing the title page, the catalogue repeats the idea of the unfinished coat of arms: "a ribboned mauve, purple and red cartouche for the Cardinal's arms, left blank in the lower margin of the same page (fol.7a)".[41] It also provides the structure and the content of the manuscript: it is in octavo, with a table of content in six folios "containing approximatively 300 recipes", followed by 106 pages of text. The catalogue includes the titles of the sections in which the main text is divided. Even though it does not provide the number of recipes for each chapter, it does provide the inclusive pagination of each section, which gives us some sort of preliminary idea of the extent of each chapter.

[38] Reprinted in Rosenthal 1990: 519, #6789.
[39] This fact is in contradiction with Marino Grimani being Martino's employer: Grimani was born in Venice in 1488 or 1489.
[40] Christie, Mason and Wood 1974: 89, n. 459. Being able to locate and have access to this catalog is one of the many advantages of doing research with the wonderful librarians and staff of Indiana University Lilly Library.
[41] Vide *supra*.

> "The text divides into *Omne carne* (pp. 1.21: old pagination); *Ogni maniera de Vivande* (soups, broths, sauces; pp. 21-43); *Sapori* (savoury dressings, etc.; pp. 43-50); *Tractato de Torte* [(]including one of marzipan, but also savoury ones; pp. 50-70); *Frictelle* (fritters; pp. 71-77); *Ova* (eggs; pp. 77-81); *Tractato de Pesce* (with a short preface on the need to scale and gut all fish and including how to cook caviar from sturgeon's eggs; pp. 81-106)".[42]

The catalogue entry concludes stating that the text ends with the word *finis* in Greek capitals, and it offers the first black and white photographic reproduction of the title page of manuscript P.

The 1974 Christie's auction catalogue already mentioned that the hands that produced manuscript P "resemble those of Bartolomeo Sanvito and his circle closely enough to confirm the likely place and date of writing".[43] The connection between the production of manuscript P and Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433-1511), the influential and prolific Italian scribe of the 15th century, is of extreme importance because it links Maestro Martino, Platina, and the humanistic milieu of 15th century Rome.

In their 2009 volume on Bartolomeo Sanvito, Albinia De la Mare and Laura Nuvoloni offered the first color photographic reproduction of manuscript P, along with a detailed bibliographic and paleographic description of the manuscript.[44] The description is not very useful for our analysis of the content of manuscript P. but it allows us to understand that manuscript P was "considered an important commission".[45] The decoration of the manuscript – that of the coat

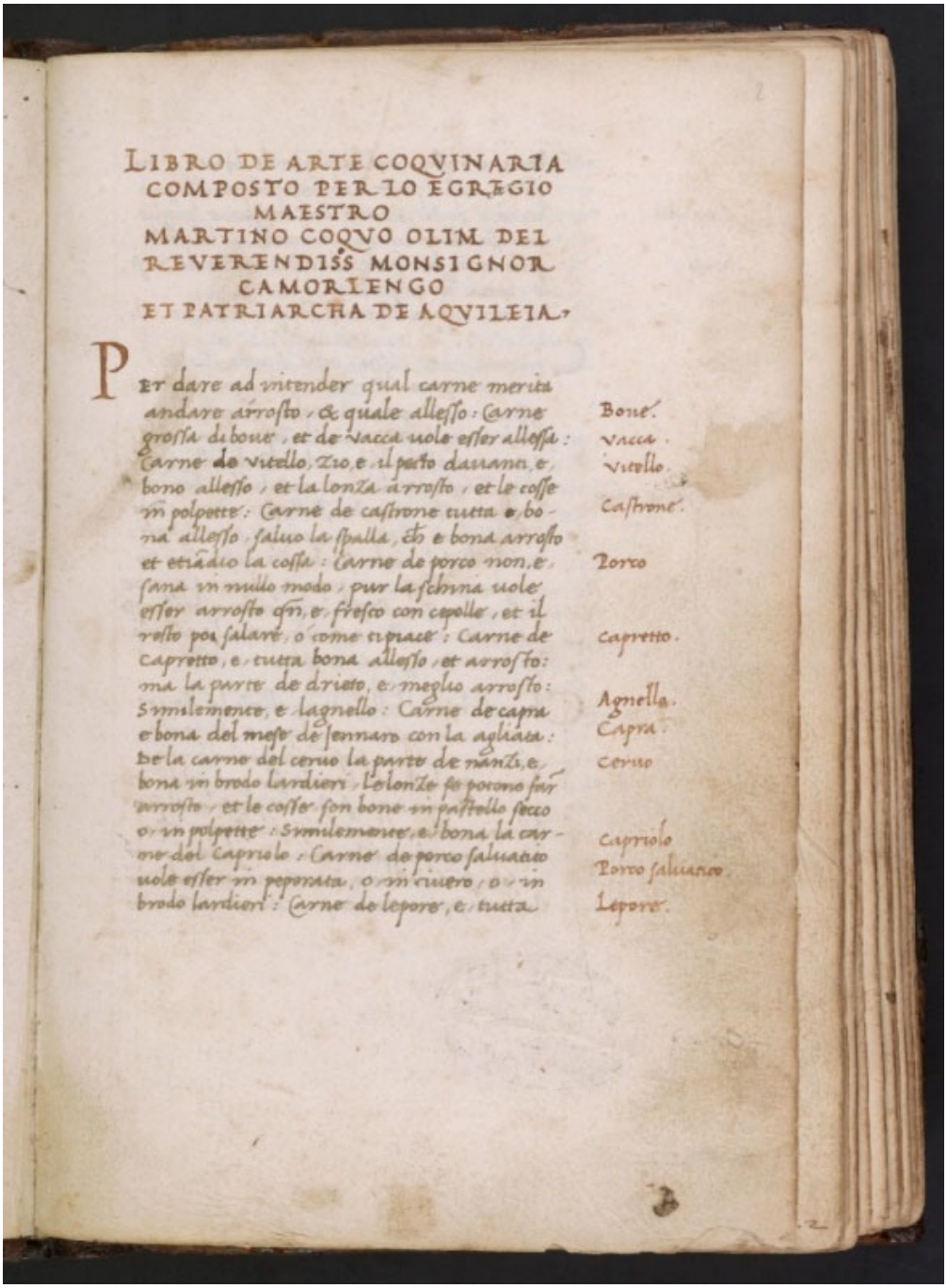
[42] Vide *supra*.
[43] Christie, Mason and Wood 1974: 89, n. 459.
[44] De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009.
[45] De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009: 174, #33.

of arms – was abruptly interrupted by the death of the Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, Martino's employer, in 1465.

3.2.2. Manuscript W

It was in the 1920s, as previously mentioned, that Joseph Dommers Velhing purchased the manuscript now held at the Library of Congress and cataloged as Medieval Manuscript 153 (W). Arvill Wayne Bitting, who had purchased it from Vehling a few years before, offered it as a gift to the Library of Congress on January 29, 1941.[46]

[46] This is confirmed by the fact that Maestro Martino's manuscript is not included in Katherine Golden Bitting (A.W. Bitting's wife), *Gastronomic Bibliography* published in 1939.



LIBRO DE ARTE COQVINARIA
COMPOSTO PER LO EGREGIO
MAESTRO
MARTINO COQVO OLIM DEL
REVERENDISS MONSIGNOR
CAMORLENGO
ET PATRIARCHA DE AQVILEIA.

PEr dare ad intender qual carne merita andare arrosto, & quale alesso: Carne grossa di boue, et de vacca uole esser alessa: Carne de vitello, Zio, e il petto dauanti, e bono alesso, et la lonza arrosto, et le cosse in polpette: Carne de castrone tutta e bona alesso, saluo la spalla, ch'e bona arrosto et etiã dio la cossa: Carne de porco non e sana in nullo modo, pur la schina uole esser arrosto q̃n, e fresco con capolle, et il resto poi salare, o come ti piace: Carne de capretto, e tutta bona alesso, et arrosto: ma la parte de drieto, e meglio arrosto: Similemente, e lagnello: Carne de capra e bona del mese de zenaro con la agliada: De la carne del cerno la parte de nanti, e bona in brodo lardieri, le lonze se porano far arrosto, et le cosse son bone in pastello secco o in polpette: Similemente, e bona la carne del capriolo: Carne de porco saluadego uole esser in peperata, o in cuero, o in brodo lardieri: Carne de lepore, e tutta

Bouè.
Vacca.
Vitello.
Castrone.
Porco
Capretto.
Agnella.
Capra.
Cerno
Capriolo
Porco saluadego
Lepore.

Figure 1. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. W, 1r
Washington DC, Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections Division,
Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collection
available at http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/MedievalRen.60856.1

Unlike P, manuscript W is in paper. Its title, also in capital letters, occupies just seven transcriptional lines and not most of the title page as in manuscript P. As we have seen, the title states that Maestro Martino is responsible for the content of the book – *composto* – and that he was once the cook – *coquo olim* – of Ludovico Trevisan, Patriarch of Aquileia and Camerlengo of the Roman Catholic Church.

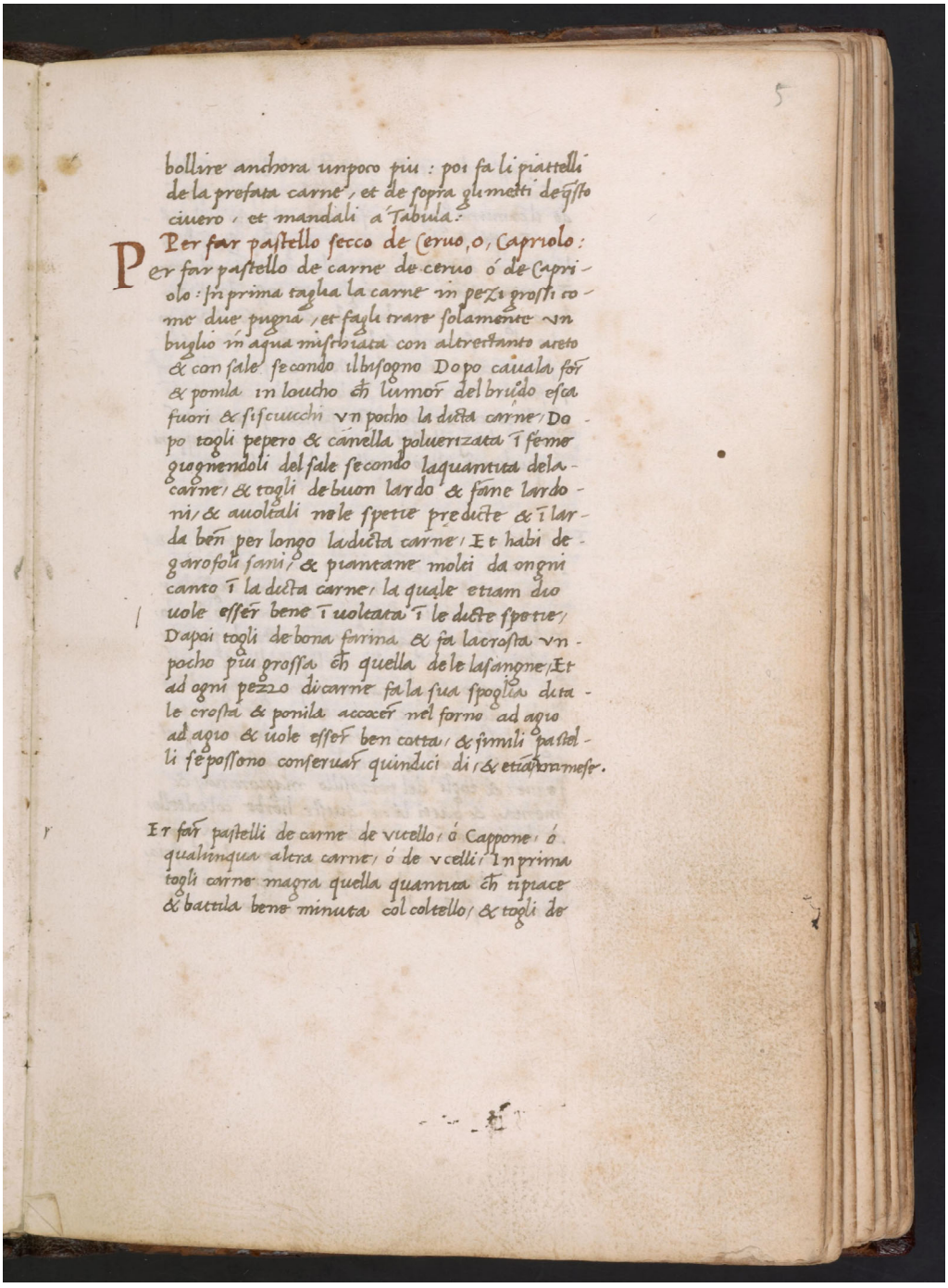
The volume is composed of two blank leaves, followed by 64 leaves with text (which ends on a recto),[47] and by 19 blank leaves, for a total of 85 leaves. The volume's leaves present a later added numbering in pencil, which starts from the second blank leaf, numbered as 1, and goes till the last leaf, numbered as 84. Our analysis of the gathering structure of the manuscripts revealed some aspects that were never mentioned in the literature.[48] The manuscript starts with one blank folded sheet followed by eight gatherings. Gatherings A, B, C, D, and E with ten leaves (five folded sheets), gathering F with 14 leaves, gathering G with ten leaves, and gathering H with nine leaves: in this last gathering, our analysis revealed that the missing leaf is number 8, conjunct to leaf 3.[49] The transitions from gatherings A through F are clearly marked with catchwords written vertically on A^{10}v (penciled as 11v), B^{10}v (penciled as 21v), C^{10}v (penciled as 31v), D^{10}v (penciled as 41v), and E^{10}v (penciled as 51v) with no catchword on F^{14}v (penciled as 65v). Interesting to note is the fact that the text ends exactly at the end of gathering

[47] The terms *recto* and *verso* refer to the front and back of a leaf when sequential page numbering is not present.
[48] To clarify: a gathering is composed of folded sheets; a leaf has a *recto* (front) and a *verso* (back) side.
[49] The presence of a nine-leaf gathering is problematic. Our analysis revealed that the missing one is leaf eight. Considering that the watermarks are in the gutter, my analysis of conjunct leaves confirms that leaf eight is absent. Conjunct leaves 2 and 9, 4and 7, 5 and 6 display the same watermark on the gutter. Conjunct leaves 1 and 10 display no watermark on the gutter; Leafe 3 does not display any watermark. In the sequence of the leaves, though, in the second part of the gathering only the last leave (conjunct with leaf 1) does not display watermark. If the gathering was complete, there should be a leave displaying no watermark conjunct to leaf 3, between leaves 7 and 9. We can therefore conclude that leaf 8 is missing.

F (penciled as 65v). [50] The remaining two gatherings G and H are empty and appear not having been ruled, but page numbers appear penciled: all leaves of the previous gatherings appeared ruled in dry point. Our analysis of the gathering structure also revealed that the sheets of gatherings A though F have the same watermark whereas the sheets of gathering G and H, those left blank, displayed other different watermarks.[51] A very noticeable sewing in these last two blank gatherings, as opposed to the no visible sewing of the previous six gatherings – those with text – might be the result of the later addition of the last two gatherings, probably for a further expansion of the text.

For the content analysis, we will consider only leaves containing written text and I will keep the distinction between the recto and the verso of each leave with letters *r* and *v*, respectively.[52] The entire volume is written on pages of 31 transcriptional lines, by a single hand in a clear humanistic script very much similar to that used by Bartolomeo Sanvito and his circle.[53] It is produced using two different ink colors: a tannish colored ink and a grey ink. The grey ink is used for most of the text, whereas the tannish colored ink is used for: a) the title of the manuscript; b) the title of most of the recipes; c) the rubricated initials at the beginning of each recipe;[54] and d) a very limited number of marginalia.[55]

[50] Catchwords are the first words of a quire, a gathering, that are transcribed at the end of the previous quire, so that the binder, when assembling the book, can sew the quires together in the right order.
[51] Gathering G displays a different watermark, which is also displayed in gathering H conjunct leaves 5 and 6. The remaining watermarked leaves of gathering H display a different watermark.
[52] The difference between my numbering and the numbering penciled in the manuscript is of minus 1: my leaf #1 correspond to leave numbered in pencil as #2 in the manuscript.
[53] Shaw 2003: 44. Moreover, Shaw asserts that according to De la Mare, W was written by Antonio Tophio, one of Sanvito followers, who participated in the elaboration of manuscript P as well (2005: 1-3).
[54] Not always present in the text.
[55] The only marginalia are present in 1r and 1v, and mention the main ingredient being discussed in the text.



bollire anchora unpoco piu : poi fa li piattelli
de la prefata carne, et de sopra gli metti de ysso
ciuero, et mandali a Tabula.

Per far pastello secco de Ceruo, o, Capriolo:
Per far pastello de carne de ceruo ó de Capri-
olo: In prima taglia la carne in pezi grossi co-
me due pugna, et fagli trare solamente un
buglio in aqua misciata con altrettanto areto
& con sale secondo il bisogno Dopo cauala for
& ponila in loucho ch lumor del brudo esca
fuori & siscuucchi un pocho la dicta carne, Do-
po togli pepere & canella poluerizata i semo
giognendoli del sale secondo laquantita dela-
carne, & togli de buon lardo & fane lardo-
ni, & auoltali nele spetie predicte & i lar-
da ben per longo ladicta carne, Et habi de
garofoli sani, & piantane molti da ongni
canto i la dicta carne, la quale etiam duo
uole esser bene i uoleata i le dicte spetie,
Dapoi togli de bona farina & fa lacrosta un-
pocho piu grossa ch quella de le lasagne, Et
ad ogni pezzo di carne fa la sua spoglia duta-
le crosta & ponila accacer nel forno ad agio
ad agio & uole esser ben cotta, & simili pastel-
li se possono conseruar quinduci di, & etiam trameso.

Per far pastelli de carne de vcello, ó Cappone, ó
qualunque altra carne, ó de vcelli, In prima
togli carne magra quella quantita ch ti piace
& battila bene minuta col coltello, & togli de

Figure 2. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. W, 4r
Washington DC, Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections Division,
Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collection
available at http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/MedievalRen.60856.1

The production of a manuscript was usually divided into different phases. Titles and rubricated initials were added after the writing of the main text had been completed, and before decorations and illuminations: at this point the manuscript was bound. In the case of manuscript W, it is clear that the production was interrupted before its completion: a considerable number of recipes' titles is not present, even though space was left for those titles, and a considerable number of recipes lack the rubricated initial. In some of these cases, the letter that should be rubricated is inserted close to the edge of the page. The text also presents erasures as well as corrections that, most likely, would have been erased in a later stage of the production of the manuscript.

Although there are many details confirming the interruption of the production of this manuscript, the way the text is structured, both at the material level and at the content level, reveals a detailed plan of execution. The text is divided into six chapters, clearly numbered in the text, plus two unnumbered chapters before the last one.[56] The first chapter is devoted to meat preparations, the second to all kinds of dishes, the third to sauces and relishes, the fourth to tarts and savory pies, the fifth to fritters, and the sixth to fish preparations. Between the fifth and the sixth chapters, two unnumbered chapters are included: one on fritters for Lent, which follows logically the fifth chapter on fritters, and one on egg preparations. The first chapter, the one on meat, is not marked as such in the text, but we could suppose that the space left blank between the title and the beginning of the first recipe might have been intended for this purpose.

[56] The numbering of the chapters is done using Arabic ordinal numbers either using the numbers (as for chapters 2nd, 3rd, and 4th) or by spelling them out (as for chapters fifth and sixth).

The manuscript clearly reveals the underlying organizational principle. At the beginning of the numbered chapters, the first seven or eight letters are capitalized. Recipes are separated either by the title of the recipe, written in tannish colored ink, or by a line left blank for that title. When present, each recipe's title, and when not too long, is indented inwards of the writing area. The first two letters of each recipe are indented to the left of the writing space: when realized, the first letter is a capitalized and written in tannish colored ink, whereas the second letter is capitalized but written in the same ink as the remainder text of the recipe.[57] Even if the production of the manuscript does not seem to be concluded in all its decorative parts, we must acknowledge that the content of the text reveals a clear sense of structure. There are cases in which there are direct internal references, which confirm the fact that, content wise, this manuscript was not intended to be, nor built as, an unarticulated collection of recipes. Rather it is a coherently structured cookery manual.

The first and sixth chapters open with general indications for, respectively, meat and fish preparations. In both cases, before presenting actual recipes, the text presents a sequence of overall instructions on how to prepare meat and fish. The first chapter opens with four recipes that are more general cooking indications rather than specific dish preparations. The first two recipes focus on the best cooking method – roasting or boiling – for each type and cut of meat. These first two recipes maintain the division between terrestrial and aerial animals which comes from a longstanding medieval tradition. The following two recipes deal with how to obtain the best boiled or roasted meat preparations: the author presents innovative culinary strategies to obtain and maintain both the taste and the texture of the meat being prepared at their best. Only

[57] The reasonable number of unfinished capital letters for the recipes confirms the idea that the production of this manuscript was interrupted before its completion.

after these four recipes, does the text give way to actual recipes for specific meat preparations. The same happens in the sixth chapter, defined in the text as *trattato finale* / final treatise, on fish: the chapter opens with instructions on how to clean, scale, and gut fish in general terms and only after that does it present actual recipes. This chapter, as we will see, has the largest number of recipes and represents an extremely valuable document on early modern ichthyology.

Unfortunately, as we have seen, we do not know how many recipes manuscript P had in each chapter. As for manuscript W, we can say that there are 40 recipes in chapter one (the chapter on meat preparations), 60 recipes in chapter two (the chapter on victuals), 23 recipes in chapter three (the one on sauces and relishes), 37 in chapter four (the one on tarts and savory pies), eight recipes in chapter 5 (the one on fritters), 13 recipes in the unnumbered chapter on fritters for Lent, 14 in the unnumbered chapter devoted to eggs, and 74 in chapter six (the one on fish preparations), for a total of 269 recipes.

If we compare the content structure of this manuscript W with what we know about the content structure of manuscript P from the auction catalogs we analyzed, we realize that we are dealing with the same sequence of chapters. From what it is possible to establish, the main difference between manuscript P and manuscript W is that the latter does not have the index whereas the former, allegedly, has it at the beginning.

3.2.3. Manuscript V

According to Laurioux, manuscript V, which belonged to the Silvani family, was integrated between 1543 and 1592 in the collection of the Dukes of Urbino and was later purchased by the Vatican Library in 1658.[58] The absence of the title page forced an unknown hand to classify the text as an *Epulario d'incerto Autore* / *Epulario* of an unknown author, which is visible in the verso of the second parchment leaf at the beginning of the volume.[59] Manuscript V was described for the first time in 1921 by Cosimo Stornajolo, who says the manuscript is composed of a total of 84 leaves: the first two leaves and the last two leaves, four leaves in total, are in parchment and the remaining 80 in paper. The text, which comprises an index followed by the text, occupies total of 77 paper leaves (ending on a recto) and is followed by two blank paper leaves before the two final parchment leaves.[60]

[58] Laurioux 1996a: 42, note 39.
[59] Defining it as an "*Epulario* of an uncertain author" is revealing of the success that appropriations in print editions of Maestro Martino's text enjoyed in the 16th century, as we will discuss in chapter 5.
[60] Stornajolo, et al. 1921: vol 3, pag. 217.

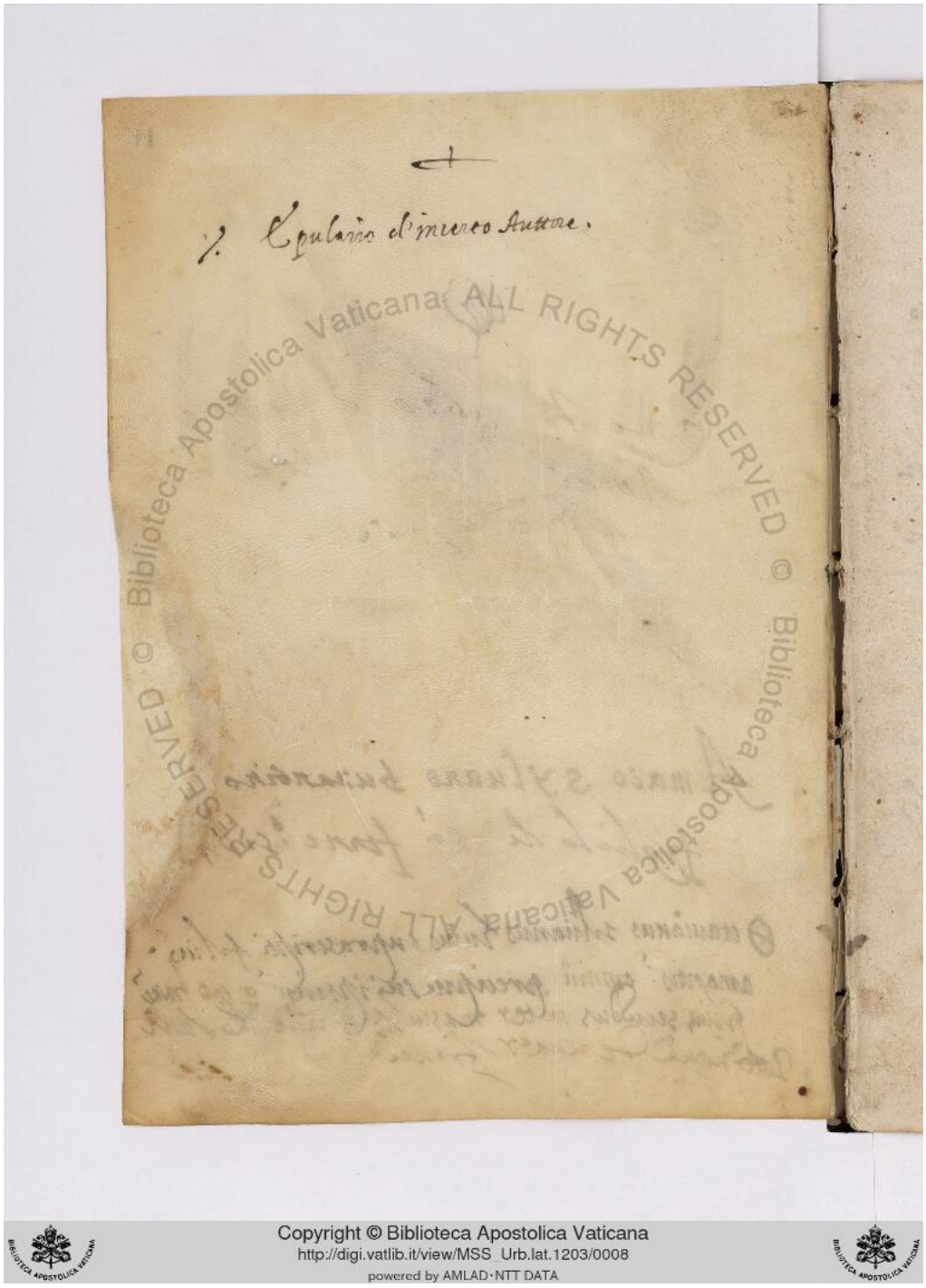


Figure 3. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. V, IIv
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
available at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.1203/0008

The entire manuscript, both index and main text, is elaborated on a 27 transcriptional line schema and it is realized using two different color inks: red and black. The index and the main text are kept separated also visually, chromatically, by the opposite use of ink colors: red is the predominant ink color in the index whereas black dominates the page in the main text. In the index, red ink is used for the recipes' titles and black ink is used for chapters' titles. In the main text, on the contrary, black ink is used for the recipes' text and red ink is used for chapters' and recipes' titles.

Analyzing the occurrence of catchwords, our study revealed that the manuscript is structured in quinions:[61] the first quinion comprises the index and the text, which reinforces the idea that the index is an integral part of the manuscript, as we have seen in manuscript P. As in W, catchwords appear vertically, bottom down in the right end corner of the verso. Two details are relevant to be noted in the catchwords of manuscript V: a) the catchword at the end of the third gathering is in red because the following gathering starts with a recipe title, usually given in red; and b) there is no catchword visible at the end of sixth gathering.

Besides the lack of the title page, the production of this manuscript seems also to have been interrupted as we have seen in manuscript W, even if to a smaller degree. Unlike manuscript W, manuscript V displays all the recipe's titles.[62] Only the rubricated initials at the beginning of each recipe are consistently absent. The text is indented to leave space for the rubricated initial and the second letter of the recipe is capitalized, as we have seen in W: the

[61] A quinion (from Latin *quini* / five) is a gathering of five sheets folded and gathered and, therefore, correspond to ten leaves, 20 pages.
[62] Which represent a great advantage in establishing the correct title of each recipe.

rubricated initial to be realized is clearly identified and marked in black ink slightly outside of the writing area. Since manuscript V presents itself almost completed, or at least with a smaller number of unfinished elements, we can say that the production of manuscript V was interrupted at a later stage than the production of manuscript W. At the same time, we need to acknowledge that manuscript W had clearer graphic distinctions between chapter titles and recipe titles, which might be an indication of a more thoughtful editorial plan, or the result of a more demanding costumer.

If we analyze the content of both manuscripts, we see that there are not many differences. We can therefore conclude, as many other scholars have already done, that manuscripts W and V are very similar in content, in the structure of chapters, and in number of recipes.[63] There is nonetheless an almost unexplainable situation where manuscript V presents a meaningless sequence in one recipe. In manuscript W, the last two recipes of the unnumbered chapter on eggs, before the sixth chapter, are *ova frictellate piene* / stuffed fried eggs, and *ova in forma de raffioli* / eggs disguised as *ravioli*, whereas manuscript P only displays the recipe *Per fare ova frictellate piene* at the end of that same unnumbered chapter. A close analysis of the two manuscripts reveals that the scribe of manuscript V abruptly connects the two recipes through a similar sequence of words resulting in one recipe that has the beginning of the first (the first line and a half) and the end of the second (from the fourth line onwards), and a sequence of instruction which is not related to the recipe.[64]

[63] Laurioux (1996), but mainly Benporat (1996), who published the transcription of manuscript V.
[64] As also pointed out by Benporat (1996: 38).

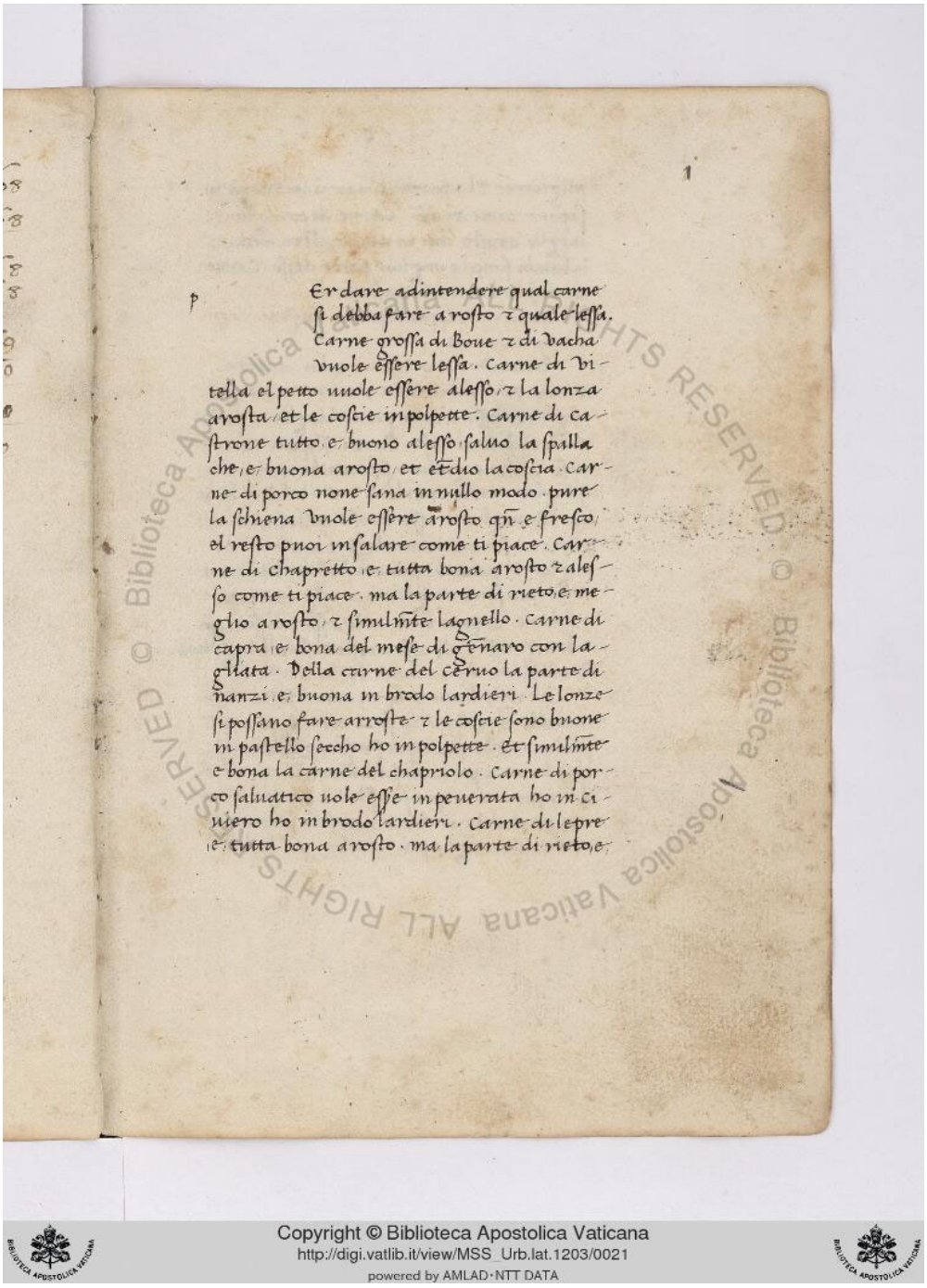


Figure 4. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. V, 1r
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
available at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.1203/00021

The last important consideration to be made regarding manuscript V and manuscript W is mentioning that the scribe of manuscript V clearly signaled the end of the composition by inserting the words *finis* after the last recipe, whereas this clear ending was not present in W which, as we remember, has a considerable number of blank pages after the last recipe.

3.2.4. Manuscript RdG

The history of the manuscript of Riva del Garda (RdG) is a more recent one. It was discovered only in the late 1980s. All scholars agree that this is the latest of the manuscripts attributed to Maestro Martino. It is not as nicely produced as the previous manuscripts, and it represents a reorganization and expansion of Maestro Martino's previous manuscripts.

The manuscript is in paper, and it is composed of 62 leaves. Leaves 1r to 6v are occupied by the index of recipes, and the actual text runs from 7r to 62v. As pointed out by many scholars, the overall quality of this manuscript is inferior when compared with the other manuscripts. It is produced in *mercantesca* handwriting, a more common, less elaborated handwriting, than the *corsiva umanistica* we saw in the previous manuscripts, and it does not involve the use of different ink colors.[65] At the same time, we have to point out that it runs on a regular 27 transcriptional line schema and on a regular page layout, which confirms that whoever produced this manuscript was an experienced scribe. The analysis of the handwriting confirms that it was

[65] Originated in a mercantile environment, as the name suggest (*mercante* / merchant), the *mercantesca* was the script used by those who, belonging to the middle and lower classes, needed to use the written word. Unlike the higher classes – who were educated in Latin but used the vernacular as well – the *mercantesca* was he script of those who received an education exclusively in vernacular Italian for both reading and writing. Although initially used exclusively for drafting commercial documents, the *mercantesca* started to be used for other purposes from the end of the 13th century onwards.

most likely produced completely by the same hand. Throughout the entire manuscript, an indented first word – usually a *per*, as in *per fare* / to do – outside of the left margin of the rules space marks the beginning of a new recipe. For these reasons, we can say that this manuscript was most definitively produced for a different clientele than the one in the previous manuscripts, or for personal use. Only in three cases, a blank space was left for a rubricated initial that was never produced, along with the indication of which initial to be produced: on 16r, at the beginning of the second book; on 32r at the beginning of the third book; and on 35r at the beginning of the fourth book.

A later added pagination on the recto side of the leaves goes from 9r marked as page three to 62r marked as page 56: the index (1r-6v) and the first two leaves of the text are not numbered.

Linguistically speaking, it is also relevant to note that this manuscript's title says *Libro de cosina*, book on cooking, and not *Libro de arte coquinaria*, as the other manuscripts. The switch from a Latin-based lexical choice, *arte coquinaria*, art of cooking, to vernacular-based word, *cosina*, kitchen and/or cookery, may confirm that it was produced in and for a different cultural and social environment.

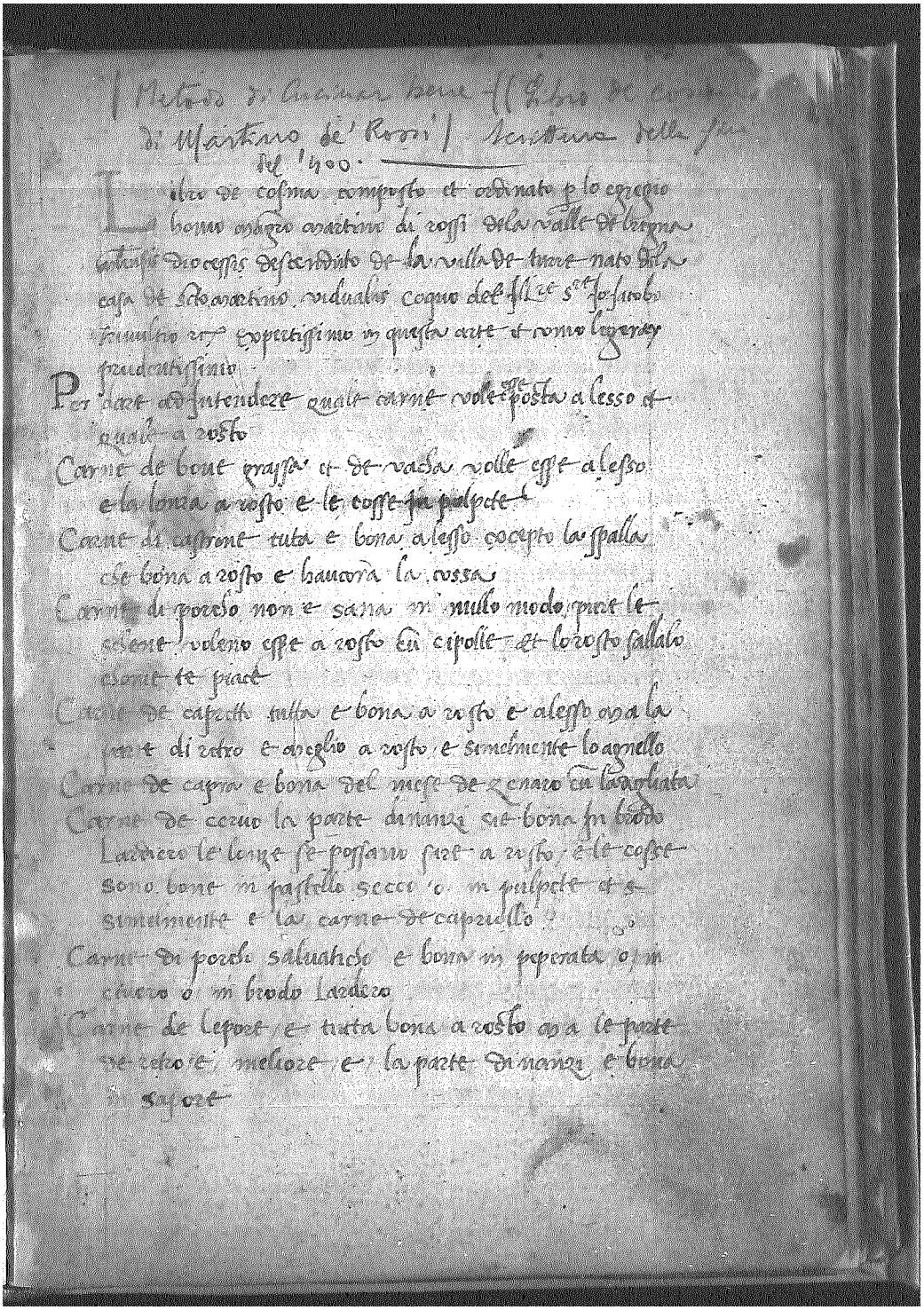


Figure 5. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. RdG, 6r
Riva del Garda, Italy, Biblioteca Civica

We have to recognize that this manuscript uses a more structured way to organize its content internally. In the previous manuscripts, W and V, the text was partitioned into *capitoli*, chapters, but *capitol* / chapter was also the word used for a smaller group of recipes inside a bigger one. In manuscript RdG, on the contrary, each main partition of the text is called *libro*, book. Within each book, similar recipes are grouped together using different strategies: a) by giving a centered title for specific grouping of recipes, such as for the recipes of *mostarda*, on 33v; b) by giving a centered title with clear instructions, such as *per fare ogni reson de zuche* / to prepare pumpkin in every way), on 22v; or c) by using the word *capitolo /* chapter, like in *capitolo deli fonghi* / chapter on mushrooms, on 23v.

Manuscript RdG is organized into eight books: the first, not titled as such, for meat preparations, the second for all kinds of prepared dishes, the third for sauces and relishes, the fourth for tarts and pies, the fifth for fritters, the sixth for jellies and aspics, the seventh for egg preparations, and the eighth for fish preparations. The number and the nature of the recipes included in each book of manuscript RdG differ from manuscripts W and V. The book on meat preparations on manuscript RdG has 54 recipes as compared to the 40 recipes of manuscripts W and V: this discrepancy is only apparent since RdG's first 16 recipes correspond to the breakdown of the first two recipes in manuscripts W and V.[66] The book on victuals in RdG presents 75 recipes, whereas W and V only present 40 recipes. The chapter on sauces and relishes has almost the same number of recipes in RdG (22) as in W and V (23). The book on savory pies and tarts in RdG has 46 recipes compared to the 37 in W and V. The book on fritters

[66] If we compare the first two recipes of W and V with the first 16 of RdG we see that recipes 1-11 and 12-16 correspond to the first and the second recipes of W and V, the two recipes best cooking method – roasting or boiling – for each type and cut of meat.

in RdG has 22 recipes with no distinction between fritters for fat or for lean days, a difference that both manuscripts W and V kept (chapter five on fritters with eight recipes, and the unnumbered chapter on fritters for Lent with 13 recipes). Manuscript RdG has a book dedicated to aspics with six recipes: recipes for aspics were included at the end of the sixth chapter in manuscripts W and V. The book on egg preparation in RdG has 16 recipes compared to the 14 recipes contained in the same section in W and V. Finally, the eighth book of RdG, the one on fish preparations has 53 recipes considerably fewer than the 75 recipes of W and V. In this case, we need to take into consideration that those aspic preparations in W and V were included in the section on fish, whereas manuscript RdG reserves a specific book for aspics, but this does not account for the discrepancy in the total number of recipes provided. Again, the different clientele for which manuscript RdG seems to have been prepared might have to do also with the types of recipes, namely the less importance given to fish.

Despite the differences, manuscript RdG seems to end with the same recipe, the one called *pastello volatile* / fluttering pie, like the two previous manuscripts. As pointed out by Benporat, though, the analysis of the index in manuscript RdG reveals that after the recipe *per fare pasteli vollatili*, on 5v, the index still goes on with another 45 recipes, which are not included in the manuscript.[67] Benporat was able to identify part of those 45 recipes with the recipes contained in a fragment of a cookery book owned by the Milanese book collector, who partially published the content of that fragment in occasion of his own wedding in 1978 and of his son's wedding in 2011.[68] According to Benporat, the fragment is composed of five folios and one carta made of the same type of paper, in the same format, and the same handwriting as

[67] Benporat 1996: 43.
[68] Benporat 1998.

manuscript RdG.[69] Moreover, he continues, the pagination of the fragment goes from 57 to 67 continuing where manuscript RdG stops, at carta 62v, numbered as 56.[70] From carta 57r and 65r, the fragment contains 33 of the recipes that are mentioned in RdG index but excluded from its text. The last part of the fragment, from 65v to 67v, the fragment contains the "detailed description of the dishes served in three banquets, the first of which, titled *Pasto quando lo conte de Musocho feze le noze* is the most luxurious considering the number and the quality of the dishes".[71] As we remember, it is due to this wedding menu that it was possible to establish the date of production of manuscript RdG around the very beginning of the 16th century since the wedding took place in 1501.

As we have seen, manuscript RdG is not only produced later than manuscripts W and V, but it is very different in nature and scope. Written in *mercantesca*, it is clearly directed to a different audience: it seems not to have been commissioned but rather to have been produced for personal and professional use. Interestingly, at the end of several recipes contained in manuscript RdG, the author added a note to explain in further detail the recipe with a clear pedagogical intent, which confirms the more practical, detail-oriented scope of this manuscript when compared with the other two. At the same time, the scribe of manuscript RdG seems to be less careful, which is confirmed by his less clear handwriting, by the greater number of mistakes, misspelling, repetitions, and by the less structured organization within the books.

[69] Benporat 1998: 109.
[70] Vide *supra*.
[71] Benporat 1998: 114 (my translation) and note 8 on page 119.

3.3. Conclusion

The title pages of the manuscripts attributed to Maestro Martino can provide more specific information about Maestro Martino himself, and help expand on the vague references made both to him and about him by Platina in his *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. At the same time, a material analysis of the manuscripts directly and indirectly attributed to Maestro Martino also provides many important clues about this cook, his times, and the culture he inhabits. Since a manuscript is more than just a receptacle or a container, looking at how manuscripts are built, and how they are structured as physical objects does shed some light on the cultural environment that produced them. Thus, it is of utmost importance to analyze how manuscript culture organizes, structurally, as well as visually, the content it is transmitting. By limiting the study of a work, of a text, to its content we do not understand the meaning of a work in its entirety. Ultimately, the accurate description and analysis of the medium enhances the understanding of the content itself to which I devote the following chapter.

4. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*: a content analysis

After having discussed the historical character of Maestro Martino and presented the manuscripts ascribed to him, it is time to analyze how the content of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* positions itself in the chronological evolution of culinary recipe collections. After the first anonymous culinary recipe collections that we analyzed in chapter two, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is the first culinary recipe collection that bears the name of its compiler: this fact, by itself, makes the *Libro de arte coquinaria* stand out when compared to the previous anonymous production. Moreover, as we will see in chapter five, the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* will be widely disseminated in printed editions during the 16th century and it will lead the way to the publication of the culinary treatises printed in the Italian peninsula in the second half of the 16th century. After the introduction of print, and at least for the first half of the 16th century, the only culinary text to be printed and disseminated in vernacular Italian, although without acknowledging its source, is Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*: a fact that seems to suggest the novelty of the materials compiled by Maestro Martino in the 1460s.

The question we need to address in this chapter is whether, how, and why the content of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* differs from the content of the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections and how it represents something new. Answering this question will also shed some light on why the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* will be considered worth of being so conspicuously reproduced in print in the following century. It has been said that Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* marks the transition from the Middle Ages to the

Renaissance, but how can that be measured and ascertained? How are we to measure a collection of culinary recipes in order to assess its success? At this point of our research, it is then time to delve into the contents of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and to unveil its novelties and contributions to the evolution of culinary recipes collections, as well as its continuities.

In this chapter, I propose to analyze the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* for its content and for the way content is organized and communicated. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to assess and attest to Maestro Martino's culinary novelty as opposed to the previous anonymous tradition of recipes' collections and cookbooks and to justify its editorial success in 16th-century printed editions.

As we said in the previous chapter, the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* has been transmitted by four manuscripts. The first of these manuscripts – in the chronological order of their production — is not available since it belongs to an unknown private collection. Of the three available manuscripts, we know that two of them – W and V – were produced more or less at the same time, in the 1460s, whereas RdG represent a later and different development of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and was produced in the first years of the 16th century. For our analysis, we will limit our scope to the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* as it has been transmitted by manuscript W and manuscript V which, as we have seen in the previous chapter, are closely related.[1] Our content analysis of the content of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* will start with section 4.1 by looking at how the text is organized and how the content is presented to its readers. It will then proceed by focusing on the core elements of culinary recipes: ingredients and

[1] A reason to support our choice is also the fact that the appropriations in print of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* will use exclusively MSS. W and V as we will see in more detail in chapter 5.

procedures in 4.2, and measurements and tools in 4.3. Section 4.4 of this chapter will discuss and analyze the characteristics of the reader(s) for which the text was prepared.

4.1. The *Libro de arte coquinaria*: its internal structure and organization

One of the differences between manuscripts W and V is the fact that W does not have an index whereas V does provide an index at the very beginning of the text. A quick glance at the index provided at the beginning of manuscript V easily reveals that the recipes, the content, are organized into sections. Graphic strategies help the reader to identify and differentiate recipe titles from section titles: recipe titles are given in red ink whereas section titles are given in black ink. By looking more carefully at the six leaves of the index, we learn that the recipes are grouped together in *capitoli* / chapters. There are six numbered chapters, but the word *capitolo* / chapter is also used for two unnumbered groupings of recipes. These two unnumbered chapters appear scripted in black ink just like the numbered chapters, a fact that clearly confirms their status of content sections just like the numbered chapters. These two unnumbered chapters appear between chapters five and chapter six.

A closer look at the way content is structured reveals the following sequence of sections: chapter one is devoted to meat preparations;[2] chapter two to the preparation of victuals of different kinds;[3] chapter three to sauces and relishes;[4] chapter four to tarts and savory pies;[5]

[2] *(C)Apitolo primo per ogni carne*.
[3] *Capitolo se(con)do di ogni maniera di vivande*.
[4] *Capitolo terzo p(er) fare ogni vivanda di sapore*.
[5] *Cap(ito)lo quarto p(er) fare ogni ragion di torte*.

chapter five to fritters on time of cheese and eggs;[6] and chapter six to fish preparations.[7] Between chapters five and six, as we said, there are two unnumbered chapters devoted to: a) the preparation of fritters suitable to be eaten during Lent;[8] and b) to egg preparations,[9] which should be considered as parts, or subparts, of chapter five if we consider the type of preparation, fritters. These same chapters and subchapters are used in the main text of the manuscript. The only difference, albeit understandable, relies in the use of the ink colors in the main text: red ink is used for recipe titles and chapter headings, and black ink for the content of the recipes. Although it does not offer any form of index, manuscript W uses indicatively the same content structure and the same labelling for chapters and sections. Only one exception is found: unlike V, chapter five is labelled as *capitolo quinto per fare ogni frittella* / without any mention to the *tempo di caso e ova* / for the time of the year in which eggs and cheese can be eaten. It should be reminded that, eggs and cheese were still considered animal products and therefore their consumption was not allowed during Lent but only in regular times. The fact that W does not mention eggs and cheese as indicators of regular, non-fasting time, may imply that, as least for manuscript W, Lent is perceived as the exceptional time, conceptually opposed to the normal, non-fasting, periods.

As far as the content of each chapter is concerned, and following the W manuscript, chapter one – the one on meat preparations – has 40 recipes, chapter two – on victuals of different kinds – has 59 recipes, chapter three – on sauces and relishes – has 24 recipes, chapter

[6] *Capitolo quinto p(er) fare frittelle al t(em)po di caso e ova*. Cheese and eggs are considered foods for regular time, which indirectly implies that their consumption is not allowed during Lent.
[7] *Capitolo sexto per quocere ogni pesce*.
[8] *Per fare frittelle quadragesimali*.
[9] *Per fare ova in frittata o altro modo*.

four – on savory pies – has 37 recipes, chapter 5 – on fritters – has in total 35 recipes,[10] and chapter six – on fish preparations has 74 recipes,[11] for a total of 268 recipes.

The internal content organization displayed by the *Libro de arte coquinaria* relies on criteria based on ingredient and/or preparation. Recipes are grouped together because they deal with the same type(s) of ingredient – such as the chapter one on meat preparation, and chapter six on fish preparations –, or because they use the same type of preparation – such as the chapters on tarts and savory pies,[12] fritters, other dishes, and sauces. When we compare the *Libro de arte coquinaria* to the previous anonymous recipe collections in terms of the organization of internal content, we see that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* clearly asserts its innovative character. Previous anonymous collections did not display any explicit organization of internal content: recipes of the same kind will follow each other and appear clustered together loosely according to the same ingredient or the same preparation, but recipes did not appear grouped together under unifying principles, nor under unifying chapter titles.[13] Another important element to mention at this point is that the internal organization of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* does not offer any indication about the order of courses in a banquet. Structuring a recipe collection according to the sequence of the courses in a meal is a feature that will start appearing more regularly in the 16th century and in printed cookbooks of the late 16th century, and that is still visible nowadays in more traditional cookbooks. In Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, on the contrary, the

[10] Respectively eight recipes for fritters, 13 recipes for fritters for Lent, and 14 recipes for egg preparations.
[11] To be rigorous, we should mention that the last three recipes are not exactly fish preparation. Between the 71 fish preparation recipes and the last three recipes of the last chapter of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* there is no clear separation.
[12] The two types of preparation – *pie* and *tart* – do not differ in terms of sweet or salty but only in terms of the presence or absence of a top crust.
[13] AV2 is the only anonymous recipe collection that organizes its recipes alphabetically. Indexing alphabetically the recipes is to be considered a reader-oriented organizational strategy in the sense that it helps the reader to exactly locate a specific recipe, but it also implies and requires a common knowledge of how recipes are called.

internal organization of the culinary instructions is still completely dominated by ingredient and/or type of preparation criteria.

By analyzing how it organizes its content, we can therefore assert that, unlike the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is innovative as it organizes the content in clearly defined units based on ingredient and or preparation. At the same time, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is still away from those cookbooks which organize their content by the course sequence and banquet structure, a trend that will appear more frequently from the 16th century onward.[14]

4.2 The *Libro de arte coquinaria*: ingredients and procedures

Analyzing the ingredients and preparations presented in a cookbook with more than 250 recipes can be a daunting task. Following the internal structure and content organization the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, our study will proceed by analyzing ingredients and procedures in each of the chapters. At the end of the chapter by chapter analysis, we will present some general considerations about other culinary aspects of the Maestro Martino's work.

4.2.1 Meat recipes

The *Libro de arte coquinaria* opens, as we have seen, with a chapter dedicated to meat preparations. The first four recipes, though, are not exactly culinary recipes as we would expect

[14] The only manuscript of Maestro Martino's tradition that includes the menu of a banquet is RdG which, as we have seen, is the last of the extant manuscripts and was compiled at the beginning of the 16th century.

but rather general recommendations on cooking meat. Before presenting actual culinary recipes, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* offers a sequence of structured considerations on how to obtain the best results when cooking meats of different kinds.

It is relevant to mention that these initial recipes help us to understand the relationship between the organizer of the recipe collection and his expected readership since they reveal a peculiar attitude of the author towards his audience. On the one side, it is surprising to see that the author, a renowned cook, is not afraid of giving away what could be considered the secrets of the trade; on the other, nonetheless, these general recommendations also point to the author's need to offer some general technical information to be sure his audience is at the right level in terms of knowledge and skills. These first four recipes are key to understanding that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is directed to a new type of audience.[15] The expected or intended readership is clearly that of a reader that is not in the presence of a teacher. These are not recipes for in-person instruction, for educating apprentices in the culinary arts, but rather recipes for independent practitioners.[16] Exactly because of the distance between writer and reader, culinary abilities and skills are not taken for granted and need to be ascertained. Even though the *Libro de arte coquinaria* still addresses its reader using morphological forms of proximity – the second person singular form –,[17] this is not a collection of culinary recipes to be used in proximity of the master, nor is it written for his own personal use. Rather, it is a compilation of culinary instructions and recipes purposely destined for other professionals whose skills cannot be taken

[15] We will see the same attitude also at the very beginning of the chapter on fish preparations, in which the author explains the preparation procedures for boiling and frying fish as opposed to those for roasting fish.
[16] Although the first instance of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* was prepared as a gift to his master and employer, it is important to note that subsequent versions of the manuscript were used to disseminate culinary knowledge as Platina and the appropriations in print did.
[17] The use of the second person singular form of address will not be used by Messisbugo nor Scappi in their mid-16th century culinary works: both authors will use impersonal passive constructions.

for granted and, most importantly, who are not under the direct professional supervision of the author of recipe collection.[18]

These four initial recommendations can be analyzed two by two: the first two give clear instructions on which is the best meat, and the best cut of meat, to be either boiled or roasted; the last two are detailed instructions on how to obtain respectively the best boiled and the best roasted meat. The first two recipes offer knowledge about the types and cuts of meat, whereas the last two offer knowledge about procedures. Interestingly, while the first recipe deals with meat from terrestrial animals, the second deals with aerial animals. The opposition between terrestrial and aerial animals has a long-standing tradition: in short, aerial animals, precisely because of their ability to detach themselves from the ground, are considered of a higher status and thus also better suited for individuals of higher social status. The third and fourth recipes are detailed instructions on how to obtain the best boiled and the best roasted meat, respectively. For boiling, the text is clear in asserting that the suggested procedures aim at obtaining boiled meat that *rimanghi più biancha* / will be whiter, *serrà più bella* / more beautiful, and that *serrà più presto cotta* / will take less time to cook. For roasting, the suggested procedures also aim to obtain beautiful and colorful roasted meats. Three important elements are to be kept in mind: color, visual presentation, and time economy. These first four recipes – which, as we said, are not specific food preparations, but rather general instructions on how to obtain the results – present as well the novelty of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Good results are determined by knowledge of the ingredients to be used, and knowledge of procedures to be adopted; good

[18] An example of this can be the ninth recipe of this first chapter in which the text, after saying that you need to prepare the crust and explaining how to do prepare such crust, says: *E se tu non sapessi fare le croste cocelo ne la padella come se fanno le torte* / If you don't know how make crusts, cook it in a pan as tarts just as you would for a pie (Martino at al. 2005: 52)

results are ascertained by visual aspects of the prepared dishes that will be aesthetically and visually more pleasing, beautiful, and colorful.

Leaving these first four recipes and getting into the other recipes of this first chapter on meat preparations, the first thing we notice is that the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, unlike previous culinary texts, is somehow easier to read. As mentioned, in the previous anonymous recipe collections the text of the recipes turned out to be rather repetitive, formulaic, and not very elaborated. Maestro Martino's recipes, on the contrary are easy to read and not repetitive. There is no list of ingredients, but each recipe, after its title, starts right away with the actions required to prepare the dish. The ingredients are introduced during the process of preparation. What is more interesting, though, is the capacity of the text to communicate with its reader. The recipes are not simply instructions in a sequence, but they are crafted in a more conversational style between a skilled culinary professional and the reader. In this dialogue, the reader is acknowledged as, at least potentially, in charge of the results: in many cases, the text leaves the ultimate decision to the reader who needs to know what his *Signore* / master likes the most, but who can also use his own judgement. Counting on a skilled audience, the text offers the last decision to the reader in many instances: *come più ti piace* / as you please, along with other similar expressions, is a common and frequent way in which the writer leaves the full authority for the results to the reader.

As far as meat recipes are concerned, although the *Libro de arte coquinaria* starts with some recipes devoted to game meat, the most frequently mentioned type of meat is that of domesticated animals: poultry, domestic fowl, as well as veal, beef, pork, and lamb. As for

cooking procedures used to prepare the meat-based dishes, there is a slight predominance of grilling and roasting, over boiling, stewing, and frying. Other procedures for meat-based preparations include pies to be cooked in the oven, or in specific vessels and cooked over coals, but smoking is also mentioned. Most of the recipes do not include a set combination of ingredients and procedure. The recipes, in fact, unless clearly stated in the recipe's title – like in *per fare pollastri allesso con agresto* / how to prepare boiled pullet with verjuice –,[19] allow and actually suggest the substitution of one ingredient for another ingredient,[20] and the adoption of a different serving solution for the same preparation.[21] An important feature of these meat recipes is that generally there are no indications about the number of servings, nor about the quantities of ingredients. Only in a few cases, and exclusively for liquids, quantities are provided: these quantities are not given in exact terms but rather by proportions of ingredients, which reinforces the idea of adaptability of the recipes.[22]

The only recipe in which exact quantities are consistently given in this first chapter on meat preparation is the recipe *Per fare dui piattelli de gelatina* / how to prepare two platters of aspic.[23] In this case, the recipe provides the exact amount of the final product – *dui piattelli* / two

[19] Vide 7r and Martino at al. 2005: 55. Cases like this one, where no alternatives are offered, are rather in the chapter devoted to meat preparations.
[20] The most striking example is probably on 6v in the recipe *Per acconciare bene una porchetta* / How to dress a roast suckling pig in which it is said that it is possible to do the same with *oche, anatre, gruve, capponi, pollastri, et altri simili* / geese, duck, crane, capon, pullet, and similar fowl (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:55).
[21] An example can be found on 3r-v in the recipe *Per fare brodo lardieri con ogni carne salvaticina* / How to prepare dainty broth with game in which it is suggested that one can decide to serve this broth either on platters or in bowls: *Ma nota che se del dicto brodo tu vorrai fare piattelli, la carne vole esser tagliata in pezi grossi de una libra o di meza: et volendone fare minestre, vole esser tagliata minuta* / If you wish to serve this dainty broth on platters, remember to cut the meat into large pieces of a libra or a half libra each; if you wish to serve it in bowls, it should be chopped (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 51).
[22] See, for example, the recipe on 3v for *Per fare civero di salvacina* / How to prepare civet with game in which meat is to be cooked in equal parts of water and vinegar: *acqua miscolata con altrectanto aceto* / in equal amounts of water and vinegar (Martino et al 2005:51).
[23] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 57.

platters – as well as the exact number of mutton feet, the number of jugs of water, vinegar and white wine in which the skinned and deboned mutton's feet are to be washed and cooked, and the exact quantity of spices.[24] The degree at which spices are to be grounded is also clearly given. Spices need to be ground *grossamente che siano rotte et non piste* / grind all these things together, and added halfway through the cooking process.[25] In a recipe with such precise quantities and indications, cooking time required is given by a visual clue. The preparation needs to boil *tanto che sia consumata la terza parte* / until reduced by one-third.[26] In such a detailed and precise recipe, only two ingredients appear without any exact quantity: the salt and the meat that will be congealed in the aspic. The meat itself can be from different animals: chicken, lamb, or capon meat, but no exact quantity is given.[27] As for salt, its quantity is left exclusively at the discretion of the reader / executor of the recipe.[28] Even the most detailed recipe in the chapter on meat preparation relies on the experience and skills of the reader.

The other recipes of this chapter leave the reader a much ampler range of possible solutions: from the choice of the main ingredient (the actual type of meat to be used), to the quantity of the ingredients, to the definition of the final gustatory characteristic of the prepared dish. Expressions like *che sia dolce o forte secondo el commune gusto, o del tuo S[ignore]* /

[24] To be precise, spices to be added are *una quarta di pepe sano, una quarta de pepe longho, una quarta de grano de paradiso, una quarta di cannella integra, et meza quarta di spiconardo* / a quarter ounce of whole peppercorns and a quarter ounce of long pepper, a quarter ounce of cardamom, a quarter ounce of whole cinnamon, and an eighth of an ounce of spikenard (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 57).
[25] Although we accept the English translation, in our opinion the translators decided to leave aside the specificity of the original text. It says *Et pista tutte queste cose grossamente che siano rotte et non piste* which means to pound coarsely all the spices together so that they are broken but not finely pounded.
[26] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 57.
[27] Although the English translation reads "Then take the meat of *an* [italics mine] already cooked pullet or kid, or capon" (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 57), in the original there is no evidence of explicit quantity being mentioned. On 9r, the original text says *Et dapoi habi apparecchiata la carne di pollastro o di capretto, o di cappone, et sia cotta quanto bisogna*.
[28] On 8v, the recipe say *sopragiongendovi del sale secondo il bisogno* / adding salt as necessary (Martino at al. 2005: 57).

making it sweet or strong to taste or as suits your master's tastes,[29] and similar formulations, are frequent. This apparent lack of culinary prescriptivism clearly leaves the reader / executor in charge of the final product in terms of taste and final presentation.

4.2.2 *Capitulo 2° p[er] far ogni manera de vivande*: How to make every type of victuals

This second chapter, as the title says, groups together recipes for every type of victuals, which represent a rather undefined category. The analysis of the recipes' titles reveals that this second chapter includes ingredient-based recipes – such as those for grains and vegetables –, preparation-based recipes – such as those labelled as *menestra*, *brodo*, *brodetto*, and *zanzarelli* – as well as pasta recipes – such as those for *macaroni*, *ravioli*, *vermicelli*, and *lasagna*.[30] Going a little deeper in our analysis and beyond the recipes' titles, we see that all these recipes do have one thing in common. The recipes of this chapter involve ingredients of different classes – grains, vegetables, meat, fish, fruit – but all preparations need to be cooked in some liquid other than oil or fat. If we were to define this chapter, we would then say that boiling and stewing are the defining cooking procedures of this chapter. In some cases, boiling is the first transformation ingredients undergo, as in vegetable and grain-based preparations where the main ingredients, after being boiled, may (or may not) undergo other subsequent transformations. In other cases, the boiling is the last cooking process, as it is the case of pasta preparations in which ingredients are first brought together and then transformed by boiling. These recipes, in which the main transformation is done by boiling or stewing, have different results when it comes to the

[29] Vide 3v (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 52).
[30] The *lasagna de pelle de capone* is an interesting case in which the general idea of a *lasagna* preparation is kept even though the squares sheets of pasta are substituted for capon skins cut in the same shape and size.

consistency of the final preparation, ranging from thicker preparations – such as *brodetti* – to runny, liquid, soup-like preparations – in which the boiling liquids are part of the finalized dish – or, as in pasta preparations, to dishes that have been deprived of (most of) their cooking liquids. Despite their differences, all these preparations – cooked in different types of non-fat liquids and in relatively large cooking vessels – need to be taken out of those cooking vessels and served. The name *menestra*,[31] the most recurring descriptive noun used in the recipes' titles, derives from the Latin verb *ministrare* / to serve, and points exactly to a prepared food that is to be served.[32] As for the term used in the title of this chapter – *vivanda* – culinary texts traditionally use the term to refer to soups and potages,[33] which is how also Maestro Martino uses it in this second chapter of his *Libro de arte coquinaria*.

Among the various liquids used in these preparations there are water, broth (usually made with meat or poultry,[34] fat or lean), almond milk, and goat milk. Our analysis of the distribution of these liquids shows that water is used to cook vegetables,[35] fish, hemp seed, greens, rice,[36] almond pottage, chickpeas, broccoli, and mushrooms. Besides being used to cook tripe, water is also used to prepare all kinds of meat-based broths.[37] Meat-based broths – regardless of being from red meat or poultry (usually capon), fat or lean – seem to be the preferred liquid to be used

[31] See the entry *minestra* in Carnevale Schianca (2011: 405) for more details. The modern Italian term *minestra* / soup is still linked to this idea even though the term has undergone a process of lexical specialization and is used exclusively for a liquid preparation.
[32] Note that, although it is technically a recipe for a sauce to be used on capon or other poultry, the first recipe of this chapter – *Per fare bianco mangiare sopra caponi* / how to make a blancmange over capon – also required boiling.
[33] See Carnevale Schianca (2011: 711) for a discussion on the term *vivanda*, its etymology and evolution.
[34] A clear-cut separation between quadrupeds and winged, volatile animals is maintained.
[35] Legumes, like fava beans, can be either cooked in water or broth.
[36] Usually it is first boiled in water and then prepared with almond milk.
[37] Like *brodo cosumato di carne di capponi o de fasani, o starne, o capriole, o pipioni, o columbi selvatichi* / how to make consommé with capon, pheasant, partridge, roebuck, squab, or wild squab (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 63). As for the generic recipe for meat broth, the first chapter of the *Libro* confirms that water is also the chosen boiling liquid for preparing meat-based broths.

for recipes involving boiling or stewing. Nonetheless, red meat-based broths are used for *zanzarelli* recipes,[38] for preparations defined as *brodetto* / fine broth,[39] to cook grains,[40] meat soups, root vegetables, and fruit.[41] Although meat broth seems to be the preferred cooking medium for pasta preparations, our analysis reveals a few peculiarities. All recipes for *maccaroni* call for red meat broth or water according to the religious calendar.[42] Poultry broth is given as an alternative to red meat broth only in one recipe.[43] The recipe for *vermicelli* gives an interesting possibility: it calls for red meat or, specifically, chicken broth but *se non fusse tempo di carne cocigli con latte d'amandole con zuccharo, overo in lacte di capra* / in case it is not a meat day, cook it in almond milk with sugar or in goat's milk.[44] The problem with this alternative is that the two cooking liquids do not perform / behave in the exact same way when it comes to long cooking times. According to the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, *vermicelli* require one hour to be cooked but goat milk does not stand such a long boiling time:[45] *Et perché questo lacte non vole bollire quanto richiedono li vermicelli, falli bollire prima in un pocha d'acqua como si fa il riso* / But because this milk cannot achieve the sufficient boil required by vermicelli, boil first in a little water, as is done for rice.[46]

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[38] *Zanzarelli*, in their different color versions, are liquid or semi-liquid preparations in which an egg is whisked into a boiling liquid. See Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 64, note 5, for an historical description and explanation, although debatable, of the origin of the name.
[39] Unlike the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections in which *brodetto* could be used for both a soup like preparation or a sauce, Martino uses *brodetto* exclusively for a thick egg-based soup in which beaten eggs are diluted with broth.
[40] Although to cook *farro* both meat broth and capon broth are considered possible alternatives.
[41] *Menestre di pome cotogne* / Quince pottage and *Menestra di roselli* / Arbutus unedo (strawberry tree), or rose apple potage. Carnevale Schianca (2011: 564) identifies *roselli* as *corbezzoli* / fruit of the arbutus unedo (strawberry tree) whereas Maestro Martino, et al. 2005, consider them as rose apple which would make Maestro Martino the first to mention the fruit of the (67, note 10).
[42] *Maccaroni romaneschi* / Roman style macaroni, *Maccaroni in altro modo* / Another way to prepare macaroni (Martino at al. 2005: 67-68), and *Maccaroni siciliani* / Sicilian macaroni (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 69).
[43] *Ravioli in tempo di carne* / Ravioli for non-Lenten times (Martino at al. 2005: 69).
[44] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 70.
[45] Maestro Martino at al. 2005: 70.
[46] The text continues saying that the same two-step boiling procedure should be applied to *lasagne* / lasagna, to *trite* or *fermentine* (see Martino at al. 2005: 70 and 68).

Respecting Lent dietary restrictions is important, but so it is knowing and acknowledging the qualities of the ingredients being used: and a good cook has to master both aspects and work with both the cultural restrictions imposed by religion as well as the natural limitations imposed by the very nature of the ingredients being used. Still in this same recipe for *vermicelli*, the text introduces another important element that is to be taken into consideration for all pasta preparations: *E tutte queste vivande di pasta deveno essere gialle di zafrano excepto quando se coceno in lacte* / All of these pasta dishes should be made yellow with some saffron, except when they are cooked in milk.[47] All recipes for pasta preparations do, in fact, call for the use of saffron unless, for some reasons, cooking in milk or almond milk, and not in meat broth, is required: when cooking in milk, the pristine of the white color has to be preserved which reinforces the idea of color and visual perception of the finalized dishes.[48]

Almond milk, as we have seen, is used to preserve whiteness of prepared dishes, such as rice, but almond-based recipes as well.[49] Most importantly, almond milk is mentioned several times as an alternative for Lent preparations to avoid the use of meat-based broth and, at the same time, to preserve and reinforce the whiteness of the preparations as we have already mentioned.[50] Lastly, goat milk is mentioned only twice in this chapter and always in recipes

[47] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 70.
[48] This is true for pasta preparations but for rice and almond-based dishes in which whiteness is a distinctive element that needs to be preserved: in this regard it is also important to mention the high level of occurrences of adjectives like *monde* / peeled, *nette* / cleaned, *bianche* / white when referring to almonds and the preparations where almonds are required.
[49] As it is the case of some rice-based recipes.
[50] The *Menestra di fiori di sambuco* / Elderflower pottage can be prepared for regular times or for Lent using respectively meat broth or almond milk.

involving rice.[51] Goat milk can be substituted for other types of milk but it also is considered an alternative for almond milk to be used *secondo il tempo* / depending on the period.[52]

The pasta we know today is the result of a long transformation from soup like preparations, in which the pasta was served with its cooking liquids, to dishes in which the boiling liquid – water or other – is drained, removed, and the pasta is served dry.[53] According to Carnevale Schianca, [54] although it had been used before, it is Maestro Martino the first to use the term *maccaroni* in a culinary recipe collection. Despite still being a very generic term, indicating different types of pasta preparations,[55] it is possible to see how Maestro Martino steers away from traditional accounts on *maccaroni*. Traditionally, the term *macaroni* is used for a type of pasta preparation that, in its shape, resembles nowadays *gnocchi*, a round shaped pasta preparation to be used fresh, prepared with different ingredients ranging from flour (of different types and origins), fresh cheese, bread crumbs, and in some cases eggs.[56]

In the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, and contrary to contemporary and previous accounts, the term *maccaroni* is used for a type of pasta prepared exclusively with flour: no cheese, no bread,

[51] *Per far XII menestre de bianco mangiare a la catelana* / How to make twelve servings of blancmange in the Catalan style (Martino at al. 2005: 62) and *Riso con lacte de mandole* / Rice with almond milk (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71).
[52] *Riso in miglior modo che quel de sopra* / Rice prepared in a better way than above (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 113). This recipe is actually the second to last recipe of the entire *Libro de arte coquinaria*, but it clearly refers to the recipe for rice with almond milk in chapter 2.
[53] The term *pasta asciutta*, or *pastasciutta*, still evokes the idea that pasta used to be served with the liquids in which it was cooked. Only later *pasta* started to be served *asciutta* / dry, without its cooking liquids, and it was defined as such: *pastasciutta* as opposed to *pasta*, the traditional way of cooking and serving it.
[54] Carnevale Schianca 2011: 371-374.
[55] The differences in the types of pasta preparations have to do with the different possible ingredients for the dough (different types of flour, bread, fresh cheese, and, in some cases, eggs), as well as with its immediate consumption or the possibility of drying it for longer conservation. On the difference between *maccaroni* and *gnocchi*, see also see Messedaglia 1974: 178-179.
[56] Messadaglia 1973: 175; Sereni 1998: 49, Carnevale Schianca 2011: 283-284; 371-374;

nor egg yolks are mentioned in these recipes. The term *maccaroni*, moreover, as it is used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* does not refer to a type of round shaped pasta. Maestro Martino's four recipes for *maccaroni* include a type of preparation in which the dough is stretched around a stick and then cut (like nowadays *fettuccine*) with different widths – as in the recipes *Maccaroni romaneschi* / Roman maccaroni and *Maccaroni in altro modo* / Macaroni in another way –[57] or stretched by hand and then either broken in smaller pieces or rolled around an iron rod as in the recipes *Vermicelli* / Vermicelli and *Maccaroni siciliani* / Sicilian Macaroni.[58] Interestingly is also the fact that the recipes for *Vermicelli* and for *Maccaroni siciliani* clearly mention the possibility of drying these preparations for later consumption, a clear indication of the differences in terms of pasta preparations. Another important aspect of the recipes of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* when it comes to pasta recipes is that cheese is never mentioned as an ingredient for the dough.

The necessity of coloring pasta preparation with saffron, as suggested by Maestro Martino, might sound odd for our modern perception but we need to remind that none of the recipes for pasta preparations included in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* call for the use of egg yolks,[59] which, as it is known, gives pasta the yellowish color we are accustomed in present times. Instead, egg whites, if not simple water, are commonly used as binding agent in pasta preparations.

[57] Maestro Martino at al. 2005: 67-68.
[58] Maestro Martion et al. 2005: 70.
[59] Egg whites are called exclusively in the recipe for *maccaroni siciliani*.

This discussion, about the coloring of pasta with saffron and the necessity to avoid saffron when cooking pasta in almond or other types of milk, requires that we discuss the use of color indicating terms in Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. In fact, one element that stands out throughout our analysis of chapter 2 and will be prominent in other chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* as well, is color. In general, terms indicating colors can be used as adjectives as well as nouns. Leaving aside the use of color referring nouns,[60] we need to be precise and point out that adjectives indicating color can be used in descriptive, attributive, terms, or in prescriptive terms. The descriptive, or attributive, use of an adjective is for a chromatic variant, or specification of an ingredient, whereas a prescriptive use of an adjective gives clear and definitive instructions about the color of a finalized recipe. The contrast here is between the use of color indicating terms in expressions like *vino rosso* / red wine*, aceto bianco* / white vinegar, and *amandole bianche* / white almonds,[61] or the use of adjectives indicating the specific color, usually in predicative constructions, meant to give clear instructions on how a finalized dish should look, like in terms of its chromatic appearance.[62] An example would be *Et vole essere giallo di zafrano* / and make it yellow with some saffron.[63]

Between Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* and previous anonymous recipe collections, it is possible to see a line of continuity when it comes to color indications. White is

[60] The clearest examples would be *il rosso* or *il bianco dell'uovo*, respectively, the egg yolk and the egg white.
[61] Defining almonds as white, or lard as white, of course points to processed ingredients: almonds need to be peeled and cleaned to achieve their whiteness, and lard needs to be purified to achieve a higher level of whiteness.
[62] For a more precise linguistic definition of the two situations, we should define the first as the attributive function of an adjective, and the second as the predicative function of an adjective, usually in a predicative construction.
[63] *Farro con brodo de caponi o altra carne* / Farro with capon broth or other meat broth (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 64-65). Again, the English translation leaves away the idea that it is the dish that wants to be (made) yellow with saffron.

for sure the dominant color, followed respectively by yellow and green.[64] But what is new in Maestro Martino is how one same preparation can be made of different colors as it is the case in the recipes for *brodetto* / fine broth and for *zanzarelli*. Clearly, for Maestro Martino, color is something that can be added to a specific preparation for presentation purposes. A dish can be given different colors, as well as different textures as it is the case of *zanzarelli* which, beyond their traditional recipe, can also be prepared in dumpling size. We will return to color specifications while analyzing the remaining chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* but, as for now, let's keep the idea that color specifications are an important element of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and that recipes can be rendered in different chromatic variations.

Throughout this entire chapter on boiled preparations and stews, we can also see how final touches are given extreme importance before serving. The addition of sugar, sweet spices – as well as of grated cheese, butter, boiled egg yolks – in the final stage of a dish preparation represent a deep attention to both presentation and taste. To confirm this, it is important to mention the number of moments in which, the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, at the end of a recipe, gives clear visual instructions about color presentation,[65] texture,[66] and/or final touches.[67] Analyzing these final touches, we see that specific attention is given to the importance

[64] Let's recall briefly how in the previous chapter, the one on meat preparations, a particular importance was given to obtain and maintain the whiteness of meat in the case of volatiles.
[65] *Fave fresche con brodo di carne* / Fresh fava beans with meat broth: *Et questa menestra vole essere un pocho verde che pare più bella* / Make this pottage slightly green because it looks better that way (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:73).
[66] *Mandolata* / Almond pottage: *Et questa amandolata vole essere un poco liquida* / This almond pottage should be slightly watery (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71); *Per fare brodetto de pane ova e caso* / How to make a fine broth of bread, egg, and cheese: *Et questa menestra vole essere gialla de zafrano, et alquanto spessa* / This pottage should be made yellow with some saffron and it should be very thick (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 65).
[67] Adding either sugar and spices, usually sweet spices at the end of a dish preparation and before sending to the table is done in innumerous recipes. See also the variants offered at the end of the recipes for *Bianco mangiare sopra caponi* / Blancmange over capon (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 62).

of knowing the taste preferences of those who will enjoy the prepared dish. Expressions like *secondo el comune gusto* / to taste,[68] *al gusto del tuo padrone* / to your master's taste,[69] *a chi piace* / if desired,[70] *E a chi non piacciono* / if not desired,[71] and *secondo il gusto del tuo Signore o d'altri* / as suits your master's tastes or the tastes of others[72] represent clear instances confirming that a cook should know and should take into consideration his *audience* and their preferred taste for them to fully enjoy the prepared dishes. At the same time, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* reveals its author's intention of sharing important aspects of culinary skills. Not only Maestro Martino offers recipes and their possible variants, but he also shares technical aspects of his trade regarding cooking skills, general kitchen management, and conservation such as the exact moment to start cooking an ingredient,[73] how to select well the ingredients,[74] the importance of prepping an ingredient before using it,[75] how to clean a burnt cooking vessel,[76] and the best time for increasing the shelf life of a preparation.[77]

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[68] *Menestre de brodecto* / How to make a good, clear, fine broth: *Dolce o agro secondo el commune gusto* / And make the pottage sweet or sour to taste (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:63).
[69] *Riso con brodo di carne* / Rice with meat broth: *In questo rimettiti al gusto del padrone* / So you should leave it up to your master's tastes (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 65).
[70] *Minestra di trippe* / Tripe pottage: *Et dapoi fa' le menestre e mettevi di sopra de le spetie, e del cascio a chi piace* / Then serve in bowls, topped with spices, and with cheese, if desired (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 66).
[71] *Fave piene* / Stuffed fava beans: *E a chi non piacciono le cipolle non le mettere* / You can omit the onions if not desired (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 69).
[72] *Carabaze a la catalana* / Squash in the Catalan style: *Giongendovi del zuccharo e de le spetie dolci con un pocho d'agresto secondo il gusto del tuo Signore o d'altri* / together with some sugar and sweet spices with a little verjuice, as suits your master's tastes or the tastes of others (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 72).
[73] *Cavoli a la romanesca* / Roman broccoli: *et mittigli in l'acqua quando bolle* / place in water when it begins to boil (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 74); *Herbe con lacte d'amandole* / Herbs with almond milk: *(H)abi le herbe et falle bollire in prima un pocho in l'acqua, la qual deve bollire quanto glille mitti* / Take some herbs and boil them in a little water, which must be boiling when you add the herbs. (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 74).
[74] *Sementa di canipa* / How to make hemp seed pottage: *buttando via quelli granelli che stanno sopra l'acqua perché sonno tristi* / discarding those kernels that come to the surface because they are no good (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 74).
[75] *Funghi fritti* / How to cook mushrooms: *Et questo si fa perché da natura sono venenosi* / This is done because they are poisonous by nature (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 68).
[76] *Riso con lacte d'amandole* / Rice with almond milk: *et in questo modo il fume si cacciarà fore. Né trovo milgiore remedio per cacciare questo fume* / by doing so you will remove the burned taste. Nor do I know a better remedy. (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71).
[77] *Maccaroni siciliani*: Sicilian macaroni. *Et questi maccharoni se deveno secchare al sole, et durerando doi o tre anni, specialmente facendoli de la luna de agusto* / These macaroni must be dried in the sun and they will last for

Finally, in this chapter, there are only two recipes in which special considerations are given to sick individuals. Contrary to the previous anonymous recipe collections, in which, besides the regular recipes, there were always specific recipes meant to cure specific ailments and diseases, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* just offers adaptations of recipes to be given to sick people. Those variants are always offered at the end of the recipe and no mention is made of specific ailments or diseases.[78] Clearly, curing ailments seems to be out of the scope of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The art of preparing food seems to have lost the medicinal dimension that was still present in the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections.

4.2.3 *Capitulo 3° p[er] far ogni sapore* / Sauces and relishes

Chapter three of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is devoted to sauces and relishes. Previous anonymous culinary recipe collections also had similar recipes but they were never grouped together in a single section. More importantly, the recipes for a specific sauce were usually given right after the recipe that would call for that specific sauce or within that same recipe. Maestro Martino, on the contrary, opts for grouping together all the sauces and relishes: and whenever a recipe calls for a specific sauce, a reference is made. And the reader just needs to find the recipe for that sauce in the section on sauces.

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two or three years; they will last particularly well if you make them under an August moon (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 70). Indicatively the same is said about the following recipe for preparing *Vermicelli*.

[78] *Per fare brodo consumato …* / How to make consommé … : *Et se questo brodo si farrà per infirmo non gli mettere carne salata, et mettigli pochissime spetie: et in questo modo será bono per sani et per infirmi* / If you are making this broth for someone who is sick, do not use salt-cured meat, and add just a small quantity of spices; and by doing so, you will make it good for both the healthy and the sick. (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 63), and *Brodo de ciceri rossi* / Red chickpea broth: *Et se il brodo di facesse per ammalati non li porre né olio né spetie* / But if you are making this broth for someone who is sick, add neither oil nor spices. (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71-72).

Out of the 23 recipes, only two recipes offer clear pairing indications. The *salsa de pavo* / peacock sauce clearly says this sauce is to be paired with.[79] The recipe for *sapore bianco* / white sauce, the first of the chapter, also offers clear pairing indications: these indications, though, are somewhat generic in the sense that they relate to a cooking procedure and not to the main ingredient: *e tal sapore si voi dare con ogni allesso a tempo di carne, o di quadragesima* / This sauce should be served with all boiled *dishes* in time of non-fast days or during Lent.[80] Recipes for sauces do offer, in some cases, indications about the time of the year in which the sauce can be used. Just to give some examples: that same recipe for white sauce, as the text says, can be used *a tempo di carne, o di quadregesima* / in time of nonfast days, or during Lent.[81] The recipe for *agliata bianca /* white garlic sauce can be used *a tutte le stagioni grasse o magre come ti piacerà* / and you can serve this white garlic sauce to suit all seasons, fat or lean, as you wish.[82] The fact that this recipe can be used in both fast and non-fasting days derives from the alternative, offered by the recipe itself, to soak the bread white in *brodo magro di carne o di pesce secondo i tempi* / lean meat broth or *fish broth in a fast day* (emphasis mine).[83] Also the *agliata pavonaza* / violet garlic sauce can be prepared with either meat or fish broth and therefore *si pò dare al tempo di carne, o di pesce, como si vole* / can be used in the times of meat or fish, as you wish.[84]

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[79] Although, to be fair, there is no indication about the cooking procedure of the peacock.
[80] The translation here is mine because I don't agree with the translation offered in Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 76. The translation says "this sauce should be served with all boiled *meats* (italics added for emphasis) in time of nonfast days or during Lent." But this contradicts what the original says right after: *a tempo di carne, o di quadragesima* / in time of nonfast days or during Lent. If the sauce goes with boiled meats how can it be served during Lent? This same recipe for white sauce is called, in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, for many fish-based boiled preparations as well.
[81] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 76.
[82] Maestro et al. 2005:79.
[83] Translation mine. Although correct, the English translation ("you can serve this garlic sauce to suits all season, fat and lean, as you wish" (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:79)) chooses to focus on using fish broth for fast days where the text says to use either one of the types of broth according to the religious times.
[84] Martino et al 2005: 79.

We need to address the different types of preparations within this third chapter. Of the 23 recipes, only two recipes,[85] involving some kind of conservation, are preparations good to be kept for longer period of time: the remaining 21 recipes are all preparations for fresh consumption. Looking at these 21 recipes we see that there are some recurring terms in the recipes' titles: *sapore*, *peperata*, *salsa*, *mostarda*, *agliata*, and *agresto*. Clearly, *peperata* / pepper sauce, *mostarda* / mustard, *agliata* / garlic sauce, and *agresto* / verjuice refer to the main ingredient of each of those preparations, respectively pepper, mustard seeds, garlic, and verjuice, but not necessarily their preparation.[86] When it comes to *sapore* and *salsa*, both translated in English as sauce, we need to delve a little deeper to understand their importance in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The two terms refer to a semiliquid preparation that accompanies a prepared dish in order to enrich, or to perfect, its taste. As an essentially combinatory art, food preparation strives to achieve the perfect balance between the different characteristics of the single ingredients: sauces, in this sense, are the ultimate stage of perfecting and enriching both nutrition and taste. S*apore* and *salsa*, at least in Maestro Martino, do not refer to different preparations and are to be considered synonymous terms for an accompaniment to a specific dish. What strikes our attention, though, is the constant reference to color specification that we see in the sauces chapter of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Almost in every recipe, there is a reference to the color the final preparation should have, either in the title of the recipe, or in the description. We will have the chance to discuss the element of color in Maestro Martino's work later on, but this chapter on sauces is the one in which color descriptions and specifications are most evident. In the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections, the most mentioned color was for sure

[85] *Mostarda da portare in pezi cavalcando* / mustard that can be carried in pieces on horseback and *a servar el suco deli crognali per lo inverno* / conserving cornel cherry juice for the winter.
[86] A*gresto* / verjuice is the juice of grape of other fruit obtained before its complete ripeness.

yellow, usually obtained with the use of saffron. In the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, it is clear that the color pallet expands and this chapter on sauces is the perfect example. Colors mentioned in this chapter are: white, beige, red, yellow, green, black (to be understood as dark red), sky blue, and purple. The same type of sauce can be given different tastes, but most importantly it can be given different colors. The last recipe of the chapter – *A servar el suco de crognali per lo inverno* / Conserving cornel cherry juice for the winter – reveals how much freedom is given to the one in charge of preparing: *e serà bono il ditto sucho a dare colore ad ogni altro sapore como meglio ti piacerà* / this juice will be good for making any other sauce as dark or as light as you wish.[87] This *como meglio ti piacerà* / as you wish, this possibility of final adjustments, of final responsibility, left open sounds rather strange for modern readers who would expect strict and solid instructions in order to reproduce a determined dish with a well-established color, texture, and taste. But the *Libro de arte coquinaria* reveals a different idea of culinary instruction and practice. This realm of possibilities left open for the reader is also visible when we analyze taste considerations within the recipes and, once again, this third chapter on sauces gives us several examples. A recipe can be prepared sweet or sour/tart according to the taste of people involved in the preparation or consumption. The cases in which the recipe leaves no doubt regarding a specific type of taste are very few: *e un pocha di sapa o zucchero che sarebbe molto meglio* / and a bit of sodden wine,[88] or sugar, which would be much better:[89] in this case, although an alternative ingredient is given, Maestro Martino clearly gives away his preference. Other cases in which the recipe gives strict indications are *et fa che sia un pocho salato quanto bisogna* / and

[87] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 79.
[88] Sodden wine is concentrated wine must.
[89] *Sapore di progna secche* / Dried prune sauce (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 76).

make sure that you add just enough salt:[90] and *et nota che sopre a tutto vole essere ben salato* / Remember that it is important it be well salted.[91]

In most cases, the final deliberation of the level of sweetness or sourness, as well as the dominant taste of the preparation is left open for the reader: *E fallo dolce o brusco secondo il gusto del signore o altri* / making it more or less sweet with sugar and tart with verjuice or orange juice, as suits your master's tastes or whoevers;[92]; *poi pigliarai un pocho di vino roscio, di sapa e agresto, et a chi non piacesse l'agresto farailo con l'aceto facendolo dolce o brisco secondo che ti piace* / Then take a little red wine, some sodden wine, and verjuice, and for those who do not like verjuice, use vinegar, making it sweet or tart as you wish;[93] *E se voi che senta dell'aglio vi poterai mettere a pistare inseme con le sopra ditte cose un pocho di fronde de aglietti. Et questo secondo il gusto a chi piace.* / If you want it to taste of garlic, add some baby garlic fronds to crush together with the other ingredients. But do only for those who like garlic.[94]

This third chapter on sauces and relishes reinforces the idea that a culinary recipe is not a set of strict rules to be followed in order to obtain a specific preparation, but rather a sequence of combinatory rules that the reader can interpret according to experience, personal taste or, most importantly, the gustatory expectations of those who will enjoy the prepared dishes.

[90] *Agresto con finocchio* / Verjuice with fennel (Martino at al. 2005: 79).
[91] *A servar el suco de crognali per lo inverno* / Conserving cornel cherry juice for the winter (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 79).
[92] *Sapor bianco* / White sauce (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:76).
[93] *Sapor camellino* / Gold of pleasure sauce (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005:76).
[94] *Salsa verde* / Green sauce (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 77).

4.2.4. *Capitolo 4° p[er] far ogni ragion Torte*: Tarts and savory pies

Before discussing the content of this chapter, we need to clarify the exact meaning of a *torta* as Maestro Martino uses it. Carnevale Schianca point out that a *torta* / tart or savory pie represents the "*vero e proprio pilastro della cucina medievale italiana*".[95] Recipes of this kind focus on the preparation of the filling and tend to disregard the preparation of the dough, which confirms that the dough, and its preparation, are considered common knowledge and not worthy to be discussed. Broadly described, a *torta* is a culinary preparation in which a filling is wrapped in some sort of dough and then pan baked – in the oven or over coals – or, less frequently, fried. A layer of dough can be set in a pan, or a crock, and holds together the filling. The top of the *torta* can also be covered with another layer of dough like in a doubled crusted pie. A *torta* can have different fillings separated from each other by layers of dough, usually thinner than the bottom layer. *Torte* are usually cooked in a pan, or in *testi* / crocks, or cruses, with embers in the bottom and on top.[96] The size of this type of preparations may vary going from the bigger *torta*, to smaller *tortello* and *pastello*. In some cases, the smaller the preparations, the more likely they are to be fried than pan baked.

Contrary to the first chapter on meat preparation, this chapter is not defined by the type of ingredient but rather by the type of preparation. As we will see in other chapters though, it would not be accurate to assert that the *Libro de arte coquinaria*'s internal structure and chapter division is rigid and compartmentalized. Chapter 4 does not exclusively offer recipes for savory pan baked pies. The beginning of the chapter is more consistent and brings together 20 recipes

[95] Carnevale Schianca 2011: 660. The real pillar of medieval Italian cuisine (my translation).
[96] There are some recipes that do not call for any kind of dough.

clearly defined as *torte*, pan baked pies. But after those initial 20 recipes, things start to change: the last 17 recipes force us to revise and broaden our description. Generally speaking, this chapter groups together all preparations that receive the shape of the vessel in which they are prepared, cooked, or in which they solidify.[97] The 37 recipes of this chapter, include 31 pan-baked, cooked or fried preparations of different sizes, three recipes that require to solidify overnight, and three recipes that include the use of slices of bread, instead of a specific dough in which the filling is going to be baked or pan-baked.

As we said previously, preparations of this kind represent a long-standing tradition and are attested in all anonymous recipe collections prior to Maestro Martino. But besides the fact that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* groups together recipes according to the type of preparations, or to the type of ingredient, there are other aspects in which we can see that Maestro Martino is going beyond tradition. One of these aspects relates to the final operations to be performed before sending the finalized preparation to the table. If we look at the recipes for torte, savory pies, and similar preparations in the previous anonymous collections, we see that the textual tradition of the *12 Ghiotti* gives more specific indications regarding the taste and the color of the finished preparation: in the manuscripts of the *Liber de Coquina* textual tradition, on the contrary, this type of information is very sparse. The *Libro de arte coquinaria*, does present recipes from the previous textual traditions and, as the previous textual traditions, it is not very informative about the preparation of the dough in recipes for *torte*. But the *Libro de arte coquinaria* goes one step further in offering alternatives and variants of previous recipes.

[97] The three recipe that need to solidify are the *Gionchata d'amandole in quadragemisa* / Lenten almond junket, the *Ricotta contrafacta in quadragesima* / Lenten imitation ricotta, and the *Butiro contrafacto in quadragesima* / Lenten imitation butter, all almond-milk based preparations in which exclusively fish broth is used as binding agent.

Moreover, and unlike the previous recipe collections, Maestro Martino is very meticulous and innovative regarding the final stages of a *torta* preparation: sugar and rose water are added after the *torta* is cooked in almost every recipe. What our analysis of the recipes in this chapter revealed is that Maestro Martino shows a positive attitude towards variations which are not only considered possible but also strongly encouraged both in the recipe itself and in its presentation. At the end of the recipe for *torta di pesce, fecatelli et lacte di pesce* / fish entrails and milt torte,[98] the text offers a relatively long sequence of considerations that looks back to all previous recipes for *torte* and clearly asserts that variations in ingredients, in taste, and in the visual aspects of the prepared dish are encouraged.

> *E nota che tutte le torte sopra scripte poterai fare di varii et diversi colori in una medesma padella secondo li tempi, et anco de diversi pieni, et di diversa materia, adattando alcune astelluzze sottilissime le quali metterai per divider a mità et a terzi o quarti como più te gradarà*. / Note that all the tortes described above can be made with varied and diverse colors at the same time in the same pan, depending on the period, and also with different fillings and with different ingredients, by fashioning thin dividers that you can use to separate the tortes into halves, or thirds, or quarters, whichever you prefer.[99]

A couple of curiosities worth mentioning about this chapter that reinforce the long history of culinary recipes. The recipes for *suppa dorata* / golden sops and for *caso in patellecte* / pan fried cheese – two pan-baked recipes that involve the use of sliced bread – are to be considered among the first written attestations of culinary Roman times recipes known in present times as French toast and grilled cheese sandwich, respectively.[100]

[98] Maestro Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 86-87.
[99] Maestro Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 86-87.
[100] It was Joseph Vehling that, in the first English translation of Apicius' treatise, identified the recipe with the contemporary French toast (Vehling 1936: 172, #296). On French toast and its history see also (Redon et al. 1998: 207-8).

4.2.5. *Capitolo quinto p[er] fare ogni frictella.* Fritters, fritters for Lent, and egg preparations

The fifth chapter of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is titled *per fare ogni frictella* / how to make every type of fritter. Besides the recipes to prepare fritters for regular times, it includes, as we have seen, two unnumbered chapters respectively on fritters to be prepared during Lent, and on egg preparations. Although it might seem odd, at first sight, to have egg preparations included in a chapter of fritters, we need to point to the fact that, for egg preparations, the most used cooking procedure is frying.[101] Two important aspects to clarify for this chapter on fritters are the type of cooking procedure and the cooking medium. Frying, as we know, is an indirect way of cooking in which the food is exposed to a heat source indirectly: the food is cooked in/by a heated cooking medium, fat. Frying itself can obtain different results according to the quantity of fat being used. Deep frying involves the total immersion in boiling fat of the food preparation which is cooked all at once: a deep cooking vessel and a reasonable amount of fat are required for this type of frying. Pan frying, on the other hand, uses a shallower cooking vessel and a smaller quantity of cooking medium: it involves different cooking times since the prepared food, being immersed only partially in the cooking medium, needs to be turned and cooked on both, or all, sides. Deep frying and pan frying imply different shapes to be given to the food to be prepared: usually thinner flatted preparations are best pan fried whereas thicker and rounder preparations are best deep fried.

[101] Of a total of 14 egg preparation recipes, the suggested cooking procedure is frying in six recipes, boiling in four recipes, roasting (direct exposure to heat with no cooking medium) in three recipes. One recipe leaves the choice between boiling of frying to the reader, but frying is defined as the better method to prepare *ova in forma di raffioli* / eggs in the shape of ravioli (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 98).

As far as the cooking medium, the fat being used, is concerned, the types of fat mentioned in this fifth chapter are *strutto* /[102] lard,[103] *butiro* / butter, *olio* / (olive) oil.[104] The distribution of these possible fats in the recipes is heavily dependent, on the one hand, on the religious calendar, and, on the other, on the main ingredient to be fried. All fritters' recipes for Lenten call exclusively for oil: no mentions, as it were to be expected, to any type of animal fat when it comes to fried preparations to be eaten during Lent. Outside of the Lenten period,[105] *strutto* / lard is the most widely used fat even though an alternative fat – either butter or oil – is always mentioned or suggested.[106] Selecting butter or oil, as substitutes for lard, depends on the main ingredient: when vegetables are involved,[107] oil is the preferred choice, but when no vegetables are involved butter is considered a substitute for lard. Only in one recipe, the recipe for *frictelle in altro modo* / another way to prepare fritters,[108] the text suggests using a mixture of equal proportions of oil and butter – *in mezo olio et in mezo botiro*. This recipe – although included in the recipes for fritters for Lent – refers back to a recipe for *frictelle de gioncata et lacte quagliato* / fritters made with junket or curdled milk, in which the potential use of animal fat is consider.

[102] Terms that also appear, but very less frequently, are *grasso* / fat, and *lardo* / fresh or cured animal fat.
[103] The English word *lard* – which refers to rendered fat (in Italian *strutto*) – should not be confused with Italian *lardo*, which is fresh or cured animal fat, usually from the pig.
[104] Maestro Martino's consciousness about the quality of the ingredients being used is confirmed by the number of times the adjective *bono* / good is mentioned when referring to the fat being used, regardless of its type.
[105] Lent is here used not only for the 40 days before Easter, but the fasting period required before any religious festivity.
[106] Once again, also in the case of fritters' recipes, we see how the *Libro de arte coquinaria* offers different possibilities.
[107] Fritters including sage, apple, or parsnips.
[108] The recipe calls for wild fennel flowers.

As far as egg recipes are concerned, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* displays recipes that involve all cooking methods: frying, poaching, roasting,[109]and grilling. Butter is clearly the preferred cooking fat for frying eggs. Regarding eggs, it is repeated several times that they should not be overcooked: this, while confirming Maestro Martino's knowledge about ingredients and their properties, their preparation and combinations, also gives us an indirect idea about culinary and gastronomic taste during the 15th century. The last few lines of the section on egg preparation sum up clearly how eggs and egg preparation were preferred: *ma che non siano troppo cotte perché è di tal natura l'ovo che più si coce tanto si fa più duro e diventa pegiore* / but make sure that the eggs are not overcooked because the more an egg is cooked, the harder and worse it becomes; this is its nature.[110] What is remarkable about the use of eggs in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is that it is the first time that eggs appear not only as one of the many ingredients in a recipe but as the main ingredient: eggs are now to be served by themselves, as a single standing preparation. Both previous culinary recipe textual traditions – that of the *Liber de Coquina* and that of the *12 Ghiotti* – do almost exclusively mention eggs as ingredients for other type of preparations.[111] In Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as well eggs appear most conspicuously as ingredients in other preparations, but this text offers for the first time a well-defined section – with a total of 14 recipes – with culinary preparations in which eggs are the main ingredient: it is with Maestro Martino that eggs start to be considered the main ingredient around which a dish can be built.

[109] Spit roasting is also suggested as a cooking method for eggs.
[110] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 98.
[111] All culinary recipe collections do mention eggs as an ingredient but recipes with eggs as the main ingredient are very few: AT1 and AM2, belonging to the same textual tradition, both have only one recipe in which eggs are the main ingredient.

4.2.6 *Capitolo sexto p[er] cocere ogni pesce*: fish preparations

The last chapter of the Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is devoted to fish preparations and it comprises a total of 74 recipes. It is clearly an ingredient-defined chapter, even though, as we will see, a few recipes that do not use fish as the main or as an ingredient are also included. Right after the chapter title – *Capitolo sexto p[er] cocer ogni pesce* / Chapter six to cook all sorts of fish –, the first recipe is dedicated to general considerations on how to prepare fish to be cooked: fish to be boiled or fried need to be *scagliato et raschiato di fora, et poi aperto, et cavatelli fora le interiora, lavato molto bene* / scaled and scraped on the outside, and then opened; and the entrails should be removed before the fish is washed.[112] On the contrary, fish to be roasted or grilled should not be *scagliato né raschiato né aperto* / scaled or scraped or opened.[113] The only two exceptions to this first basic fish preparation are *salpam* / saupe and *lacce* / shad which need to be cleaned before roasting. This first recipe, or set of instructions, already reveals a high level of precision in the descriptions as well as an in-depth knowledge about fish and seafood for human consumption that will pervade all the recipes of this last chapter. As we will see more clearly later, choosing a specific cooking procedure for a specific type of fish depends on the nature and characteristics of the fish to be cooked. Some fishes are best boiled, others roasted or grilled, and others fried; the size of the fish also influences the cooking procedure: if big in size, a fish may be best boiled or roasted, but that same fish, when smaller, is better to be fried.

[112] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 99.
[113] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 99.

The first recipe, with indications on how to clean the fish before cooking it, is followed by 58 fish-based recipes, three recipes for preparing jellies and aspics,[114] nine recipes for curing or and conserving fish, and the last three recipes that, strangely, do not have fish as the main ingredient. The first of these last three recipes, *ova contrafacte in quadragesima* / Lenten imitation eggs, calls for *bono brodo de luccio grasso* / good, fatty, and rich pike broth.[115] The two last recipes are *riso in miglior modo che quel de sopra* / rice prepared in a better way than above and *pastello volatilo* / flying pie do not use any fish-related ingredient.[116]

The presence of these three recipes loosely or totally unrelated to fish at the end of the chapter on fish preparation might seem odd. Their presence at the end of the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is, in our opinion, not related to the content of the last chapter but rather related to a structure of the recipe collection itself. As we have said in a previous chapter, these last three recipes are at the end of the last fully used gathering of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. This might suggest that they were included to minimize the volume of unused writing space of the last gathering.[117] Before analyzing the recipes of this sixth chapter, we need to acknowledge that recipes having fish as an ingredient are present in other chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*: in these few cases, though, the type of fish to be used is not always clearly stated nor is fish the recipe's main ingredient.[118]

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[114] These three recipes are a fish-based jelly recipe, a three-color fish-based (or meat-based) jelly, a fish-based (or meat-based) molded jelly, or aspic.
[115] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 133.
[116] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 133.
[117] The last three recipes occupy the last five transcriptional lines of 62v, 63r, 63v, and most of 64r: 64v was left blank.
[118] Most of these cases are in the chapter devoted to pies and savory tarts but the only type of fish to be clearly mentioned is the *anguilla* / eel: in most cases, though, recipes only mention *pesce* / fish without specifying the type of fish in question. In the recipe for *Gionchata d'amandole in Quadragesima* / Lenten almond junket, which calls for fish broth, the recipe clearly states that *luccio* / pike and *tencha* / tench are the best to obtain fish broth because

In this last chapter devoted to fish, most of the recipes are preparations for immediate consumption: there are a few recipes on how to prepare a fish-based dish that will last for more days, as well as on how to cure fish for longer conservation. As far as sauces are concerned, when a fish recipe requires the accompaniment of a specific sauce, the recipe prompts to the consultation of chapter dedicated to the preparations of sauces: the only case in which this does not happen is for a sauce uniquely designed for a specific fish preparation.[119] Most of the recipes in this chapter call for fresh fish, but four recipes use cured fish as the main ingredient. These four recipes for cured fish are grouped together right after the recipes for jellies and aspics and before the recipes for curing and conserving fish-based preparations. The cured-fish based ingredients are from sturgeon – *schinale*[120] and *caviaro d'ova de storione* –, or tuna – *terantello* and *tonnina*.

In the previous anonymous collections, fish recipes are not very common and, in many cases, they do not mention a specific type of fish but rather fish in general.[121] For the anonymous recipe collections derived from the *Liber de Coquina*, AT1 and AM1, fish-based recipes correspond, respectively, to the 10.83% and 16.44% of the total number of recipes and indicatively 50% of those fish-based recipes do not mention specific fish but rather fish in general. Analyzing the fish-based recipes of the anonymous recipe collections of the 12 *Ghiotti*

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ogni altro pesce di acqua dolce o marina non è sì buono / because no other fish will be as good, whether from the sea or from freshwater (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 89).

[119] *Sapore di storione* / Sturgeon sauce (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 99).

[120] *Schinale* is strangely translated as *spinal cord* (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 110). The term *schinale* should refer to dried sturgeon filet that was considered a delicacy. For more on *schinale* see Messedaglia 1942: 1-58 and 1944: 111-132.

[121] For the text from the *LIB* textual tradition: AT1 has a total of 120 recipes of which 13 are fish-based recipes; AM1 has a total of 146 recipes, of which 24 are fish-based recipes. For the 12 Gluttons tradition, AF has a total of 57 recipes, of which 18 are fish based; AS has a total of 53 recipes of which 12 are fish-based; AT2 has a total of 93 recipes of which 15 are fish-based; AV2 has a total of 135 recipes of which ten are fish-based; and AM2 has a total of 65 recipes of which ten are fish-based.

textual tradition, we see an increase in the presence of fish-based recipes.[122] Considering that the cooking method depend both on the nature of the fish as well as on its size,[123] it is hard to pin point which cooking methods are more frequently suggested in the chapter devoted to fish preparation of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Nonetheless, our analysis revealed that there is a clear predominance of boiling and frying over roasting and grilling.

The novelties introduced by the *Libro de arte coquinaria* when it comes to fish preparations are multifaceted. There is an increase in the number of fish-based recipes but also, and most importantly, an overall increase in the specification of the type of fish to be prepared:[124] all fish-based recipes contained in chapter 6 of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* refer to a specific type of fish to be prepared. As we have already mentioned, fresh-fish based recipes clearly outnumber those involving cured fish as main ingredient. But, moreover, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* also differentiates itself from the previous textual traditions by offering a higher number of recipes involving saltwater fish as opposed to freshwater fish. When compared to the previous anonymous recipe collections, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* introduces new fish preparations based on fishes that were never mentioned in previous culinary works. This claim is also supported by the fact that these new preparations are presented in very simple ways. Fish recipes are not complicated, don't require elaborated stages: in many cases the recipes are given by one single line of text.[125] The recipes for more familiar types of fish – usually fresh water fish

[122] Fish-based recipes represent 31.58% of the total recipes in AF, 22.64% in AS, 16.13% in AT2, 7.41% in AV2, and 15.38% in AM2. AF and AS, the two recipe collections with the highest number of fish-based recipes also score higher in mentioning a specific type of fish to be used.
[123] When it comes to low esteemed types of fish, such as *pesce cane*, *barbo*, *scarde*, and *polpi*, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* leaves up to the reader the best way to prepared them.
[124] The *Libro de arte coquinaria* is second only to AF in terms of relative number of fish recipes.
[125] A few examples: *El sorgo è bono fritto o arrosto como ti piace*. / White sea bream is good fried or roasted, as you prefer; *Merluzo. Fallo alessare e per suo sapore gli darai mostarda bianca* / Codfish. Boil and serve with white mustard as its sauce.

like trout, tench, perch, lampreys, eels, pike, sturgeon, and carp – are longer, more elaborated, and with more possible variants. Recipes for saltwater fish are shorter in length and less complex in their preparations. Another confirmation of this claim is that the more elaborated recipes – usually involving fresh-water types of fish – are also the most spectacular preparations such as the *luccio o altro pesce grosso che sia cotto sano in tre modi* / pike or other large fish cooked whole in three different ways. Clearly, saltwater fish represents a novelty for the 15th century society Maestro Martino was working for.[126]

4.2.7. Ingredients and procedures: final considerations

As we have seen, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* structures its content in chapters defined by ingredient (chapters one and six) or by type of preparation (chapters two, three, four, and five) and this internal organization represents one of its innovative aspects. Maestro Martino's work also stands out for the attention given to final presentational touches, and to the definition of taste and texture of the finalized dishes. Moreover, although already present in the previous anonymous recipe collections, color specifications become more voluminous in Maestro Martino. Lastly, Maestro Martino's recipes, by allowing, suggesting and encouraging substitutions and alternatives, act as a white canvas on which skillful cooks can elaborate new combinations of ingredients with new flavors and textures. After having analyzed each chapter, we need to focus our attention to two basic ingredients that, due to their pervasiveness, need to be treated with an overarching perspective. Because of their general presence, salt and fat, their

[126] For the importance of fish-based preparations in mid-16th century Italian courts see Folena (1964).

uses and their characteristics, can only be analyzed considering their presence in the entire recipe collection.

Salt is mentioned but very rarely it is given in exact quantities. At the same time, there is the clear notion that, as a taste enhancer, salt is to be used cautiously. Our modern perception easily understands that salt need to be use with caution because it can alter and ruin the taste of a given dish. At the same time, the ways salt is used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* reveal to the modern reader other important aspects. Salt is frequently mentioned in the *Liber de Coquina* textual tradition whereas salt and its use are less explicit in the 12 *Ghiotti* textual tradition. The *Libro de arte coquinaria* is also not very precise when it comes to salt and its quantities. Salt can be added to dishes either directly or indirectly. Indirectly, salt is used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the form of salt preserved meats such as *carne salata* / salt-cured meat. Another way that salt is used is diluted in water in the form of *salimora* / brine. Diluting salt in water or other liquids is suggested to keep fish moist during roasting on the grill.[127] Diluting salt in water is also mentioned as a strategy to avoid the impurities contained in salt.[128] It seems to be another of those small secrets of the trade that Martino seems to be giving away but, in it, it is also possible to see the idea of preserving the color integrity of prepared dish.

[127] Depending on the use, *salimora* / brine may include vinegar or wine instead of water.Using brine to keep the moist during roasting is also mentioned in the recipe for *Per aconciare bene una porchetta* / how to dress a roast suckling pig (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 55).
[128] In the instructions on how to obtain *ogni carne bella allesso* / boiled white meat, the text says *se il sale non fosse netto, ponilo in una pocha d'acqua calda, che in breve spatio serrà dileguato, et converso in salimora, la quale come sia rasectata se potrà poner nel caldaro pianamente, aziò che non ve andassi la terra, che serrà sul fondo* / and in case the salt is not white, put it in a little hot water, and it will not take long for it to dissolve and become brine; and once it has settled, it can be added slowly to the pot so that the dirt will remain at the bottom (Martino et al 2005: 50).

The other general ingredient that is important to discuss is fat. Throughout the *Libro de arte coquinaria* different types of fat are used and it is important to not only identifying them but also to see how each type of fat is used in the different sections of book. The opposition between vegetable and animal fat – usually olive oil versus different types of animal fat – has been used to describe Roman civilization versus the Northern civilizations that overtook the Roman domination in the European continent and in the Mediterranean, but we need to go a little deeper in our analysis. The types of fat mentioned in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* are *grasso* / animal fat, and *lardo* / cured or fresh animal fat, *strutto* / lard (rendered fat), *olio* / (olive) oil, *burro* / butter, but fish fat as well. *Grasso* is used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* as a generic term indication fresh animal fat; *lardo* refers to a preserved animal fat ranging from fresh to cured. In order to preserve animal fat, and due to its importance as culinary element, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* does offer a recipe for *strutto* / lard in which special attention is given to consistency as well as to conservation:[129] *strutto* is widely used for meat preparations, pie fillings, and some vegetable-based preparations: it is rarely used for fritters, and never in fish-based preparations. *Olio* / olive oil is the preferred fat used in fish-based, vegetable-based recipes, and is used for fritters. *Burro*/[130] butter is used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* but almost exclusively as an alternative to animal fat, usually *strutto* / lard, but it is never mentioned in meat-based recipes: it is only mentioned as alternative to *strutto* in *minestre*, *torte*, and fried preparations. Butter appears as an alternative to oil only in egg-based recipes and it is considered the best and only fat to be used in fried eggs preparations. It is nonetheless important to notice that butter is much

[129] *Per far structo de porco /* how to prepare rendered pork lard (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 59-60).
[130] Spelled as *butiro* or *botiro*.

more used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* than in the previous anonymous recipe collections.[131] Lastly, fish fat is used almost exclusively when the calendar would not allow the use of any animal fat or for those recipes conceived specifically for those days.[132]

Our analysis of the use of the different types of fat reveals that the opposition animal / non-animal fat clearly corresponds to differentiation between fat and lean days of the religious calendar.[133] The distribution in the use of different types of fat in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* suggests that while the choice between animal or vegetable fat follows the religious calendar, there is still some clear predominance of animal fat. As we said, butter is being used more frequently and more widely, although still used as substitute for other types of fat. To support the claim that butter is gaining ground to detriment of other animal fats, we should mention that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* offers a recipe for *butiro contrafacto in quadragesima* / Lenten imitation butter. It seems that religious dietary restrictions, or the desire of subverting them, drive the creation of dishes that share appearance and texture with preparations whose use is conditioned and restricted by the religious calendar.

In the *Libro de arte coquinaria* there are several mentions of *pigliare fume*/[134] to burn which appear more conspicuously, as it was to be expected, in the second chapter, the one dedicated to soups and stews. In the recipe for *Riso con lacte de mandole* / rice with almond

[131] Butter is almost absent in the manuscripts from the *Liber de Coquina* tradition – AT1 and AM1 – and only rarely mentioned in AF and AT2, from the 12 Gluttons textual tradition. About the rise in butter use and consumption see Montanari 2015: 114-116.
[132] The *Torta de dattali, d'amandole et altre chose* / Date torte with almonds and other things (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 85) is just one example. Other examples are those fish-based recipes in which whenever fat is required, the recipe opts for fish-based fat, or fish-based broth made from a fatty fish.
[133] See Carnevale Schianca 2011: 95-96, 335, 446-448, and 639.
[134] Or *fumo*.

milk,[135] after mentioning that such preparation tends to burn easily, Maestro Martino offers his advice and method on how to solve the problem when a too high exposure of the cooking vessel to fire causes the preparation to stick to the inside of the cooking vessel and burn. It is considered a problem for both the preparation and the cooking vessel. Being fully aware of that, Maestro Martino offers a lengthy explanation on how to solve both problems. At the end of his remark he rebuts by saying that *Né trovo miglior remedio per cacciare questo fume* / Nor do I know a better remedy, which reveals that his knowledge goes beyond the ingredients and their preparation and encompasses as well the care of kitchen tools and all other aspects involved in the preparation of food.

4.3. The *Libro de arte coquinaria*: measurements and tools

The analysis of culinary recipe collections would not be complete if it did not consider as well the tools being used and the ways in which ingredients, servings, as well as time and temperature are measured. These considerations allow us to reach a deeper understanding of the materiality involved in the preparation of food in the time period we are analyzing. Our analysis will start by focusing on time and temperature and later on ingredients and servings. Lastly, we will focus on the tools, the more technological aspects, and how they are described in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*.

[135] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71.

4.3.1. Measuring time: cooking time, preparation time, conservation time

One of the aspects in which it is possible to see the innovative character of Maestro Martino's work is the way in which cooking and processing times are expressed in the recipes. In previous anonymous culinary recipe collection, regardless of which tradition, time indications appear in a very limited number of occasions. The texts of the *Liber de Coquina* tradition, AM1 and AT1, do not contain any cooking time indication. As for the textual tradition of the *12 Gluttons*, AV2 contains some, still very limited, instructions on cooking times, and AS only contains one reference to processing time. It says for how many days something is to be preserved in vinegar which is clearly a conservation time and not a cooking time.

In the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, cooking times seem to be considered for the first time as an important piece of information to be included in culinary recipes. The most used time measuring unit is the hour. When less than an hour cooking times are used, the hour is never divided into minutes, but rather into fractions of an hour: the fractions used are one eighth, one fifth, one quarter, and one half. For longer cooking or preparation times, the number of hours, or of days, is usually given to refer to the time required to either cook or prepare (marinating being the clearest case) an ingredient. Cooking times smaller than one eighth of an hour, are given using the time required to recite prayers such as the Our Father or the *Miserere*. An analysis of the lexical items co-occurring with declared hour-based cooking times reveals that clearly expressed cooking times tend to appear more frequently with boiling rather than with any other cooking methods. In some cases, visual clues are also used to refer not to the time required for

boiling but rather the final results of a boiling process.[136] In other cases, the cooking time of one specific ingredient is given in relationship to the cooking time of another, perhaps more known, ingredient,[137] relying therefore on the experience of the reader.

In a few cases, conservation times for a prepared dish are also provided and are to be considered as the maximum time a prepared dish would keep before spoiling. The analysis of the few instances in which conservation time is given reveals something we consider important to define the character of Maestro Martino. To give one example, we will proceed with a detailed analysis of the recipe for *carpioni*, on 57r, a salmonid fish typical of Lake Garda which, and after being kept in *salamora*, a salty solution, for two days, is to be deep fried in olive oil.[138] Preparing *carpioni* this way ensures that the prepared fish can be kept for up to a month. If fried one or two more times they can be kept even for a longer time. But Maestro Martino is adamant in saying that (*ma*) *nota che quante più volte le frige, ogni volta perdono più de la substantia et deventano peggiori, che questo modo de rifarli solamente s'è trovato per farli durare di più* / But note that every time they are fried, they lose some of their substance and become less good, because this method was invented only to make them last longer.[139] What is interesting here is that there is a contrast between taste and preservation: the more the ingredient is modified through cooking, the less flavor it will retain, but it will last longer. Maestro Martino seems aware of the two dimensions of cooking. He clearly prefers taste to a longer preservation but he demonstrates that

[136] *Et lassali bollire tanto che sia consumata la terza parte* / Simmer to reduce by one-third (Maestro Martino at al. 2005: 57).
[137] The time it takes to cook veal or beef is considered the reference time to cook sturgeon: meat seems to be the default, while fish is not: vide 48v and Maestro Martino at al. 2005: 99.
[138] Carnevale Schianca 2011: 131-132.
[139] Maestro Martino at al. 2005: 108.

he knows that cooking is used to achieve two different, and sometimes opposite, things: to enhance the taste of an ingredient and/or to preserve a prepared food for a long period of time.

Our analysis of how cooking, preparation, and conservation times are given in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* clearly reveals and reinforces the idea that Maestro Martino is striving for a higher degree of accuracy when it comes to cooking instructions. At the same time, if it is true that cooking indications are more frequent in Maestro Martino's text than in any of the previous anonymous recipe collections, it is also true that Maestro Martino's reader needs to have a certain degree of familiarity with the art of cooking. Although the *Libro de arte coquinaria* displays new ways to express cooking times, it still relies on a knowledgeable and skillful reader. Expressions like *e quando è cotta cacciala fora* / and when it is cooked take it out[140] are very common and outnumber the cases in which a precise cooking time is mentioned.

4.3.2. Measuring temperature

The numeric expression of temperature is obviously not to be found in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Nonetheless, considering that, by definition, cooking implies heat to be applied to raw ingredients, the relationship with direct or indirect fire – roasting vs boiling and frying –, and with its intensity is something that needs to be considered when analyzing any cookbook. In Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, the intensity of temperature is almost exclusively given by a description of the proximity between the heat source and the ingredient to be cooked. When it comes to roasting, adverb forms like *ad ascio* and *forte* are used to refer to the proximity

[140] Vide recipe for *Peperata de salvaticina* / How to prepare a good pepper sauce for game (Maestro Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 51).

to the heat source and its intensity. As for boiling, the most interesting feature in the description of the control of temperature is almost exclusively given by the proximity of the cooking vessel to the ambers or to the heating source in general. Proximity of the cooking vessel to the heat source is also important when it comes to the preparation of tarts and pies. In this case, though, heat was applied not only on the sides and on the bottom but also on top of the cooking vessel: in order to achieve the best results, the text is very detailed when it comes to tarts and pies to how much heat to apply and the exact location where to apply it.

Considering how the *Libro de arte coquinaria* deals with temperature, we need to underline the fact that in Maestro Martino's book indications related to temperature are more frequent than in any of the previous anonymous recipe collections, which suggests a more precise and detailed approach to temperature and to how temperature affects the act of cooking. Most important of all, though, is the fact that overcooking can spoil the taste of the prepared dish. Mainly when discussing the preparation of thick soups, Maestro Martino mentions on several occasions the fact that specific measures need to be taken to avoid that a given preparation *piglie fumo* or *piglie fume* / get burnt. In the recipe for *Riso con lacte de mandole* / Rice with almond milk on 20r-v, while considering that the rice can easily stick to the bottom and burn, Maestro Martino mentions the fact that the pan should be on the ambers but away from the fire and that one needs to stir frequently with the wooden spoon. Moreover, as we have already seen, he gives valuable indications on how to avoid that the food being prepared gets spoiled by the transferring of the burnt taste: these indications, in his own words, constitute the best-known remedy to solve the problem and to save the pot, as previously mentioned.[141]

[141] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 71.

4.3.3. Measuring ingredients and servings

When thinking about culinary recipes, we tend to consider that a culinary recipe should mention the quantities of the ingredients required and, directly related to that, the number of servings intended. This set of values – the quantities of ingredients and the number of servings – allows adapting the recipe for a bigger or smaller number of servings while maintaining the proportions of the ingredients.

Our analysis of the anonymous culinary recipe collections of the 14th and 15th centuries, revealed that quantities of ingredients and number of servings are not always included in the recipes. The texts of the *Liber de Coquina* tradition, as we have seen, do not provide any indication about quantities nor about the number of servings. The texts from the *12 Gluttons* traditions, on the contrary, do provide, although not in all cases, quantities and the number of servings. AF is the manuscript from the *12 Gluttons* tradition that, more than any other text, is very detailed when it comes to specifying the quantities and the number of servings. This manuscript structures very clearly its recipes. The title of the recipe, which usually states the number of servings, is followed by the list of ingredients followed by the list of the actions necessary to complete the recipe. At the end of the recipe, AF usually offers taste and color considerations, and also points out that when preparing the recipe for more people, the referred proportions should be maintained.

As far as Maestro Martino is concerned, measurements, and the number of servings, are not very common in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The number of servings and/or the quantities

of ingredients appear only in chapters one (on meat preparations), two (on victuals of different kinds) and four (on tarts and savory pies). Chapters three (on sauces and relishes), five (on fritters) and six (on fish preparations) do not offer any indication on the number of servings, nor on the quantities of ingredients. In chapter one, six out of the 40 recipes mention some sort of quantities when it comes to ingredients: more than exact quantities, in this chapter we find that the liquids mentioned in the recipes offer the proportions of those same liquids instead of exact quantities.[142] In chapter two, the number of servings and the ingredient quantities are declared in 26 recipes out of the 59 included in the chapter. Moreover, in this case, ingredient quantification is more likely to be given when liquid ingredients are present. Another important feature worth mentioning about the recipes of chapter two is the fact that some of the recipes are presented as variations of a preceding recipe. In these cases, the text sends the reader to the previous recipes when it comes to ingredient quantities. In chapter four, out of the 37 recipes, 13 mention the ingredient quantities, mainly related to dry ingredients: there is no mention of the number of servings.

Our analysis of ingredient measurements and how they are used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* shows that Maestro Martino is more inclined to give proportions when it comes to liquid ingredients and to give quantities when it comes to dry ingredients. Specifications about the number of servings also are linked more directly to liquid preparations which are presented in chapter two. In most cases, exact ingredient quantities are left to the experience of the reader with expressions like *secundo te parrà necessario* (2v) / as you deem necessary.[143] Another

[142] Just to give one example: on 4r, in the recipe *Per fare pastello secco de cervo o de capriolo* / How to prepare a pie with deer or roebuck (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 52), meat is to be boiled *in aqua mischiata con altrectanto aceto* / in equal amounts of water and vinegar (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 52).
[143] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 51.

confirmation that Maestro Martino leaves the quantity of one specific ingredient to the experience of the reader is to be seen in the way he refers to the use of salt. Salt is only mentioned 50 times in the entire *Libro de arte coquinaria*, and mainly in meat and fish preparations. Only in one case the exact quantity of salt is given: on 8v, the recipe for *Salzicchie* / Sausages says that *se la carne è dece libre metteve una libra di sale* / If you have ten librae of meat, add one libra of salt.[144] In other cases, how much salt to use is given by indefinite expressions such as *un pocho di sale* / a bit of salt,[145] or with some adverb such as *assai de sale* / a generous amount of salt.[146] But of those 50 mentions, there are nine in which the quantity of salt to be used is clearly left to the discretion of the reader. In three other case, the salt is proportionate to the meat being used. On 4r, the recipe *Per fare pastello secco de cervo o capriolo* says that one needs to add *del sale secondo la quantità de la carne* / adding salt as necessary.[147] The other cases refer to salt *secondo che è necessario* / salt as necessary, *secondo il bisogno* / adding salt as necessary, *a sofficientia* / a sufficient amount of salt, and *quanto te pare necessario* / with the necessary amount of salt.[148]

In some cases, recipes provide detailed indications of the size in which ingredients are to be cut or shaped. Usually these indications present a comparison with another object in the real world. The analysis of these comparisons reveal that the comparable objects are usually either other ingredients, closely related to the world of the kitchen, or easy to visualize by the reader.

[144] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 57.
[145] On 10v-11r, in the recipe *Per conciare starne al modo catalano* / How to dress partridges in the catalan style (Maestro et al. 2005: 59).
[146] On 11r, in the recipe *Per far structo de porco* / How to prepare rendered pork lard (Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 59)
[147] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 52.
[148] Maestro Martino, et al. 2005: 50. The translation of this last example could have been closer to the original and emphasize even more that it is the reader the one who has to decide the quantity deemed necessary in this recipe.

To illustrate this, we list a few examples: indications are given to cut them *sottili come la costa di un coltello* / thin as the blade of a knife; to make them as big as *due pugna* / two fists, *uno ovo* / one egg, *una castagna* / a chestnut; as wide as a *ditto piccolo* / a small finger; or to make them bigger than *mezza castagna* / half a chestnut.

4.3.4. The *Libro de arte coquinaria*: Tools

In order to analyze how and which tools are used in Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, we first need to keep in mind that, in some cases, the lexical meaning of certain verbs entails or, less technically, implies the presence and use of a tool, or an ingredient, in order to perform a certain action.[149] This fact is true for both ingredients and tools even though it is more frequent with tools than with ingredients. For example, the verb *salare* / to salt entails the presence and use of salt without mentioning it. While verbs that entail an ingredient are not that frequent, verbs that entail tools are more conspicuously present in the language. Two examples: the verb *tagliare* / to cut entails a knife and, in some cases, a cutting board; the verb *bollire* / to boil entails a cooking vessel, water, and a heat source. Those entailed elements do not appear physically in the text, but they are implied by the use of those exact verbs. This has direct and profound implications on the occurrence or non-occurrence of specific lexical items. In order to avoid the problems that any strictly quantitative lexical analysis entails, our analysis will use a balanced approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the occurrences of tools as they are mentioned in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. We need to keep in mind that any strictly quantitative

[149] For a detailed discussion, see Levin 1993, 2000.

analysis of the tools mentioned in a cookbook can potentially lead to imprecise results and needs to be compensated with a qualitative analysis of those occurrences.

To better analyze culinary tools, we propose to divide them into three categories: preparation tools – used to prepare ingredients –, transformation tools – used to transform, to cook, raw ingredients –, and presentation tools – used to serve the cooked ingredients. Although, at least in theory, one tool can be used in more than one of these categories, in most cases kitchen tools and utensils belong to either one of those categories. Dividing kitchen tools in this way allows us to claim something important about the *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the evolution of the culinary arts from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The *Libro de arte coquinaria* is a text conceived in the kitchen and for the kitchen. It deals with the preparation, the transformation, and the presentation of cooked ingredients, but its scope doesn't involve any banquet organization, nor any table etiquette, as printed cookbooks will start to incorporate later, from the middle of the 16th century onwards.[150] In several recipes, the text ends with a description on how to plate the prepared food to be brought to the table: some recipes include some plating instructions like the addition of sugar and spices, but most recipe end with the indication of sending the prepared dish to the table. The scope of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is, so to speak, confined to the kitchen, to food preparation, and does not enter the domain of food consumption in its social dimensions. This aspect is confirmed also by the limited number of presentation or serving tools mentioned in the text: these tools are limited to *scudelle* / bowls, *piattelli* / small plates, and *tagliere* / serving board.

[150] Messisbugo's, Romoli's, and Scappi's works clearly deal with banquet organization (menus), table etiquette, and other social aspects connected to food. Interesting to note that also Maestro Martino, in the later manuscript, the RdG, included the menu for a banquet, thus expanding the scope of his text beyond the limited space of the kitchen and into the banquet room.

If we consider the transformation tools mentioned in the text, and we related them to the three most common transformation procedures – boiling, frying and roasting – the occurrences of transformation tools clearly confirms that in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* tools for boiling are the most used, followed frying tools and by roasting tool.[151] Moving from cooking vessels, containers, and other transformation tools, to preparation tools, the tool that catches the reader's for being the most widely mentioned and used is the *stamigna* / stamine, a cloth, usually made out of wool, used to strain liquids. The word *stamigna* and its variants appears 63 times in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and it is implied many other times by the verb *colare* / to strain.[152] Straining broths and sauces helps to obtain clearer liquids and smoother consistency: it is by no means a novelty introduced by Maestro Martino since, as an action, it is present in the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections. Nonetheless, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* mentions and uses this specific kitchen tool – the *stamigna* – much more than any other previous recipe collection: this fact points to the fact that that for the *Libro de arte coquinaria* these two qualities, clearness and smoothness, are much more important: clear broths, smooth preparations and sauces are given an attention never given before.

4.4. For whom was the *Libro de arte coquinaria* written: the intended audience(s)

As previously discussed, some of the copies of Maestro Martino's text are dedicated to former employers: the first three manuscripts – P, W, and, possibly, V – to the cardinal Ludovico

[151] Boiling tools account for 49 occurrences, frying tools for 39, and roasting for 28: cooking tools as spoons and other tools like that account for 35 occurrences.
[152] It also appears in the text as *stamegna* or *stamegnia*.

Trevisan,[153] and RdG to the *condottiere* Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. If it is relatively easy to identify the historical individuals to whom culinary recipes collections are dedicated, it is not always easy to identify the intended audience the cookbook is addressing. For intended audience, we mean those who will actually use the cookbook, for its pedagogical purpose, to reproduce and recreate the proposed culinary recipes, or those who will use it to have those culinary recipes recreated by cooks.

A cookbook is written with two main goals: to remember and to instruct. It can be written for personal use to remember which combination of ingredients to use for preparing a specific dish in the future, but it can also be written for others to use and, in this case, it assumes an instructional purpose. These two main goals, for personal use or with pedagogical purpose, for remembering or for instructing, can be hard to separate, but they provide different text typologies. A cookbook for personal use will have shorter recipes and will display minimal instructions since the recipe has a mere mnemonic purpose. A cookbook written for others to use will have longer and more detailed explanations that will address not only ingredients but procedures as well since the writer of the culinary text does not know the reader's knowledge and skills, nor the specific social situation in which the reader will be performing those culinary duties. Keeping this in mind, it is also clear that the audience of a culinary recipe collection that is not for personal use can be understood in two ways. A cookbook can talk to and, at the same time, talk about its audience. More importantly: those two audiences are not necessarily the same.

[153] Considering the similarities with W, it is conceivable to assert that W and V are dedicated to the same individual, but this is still an assumption due to the lack of the title page.

On the one hand, and on an immediate level,[154] a cookbook, considering its instructional essence, speaks to those who will follow, or perform those culinary instructions and (re)create those dishes.[155] While speaking to this audience, a cookbook implies the audience to have specific characteristics. When the cookbook says to "clean the artichoke", it is implicitly assuming that the audience knows what an artichoke is, and that the audience has the skills to clean it. At the same time and considering that food preparation is linked to food consumption, a cookbook also talks about those who will consume and enjoy the food that will be prepared following its instructions. A cookbook, in this sense, offers us information about the society in which food is consumed, its preferences in terms of gastronomic taste, and, more importantly, its social rules. The distinction between these two audiences is a relevant one: let us define them, respectively, as primary, and secondary audience.

As its primary audience, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* speaks to professional cooks, to individuals who oversee food preparations for their masters. The text implies and requires professional culinary skills and, at the same time, offers several secrets of the trade. Nonetheless, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* also grants a lot of freedom to its users: the number of substitutions mentioned and suggested gives to anyone who is using its recipes a lot of working variants. Campanini and, more extensively, Civolani have discussed the role of the Renaissance cook, compiler of culinary recipe collections and his ambivalent status between artisanal resourcefulness and artistic expression.[156] If it possible to see an evolution that through Maestro Martino will arrive to the prominent chefs of the Italian Renaissance and their culinary works

[154] I am using *immediate* here with its both meanings of "instant" and "un-mediated."
[155] I like the idea of a recipe as the music score a musician follows in order to perform.
[156] Campanini: 2017; Civolani: 2016. I would like to thank Sebastiano Civolani who, through Antonella Campanini, allowed me to access his thesis.

published in print in the second half of the 16th century – an evolution in which, in some sense, the culinary arts evolve from artisanal skills to artistic endeavors –, our goal here is to try to find an answer to why Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is so appealing that it will be used extensively in printed editions in the first half of the 16th century.[157] The book is compiled by a professional cook, Maestro Martino, and for professional cooks who progressed through the professional ranks just like Maestro Martino himself. Simple statements like *e quando è cotto* / and when it's cooked prove that the text is talking to a reader with a specific set of culinary skills and experiences.[158] These professional cooks need to be able to strike the balance between everyday cooking and ceremonial banqueting since they are in charge of both everyday cooking and the occasional celebration. Thanks to his professional experience, Maestro Martino comes with invaluable experience in the kitchen that granted him a deep understanding of ingredients as well as procedures. In various instances, in fact, Maestro Martino proves that he knows how to balance taste with conservation, his own personal preferences with his master's preferred taste, culinary and gustatory inventiveness with religious dietary restrictions. At the same time, Maestro Martino's text reveals some distance with its primary audience. This distance shows that Maestro Martino allows his professional readership to act more autonomously. Exactly because Maestro Martino trusts the knowledge of his readership, his text grants freedom in terms of alternative ingredients as well as in terms of the adaptability of the recipes to the reality in which the recipes will be replicated. If read by a skillful cook, the recipes of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* do not appear as a closed set of rules to be strictly followed but rather as a set of possible combinations that can be equated with the pragmatic reality of a kitchen, the larder, the

[157] The cook and the *scalco* experience diametrically opposed evolutions: cooks lead some sort of success but they will be soon relegated back to the kitchen and their prominent place in terms of social visibility will be taken by the *scalco*.
[158] Similar statements are extremely frequent throughout the text.

pantry, not to mention those who will enjoy the prepared dishes. Another restriction a cook has to work with – another specific constraint imposed by the very nature of his professional position – is the imperative need to please his master, his appetite and gastronomic taste. And this is where the *Libro de arte coquinaria* embodies a remarkably resourceful tool. Maestro Martino is never – or very rarely – imposing when presenting his recipes, but rather, he freely offers his knowledge and experience. The lack of strict indications on the number of servings and about ingredients' quantities offer an experienced cook the possibility to adapt any recipe to his own reality, the social reality that will enjoy the prepared dishes and, while impressing its guests, will use them to express and assert its power.

As for its secondary audience, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is not very clear. We know that at the time in which his *Libro de arte coquinaria* was assembled, he was working, or had worked, as cook of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan. Maestro Martino's professional situation is linked to relatively small groups composed of highly ranked officials of the Catholic Church and their entourages. Analyzing the very nature of the recipes, though, we can only gather that Maestro Martino was cooking for wealthy individuals with distinctive gastronomic taste and selective palate. The use of spices – which were liberally used – and other expensive ingredients such as game and fish reveal that we are dealing with wealthy individuals. There are also recipes that try to circumvent the dietary restrictions dictated by the religious calendar, which reinforce the idea of the pleasures of the table while respecting and conforming to the impositions of the religious calendar. [159] If something is off limits because of religious restrictions, a skillful and

[159] The recipes for counterfeiting ingredients, usually dairy products.

resourceful cook can prepare something that looks and tastes similar without infringing on any imposition dictated by the religious calendar.

The detailed attention given to color and to final decorative and presentational touches confirms that those enjoying Maestro Martino's culinary creations considered eating not exclusively as nourishment but as a multisensorial experience. At the same time, in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, everyday ingredients are present: Maestro Martino is not afraid of talking about ingredients with lower symbolic and monetary value and to use them in his recipes and, even more importantly, he is aware of the importance of conservation when it comes to food and ingredients.

4.5. Conclusion: What is new in Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*

Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* stands out from the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections for several reasons. Even before discussing its content, this the first time that a culinary recipe collection bears the name of its compiler and is dedicated to a specific individual. These two aspects, statement of authorship and dedication, reveal a new attitude towards both food preparation and food appreciation that will mark forever the production of culinary recipe collections. The person in charge of food preparation deserves to be recognized as the compiler of an instructional manual, and a collection of culinary recipes deserves to be dedicated to an illustrious individual in a lavishly decorated manuscript: the culinary arts have been elevated and brought to the front of the stage. Food, its preparation along with its enjoyment, have transitioned from a status of physical necessity to a more elevated level that, in

a certain way, resembles that given to other artistic expressions in which the artisan and the patron are in a symbiotic relationship where the patron supports the artisan who gives back to the patron: music, the visual arts, literature, but also the military arts, and architecture function following this pattern in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

With Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria* it seems that the culinary arts follow the same pattern. The problem with food, though, is that we are dealing with a necessity, a bodily function, that connects the human being with the most natural aspects of his/her existence, the primordial physical necessity of feeding him/herself in order to preserve his/her subsistence. One confirmation that food seems to have transitioned to a new status can be seen in the broken connection between food and health that the *Libro de arte coquinaria* displays. In Maestro Martino's text, food preparation and health preservation and restoration have gone different ways and become almost two separate fields. If we look back to the previous anonymous recipe collections we see that in the older textual tradition, the one of the *Liber de Coquina*, the connection between food and health is still a functional one: AT1 has an entire sequence of 19 recipes especially for sick people, and AM1 has nine of those recipes. In the textual tradition of the 12 *Ghiotti*, for many aspects closer to the reality of Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria*, the number of recipes specifically designed for sick people drop significantly. Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* deals with recipes for sick people in a totally new way: the possibility of adapting one recipe for sick people is mentioned only on two occasions[160]. The *Libro de arte coquinaria* does not offer any recipe specifically designed for sick people but merely two variants to be used when a specific food preparation is to be given to

[160] See section 4.2.2. of this chapter.

sick people. Food preparation has disconnected itself from provisions regarding restoring and maintaining health and this represent the second novelty introduced by the *Libro de arte coquinaria*.

As we have already mentioned on several occasions, Maestro Martino organizes his recipes into defined sections. The analysis of the separate chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* has revealed that Maestro Martino used an innovative way to group recipes together with each section built around an ingredient – meat and fish –, or a type of preparation – *vivande*, sauces and relishes, pies, and fritters. Previous anonymous recipe collections organized their contents more loosely or in ways that revealed that they were intended for personal use more than for pedagogical purposes. Maestro Martino's organizational strategy is to group together a large number of recipes according to broad categories, broader than those used in the previous anonymous recipe collections. Within these broad categories, the reader has the possibility to find more recipes to work with. Moreover, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* marks the first step in the evolution of cookbooks from an ingredient-based organization to one that follows the sequence of the dishes in a banquet, something that will characterize most of the printed cookbooks of the second half of the 16th century and beyond. At this point we also need to remember that while Maestro Martino is a professional cook, the cookbooks published in the second half of the 16th century and then in the 17th century will be written not only by cooks but, most frequently, by *scalchi* / masters of ceremony who are obviously more attentive to the entire apparatus of a banquet rather than to the preparation of the individual dishes to be served.

As a professional cook, Maestro Martino, while knowledgeable, skillful and resourceful – or probably because of those qualities – reveals himself as less dogmatic than we would have expected. Only on rare occasions, in fact, are his recipes locked-in combinations of ingredients and procedures: the nature of a specific ingredient, its characteristics and its size seem to be the driving forces that inform his actions in the kitchen and in his recipes. Other than that, substitutions, adaptations, and variants are not only allowed but considered, suggested, and, indirectly, valued and encouraged. Maestro Martino is aware that the culinary preparations depend on a myriad of external factors, physical conditions, availability and quality of ingredients, taste and preferences of the master, etc., and therefore his recipes are more a blank canvas rather than an exact equation. Counting on a knowledgeable, skillful and resourceful readership, Maestro Martino instead of offering rigorous step-by-step instructions intended for novice apprentices to learn and progress in the culinary arts, offers working culinary ideas leaving the ultimate authority to the end-user of the recipes, who will be able to adapt at his own discretion and consideration.

Another aspect that is profoundly innovative in Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is the way he treats fish and fish-based preparations. As we know, the last chapter is dedicated to fish-based preparations. Just like the first chapter on meat preparations, it starts out with general indication on how to clean fish according to the cooking method. Here also, not much is definitive since for most fish recipes, the cooking procedures depends on the size of the fish to be prepared. But what strikes the most is the increased number of types of fish mentioned. As Gianfranco Folena stated, between the 15th and the 16th century, there is an increase in the demand for fish and Italian courts seem to become more and more refined and demanding regarding fish

and its quality.[161] To support this claim, Folena refers to the editions of cookbooks by Zambrini, Frati, Guerrini, as well as Messisbugo's work but there is no mention to Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. As our analysis revealed, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is the first cookbook in which not only fish-based recipes increase, but also the types of fish to be prepared expands. This expansion adds a great number of new types of fish, mainly sea water fish, which were never mentioned in the previous anonymous recipe collections. A detailed lexicological study of the nouns used in the *Libro de arte coquinaria* for fish – and fish products –is yet to be done but our initial analysis seems to point to a predominance of Venetian based nouns for fish which could support the fact that Maestro Martino had more familiarity with the Adriatic and Northern Adriatic fisheries than with those from other parts of the peninsula, an interesting element considering that, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* was produced in Rome.

The last trait in which it is possible to see the novelty introduced by the *Libro de arte coquinaria* relates to the care Maestro Martino puts into the final stages of the dish preparation. In some cases, the previous anonymous recipe collections gave indications on how a dish should look and taste. For example, a recipe for rice in the AF manuscript, ends with the sentence *E questa vivanda vuol esere gialla e dolce* / and this dish wants to be yellow and sweet: two simple indications regarding the color and the taste of the finalized dish. What we see in Maestro Martino is quite different. He mentions how a dish should be served, in bowls or on a board, for example. He always gives indications on what to sprinkle on top of the finalized dish, rose water and sugar and cinnamon being the most commonly used at this moment of the dish preparation. Most importantly, as far as taste is concerned, he leaves to the reader the possibility of making

[161] Folena 1963-64: 70.

the dish *dolce o bruscho* / sweet or sour, according to the taste of those who will enjoy the dish prepared in the kitchen. Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria* are more concerned with the enjoyment at the table rather than with the dish itself. Finalizing a dish in its color, taste and texture components is relevant only if those elements meet the expectations of those at the table: food appreciation is, for Maestro Martino, a key element that needs to be considered as part of the process of preparing food.

5. Appropriations in print of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*

In the previous chapters we have analyzed the manuscript tradition of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, its contents, and its key role in the evolution of the culinary and gastronomic taste from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The importance of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* can also be considered in the context of the evolution that culinary recipe collections undergo with the introduction of print in the last decades of the 15th century and, even more conspicuously, during the 16th century. The editorial history of the content of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* in printed editions allows us to see how Maestro Martino's work plays a key role in the development of culinary recipe collections as a genre, from manuscript to print, and from private to public.

This chapter focuses on the printed editions in vernacular Italian that use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as source text. They will be examined for their content and its relation to the source text, for their materiality, and for their editorial history. Considering the long-lasting editorial success of one of these appropriations in print, the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*, this analysis will be limited in scope to the 15th through the mid-16th century, years in which the monumental culinary treatises of the Italian tradition are published in print.[1]

[1] Cristoforo Messisbugo's *Banchetti*, published in Ferrara in 1549 by Antonio Hucher; Domenico Romoli's *La singolare dottrina*, published in Venice in 1560 by Michele Tramezzino; and Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera*, printed in Venice in 1570 also by Michele Tramezzino.

5.1. Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*

Considered to be the first printed book on cookery, Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is indeed the first instance in which Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is used as source text in a printed volume. According to Carnevale Schianca, slightly more than one third of the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* comes directly from the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and is initially translated from the vernacular Italian of the source text into Latin.[2] The contents of the six chapters of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* are reorganized by Platina between chapter 6 and chapter 10 in his *De honesta voluptate*. Platina follows more or less closely the structure Maestro Martino gave to the contents of the book: if Maestro Martino's technical information is kept almost intact by Platina, it is also true that in many places he takes the liberty, mainly at the very beginning of his chapters, of adding to Maestro Martino's recipes personal commentaries and considerations on ingredients and their nutritional values. As we have seen, more than a cookbook, the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is a work in which an educated audience can find health-related information rather than a work for practical purposes and for actual cooking practices. As Carnevale Schianca points out, the Latin translation reveals several inconsistencies confirming that Platina was not very well versed in the art of cooking, regardless of his claims about having learned from Martino.[3]

It is only after Platina's death, on September 21st, 1481, that the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is published in vernacular Italian. It was printed in vernacular Italian and published

[2] Carnevale Schianca 2015: 52.
[3] Carnevale Schianca 2015: 53.

five times between December 15, 1487 and June 1, 1516.[4] Notaker refers to three other editions of Platina's text in vernacular Italian, but he claims that these three editions – namely 1498 B. Vitali's, 1499 A. de Benedetti's, and 1500 Rusconi's – are, in fact, mistakes of previous bibliographers.[5] The vernacular Italian version of Platina's work is not as successful as the Latin original which will be reprinted and republished several times during the 16th century.

A detailed history of the vernacular Italian editions of Platina's work has yet to be published, but a superficial examination of the texts reveals that the inconsistencies of the Latin text are amplified even further when translated back to vernacular Italian. Even though it goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, I dare to say that the lack of editorial success of the vernacular Italian editions of the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is due to a language/content miscalculation. As Carnevale Schianca asserts

> "Il singolare saggio del Platina – lavoro inusitato, di argomento inusitato o quantomeno trattato in forma inusitata – era rivolto in realtà a una *élite* che non aveva niente a che vedere né con la cucina né con la medicina" / Platina's peculiar work – unsual work, with an unusual subject or at least treated in an unusual form – was actually addressed to an elite that had nothing to do with cooking or medicine.[6]

But still it was a readership that knew Latin and showed interest in the type of content Platina assembled combining health recommendations, medical prescriptions, and culinary recipes. Platina wrote it in Latin assuming a well-defined readership: regardless of the level of their education, Platina's readership was fluent in Latin and was in tune with that type of

[4] Carnevale Schianca 2015: 24.
[5] Notaker 2010: 281-283.
[6] Carnevale Schianca 2015: 35. Translation mine.

knowledge.[7] By being translated into vernacular Italian, the content of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* was not meeting the demands of a readership not versed in the type of culture Platina wanted to disseminate. Curiously, the culinary content of Platina's *De honesta voluptate*, those section which come directly from Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, will reveal themselves extremely successful when printed in the original vernacular Italian but stripped away from all the medical and philosophical apparatus Platina had built around them.

5.2. 16th century appropriations in print of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*

As previously mentioned, Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is the first printed text that uses Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. It was originally printed in Latin by Ulrich Han – Uldaricus Gallus – most likely in Rome and likely between 1470 and 1475.[8] The second edition of this work was published in Venice in 1475 by Laurentius de Aquila and Sibylinus Umber on 13 June 1475.[9] Platina's work will be printed several times in Latin as well as in French, respectively with 18 and 22 attested editions.[10] The *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* will also be translate into vernacular Italian but it will not be successful as the French translation as we might expect. In vernacular Italian, Platina's work was published five times, always in Venice between December 15, 1487 and June 1, 1516.[11]

[7] See also Benporat 2001:56-59.
[8] ISTC no. ip00761000 available at https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00761000 (USTC no. 991960 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/991960). It was printed on a quarto format.
[9] ISTC no. ip00762000 available at https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00762000 (USTC no. 991959 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/991959). It was print on a folio format.
[10] See Notaker 2010: 327-336, #1001.1-1001.24 for Latin, and Notaker 2010: 140-146, #602.1-#602.23 for French.
[11] For the 1487 edition see ISTC no. 00766500 available at https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00766500 (USTC no. 991963 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/991963). For the 1516 edition see USTC no. 807517 (available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/807517).

Just six months after the last known edition of Platina's work in vernacular Italian, the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is used, in Venice, for another printed edition. As its colophon says,[12] the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario* is printed for the first time in Venice on December 3, 1516 by Agustino de Zanni da Portese for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo.[13] The *Opera noua chiamata Epulario* enjoys a long-standing editorial success with almost 50 editions between 1516 and 1683.[14] It will also have an English translation published in London (by Adam Islip for William Barley) in 1598 with the title *Epulario, or the Italian Banquet*.[15] Another publication that will use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* almost in its entirety will be the *Opera dignissima*, printed in Milan, approximatively around 1530, by Pietro Paolo Verini.[16] Unlike Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, these two other appropriations in print of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* do not acknowledge Maestro Martino, or his *Libro* as their source. Nonetheless, these two appropriations, the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario* and the *Opera Dignissima*, in their peculiarities and in their specificities, are key in order to understand how culinary recipe collections evolved into something new in order to adapt to the new medium and to the new environment created by the introduction of print.

[12] "Stampata in Venetia per Agustino de Za(n)ni | A instantia de Nicholo dicto Zoppino & Vicenzo | compagni. Neli anni del Signore M D XVI | Adi tre del mese di Decembrio".
[13] USTC no. 765101 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/765101. See also CNCE 77544 available at http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=10&i=77544. See also Westbury 1963: 191-193.
[14] See Notaker 2010: 283-297, #902.01-#902.53.
[15] See Notaker 2010: 68, #513.
[16] USTC no. 853496 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/853496. See also CNCE 58043 available at http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=10&i=58043. See also Westbury 1963: 117.

5.2.1. The *Opera noua chiamata Epulario* and its editorial history

The vernacular Italian translation of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* is considered to be the first culinary recipe collection ever to be printed in vernacular Italian, but, as we have seen, it will only be printed five times between its first 1487 and last 1516 edition.[17] The *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*, on the other hand, is the first *successful* printed cookbook in vernacular Italian; after its first 1516 edition, it will be republished almost 50 times before the end of the 17th century.[18] During the 16th century, it will be printed predominantly in Venice, but in Turin (in 1535), and Brescia (1537) as well.[19] In the 17th century, it will be printed primarily in Venice and in the surrounding areas – Treviso and Bassano – but also in Messina (1606), Rome (1614), and Naples (ca. 1675?) as well.[20] The reasons for this outstanding success include the organization of the content, the editorial format, and other elements that the new medium, the print, allows and forces printers and editors to use.

The most evident difference between Platina's work and the *Epulario* is the way in which Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, the source material, is used. As we have already mentioned, Maestro Martino's text makes up slightly more than half of the material contained in Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Platina uses Martino's text in its entirety while adding medicinal and dietary commentary to the recipes. In the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, all the parts regarding human health and human well-being are produced by Platina recurring to sources other than Maestro Martino. The *Epulario*, on the other hand, presents

[17] See Notaker 2010: 281-283, #901.1-901.8
[18] Notaker 2010: 283-297, #902.1-#902.52. See also Westbury 1963: 191-193.
[19] See Notaker 2010: 283-292, #902.01-#902.31.
[20] See Notaker 2010: 292-297, #902.32-#902.53.

exclusively Maestro Martino's recipes, even though it is not accurate to say that it reproduces them unoriginally as it has been claimed.[21]

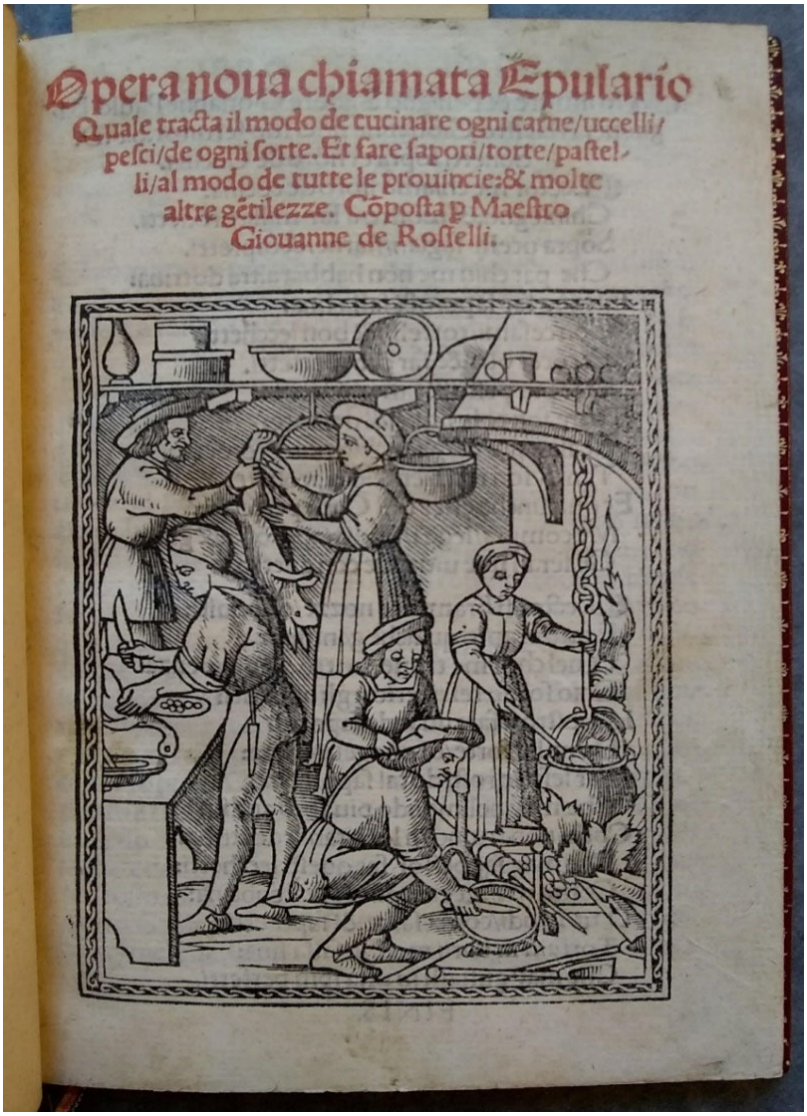


Figure 6. *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*, 1516
Venezia, 1516, December 3
Printed by Agustino Zanni da Portese for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo
Houghton Library, Harvard University IC5.R7346.516e.

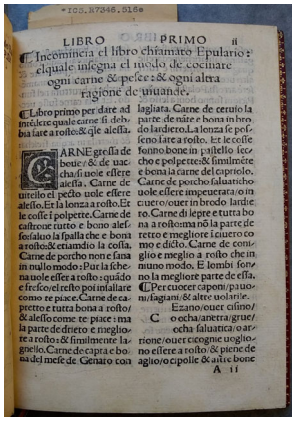
[21] Benporat 1990: 92-93; Benporat 2007: 23; Laurioux 1996b: 291; Ballerini 2005: 22.

But before getting into the analysis of the content and its organization, let's examine other bibliographical aspects of the *Epulario* and its editorial history and start with the actual format and size of the printed editions of the *Epulario*. A brief survey of the copies I have analyzed complemented with Notaker's (2010) descriptions for the other copies, [22] reveals that the predominant format for the *Epulario* is the octavo with very few exceptions, but always in smaller formats. From its 1516 *princeps* edition, the first 22 editions of the *Epulario* will be printed in octavo. The first edition to appear in a new format, the *duodecimo*, is the 1569 edition (Venezia, Domenico de Franceschi). From 1574 to 1683, there will be 14 editions in octavo, seven editions in duodecimo,[23] and six editions in sextodecimo.[24] As we can see from this data, the predominant format is clearly the octavo, which is used for 72% of the editions (36 out of 50 editions). From 1574 onward, the predominant format is still the octavo, but the duodecimo and the sextodecimo formats are also used: the choice of a specific format for the different editions of the *Epulario* seems to be driven by the editor's preference for that specific format, along with, of course, their availability and editorial trends. In any case, it is safe for us to say the *Epulario* is always printed in a small format.

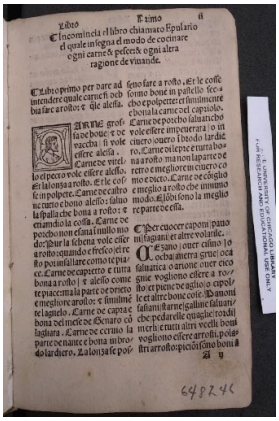
The layout and the type used in these editions generally conform to the trends in book production at the time. Our analysis reveals that, while at the beginning there was alternation

[22] I personally analyzed the December 3rd 1516 edition (Harvard University Houghton Library), the April 3, 1517 edition (University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center and Indiana University Lilly Library), the March 20, 1521 and the 1534 edition (University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center), and the 1555 edition (Indiana University Lilly Library). I used digitally available surrogates for the 1518, 1519, 1537, 1538, 1547, 1548 editions.
[23] Printed respectively in 1612 (Venezia, Alessandro Vecchi), 1672-1674 (3 editions) and 1682 (Venezia/Bassano, Giovanni Antonio Righettini), 1675 (Venezia, Zaccaria Conzatti), and 1683 (Venezia, Stefano Curti)
[24] Printed respectively in 1626, 1630, 1638, 1643, 1649, and 1657, all in Treviso, by Girolamo Righettini.

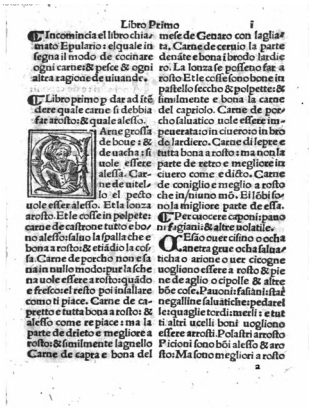
between both 2-column or 1-column layout and Roman or Gothic type, soon the alternation will disappear with the definition of the Roman and the 1-column as the preferred type and layout. The first edition of 1516 is printed using Roman type in a two-column page layout.[25] The second edition uses Gothic type and keeps the 2-column layout. The 1519 Bernardino Benali's edition reintroduces the Roman type and switches to a 1-column layout.



Venezia,1516, Dec 3
Agustino de Zanni
for N. Zoppino and V. di Paolo.
Houghton Library, Harvard University
IC5.R7346.516e.

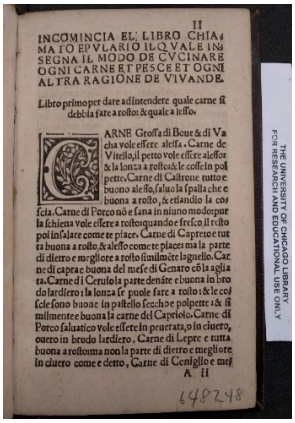


Venezia, 1517, Apr 3
Giacomo Penzio
for N. Zoppino and V. di Paolo
University of Chicago Library,
Special Collection Research Center



Venezia, 1519

Bernardino Benalio
Bayrische StaatsBibliothek
Oecon. 1522



Venezia, 1534

Alvise di Torti
University of Chicago Library,
Special Collection Research Center

Figure 7. *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*. Layout and type

After this edition, there is some alternation between layout and type. The last edition in a 2-column layout will be the 1521 (March 20) edition printed by Alessandro de Bindoni for Niccolò Zoppino e Vincenzo di Paolo. The following edition, the 1521 (August 23) printed by Alessandro de Bindoni will mark the definitive switch to the 1-column layout with Gothic and Roman type. As for type, the last edition to use the Gothic type is the 1536 edition printed by Marchio Sessa. From the following edition, the 1537 Damiano and Giacomo Turlino edition printed in Brescia, the preferred type for printing the *Epulario* will always be the Roman type.

[25] Contrary to Notaker's description (2010: 283: #902.01).

After having analyzed the physical aspects of these editions, it is useful to have a look at those accessory elements that, in a printed edition, accompany that actual content: the title page, the dedication page, the colophon, the illustrations, and the index. For the analysis of these components, we will be limited to the editions between 1516 and 1555 for the reasons mentioned before.

5.2.1.1. The title page: title and illustration

The title page of the edition of the *Epulario* is relatively stable during its first 40 years of publication with a title accompanied by a woodcut illustration which only varies slightly. The woodcut illustration used for the 1516 *princeps* edition – which is believed to be the earliest picture of a kitchen in a printed book –[26] will be used for several other editions.

As for the title, printed entirely in red ink, it reads:[27]

> "Opera noua chiamata Epulario | quale tracta il modo de cucinare ogni carne uccelli | pesci de ogni sorte. Et fare sapori torte pastel- | li al modo de tutte le prouincie & molte | altre ge(n)tilezze. Co(m)posta p(er) Maestro | Giouanne de Rosselli."

As we can see, the title reflects the novelty of a book about this topic: *Opera noua* / New work is followed by what is clearly referred to as the name of the work *chiamata Epulario* / titled Epulario, and by a description of its content. It is a new work about cooking which teaches how to cook meat, birds, fish of all kinds, and to prepare sauces, tartes and pies. It claims this work

[26] Harrison & Gernon 1983:22, #24.
[27] See Figure 6 on page 137.

brings together recipes from different provinces (countries) as well as many other *gentilezze* / refinements. Most importantly, the title also gives the name of the one who composed this work: Maestro Giovanni de Rosselli.

Many assumptions have been made, regarding the name of Giovanni de Rosselli. It has been claimed that that *Rosselli*, from *rosso* / red, might refer to Maestro Martino himself, also known as Martino de Rossi, in the last of his manuscripts. Other claims see him as a specific French chef.[28] Others have said – and this is also my opinion –, that this name is a mere fictional name invented by the editor, as we will see in more detail when we analyze the dedication page.[29] But let's leave aside for a moment the attempts to identify the real compiler of the *Epulario* and go back to the analysis of the title of this printed work.

This very Giovanni de Rosselli is described as a Frenchman in the April 3rd, 1517 and in the 1518 editions. In the 1519 edition, the adjective French attributed to the organizer of the recipe collection disappears completely: the book is titled directly *Epulario*. The novelty of the work, *opera noua* appears after its title. The 1521 edition, printed on March 20th, takes back both the name of the organizer – *Giovanne de Rosselli* – as well as the novelty of the work at the beginning of the title – *Opera noua*. This edition, though, is published once again – and it will be their last – by Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo who published the *princeps* 1516, the two 1517, and the 1518 editions. Those same two elements – the name of the organizer and the novelty of the book – are still kept in the other 1521 edition printed on August 23rd by Alessandro de Bindoni. From the following edition, printed on January 22nd 1525 by Benedetto

[28] Benporat, 1996: 71-74; 2001:59; 2007: 23.
[29] Benporat 1990: 93.

and Agustino de Bindoni, the name of the organizer will disappear completely from the title as well as the novelty element of the work.[30] From now on, the title of the work will be simply *Epulario quale tratta del modo de cucinare ogni carne uccelli pesci de ogni sorte et fare sapori torte e pasteli al modo de tutte le prouincie*. This title will have minor typographical differences up until the 1555 edition printed by Giovanni Padoano's heirs. The 1562 edition is the first mention that materials have been added, which of course is to be understood as another editorial intervention since the 1519 edition already included some added materials. Another example of an editorial intervention is in the 1596 edition (and will be reused in several following editions): the title now mentions that an index of the recipes is provided, something that was in every single edition from the *princeps* onwards. The English translation that will be published in London in 1598 printed by Adam Islip for William Barley will be titled *Epulario, or, the Italian Banquet*.]

Table 1. Evolution of the title in different editions of the *Epulario*.

December 3rd, 1516
Opera noua chiamata Epulario Qual tracta il modo de cucinare ogni carne ucelli pesci de ogni sorte. Et fare sapori torte pastelli al modo de tutte le prouincie & molte altre ge(n)tilezze. Co(m)posta p(er) Maestro Giouanne de Rosselli.
April 3rd, 1517
Opera noua chiamata Epulario Quale tracta il modo de cucinate ogni carne vcelli pesci de ogni sorte. Et fare sapori torte pastelli al modo de tutte le prouinie et molte altre ge(n)tilezze. Co(m)posta p(er) Maestro Giouan(n)e de rosselli, Fra(n)cese.

[30] On the use of the wording *Opera Noua* / New work to obtain the legal authorization to print a work, as well as on the legal system of printing privileges in Venice in the 15th century, see Plebani 2004: 30.

1519

Epulario, opera noua la quale tracta il modo de cucinare ogni carne vcelli pesci d(')ogni sorte. Et fare sapori torte pasteli al modo de tutte le prouincie. Et molte altre ge(n)tilezze. Composta per Maestro Giouanne de Rosselli.

March 20th, 1521

Opera noua chiamata Epulario Quale tracta il modo de Cucinare ogni Carne vcelli pesci de ogni sorte. Et fare sapori torte pasteli al modo de tutte le p(ro)uincie et molte altre ge(n)tilezze. Co(m)posta) per maestro Gioua(n)ne de rosselli Fra(n)cese.

January 22nd, 1525

Epulario Quale tratta del modo de Cucinare ogni carne Vccelli pesci de ogni sorte & Fare Sapori torte & pasteli al modo de tuttel le Prouincie.

1555

Epulario quale tratta del modo de cucinare ogni carne Uccelli Pesci de ogni sorte et fare Sapori Torte et pasteli al modo de tuttel le Prouincie.

1562

EPULARIO QVALE TRATTA DEL MOdo di cucinare ogni carne uccellli pesci d'ogn sorte & fare sapoi torte & pasteli al modo de tutte le prouincie. Con la gionta di molte altre cose bellissime.

1596

EPVLARIO IL QUALE TRATTA DEL MODO DEL CVCINARE ogni sorte di carne vccelli pesci & altre qualità di viuande. *Et di più insenga far sapori, torte, pasteli, al modo di tutte le Prouincie del mondo.* Con la Tauola delle Rubriche per trouare ogni cosa a' suoi luoghi facilissimamente. *Con la giunta di molte altre cose bellissime.*

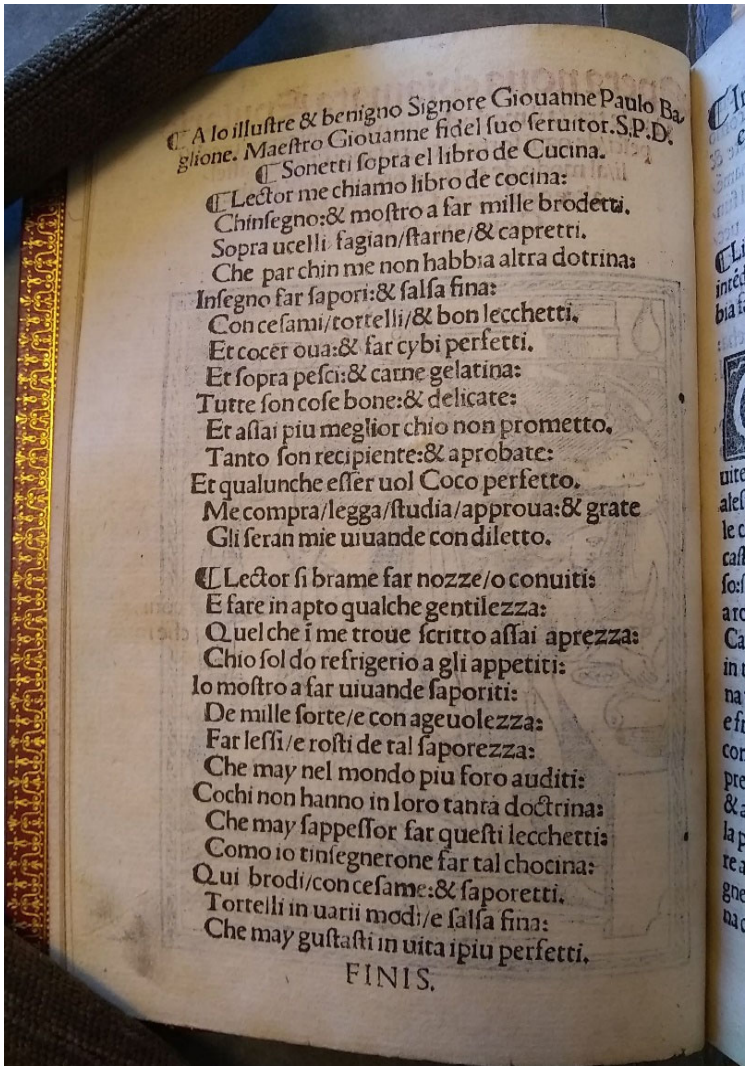
The word *Epulario* has become a title by itself representing a specific text. More interestingly, an anonymous hand added the words *Epulario d'incerto autore* / Epulario by an unknown author to the recto page before the actual index at the beginning of the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203, the manuscript of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Whoever did this recognized the text and the content of the *Epulario* but was unaware that the manuscript

itself (which, as previously said , lacks the title page) not only predates the printed editions but is most likely the source text used for those printed editions.

5.2.1.2. The dedication pages

The analysis of the dedication pages of different editions of the *Epulario* provides interesting points for our analysis of its editorial history. A dedication, always appearing in the recto of the title page, is included only in the earliest editions of the *Epulario*. From the March 20, 1521 edition, the dedication disappears, and the recto of the title page is always left blank. The four editions prior to the 1521 – namely 1516, 1517, 1518, and 1519 – display two different texts for the dedication page: a very short dedication (two lines) followed by two sonnets about the cookery book, and a longer dedication letter of 22 lines. The first of the two texts – the one with two sonnets – is present in the1516 *princeps* edition (printed on December 16, by Agostino Zanni da Portese for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Paolo) and the 1519 (printed by Bernardino Benali). The longer dedication letter is present in the 1517 (printed on April 3 by Giacomo Penci da Lecco for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Paoli) and in the 1518 (printed on August 21 for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Paoli) editions. Considering that the 1521 edition (printed on March 20 by Alessandro de Bindoni for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Paoli) is the first with no dedication text, there seems to be no direct correlation between the presence of one of the two types of dedications, or its absence, and a specific editor/printer. The fact that the dedication page disappears so early in the editorial history of the *Epulario* is also noteworthy.

A close analysis of the two dedication texts – the one with the two sonnets and the one with the longer dedication letter – reveals that each on its own defines the reason for the existence of a cookbook as an editorial and cultural object: both dedication texts are addressed to Gian Paolo de Baglione of whom the author of this collection of recipes considers himself a devoted servant.



A lo illuſtre & benigno Signore Giouanne Paulo Baglione. Maeſtro Giouanne fidel ſuo ſeruitor. S.P.D.

Sonetti ſopra el libro de Cucina.

Lector me chiamo libro de cocina:
Chinſegno:& moſtro a far mille brodetti.
Sopra ucelli fagian/ſtarne/& capretti.
Che par chin me non habbia altra dotrina:
Inſegno far ſapori:& ſalſa fina:
Con ceſami/tortelli/& bon lecchetti.
Et cocer oua:& far cybi perfetti.
Et ſopra peſci:& carne gelatina:
Tutte ſon coſe bone:& delicate:
Et aſſai piu meglior chio non prometto.
Tanto ſon recipiente:& aprobate:
Et qualunche eſſer uol Coco perfetto.
Me compra/legga/ſtudia/approua:& grate
Gli ſeran mie uiuande con diletto.

Lector ſi brame far nozze/o conuiti:
E fare in apto qualche gentilezza:
Quel che i me troue ſcritto aſſai aprezza:
Chio ſol do refrigerio a gli appetiti:
Io moſtro a far uiuande ſaporiti:
De mille ſorte/e con ageuolezza:
Far leſſi/e roſti de tal ſaporezza:
Che may nel mondo piu foro auditi:
Cochi non hanno in loro tanta doctrina:
Che may ſappeſſor far queſti lecchetti:
Como io tinſegnerone far tal chocina:
Qui brodi/con ceſame:& ſaporetti.
Tortelli in uarii modi/e ſalſa fina:
Che may guſtaſti in uita ipiu perfetti.

FINIS.

Figure 8. *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*, 1516, December 3. Dedication page
Venezia, 1516, December 3
Printed by Agustino Zanni da Portese for Niccolè Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo
Houghton Library, Harvard University IC5 R7346 516e

The first of the two dedications starts with an opening statement in which the author declares himself to be devoted servant of Gian Paolo de Baglione.[31] Following the 1516 princeps edition, it says *A lo illustre & benigno Giouanne Paulo Ba/ | glione. Maestro Giouanne fidel suo seruitor. S.P.D*:[32] two sonnets about the cookbook itself follow.

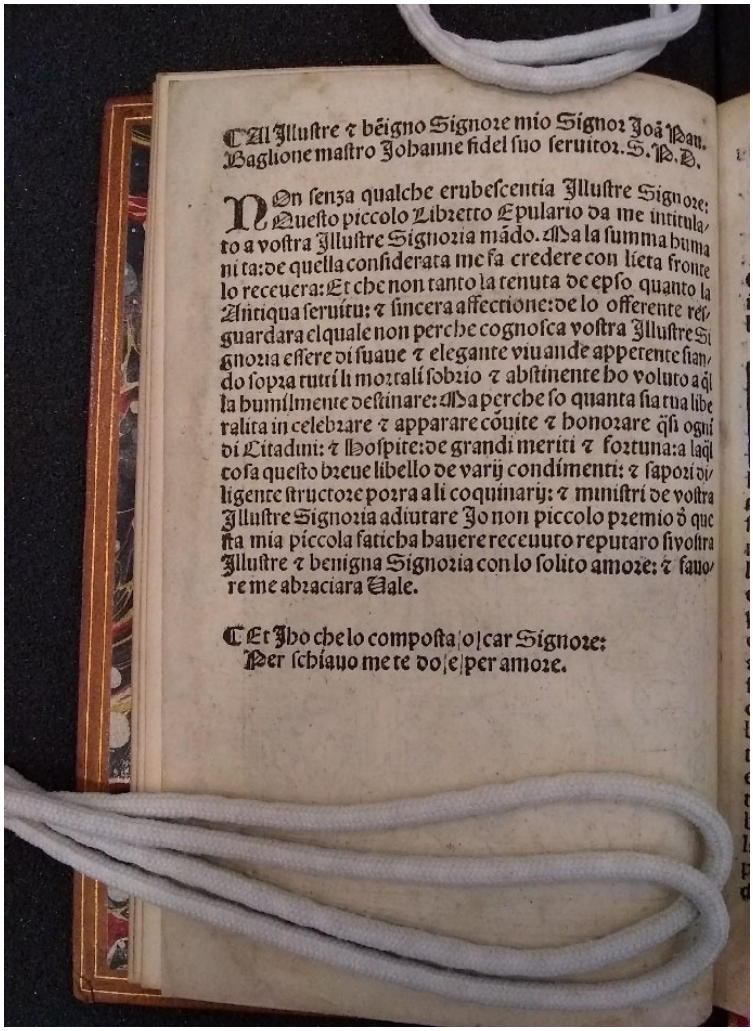
In the first sonnet, the book introduces itself to its reader as a cookery book with no other doctrine than the culinary one. In the following quatrain and in the first tercet the sonnet describes the contents of the book. The first two lines of the last tercet clearly emphasize the commercial nature of this book when they say: *E qualunche esser uol Coco perfetto | Me compra, legga, studia, e approua: & grate | Gli seran mie uiuande con diletto* / And whoever wants to become a perfect cook should buy me, read me, study me and approve me, and he will welcome my recipes with delight.[33]

The second sonnet is geared towards whoever wants to organize banquets: once more the cookbook presents itself as the best source to organize weddings and banquets and claims that it can teach the reader to prepare delicacies that have never been prepared or tasted. And again, the third triplet: *Cochi non hanno in loro tanta doctrina | Che may sappessor far questi lecchetti | come io t'insegnerone far tal chocina*. / Cooks never had so much doctrine to be able to prepare these delicacies: as I will teach you to do, so you should cook.

[31] An Italian *condottiere* who will be beheaded at Castel Sant'Angelo in June 1520. *S.P.D.* stands for *Salutem Plurimam Dicit*, a Latin formulaic salutation still used in vernacular Italian.
[32] This same portion is offered also in the 1519 edition with some minor typographical differences: *Allo illustre & benigno Signore Giouanne Paulo Ba- | glione. Maestro Giouanni fidel suo seruitore. S.P.D.*
[33] My translation. I would like to thank prof. Massimo Scalabrini for helping with the translation of this passage.

The other version of the dedication page is a more traditional dedication letter: here the declared author of the book, Maestro Giovanni, offers this small booklet to his master, Giovanni Paulo Baglione. What is interesting in this version of the dedication text, though, is that here we find the first mention of the actual goal of a culinary recipe collection: that of helping cooks and servants to prepare banquet celebrations.[34] As we have seen, food preparation has never been equated to the organization of banquets in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. It is in fact in the appropriations in print of Maestro Martino's text that this connection is established for the first time.

[34] *Ma perche so quanta sia tua libe | ralita in celebrare et apparare co(n)uite et honorare q(ua)si ogni | di Cittadini et Hospite de grandi meriti e fortuna. A la q(ua)l co | sa questo breue libelo de varij condiment et sapori di/ | ligente structure porra a li coquinari et ministri de vostra | Illustre Signoria adiutare./* But because I know how vast your generosity is in celebrating and preparing banquets and in honoring citizens and guests of great merit and fame. To this goal, this small book about different condiments and sauces will help the cooks and servants of Your lordship.



¶ Al Illustre & bẽigno Signore mio Signor Joã Pau. Baglione maſtro Johanne fidel ſuo ſeruitor. S. P. D.

Non ſenza qualche erubeſcentia Illuſtre Signore: Queſto piccolo Libretto Epulario da me intitulato a voſtra Illuſtre Signoria mãdo. Da la ſumma humanita: de quella conſiderata me ſa credere con lieta fronte lo receuera: Et che non tanto la tenuta de epſo quanto la Antiqua ſeruitu: & ſincera affectione: de lo offerente rẽguardara el quale non perche cognoſca voſtra Illuſtre Signoria eſſere di ſuaue & elegante viuande apperente ſtando ſopra tutti li mortali ſobrio & abſtinente ho voluto a ql la humilmente deſtinare: Ma perche ſo quanta ſia tua liberalita in celebrare & apparare cõuite & honorare qſi ogni di Citaduni: & Hoſpite: de grandi meriti & fortuna: a laql coſa queſto breue libello de varij condimenti: & ſapori diligente ſtructore porra a li coquinarij: & miniſtri de voſtra Illuſtre Signoria adiutare Jo non piccolo premio ô queſta mia piccola fatiche hauere receuuto reputaro ſi voſtra Illuſtre & benigna Signoria con lo ſolito amore: & fauore me abraciara Vale.

¶ Et Jho che lo compoſta | o | car Signore:
Per ſchiauo me te do | e | per amore.

Figure 9. *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*, 1517, April 3. Dedication page
Venezia, 1517, April 3
Printed by Giacomo Pennzio for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo
Lilly Library, Indiana University

5.2.1.3. The illustrations and decorations

The presence of a woodcut illustration in the title page has already been analyzed earlier but nonetheless it is important to stress a few important features. The woodcut illustration used for the 1516 *princeps* edition is the dominant woodcut illustration and it will be reused in several other editions of the *Epulario*, the 1555 edition being the last to recycle it. Among the 23

editions of the first half of the 16th century, eleven use the same woodcut illustration of the 1516 *princeps* edition,[35] eight use a different illustration,[36] and the remaining four do not have any woodcut illustration related to the book's content.[37]

The analysis of these woodcut illustrations reveals that there is a clear shift from the kitchen to the table, from food preparation to food consumption as illustrated by the title pages of 16th-century editions of the *Epulario* I was able to gather.[38]

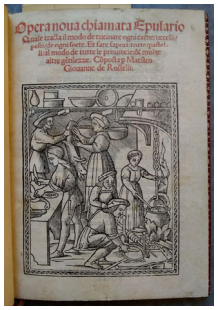
As we can see, the woodcut used in the 1516 edition will be used in all editions printed for Niccolò Zoppino (1516 printed by Agostino de Zanni da Portese, 1517 printed by Giacomo Penzio, 1518 without a specified printer's name, 1521 printed by Alessandro Bindoni) as well as for 1538 edition (printed Francesco Bindoni and Mapheo Pasini), and for the 1555 edition printed by Giovanni Padoano's heirs, which will be the last edition to use this same woodcut. Of the editions that do not display the same woodcut, besides that 1519 edition by Bernardino Benalio, which include an original woodcut depicting a goat, and the 1534 Alvise de Torti edition which bears no woodcut illustration, we realize that when it comes to the elements depicted in the title page illustration, there is a clear shift from food preparation to food appreciation. The first printed editions to use a woodcut illustration themed on food appreciation is the 1537 edition printed in Brescia by Damiano and Giacomo Filippo Turlino. It will be

[35] After appearing in the 1516 (Dec 3) *princeps* edition, this same woodcut illustration will be used in following editions: 1517 (April 3), 1518 (August 21), 1521 (March 20), 1521 (August 23), 1525 (January 22), 1526, 1533, 1538, 1547, and 1555.
[36] Respectively the 1519, 1531 (June 23), 1534 (Jan 30), 1535 (September 7), 1536 (August 18), 1537, 1549, 1562, and 1587.
[37] Respectively 1535, 1579, 1581, and 1596 in which, following the editorial trends, the printer's device appears in the title page.
[38] These pictures were either taken by me or are available over the internet with the proper indication of the edition they belong.

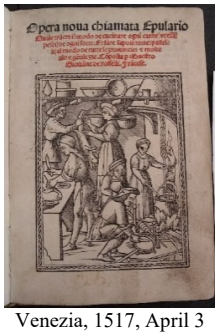
followed by the 1549 editions printed in Venice by Andrea Valvassore, and by the 1562 edition printed in Venice by Francesco de Leno. All these three editions have woodcut illustrations and the illustrations are more about food appreciation than food preparation, as we have seen in the previous editions.

This shift in the theme of the woodcut illustration is, in my opinion, clearly related to how editors and publishers were revising the content of the *Epulario* to the readership they were targeting. We saw the same process of re-elaboration also when we analyzed the dedication pages that accompanied the text since the first edition. At first, considering its origins, the *Epulario* is a technical manual, a cookbook for cooks, but soon it morphs into something different. Editors realize that the potential readership for such a book are not necessarily those in charge of food preparation, but rather those who will benefit from and/or enjoy directly those food preparations. This idea is also supported by the previous analysis of the dedication pages. Since the appeal to cooks is no longer necessary, or no longer as important as before, the dedication page is used only in the first few editions: from now on, the title page will be the enticing element used to attract the audience to purchase the book.[39]

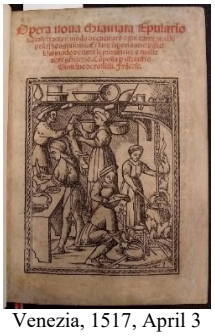
[39] On this regard, see Glender 1993.



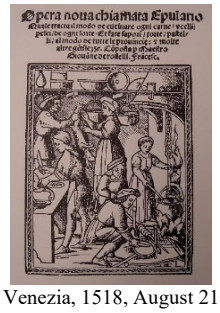
Venezia, 1516, December 3
Agustino de Zanni for Zoppino and di Paolo.
Houghton Library,
Harvard University



Venezia, 1517, April 3
Giacomo Penzio for Zoppino and di Paolo.
University of Chicago Library,
Special Collections and Research Center

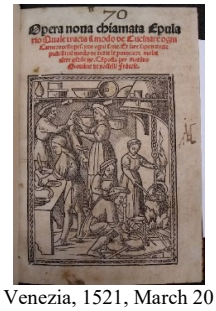


Venezia, 1517, April 3
Giacomo Penzio for Zoppino and di Paolo.
Lilly Library,
Indiana University

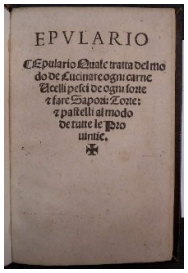


Venezia, 1518, August 21
Zoppino and di Paolo.
edited by Alberto Riccio
see Rosselli 1973

Venezia, 1519
Bernardino Benalio
Bayerische StaatsBibliothek /
Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum

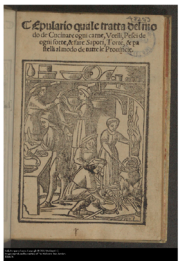


Venezia, 1521, March 20
A. Bindoni for Zoppino and di Paolo.
University of Chicago Library,
Special Collections and Research Center

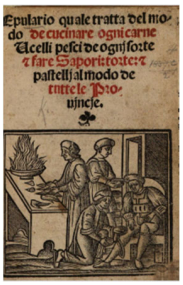


Venezia,1534
Alvise di Torti
University of Chicago Library,
Special Collections and Research Center

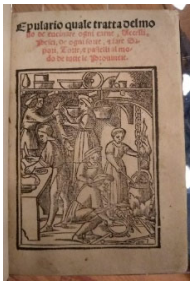
Brescia, 1537
Damiano and Giacomo Filippo Turlino
Biblioteca Civica Queriniana,
Brescia



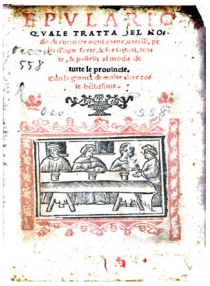
Venezia, 1538
Francesco Bindoni and Mapheo Pasini
Wellcome Library /
ProQuest Early European Books



Venezia, 1549
Giovanni Andrea Valvassore
British Library /
Digitized by Google



Venezia, 1555
Giovanni Padoano heirs
Lilly Library,
Indiana University



Venezia, 1562
Francesco De Leno
Bayerische StaatsBibliothek /
Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum

Figure 10. The evolution of front pages of the *Epulario*.

Other types of woodcut illustrations are present in the editions of the *Epulario* which were examined. Leaving aside printer's devices, the first editions of the *Epulario* are characterized by a series of woodcut illustrations and illustrated initials. The 1516 edition of the *Epulario* includes five woodcut capital letters and two woodcut illustrations.

The woodcut capital letters decorated with floral elements, five in total, are respectively at the beginning of the four books into which the text is divided,[40] and at the beginning of the index at the end of the volume.[41] The other two woodcut illustrations are both in the fourth book, which is dedicated to fish preparations. The first of the two woodcuts illustration separates the end of the third book and the beginning of the fourth book on the left column of 23a: it depicts two horizontally positioned fishes (the lower facing right and the upper facing left) with a string that links them by their mouths. The second is on the right column of 26b between the recipes for boiled and stuffed prawns; it depicts a lobster, or a crayfish, in vertical position.

[40] Capital letter "C" on 2a at the beginning of the first book; capital letter "T" on 10b at the beginning of the second book; capital letter "P" on 17a at the beginning of the third book; and capital letter "I" on 23a at the beginning of the fourth book.
[41] Capital letter "L" on 47a at the beginning of the index table.

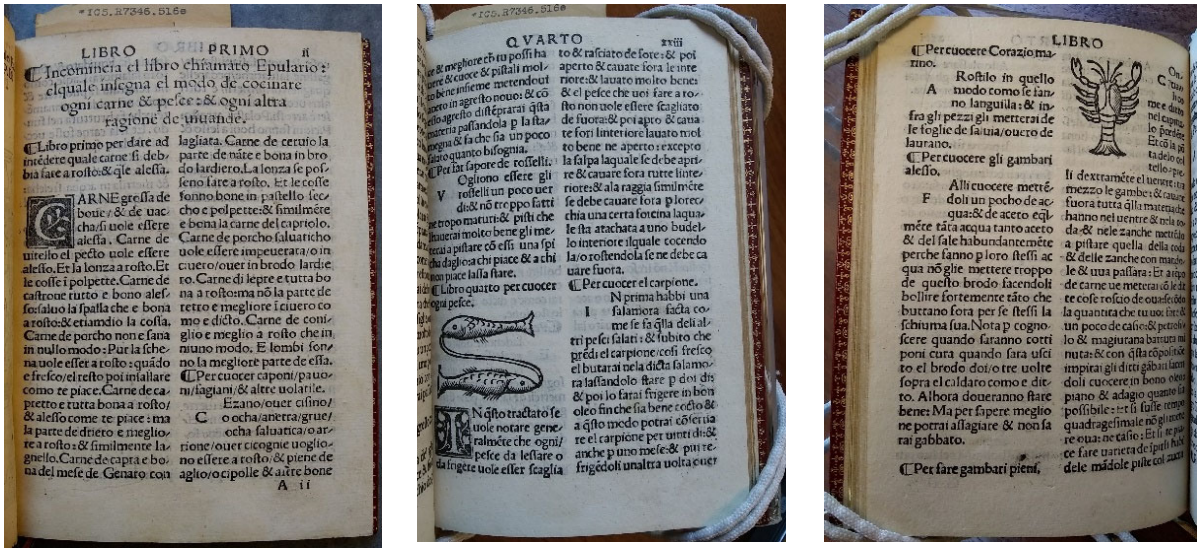


Figure 11. Other woodcut illustrations in the 1516 edition of the *Epulario*.

Opera noua chiamata Epulario, Venezia, 1516, December 3: 2a, 23a, and 26b
printed by Agustino Zanni da Portese for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo
Houghton Library, Harvard University IC5 R7346 516e

The following edition, that of April 3, 1517 – of which I analyzed two copies –, introduces a few changes when it comes to decorations and illustrations. All illustrations are used in the same position within the text: the only novelty is the use of new woodcuts for some capital initials, which are now historiated and not decorated with floral elements. At the end of this edition, after the colophon appears for the first time the printer's device, which was not present in the 1516 edition.

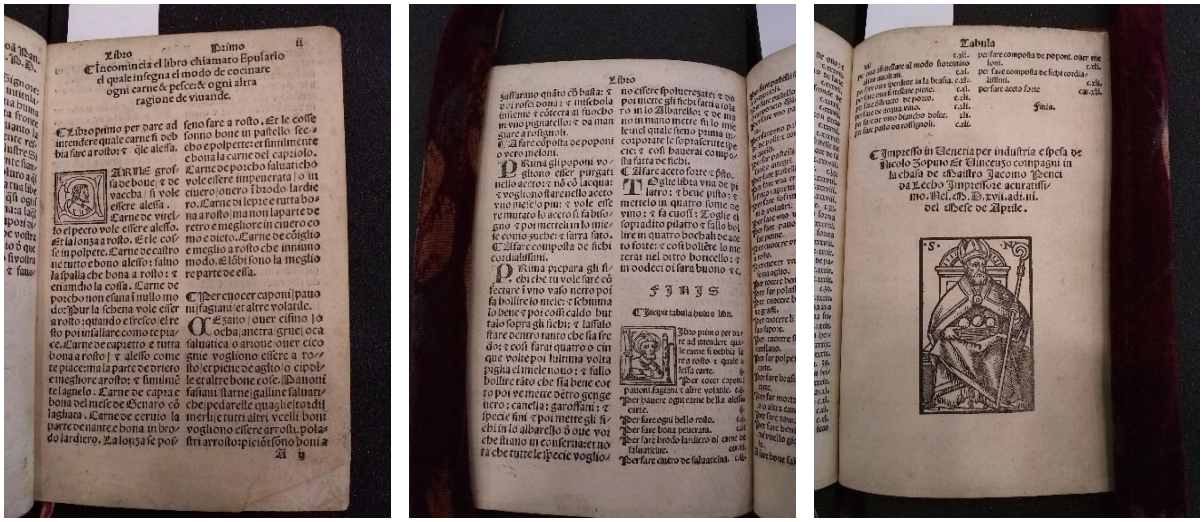


Figure 12. Examples of woodcut illustrations in the 1516 (April 3) edition of the *Epulario*.

Opera noua chiamata Epulario, Venezia, 1517, April 3: 2a, 41b, and 44a
printed by Giacomo Penzio for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo
Lilly Library, Indiana University

The analysis of the presence of woodcut illustrations and illustrated initials within the main text in the following editions reveals a progressive reduction in the number of woodcuts used. The use of illustration seems to be limited to earlier editions and to the most prolific editors of the *Epulario*, Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo. The 1534 edition is the first in which the woodcut illustrations cease to be included. As for the rubricated initials they will progressively be reduced during the 16th century. From the middle of the 16th century onward, there seems to be a clear decline in the appeal for illustrations for the publication of the *Epulario*.

Another interesting feature of the earliest editions of the *Epulario* is the presence of guide letters for rubrication, a sign that printed copies would undergo some decoration and personalization after being acquired. As seen above, in order to mark the beginning of an

important section of the work – such as a chapter / book –[42] the first letter of that section is usually produced by a woodcut illustration. But other parts of the work also need to stand out such as the title of a recipe and its beginning. In the first editions, the title of a recipe is usually preceded by a paragraph mark, something that clearly comes from the manuscript tradition. Later, specifically with the 1534 edition, which uses a one column layout, the title of the recipe is displayed in the center of the page even though still graphically preceded by the paragraph sign. From the 1555 edition onward, the recipe title is centered in the page without the paragraph sign.

Something more complex seems to happen with the beginning letter of each recipe. In the 1516 edition of the *Epulario*, all recipes start with a blank space three type lines in height for ornamental initials in which a guide letter is supplied. The only existing copy of the first edition of the *Epulario* – although rebound – still shows that once printed, a copy would still undergo decoration and ornamentation: these last two stages of a printed copy were left at the discretion of the buyer. In the two following editions, 1517 and 1518, most of the initial letters of each recipe are printed with the height of two type lines.[43] Nonetheless, some initials are left blank (always with three type lines in height) for ornamental initials for which guide letters are supplied. From the 1519 edition onward the blank spaces for ornamental initials disappear completely.

[42] The difference between *book* and *chapter* will be discussed later when the internal structure of the text will be analyzed.
[43] See previous figures.

5.2.1.4. The index and the content

As previously noted, it is only in the 1596 edition that the idea of an index, *tavola delle rubriche*, is mentioned in the title page. Nonetheless, an index, usually situated at the end of the text, is present from the 1516 *princeps* edition of onward.[44] The index seems to be a constant that comes from the manuscript tradition: of the three available manuscripts ascribed to Maestro Martino, only the Library of Congress one does not have an index.[45] As far as the printed editions of the *Epulario* are concerned, an index is present in all of the 16th-century editions analyzed here. Discussing the index leads to consideration of the sequence of the recipes and the content of these editions. A close analysis of the relationship between the printed editions and the source text(s) allows us to define whether, and how much, the text of the manuscript tradition has been changed once set to print. This analysis, though, raises two questions:

a) Which is the manuscript the first printed edition follows more closely?

and

b) Do all printed editions follow the same recipe order and recipe clustering of the first edition?

The first of these two questions allows us to define the most likely source text used for the first edition; whereas the second question will determine whether the subsequent editions will use the first edition as reference or if they derive from a different source text.

[44] The 1519 edition (by Bernardino Benali) is the only exception with the index at the beginning.
[45] Respectively the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153, the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203, and the Riva del Garda manuscript. As discussed in chapter 3, a fourth manuscript is in an unknown private collection.

As we have seen in the section on the manuscript of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* tradition, the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 and the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203 were produced at approximatively the same time: they are extremely similar when it comes to the sequence of the recipes as well as to the content. The Riva del Garda manuscript, the latter of the tradition, on the other hand, represents a profound reorganization of the original material with the insertion of many new recipes.

A close analysis of the structure of the 1516 *princeps* edition of the *Epulario* gives a clear idea that this edition is not just a simple reproduction of the contents of a manuscript, as it has been claimed.[46] Its content is closely related to the content of the Library of Congress and the Vatican Library manuscripts but, at the same time, the *Epulario* displays some key features and differences when compared to its source text. If we look closely at the index provided in the Vatican Library manuscript and we cross check it with the sequence of recipes of both the Vatican Library and the Library of Congress manuscripts, we see that the two manuscripts have the same recipe sequence, the same recipe clustering, and the same wording for the recipes. Besides one slight discrepancy already discussed in chapter three, the two manuscripts are almost identical when it comes to content and organization. Due to that small discrepancy, we will consider the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 the most reliable manuscript even though, as we have seen, it does not provide an index.

[46] See Benporat 1996: 73. At the same time, Benporat had previsously defended the idea that the *Epulario* had reorganized Maestro Martino's recipes in a more coherent way (1990: 92).

The following table presents the sequence of the sections with the corresponding number of recipes of the Library of Congress manuscript of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*.[47]

Table 2. Internal organization of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* Ms. W.

Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*
Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153

section	declared content	# of recipes
Undeclared	Meat preparations	40
Capitolo 2º	Victuals	59
Capitolo 3 º	Sauces and relishes	24
Capitolo 4 º	Savory pies	37
Capitolo 5 º	Fritters	8
	Fritters for Lent	13
	Egg preparations	14
Capitolo 6 º	Fish preparations	71 + 3
		TOT 268

The entire *Libro* is divided into numbered and unnumbered chapters. The chapter on meat preparation, the first of the sequence, is not labelled as a chapter simply because it is at the very beginning of the text.[48] There is a clear sequence among the numbered chapters: both numbered and unnumbered chapters are clearly identified as such in the manuscript. No numbering is included in two of them – which might seem odd – because they are clearly part of the preceding numbered chapter. Chapter 5 on fritters includes an unnumbered section on fritters for Lent, and one for egg preparations. This does not imply directly that Maestro Martino is strict about the internal structure of his cookbook or about the organization of his chapters: as previously discussed, there are inconsistencies in the structure and in the sequence of recipes.[49]

[47] Which matches the index of the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203 manuscript.
[48] It is mentioned as "(C)apitolo primo di ogni carne" in the index of the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203 manuscript.
[49] At the end of the book, three recipes are added almost randomly to the chapter on fish preparations: *Ova contrafacte in Quadragesima* / Counterfeit eggs for Lent, *Riso in miglior modo che quel de sopra* / Recipe for

The comparison of this index with the sequence of sections of the 1516 *princeps* edition of the *Epulario* reveals some interesting novelties.

Table 3. Internal organization of the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*

Opera noua chiamata Epulario
Venice, December 3, 1516

section	declared content	# of recipes
Libro 1 º	Meat preparations	38
Libro 2 º	Victuals	37
Libro 3 º	Fish, greens, and others for Lent	21
Capitolo 3 º	Sauces and relishes	22
Libro 4 º	Fish preparations	64
Capitolo 5 º	Savory pies for Lent	13
Capitolo 5 º	Savory pies for meat days	15
Capitolo 6 º	Aspics	4
Capitolo 7 º	Fritters	7
Capitolo 8 º	Fritters for Lent	12
Capitolo 9º	Egg preparations	13 + 7
		TOT 253

The total number of recipes has decreased but the number of sections has increased. Unlike the manuscript, there are now separate sections for specific preparation for Lent: whereas the manuscript(s) grouped together preparations by ingredients and by the type of preparations of fritters including both sweet and savory fried preparations as well as eggs, the *Epulario* seems to be more specific. In the *Epulario*, the chapter division is more detailed: aspics, which were included in the chapter on fish, have now a devoted chapter; the same happens to egg preparations that were included in the generic chapter on fritters. Most importantly though, the emphasis on preparations for Lent seems to point out the fact that religious prescriptivism is

cooking rice in a better way than the previous, and the famous *Pastello volativo* / Flying pie (Martino at al 2005: 113-114).

given more attention and that ingredients and preparations are considered a less important defining factor.

All the recipes do come from Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria*; however, the organization is different, and there are some omissions here and there. The content of Maestro Martino's manuscript(s) has undergone an editorial rearrangement in the *Epulario*: a clear indication that the editors, Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo in this case, were not simply and passively reproducing in print the content of a manuscript but rather intervening on the text of the manuscript.

Our analysis of the subsequent editions of the *Epulario* reveals that they will all be based on the rearranged text of the first printed edition. Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo will publish the two 1517 editions (April 3 and August 20), and the 1518 edition. Bernadino Benalio will publish the 1519 edition. After a 1520 edition with no name of both editor and printer, the March 20, 1521 will still be printed by Alessandro de Bindoni for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo. From the August 23, 1521 edition onward, the names of Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Paolo will disappear: nonetheless, starting from this edition, all subsequent iterations of the *Epulario* will continue to use the text fixed by those two editors, who by rearranging Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* first printed the *Epulario*.

5.2.2. The *Opera Dignissima*[50]

Besides the *Epulario*, another printed work used Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as source text. Even though it was published only once in Milan around 1530 by Pietro Paulo Verini, the *Opera Dignissima* represents another instance of appropriation of Maestro Martino's manuscripts. Thus, it is worth analyzing using the same parameters used for the more successful editions of the *Epulario*. Of the six existing copies attested in Notaker,[51] for this dissertation I analyzed the copy at Indiana University Lilly Library and the copy at University of Chicago Crerar Rare Books Collection.

The *Opera Dignissima* is very similar to the *Epulario* in many material aspects besides content. Just like the *Epulario*, it is printed in octavo format and with a reduced number of pages – 28 unnumbered leaves.[52] The text is printed in Roman type, in a one column layout, with 30 lines. The content is also limited to culinary recipes. Only one edition survives: as its colophon says, it was printed in Milan, but no mention is done as to a specific date.[53] Scholars date this edition between the 1530s and the 1540s.[54] It was printed in the fourth decade of the 16th century

[50] The difference in the title between the copy of the University of Chicago and one at the Lilly Library is due to a restoration. Regarding the copy at the Lilly, Cagle points out that "The original title-page has the spelling "DI | gnissima" which the restorer has modernized to "DE | gnissima" replacing the missing "I" with an "E" (1999: 835).
[51] Notaker 2010: 298, #905. Two copies at the British Library, and one copy respectively at Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Biblioteca Trivulziana Milan, University of Chicago and Lilly Library.
[52] Regarding its format, we follow EDIT16 (CNCE 58043 available at http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=10&i=58043) and USTC (USTC no. 853496 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/853496) which describe the format of this edition as an octavo. Nonetheless, Cagle (1999: 835, #148) and Notaker (2010: 298, #905) describe this same edition as a duodecimo.
[53] The colophon is followed by a woodcut illustration depicting a tree with a ribbon wrapped around the trunk with the inscription "FELICE PIANTA", Note that the N of the second word appears inverted. According to EDIT16, no other printed edition carries this printer's device.
[54] EDIT16, USTC and Cagle (1999: 835, #148) say ca. 1540. Notaker (2010: 298, #905) say ca. 1530. Following the original edition, Westbury mentions only that there is no date in the edition (1963: 117).

by Pietro Paulo Verini, a Florentine printer active in Milan about whom not much is known. The editors and printers who published the *Epulario* in Venice were active for a long period of time and their publishing history, when known, reveals that they published a wide array of different types of books. Pietro Paulo Verini, on the contrary, is active in Milan and is known for only one other publication besides the *Opera Dignissima*. He is the brother of Giovan Battista Verini, author of 16th-century writing manuals.[55] One of these writing was printed by Pietro Paulo Verini in Milan on April 1st,1536 at the same location, the *Contrada delle bandiere al segno del ballone*, where the *Opera Dignissima* was printed.[56] The connection between the two brothers and the two editions printed by Pietro Paolo Verini can be used as supporting evidence that the *Opera Dignissima* was most likely printed in the mid-1530s.

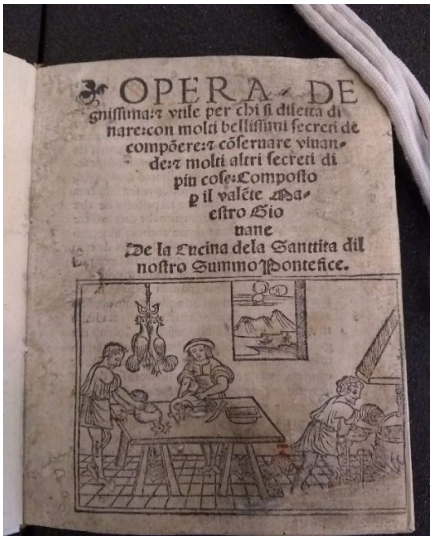
With his *Opera Dignissima*, Pietro Paulo Verini seems to be targeting at a specific audience, that of an urban middle class which wanted to improve its social status. In this sense, the *Opera Dignissima* seems to be an attempt to emulate in a different city the editorial success of the same source material already set to print in the *Epulario*.

5.2.2.1. Title page: title and illustration

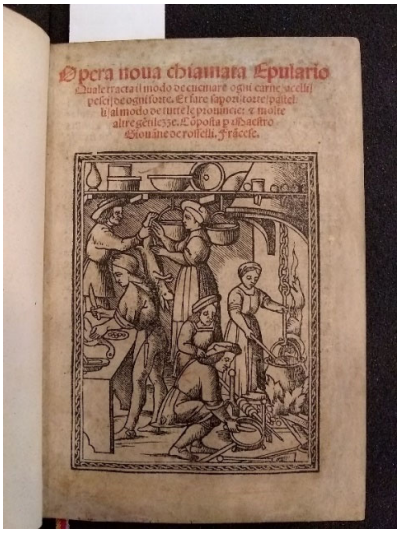
The title page includes a title and a woodcut illustration in some ways similar to the woodcut illustration used in the 1516 edition of the *Epulario*. Smaller in size when compared to

[55] I am thankful to Paul Gehl, Newberry Library Curator Emeritus, for pointing out the connection between the two Verini brothers.
[56] The *Luminario da imparare a scrivere de ogni sorte littera per Giovanbattista Verini Fiorentino che insegna abbacho*, USTC no. 862924 available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/862924. A digitized version is available at https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00008707&pimage=.

that of the 1516 *Epulario*, the illustration of the *Opera Dignissima* depicts a kitchen scene with three male characters (not six of both genders as seen in the *Epulario*). They are performing kitchen duties: two are plucking and skinning feathered game at a table, and a third is cooking on a cauldron hanging on a fireplace.[57] An interesting feature of this woodcut illustration is the presence of a window through which one can see mountains surrounding a lake with two small boats with one man in each. Considering that the focus of the illustration is the kitchen and the activities performed in it, it is surprising that so much detail has been put in the sight from the window. Once again, as we have discussed in the analysis of the first editions of the *Epulario*, also the woodcut illustration of the *Opera Dignissima* emphasizes food preparation.[58]



Opera dignissima
Milan, around 1530
Pietro Paulo Verini
Lilly Library, Indiana University



Opera Noua chiamata Epulario
Venezia, 1517, April 3
printed by Giacomo Penzio for N. Zoppino and V. di Paolo
Lilly Library, Indiana University

Figure 13. Title pages of the *Opera dignissima* and the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*

[57] See Harrison & Talbot Gernon 1983: 23 #26 for more details.
[58] See not 50 above, on the fact that in the copy held at the Lilly Library the title reads *Opera Degnissima* and not *Opera Dignissima*, as the copy held at the University of Chicago Special Collections and Research Center. I transcribed the original title following Cagle (1999: 835).

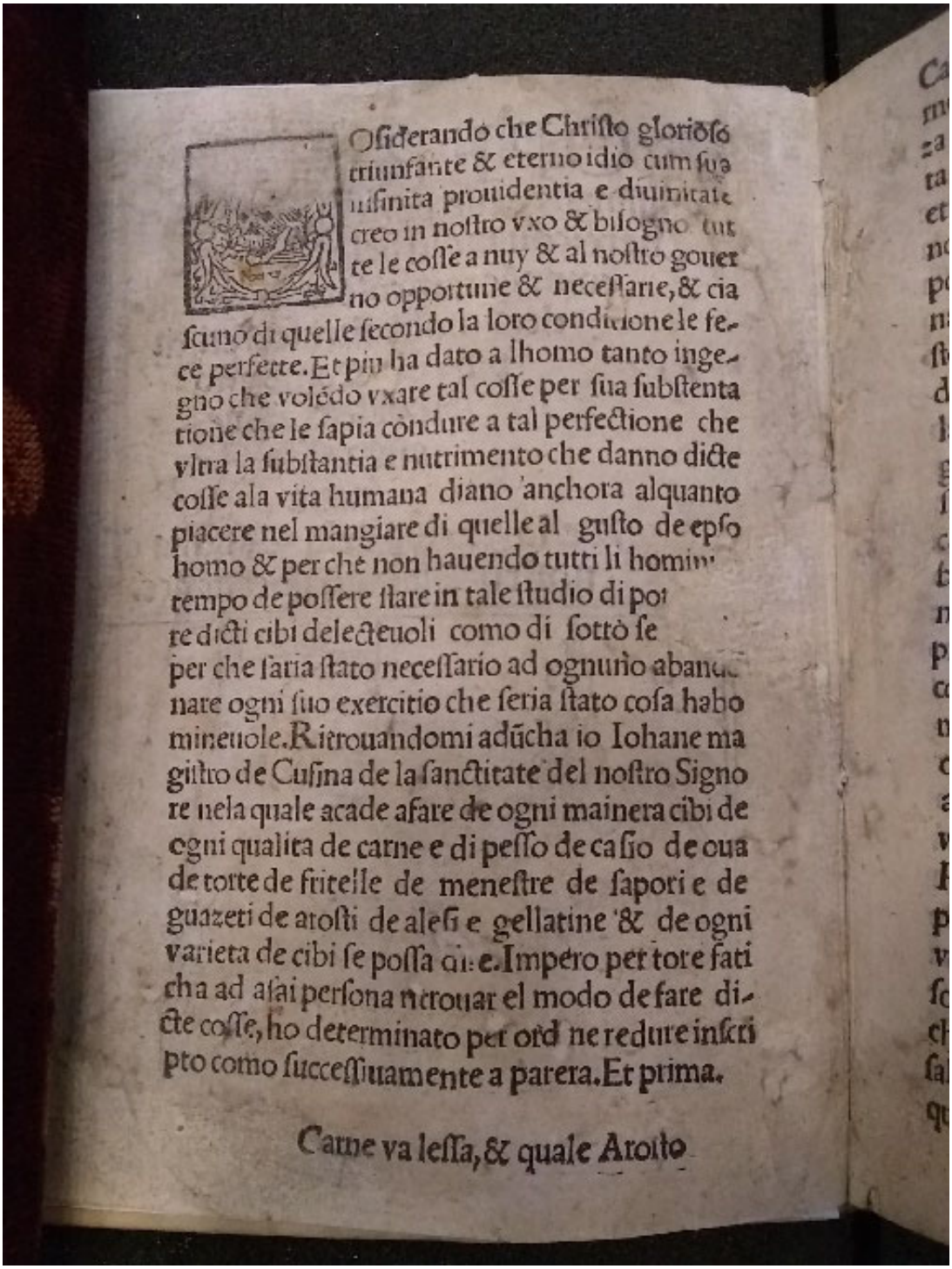
The title is printed in black ink, as is the remainder of the work. It reads:

> OPERA DI | gnissima et utile per chi si dilecta di (cuci) | are con molti bellissimi secreti de | compo(n)ere e co(n)servare vivan/ | de et molti altri secreti di | piu cose. Composto | p(er) il vale(n)te Ma/ | estro Gio | vane | De la Cucina dela Santtita dil | nostro Summo Pontefice.

Besides giving content information about the work, it provides information about the alleged author of the culinary recipe collection. This printed work is presented as *dignissima et utile* / very worthwile and useful for those who delight themselves in cooking and including a lot of wonderful secrets for preparing and preserving foods and more secrets about other things. The title also offers the name and the workplace of the alleged author of this recipe collection. It was composed by the talented Maestro Giovane, of the kitchen of the Holiness of our Supreme Pontiff. The title, as we can see, does not provide a full name for the compiler, as in the case of the *Epulario*'s editions, but is very specific regarding the place and the person Maestro Giovane is working for. It seems clear that the importance of the alleged author of the collection derives from its employer, the Pope.

5.2.2.2. Dedication, illustrations, and decoration

The dedication that precedes the actual text of the *Opera Dignissima*, reveals further elements about its alleged composer and, more importantly, it sheds light on the purpose of such a book which is of great help in understanding how cookbooks started and developed as a genre.



Oſiderando che Chriſto glorioſo
triunfante & eterno idio cum ſua
infinita prouidentia e diuinitate
creo in noſtro vxo & biſogno tut
te le coſſe a nuy & al noſtro gouer
no opportune & neceſſarie, & cia
ſcuno di quelle ſecondo la loro condicione le fe-
ce perfette. Et piu ha dato a lhomo tanto inge-
gno che volẽdo vxare tal coſſe per ſua ſubſtenta
tione che le ſapia còndure a tal perfectione che
vltra la ſubſtantia e nutrimento che danno dicte
coſſe ala vita humana diano anchora alquanto
piacere nel mangiare di quelle al guſto de epſo
homo & per che non hauendo tutti li homini
tempo de poſſere ſtare in tale ſtudio di por
re dicti cibi delecteuoli como di ſottò ſe
per che ſaria ſtato neceſſario ad ognuno abando-
nare ogni ſuo exercitio che ſeria ſtato coſa habo
mineuole. Ritrouandomi adũcha io Iohane ma
giſtro de Cuſina de la ſanctitate del noſtro Signo
re nela quale acade afare de ogni mainera cibi de
ogni qualita de carne e di peſſo de caſio de oua
de torte de fritelle de meneſtre de ſapori e de
guazeti de aroſti de aleſi e gellatine & de ogni
varieta de cibi ſe poſſa dire. Impero per tore fati
cha ad aſai perſona ritrouar el modo de fare di-
cte coſſe, ho determinato per ord ne redure inſcri
pto como ſucceſſiuamente a parera. Et prima.

Carne va leſſa, & quale Aroſto

Opera degnissima, 1b
Milan, around 1530
Pietro Paulo Verini
Lilly Library, Indiana University

Figure 14. The dedication page of the *Opera dignissima*

The dedication offers a justification of the pleasure men can find in feeding themselves, a reason for the existence of individuals dedicated exclusively to food preparation, and, for the first time, the explanation of the purpose of cookbooks and recipe collections. According to the dedication, Christ created all things for human nourishment and wellbeing. Christ also provided men with the *ingegno* – intelligence – which would allow them to transform those things, ingredients, so that, while eating them, men could find pleasure, besides substance and nourishment. At the same time, the dedication continues, food preparation is not intended for everyone: it must be considered a full–time occupation, to which only some can and should devote themselves, so that others can focus on other activities. The organization of society in the different roles attributed to different individuals is clear and needs to be preserved: it would be abominable if those in charge of leading others wasted their time in preparing their own food, says the dedication.

> (C)osiderando che Christo glorioso | triunfante & eterno idio cum sua | infinita prouidentia e diuinitate | creo in nostro vxo & bisogno tut | te le cosse a nuy & al nostro gouer | no opportune & necessarie, & cia | scuno di quelle secondo la loto conditione le fe/ | ce perfette. Et piu ha dato a lhomo tanto inge/ | gno che vole(n)do vxare tal cosse per sua substenta | tione che le sapia condure a tal perfectione che | vltra la subtantia e nutrimento che fanno dicte | cosse ala vita humana diano anchora alquanto | piaere nel mangiare di quelle al gusto de epso | homo & per che non hauendo tutti li homini el | tempo de possere stare in tale studio di potere fa/ | re dicti cibi delecteuoli como di sotto se notara | per che saria stato necessario ad ognuno abando | nare ogni suo exercitio che seria stato cosa habo | mineuole.

At this point, by declaring his role of *magistro* / master in the kitchens of the Holiness of our Lord, the author asserts himself as a culinary authority who has the experience of preparing every conceivable type of food (from meat to fish, cheese, eggs, tartes and pies, fritters, soups,

sauces, roasts, boils, aspics, and beyond) and continues by declaring the purpose of the collection of recipes that follows.

> Ritrouandomi adu(n)cha io Iohane ma | gistro de Cusina de la sanctitate del nostro Signo | re nela quale acada afare de ogni mainera cibi de | ogni qualita de carne e di pesso de sasio de oua | de torte de fritelle de menestre de sapori e de | guazeti de arosti de alesi e gellatine & de ogni | varieta de cibi se possa dire. Impero per tore fati | cha ad asai persona ritrouar el modo de fare di/ | cte cosse ho determinato per ordine redure inscri | pto como successiuamente a parera.

The alleged author decided to put in writing this work in order to help others – *per tore faticha ad asai persona* / to reduce the difficulty of many – to find the way to prepare those things. While justifying his own recipe collection, the author of this book defines the ultimate goal of cookbooks in general: that of helping in assembling and reproducing culinary preparations. Unlike the *Epulario*, the *Opera Dignissima* is not dedicated to a specific individual. It seems as if the value of the collection is derived by its usefulness and not by being offered to an employer; the employer – the Pope – is mentioned but this is only a strategy to assert and enhance the authoritative character the compiler in terms of culinary skills.

Regarding the alleged author of the *Opera Dignissima* and its dedication, a few possibilities have been proposed. In his bibliographic dictionary, Johann Georg Theodor Grässe was most likely the first to describe the *Opera Dignissima*. He considered the author of the *Epulario* and the author of the *Opera Dignissima* to be the same individual: *Maestro Giouanne de Rosselli* and *Maestro Giouane*, respectively, do share some similarities, at least in the name.[59] The possibility that the *Epulario* and the *Opera Dignissima* had been composed by the same

[59] Grässe 1950: vol. 3, 87.

individual was declared incorrect by Benporat,[60] who, a few years later, retracted himself in asserting that they were indeed authored by the same individual.[61]

Leaving aside the biographical identification of the declared composer and focusing more on the content of the printed works, it is clear that the *Opera Dignissima* does share similarities with the *Epulario*, which predates it, at least at a textual level. Other elements that reinforce the idea of the *Opera Dignissima* as a new attempt to publish Maestro Martino's textual tradition, independent from the *Epulario*, will be discussed when we analyze the content of the *Opera Dignissima* and its organization.

Besides the woodcut illustration in the title page and the one of the colophon, the *Opera Dignissima* offers no other illustration or decoration in its 56 pages. As we will see, recipes follow one another with no apparent internal structure: they are separated from one another by the presence of a recipe's title, which appears centered in the page, despite some exceptions. Capital letters at the beginning of each recipe are printed as normal capital letters. The first editions of the *Epulario* are still clearly linked to the manuscript tradition and its production phases. The *Opera Dignissima*, on the other hand, is a publication in which print has detached itself from the forms of production that characterized the manuscript tradition, which are still visible in the first editions of the *Epulario*.

[60] Benporat 1990: 93, and notes 6 and 7; and Benporat 1996: 74-75,
[61] Benporat 2001: 59; and Benporat 2007: 23-24.

5.2.2.3. Index and content

The 133 recipes printed in the main body of the text, from the recto of leaf 1 (or 1b) to the verso of leaf 26 (or 26b), appear in a continuous sequence. The only visual devices used to separate the blocks of text for the individual recipes are a centered title and blank lines. Each recipe starts with centered title, which carries the name of the recipe; a blank line follows the title; the recipe itself appears justified and followed by another blank line.

At first sight, the recipe title and blank space(s) seem to be the only visual strategies used for separating the recipes in the main body of the recipes collection. There are cases in which the absence of the blank dividing line – either between the title and the recipe, or the end of the recipe and the following title – is justifiable by the printer's necessity of using the printable space in an effective manner.[62]

Yet there are some inconsistencies. Although the recipes are presented in a continuous sequence without any apparent attempt to group them in chapters or sections, in two instances, the centered title does not give the title of a specific recipe but rather a type of culinary preparation that groups together the following sequence of recipes. This is the case of the centered title *A fare ogni sorte di torte* / To do any type of tarts on leaf 17a, and of *Capitulo per fare fritelle de ogni tempo de casio & oua* / Chapter on making fritter for any time with cheese and egg on leaf 25b.[63] A few recipes are printed without their titles and right after the previous

[62] Space management might also explain the use of the last word of a recipe and the title of the following without the blank separating line as in 22b before the recipe for Sicilian "macharoni."
[63] As already mentioned, *in ogni tempo* / at any fasting and non-fasting time; interesting is the use of cheese and eggs for both fasting and non-fasting time.

recipe: the recipes *A far sapore de brugne seche* / To prepare sauce of dry plums in 14a, and *Suppa fatta con lacte e con sieme de canepa* / Soup with milk and hemp seed are presented as a continuous recipe.[64] A more efficient use of the space in the printed page could explain some of these inconsistencies,[65] but, nonetheless, the edition of the *Opera Dignissima* does reveal several remarkable flaws when it comes to accuracy. Recipes do appear grouped together according to a specific type of culinary preparation or main ingredient, but, unlike the editions of the *Epulario*, section titles are not provided. Moreover, the *Opera Dignissima* displays profound inconsistencies in its content: some recipes are strangely repeated;[66] others are present in the main body of the text but not mentioned in the index;[67] and others still are mentioned in the index but not present in the body of the text.[68] These inconsistencies between the index and the body of the text become more common from the middle of the book onwards and even more common towards the end. It looks like the printer was more attentive to using printing space effectively and efficiently rather than offering his readers a well-organized printed recipe collection. Physical constraints seem to be taking over content accuracy.

Because of these inconsistencies and incongruences, the *Opera Dignissima* has been defined *un maldestro tentativo* / a clumsy attempt of offering Maestro Martino's text to the

[64] We should also include here the case of the first recipe whose title appears at the end of the dedication page on 1b and whose text starts at the beginning of 1a.
[65] Considering the gatherings structure, the lack of mention of 27 recipes in the index may be the result of space constraints: the index occupies 1 leaf and a half, from 27a to 28a, leaving 28b, and the last page of the last quire free for the colophon.
[66] It is the case for two recipes in a sequence – *A fare rauiole in tempo di carne* / To do ravioli for non-fasting time and *A fare belli macharoni Ceciliani* / To do nice Sicilian macaroni – which appear in 12b and 22b and are repeated in the index as well. The recipe for *Torta bolognesa* appears twice in the body of the text, in 26b and 27a, but is mentioned only once in the index.
[67] In total 27 recipes of the main text do not appear in the index.
[68] In total five recipes of the index are not present in the main body of the text.

readership.[69] Nonetheless, such profound inconsistencies are hard to explain and to accept. Would it be possible that Pietro Paulo Verini, the Florentine printer working in Milan, knowing of the success of the Venetian editions of the *Epulario* tried to emulate those editions in order to obtain similar gains? At least in the mind of its promoter, the *Opera Dignissima* should find enough readership and generate similar economical gains as the Venetian editions.

Whether the inconsistencies are the result of a less skilled editor, or of a printer who tried to stretch his knowledge beyond printing and failed in this endeavor, it is hard to prove. What is more relevant to discover is whether he used the *Epulario* as source or if he started directly from the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. And if so, which is the manuscript he used did as source text for this new appropriation in print of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. In order to know that, we need to determine whether the *Opera Dignissima* derives directly from Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* tradition, or indirectly via *Epulario*. The *Opera Dignissima* does come from the tradition of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, but it is not clear if it derives directly from it or indirectly through the *Epulario*. As we have already seen, the *Epulario* follows more or less closely the *Libro de arte coquinaria*: but how does the *Opera Dignissima*, its content and its organization, relate to those previous works?

The *Opera Dignissima* does not consistently group together the recipes in chapters or sections. Nonetheless, there is some kind of logical sequence of recipe. The internal structure is as follows:

[69] Benporat 2007: 24.

Table 4. Internal organization of the *Opera Dignissima*.

Opera Dignissima
Milan ca. 1530

content[70]	# of recipes in text	# of recipes in index
meat preparations	31	31
victuals	32	31
sauces	19	10
tarts and savory pies	33	23
sauces	10	10
fritters	8	3
TOT	133	108

As we can see, it is not always possible to say that the internal structure is coherent; sauces appear as the third group of recipes but most of them are repeated later in the text. If we compare this sequence to the one of the *Epulario* and the one of Maestro Martino's manuscript, it seems that, at first sight, the *Opera Dignissima* might be closer to the manuscript than to the *Epulario*. The *Epulario*, as previously said, organizes the recipes in a very congruent structure, different from the one of the Maestro Martino's manuscript. Furthermore, the section on fish is missing almost in its entirety in the *Opera Dignissima*. Both Maestro Martino's text and the *Epulario* had a substantial section on fish which is totally omitted from the *Opera Dignissima*. Only one recipe, the last recipe of the text (and of the index), is a fish preparation *Per carpionare trute a modo de carpioni* / to prepare trout as carp.[71] This is also one of the last recipes of the manuscript.[72] Two more recipes that contain fish are in the group of recipes of savory pies, but it is clear that, in the *Opera Dignissima*, fish preparations are not considered, or at least not considered as in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. The cross analysis of the recipes with the possible

[70] The grouping of recipes was established by the content of those recipes and not from a chapter or section division displayed in and by the text itself.
[71] Like *scabeccio* in Liguria, as *scapece* in Naples, around Lake Garda *carpionare* is the process of deep-frying fish and then pass it on a solution of vinegar and salt. In other cases, vinegar, sliced onion, garlic, spices, and herbs can be added: such a preparation allows for longer conservation.
[72] There are two other recipes with fish in the savory pies section

sources shows that the *Opera Dignissima* might derive derives directly from Maestro Martino's manuscript tradition, and not indirectly via the *Epulario*.

Supporting evidence is given by the sequence of the recipes, but also from some other small details. As pointed out by Benporat,[73] the composer of the *Epulario* took some liberties in attributing two recipes to unknown characters (*Mostarda Bianca* and *Torta Bianca* are attributed to *Maestro Trombone* and *Arlotto Scalco* respectively) but in the *Opera Dignissima* there is no reference to other characters. Some elements that are present in the manuscript tradition but not in the *Epulario* resurface in the *Opera Dignissima*: one example is the mention to bear meat – said to be good in *pastello* – at the end of the first recipe which is in the manuscript tradition but never appears in the editions of the *Epulario*.

The fact that the *Opera Dignissima* may be an appropriation of Maestro Martino's manuscript tradition independent from the *Epulario* is also confirmed by some linguistic features displayed in the *Opera Dignissima* that are not present in the *Epulario*, such as its frequent inflections of the Venetian dialect, as Benporat pointed out.[74] Benporat does not offer any example of such dialectal elements, but it is not difficult to locate them in the text mainly when sibilant sounds are involved. Just to give a few examples: Martino's *brasciole* (*brasiole* in the *Epulario*) become *braxole* in the *Opera Dignissima* and so do *riso* / rice spelled as *rixo*; *cieresa* / cherry) as *cierexa*; *fasani et coturnici* / phaesants and quails spelled as *faxani e cotornixe*; and *mese* / month spelled *mexe* as well as in *friger* / to fry spelled *frizere*. The presence of Venetian dialect inflections is even more strange when we consider Pietro Paulo Verini, presented in the

[73] 1990: 92, and 1996: 73-74.
[74] Benporat 1990: 93.

colophon as a Florentine typographer, printed the *Opera Dignissima* in Milan and not in Venice as most of the 16th-century editions.[75]

For these reasons, we can safely affirm that the *Opera Dignissima* is a direct appropriation of Maestro Martino's textual tradition. Looking at the sequencing of the recipes, it is also clear that the *Opera Dignissima* does not derive from the *Riva del Garda* manuscript, the last manuscript of the tradition, but rather from the first witnesses of that textual tradition: the Library of Congress Medieval Manuscript 153 and the Vatican Library Urbinate Latino 1203. At the same time, from a philological standpoint, it is also possible that the *Opera Dignissima* might derive from a lost manuscript of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* tradition.

5.3. Conclusion

The editions of the *Epulario* and the *Opera Dignissima* represent a new attitude towards culinary recipe collections as a genre, from manuscript to print, and from private to public. Our analysis of the 16th-century printed editions that use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as the source text has revealed several important points for the history and evolution of cookbooks. Since their beginnings, the appropriations in print of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* have the clear intent of legitimizing themselves by clearly declaring their goal: when they appear, printed cookbooks such as the *Epulario* and the *Opera Dignissima* have the declared function of allowing and helping in the production of specific food preparation, a feature absent from all previous culinary recipe collections. This is a pivotal change.

[75] As previously said, the *Epulario* is printed outside of Venice only twice in the 16th century: in Turin in 1535 and in Brescia in 1537.

Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* was the first printed book on cookery to successfully spread Maestro Martino's culinary ideas. Yet, even in its few vernacular editions, Platina's work was still linked exclusively to the cultural world in which it originated. Its readership, those interested in Platina's work, were not necessarily interested in the practical knowledge of food preparation but rather in the philosophical aspects of human nutrition and health that Platina proposed.

By leaving aside all information and focusing exclusively on culinary content, the vernacular Italian printed editions that use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* confirm the existence of a new readership, not necessarily versed in Latin but able, and eager, to read about food preparation in the vernacular Italian. The everyday necessity of both preparing food and of enjoying food establishes a direct connection with the language used for everyday purposes. Along with Gehl, we can say that the readers of this types of texts, along with many other practical printed works, were finding a way, thanks to the attentive action of editors and printers, to assert their new place in an evolving society.[76] The editorial success of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* in 16th-century printed editions is clearly the success of vernacular Italian over Latin when it comes to less elevated content, as well as the success of everyday practical knowledge versus humanistic culture that generated Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. At the same time, it is my impression that the *Epulario* and the *Opera Dignissima*, just like the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, are not designed for professional, for the

[76] "Vernacular textbooks of the sort we have described in this chapter – books of secrets and calligraphy books – have one important thing in common. They all embodied skills of urban citizens, whether elite, middling, or artisanal, for whom the ornament of traditional Latin learning was less important than knowledge that led to success in government, business, or the arts broadly understood." (Gehl 2008: 6.20,1). Available at https://www.humanismforsale.org/text/archives/359.

wage-earning individuals who worked in the kitchens of the upper echelons of society, but rather for those individuals who would like to measure themselves with the higher end of society in terms of culinary and gastronomic taste, most likely, members of the middle class with economical resources and with ambitions for social mobility.

The transition from food preparation to food appreciation and consumption that our analysis of the title pages has revealed shows that a new social class is eager to discover new models of behavior when it comes to food consumption. Authorship of this type of literature is given to professional cooks, regardless of their real or fictitious existence, but editors realize that the potential readership for such printed works is not those in charge of food preparation but rather those who will benefit from and enjoy those food preparations. It is interesting to note that more and more from the middle of the 16th century onwards, culinary works will focus on the organization of banquets, of which one part, but only one, is food preparation. The future of printed culinary works will be more in the hands of *scalchi* / headmasters, rather than in the hands of professional cooks. Nonetheless, as far as content is concerned, the guiding element in the evolution of cookbooks into the Renaissance is still Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*.

6. Conclusion

The overarching goal of this dissertation has been to analyze the impact of the introduction of print on the evolving culture of food preparation. With this goal in mind, we have limited our focus to material culinary recipe collections, a type of texts that disseminate more common practical knowledge, rather than individual creativity with an esthetic value. This focus on non-canonical literary texts allowed us to distance ourselves from the added cultural or symbolic value that works may have acquired through time and to focus more specifically on the changes the text undergoes in the transition from manuscript to print culture. By looking at types of text in which the notion of author is less important, it is easier to focus almost exclusively onto the text and onto the changes the text undergoes. As this dissertation has demonstrated, the transition from manuscript to print culture forces us to consider the content of the text being transmitted along with the materiality of the medium used for its transmission. By analyzing content and materiality in their complementarity, we can reach a better understanding of both the work in all its aspects and of the container used for its transmission. In this sense, analyzing a specific type of non-canonical literary texts in their evolution from manuscript to print has allowed us to reach a more profound understanding of the text, of the society that produced it, and of the society for which the work was produced.

In the previous chapters, we traced the origins of culinary recipe collections in vernacular Italian from their first instances in manuscript form to the most significant printed editions of culinary texts in vernacular Italian of the 16th century. We have also confirmed the pivotal role

played by the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in terms of culinary and gastronomic taste. Moreover, we have shown how the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, thanks to its structure and organization, its language, its contents, and its way of communicating with the reader, was the most widely text used in printed editions in the 16th century. In fact, for the first half of the 16th century, Maestro Martino's work was the only culinary text used in printed editions.[1] Our analysis has also shown that other forces are at play beyond the text itself, and that it is important to consider the interplay of a text with all these other editorial forces at play in order to reach a better understanding of the period, of the societal changes that are taking place, and of how the creation, the dissemination, and the preservation of human knowledge changes and adapts when a new medium of communication is introduced. Our analysis of works like the *Opera dignissima* and of the *Epulario* – in its several different editions – disproved the claim found in some critical literature that these two works plagiarize Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. While it is true that they acknowledge neither Maestro Martino nor his text, labelling the *Opera dignissima* and the *Epulario* them as instances of plagiarism would be using categories and parameters that do not belong to the culture that produced those texts. Instead, our analysis revealed how editors and/or printers contributed to the source text and bestowed the text with new values and meanings specifically directed to the new readership for which the text was not now being printed.

The innovative character of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* can be found, as we have shown, in many aspects of the work: from the organization of the recipes, clearly

[1] There are other printed publications that include culinary recipes, but they never reach the scale and the dissemination that the *Epulario* will reach.

grouped together by ingredient or preparation, to the high degree of knowledge and expertise it demonstrates, to the innovations it brings in terms preparations. Also innovative are aspects ranging from the open-endedness of the recipes to the freedom that the work gives to the reader to interpret and adapt the recipes to his specific reality. All these features, along with the use of vernacular Italian, have contributed to the success of the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* in printed editions in the 16th century.[2]

The innovations introduced by the *Libro de arte coquinaria* go beyond quality of the content that we have highlighted so far. It is with Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* that, for the first time, the name of the organizer of a culinary collection is deemed worthy of mention, and a culinary work is deemed worthy of being dedicated to a patron. It is the first time that the culinary arts are taken in such high consideration. The cook – the professional, the wage-earning individual in charge of transforming raw ingredients into edible items – as well as the activity of preparing food are elevated to a higher status. It could be literally said that they are rescued from the anonymity and darkness of the kitchen and brought to the front stage. Food appreciation seems to gain importance if we compare the *Libro de arte coquinaria* with the previous anonymous culinary recipe collections. Nonetheless, we must admit that in the *Libro de arte coquinaria*, and for Maestro Martino, the focus is still on food preparation and on the activities performed in the restricted space of the kitchen.

[2] See also Laurioux: 2006: 523.

By contrast, the printed works based on the text of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* in the 16th century display a new and different approach to a recipe collection. Our analysis of the frontispiece illustrations of the printed editions reveals a progressive shift from the kitchen to the space where food is consumed, i.e., from the kitchen – and food preparation related activities – to the table and to practices related to food consumption. The *Libro de arte coquinaria* displays more attention, as we have seen, to dish presentation, but the kitchen and the dining room are still seen as two separate spaces. The transition from food preparation to food consumption is not an attribute that belongs to the original text, to the *Libro de arte coquinaria* itself, but rather it represents an element *added* to the original text by the paratextual elements – dedication texts, illustrations, etc. – of the printed editions. Also added by the printed editions are the explicit mention of the purpose, the ultimate goal of a printed collection of culinary recipes as we have seen in the dedication pages of the different editions of the *Epulario* and of the *Opera dignissima*.

Printed cookbooks from the second half of the 16th century onwards represent a further move in this transition of focus from food preparation to food consumption: in this sense, later printed cookbooks take another step toward the spectacle of courtly banquets. Unlike these printed culinary works of the second half of the 16th century, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is not a manual for preparing banquets and court celebrations, but rather a manual that limits itself to food preparation. This is an important element that marks the clear difference between the Maestro Martino's book – in its manuscript form(s) – and the culinary treatises of the second half of the 16th century, such as Messisbugo's and Scappi's works. While Maestro Martino's focus remains in the kitchen and in the food itself, in Messisbugo and Scappi, the focus has clearly

shifted from food preparation to the symbolic uses and values of food and to the social implications of a public event, the banquet. The 16th-century printed editions that use the text of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria,* i.e. the different editions of the *Epulario* and the *Opera dignissima,* function as the linking element between these two perspectives.

The innovations we have identified in the printed editions of Maestro Martino's work are proposed and set forward by agents other than the original author of the text, Maestro Martino. The culinary recipe collection, as a genre, is now in the hands of editors and printers. As such (and I would add, *thanks* to them) it evolves and incorporates elements and features that it did not display in the manuscript form in which it was first created. Once re-presented in a new form, the content of the text changes and acquires new features, new meanings that the new materiality – the print – allows, and that the old materiality – the manuscript – did not. The novelty of those features is linked to the materiality of the new object – the printed book versus the manuscript – but also to the relationship that the new object establishes with its audience, i.e. the reading public, which is different from the audience of the manuscript culture. As mentioned, when describing the manuscripts ascribed to Maestro Martino, the first manuscript was most likely prepared as a gift. Maestro Martino compiled an organized set of his own culinary recipes to be offered to Ludovico Trevisan, his employer. Most likely, as we have said, and as scholars and paleographers have pointed out, the production of this manuscript was interrupted by the death of Ludovico Trevisan in 1465. Nonetheless, as we have said, the level of decorations and care is the same used for other illustrious manuscripts prepared for illustrious recipients: the first page of the P manuscript was produced and decorated by Bartolomeo Sanvito, one of the most renowned and prolific scribes of the Italian Renaissance. Completely different is the way editors

and printers – starting with Niccolò Zoppino in 1516 – approach, use, reorganize, and set to print the contents of the *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Following the history of the introduction of print and its evolution, also when it comes to printed cookbooks, editors at first used features that are typical of the manuscript culture, such as the two-column page layout, as well as the gothic type, just to mention the two most evident features. But soon they distance themselves from that tradition and start experimenting on their own, following the trends of the new art of mechanical reproduction, and this is something that printed culinary collections also display. A printed work with culinary recipes is no longer a gift to be offered to one (prestigious) individual, but rather a commercial item that needs to find, and to adapt to, an audience. Most importantly, it is also an item that needs to justify its production costs.

Between the anonymous culinary recipe collections and the printed cookbooks that describe and, at the same time, codify Renaissance banqueting in all its components, it is therefore possible to identify two intermediate stages. The first is represented by Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria*: the innovations introduced are mainly at content level. Here, the transmission of its contents is still linked to the specific cultural worldview of manuscript production. The second stage is represented by the printed culinary recipe collections that use Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* as source text. In this second stage, innovations are introduced not by the text itself, nor by an author, but rather by other agents – editors and printers – who, acting upon pre-existing material, and using a new technology, create a new way for disseminating culinary content that will serve as models for the future, and for the future creation of original culinary content.

There is one aspect that we still need to discuss about Maestro Martino and his *Libro de arte coquinaria*, which relates to authorship, to the status of the author of a culinary recipe collection, and to culinary recipe collections as a genre. Authorship is to be considered an added value that sanctions the validity of a work. If we analyze the titles of Maestro Martino's manuscripts, we see that it is not only a question of mentioning the author's name: the name, position, and Maestro Martino's patron are the three elements that sanction the validity of Maestro Martino as the individual responsible for the text. These three elements will persist as key elements for the printed editions of culinary works. We have found them in the titles of the different editions of the *Epulario* and in the title attributed to the *Opera Dignissima*, and they are also present in the titles of the cookbooks printed in the second half of the 16th century.

The question here is to define whether Maestro Martino, besides being a cook, was also a man of letters, an individual equipped with the necessary education and skills to understand the importance of recording his culinary creations for posterity. Several have tried to build the case in favor of Maestro Martino as a *cuisinier lettré* / literate cook, but I am more inclined to follow Laurioux in saying that we need to look at *Libro de arte coquinaria* in connection with the *De honesta voluptate*.

> *La creation simultanée* et indépendante *de deux oeuvres – le* Libro de arte coquinaria *et le* De honesta voluptate *– novatrices dans leur ton, leur style et leur conception, tout en partageant une grande partie de leur contenu, me paraît une coïncedence décidément trop troublante. Je persiste à ne pas croire impossible une creation à quatre mains, avec un versant pratique et vulgaire (c'est le traité de Martino) et un versant latin, et théorique (le* De honesta voluptate*).* / The simultaneous and independent creation of two works – the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and the *De honesta*

> *voluptate* – innovative in their tone, style and design, while sharing a large part of their content, seems to me to be a decidedly too disturbing coincidence. I consider not impossible a four hands creation with a practical and in vernacular side (Martino's treatise) and a Latin and theoretical side (the *De honesta voluptate*).[3]

For Laurioux, Platina and Maestro Martino, the *De honesta volptate et valetudine* and the *Libro de arte coquinaria* are different representations of the same attitude toward food: an attitude that can be traced to the middle of 15th-century Rome. Despite this shared attitude toward food, deriving from the same cultural world, these works are profoundly different in their goals. Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, created in Latin, is directed to one audience, and Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*, composed in vernacular Italian, is directed to a different audience. The difference between the two audiences is culturally established by the idioms chosen by each work along with all those elements that derive from the linguistic choice. As Laurioux pointed out, while representing the transition from medieval to Renaissance cookery, the two works function at different levels: Maestro Martino's functions on the technical – or if we want, artisanal – , practical level and in vernacular Italian, while Platina's functions on a literary, educated level where Latin is the social marker.

My analysis of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* and of the appropriations in print of this text in the 16th century not only confirms Laurioux's claim, but provides stronger supporting evidence that forces us to consider the text, any text, not as the result of one

[3] Laurioux 2006: 524. Translation mine.
In a previous occasion, Laurioux suggested a similar idea: "O non si ha piuttosto a che fare con una composizione a quattro mani, di cui il *Libro de arte coquinaria* e il *De honesta valuptate* sarebbero i die versanti? Versante tecnico e 'volgare' il primo, e versante dotto e letterario il secondo, oggetto di una rielaborazione paziente, in funzione della congiuntira politica. (Laurioux 1996a: 44-45).

individual but as the product of a specific cultural moment. There is no doubt about the close relation between the *Libro de arte coquinaria* and the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. But more than just defining the peculiarities and specificities of each text – Platina's and Maestro Martino's, and later, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* as opposed to the *Epulario* and the *Opera dignissima* –, my analysis proved that the appropriations in print of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* are in tune with the new audience the printing press was targeting. This new audience was not necessarily versed in Latin, the transnational language of the learned community: it was also not necessarily interested in philosophical or medical approaches to food preparation. Rather, it was more interested in food preparation from a practical standpoint.

Unlinke Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* is a technical manual about a food preparation, i.e. a cookbook, it is written in vernacular Italian and therefore accessible to a general population: it is not a treatise on medicine and human wellbeing, it is not written in Latin, and therefore it is not directed to an educated elite. Nonetheless, *Libro de arte coquinaria* is first produced in manuscript for as a gift for Maestro Martino's employer: it was profusely decorated not because of its recipient nor for the and not for its content. Platina's work, as we have seen, was translated into vernacular Italian and set to print. But unlike other vernacular languages, and only partially surprisingly, Platina's work in vernacular Italian did not meet the expectations of the vernacular Italian reading audience. In fact, it only had five editions, the last being in 1516. What did meet the expectations of the vernacular Italian reading audience was the printed edition of the same text in vernacular Italian that Platina had used as source for the sections on culinary recipes: Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*. Just a few months

after the fifth edition of Platina's work in vernacular Italian was printed,[4] Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* is, as we have seen, reorganized, published and printed by Niccolò Zoppino with the title of *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*.[5] This appropriation in print of the *Libro de arte coquinaria* will represent an editorial success with a long-lasting impact not only in the production of printed cookbooks but also in the establishment of the printed cookbook as an editorial genre.

From the anonymous culinary recipe collections of the 13th and 14th centuries to the culinary treatises of the second half of the 16th century, culinary recipe collections have ceased to be personal notes for personal use or to be handed down from one individual to another. Thanks to the print, recipe collections transitioned into a new public domain. In this transition, Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* stands out. It stands out as the last stage of the evolution of culinary recipe collections in manuscript form but stands out as well as the text that successfully bridges into print culture. It will be used in printed editions by many and in different ways. It will be translated in Latin and back into vernacular Italian by Platina in the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. In its original vernacular Italian, Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria* will also be used by editors and printers to set the first example of what we define as a printed cookbook. Interestingly, Platina's work will continue to be published in Latin and in French well into the 16th century. But for 16th-century Italy, the success of a printed cookbook will depend on choosing the vernacular language, on exclusive culinary content, and on taking very specific

[4] USTC 807517, available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/807517.
[5] USTC 765101, available at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/765101.

printing, publishing, and editorial decisions. And Venice is the place where all these choices and decisions were made.

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In English:

Maestro Martino, Luigi Ballerini, Jeremy Parzen, and Stefania Barzini. 2005. *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book.* Berkeley CA: University of California Press.

Resume / CV

CURRICULUM VITAE

Lino Mioni

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Italian with a Minor in Food Studies Anthropology 2020
Indiana University Bloomington, U.S.A.

Post-Graduate Diploma in Information and Library Management 2012
Northumbria University, U.K.

M.A. Italian Studies 2005
The Ohio State University, U.S.A.

M.A. Language and Cognition Studies 2003
New University of Lisbon, Portugal

B.A. Portuguese and Italian Studies 2000
University of Coimbra, Portugal

B.A. English and German Studies 1997
University of Coimbra, Portugal

Ph.D. dissertation "From Manuscript to Print: The Case of Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte* Coquinaria"
Director: Prof. H. Wayne Storey
Dissertation defense date: 4 May 2020

PROFESSIONAL WORKSHOPS

Library Services and Premodern Studies. Workshop led by Christopher Fletcher (Newberry Library). Newberry Library, Chicago (Friday, November 15, 2019).

Dissertation Seminar for Scholars of the History of the Book in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Led by Adam Hooks (University of Iowa) and Michael Johnston (Purdue University). Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (Academic year 2018-2019).

Mellon Summer Institute in Italian Paleography. Directed by Maddalena Signorini (University of Rome, Italy). The Getty Research Center, Los Angeles, CA (27 June-15 July 2016).

HONORS AND AWARDS

2019 Newberry Renaissance Consortium Grant. Newberry Library.
For attending the workshop "Library Services and Premodern Studies". Newberry Library, Chicago, Friday, November 15, 2019.

2019 Emerging Scholar Award. Common Ground Research Network.
17th International Conference on Books, Publishing & Libraries. Granada, Spain, July 5, 2019.

2019 French and Italian Travel Grant. IU Department of French and Italian.
For presenting at 17th International Conference on Books, Publishing & Libraries. Granada, Spain, July 5, 2019.

2019 Graduate Conference Award. Indiana University Food Institute.
For presenting at 5th International Convention on Food History and Food Studies. Tours, France, June 6-7, 2019.

2019 Graduate Conference Travel Award. IU College Arts & Humanities Institute.
For presenting at 5th International Convention on Food History and Food Studies. Tours, France, June 6-7, 2019.

2018 French and Italian Fall Travel Grant. IU Department of French and Italian.
Travel Grant for presenting at the 2018 ACTFL Annual Convention, New Orleans, Nov 16-18, 2018.

2018 Student Stipend Award. American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
2018 ACTFL Annual Convention, New Orleans, Nov 16-18, 2018.

2018 HASTAC Scholarship for 2018-2019. IU Institute for Digital Arts and Humanities.

2018 Travel Grant. American Associations Teachers of Italian.
For presenting at the 2018 ACTFL Annual Convention, New Orleans, Nov 16-18, 2018.

2018 Newberry Renaissance Consortium Grant. Newberry Library.
For attending the 2018/2019 Dissertation Seminar for Scholars of the History of the Book in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Newberry Library, Chicago.

2018 Grant-in-Aid of Doctoral Research. IU Graduate School.

2018 Newberry Renaissance Consortium Grant. Newberry Library.
For presenting at the Newberry Library Early Modern Food History Workshop, Chicago, IL, April 6, 2018.

2018 Dissertation Completion Fellowship for 2018-2019. IU College of Arts and Sciences.

2018 Robert L. Platzman Memorial Fellowship. University of Chicago Libraries.
Competitive research fellowship.

2018 French and Italian Winter Travel Grant. IU Department of French and Italian
For presenting at the 64th RSA Annual Meeting, New Orleans, 22-24 March 2018.

2017 Travel Award. Iter Gateway to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

For presenting at 64th RSA Annual Meeting, New Orleans, 22-24 March 2018

2017 Mellon Research Grant. IU Institute of European Studies.

2017 Mellon Summer Institute Award 2017. The Getty Research Institute.
For attending the Mellon Summer Institute in Italian Paleography, Los Angeles, July 10-28, 2017

2016 Graduate Student Travel Award. IU College of Arts and Sciences.
For presenting that the 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies. Kalamazoo MI, May 11-14, 2017.

2016 Enrichment Fund Grant. IU Department of French and Italian.
For presenting at the 48th NeMLA Annual Convention, Baltimore MD, March 23-26, 2017.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

July 2019 to present Senior Collections Reference Assistant for Latin American and Caribbean, Spanish and Portuguese, Chicano-Riqueño, Latino, and European Studies. Indiana University Herman B Wells Library.

2017-2018 Associate Instructor for COLL-P155 Public Oral Communication. Indiana University College of Arts and Sciences.

2016-2017 Associate Instructor in Italian. Indiana University Department of French and Italian

Fall 2015 Graduate Research Assistant for Dr. Karolina Serafin, Director of the Language Instruction in Italian. Indiana University Department of French and Italian

2014-2015 Associate Instructor in Italian. Indiana University Department of French and Italian.

Fall 2009 Tutor for Italian and Linguistics. University of Georgia Rankin Smith Student Athlete Academic Center.

2008- 2014 Instructor in Italian and Portuguese. University of Georgia Department of Romance Languages.

2005-2008 Lecturer in Italian. University of Coimbra Institute of Italian Studies.

2003-2005 Graduate Teaching Assistant. The Ohio University Department of French and Italian.

2000-2005 Lecturer in Italian. University of Coimbra Institute of Italian Studies.

1999-2000 Teacher of Italian. Conservatory of Music of Coimbra.

1997-1999 Associate Director and Teacher of Italian. Conservatory of Music of Coimbra.

1996-1997 Teacher of Italian and German. Conservatory of Music of Coimbra.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2017 Research Assistant in a project with Prof. Wayne Storey to establish the shared antegraph used by Boccaccio and Malpaghini's for their copies for Petrarch's *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*.

2016 Encoder for 'Petrarchive: A digital edition of Petrarch's songbook Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta'. Edited by H. Wayne Storey, John A. Walsh, and Isabella Magni, http://dcl.slis.indiana.edu/petrarchive/.

2005-2006 Researcher for Onset-CEL (Center for Linguistics Studies) University of Lisbon for the areas of syntax and language acquisition

PUBBLICATIONS

Articles

Mioni, Lino. 2012. "Auxiliary Selection in Italian Compound Tenses: A Problem that Can be Solved". *Italica* 89 (1), 34-48.

Mioni, Lino. 2007. "Contributos para a compreensão da evolução e dos valores das formas de cortesia voi e vostra signoria até ao séc. XVI." *Estudos Italianos em Portugal*, 2 (2007).

Reviews

Mioni, Lino. 2013. Book review: Stillman, David M., and Tiziano Cherubini. *The Ultimate Italian Review and Practice: Mastering Italian Grammar for Confident Communication*. New York, N.Y: McGraw-Hill, 2013. *NeMLA-Italian Studies* XXXV (2013), 357-359.

Mioni, Lino. 2006. Book review: Spaggiari, Barbara, and Maurizio Perugi. *Fundamentos Da Crítica Textual*. Rio de Janeiro: Lucerna, 2004. *Estudos Italianos em Portugal*, 1 (2006).

Translations

Rorty, R. and Gianni Vattimo. 2006. *O Futuro da Religião: solidariedade, caridade, ironia*. Coimbra: Angelus Novus. Translation from Italian of Rorty, R. and Gianni Vattimo. 2005. *Il futuro della religione. Solidarietà, carità, ironia*, a cura di Santiago Zabala. Milano: Garzanti.

Calzabigi, Ranieri de. 2001. *Orfeu e Euridice: acção Dramática em três actos*. Condeixa: Liga dos Amigos de Conimbriga. Translation to Portuguese by Lino Mioni of Gluck's *Orfeo e Euridice*.

Loforte, Epifanio. *12 Minuette für 2 Mandolinen: MS 44-XI-21 Biblioteca da Ajuda, Portugal* [Printed music]. Ed. Flávio Pinho, translation from Italian to German by Lino Mioni. Hamburg: Joachim Trekel Musikverlag. 2001.

CONFERENCES AND TALKS

Invited talks

"Venice as the birthplace of the printed cookbook in vernacular Italian: From Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* to the *Opera noua chiamata Epulario*". Invited talk. Indiana University Food Institute. Bloomington IN, January 17, 2020.

"International and area studies: trends, challenges, possible solutions, and good examples". Invited talk. University of Wisconsin Libraries. Madison WI, April 4, 2019.

"Best recipes for success in undergraduate research projects". Invited talk. IUPUC Library. Columbus IN, December 12, 2019.

"From Recipe Collection to Best-Selling Cookbook: Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* in 16th-century print editions". Invited talk. IU Dept. of French and Italian Student-Faculty Forum Series. Bloomington IN, October 12, 2018.

"From Manuscript to Print: Italian Cookbooks in the XV and XVI Centuries". Invited talk. Newberry Library Early Modern Food History Workshop. Chicago IL, April 6, 2018.

"From Manuscript to Print and beyond: Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*". Invited talk. IU Renaissance Studies End-of-Year Roundtable. Bloomington IN, December 8, 2017.

Paper presentations

"Reshaping the *Libro de arte coquinaria*: The role of printers and editors in the creation of the early modern cookbook". Abstract submitted to the International Conference *Reshaping the Early Modern Book World: Competition, Protection, Consumption.* University of Milan, December 2-4, 2020.

"At the beginning of a genre: 16th century Italian printed cookbooks". Paper presentation. 5th International Convention on Food History and Food Studies. Tours, France, June 6-7, 2019.

"Del manuscrito a la imprenta: El caso del *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* de Maestro Martino". Paper presentation. 17th International Conference on Books, Publishing & Libraries. Granada, Spain, July 5, 2019.

"Mapping culinary and gustatory taste through time." Poster Presentation. Indiana University Institute for Digital Arts and Humanities Symposium 2019. Bloomington IN, April 12, 2019. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/2022/22953.

"16th Century Printed Cookbooks: Italian Cookbooks in the Classroom". Paper presentation. 2018 ACTFL. New Orleans LA, November 16-18, 2018.

"From Recipe Collection to Best-Selling Cookbook: Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* in 16th-century print editions". Invited talk. IU Dept. of French and Italian Student-Faculty Forum Series. Bloomington IN, October 12, 2018.

"A Digital Edition of Maestro Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*". Paper presentation. 64th Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America. New Orleans LA, March 22-24, 2018.

"Maestro Martino: From Manuscript to the Digital World". Paper presentation. 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies. Kalamazoo MI, May 11-14, 2017.

"From Manuscript to Print: The Case of Maestro Martino's *Libro de arte coquinaria*". Paper presentation. 48th NeMLA Annual Convention. Baltimore MD, March 23-24, 2017.

"*Velenoso o Avvelenato*: Food and the City in Calvino's *Marcovaldo*." Paper presentation. 45th NeMLA Annual Convention. Harrisburg PA, April 3-6, 2014.

"Auxiliary Selection and Compound Tenses in Italian Introductory Courses". Paper presentation. 2009 Kentucky Foreign Languages Conference. Lexington KY, April 16-18, 2009.

"*Essere o non essere (…avere?), questo è il problema*. Teaching Auxiliary Selection for Italian Compound Tenses: A Proposal". Paper presentation. UGA Romance Linguistics Colloquium. Athens GA, March 27, 2009.

"Cantare in italiano e immaginare di farlo: la pronuncia dell'italiano per studenti di canto lirico". Paper presentation. IV Incontro di Italianistica. University of Coimbra, Coimbra, Portugal, March 6-7, 2008.

"L'immagine del muro nella poesia di Eugenio Montale". Paper presentation. 10th Annual FIGSA Conference. The Ohio State University, Columbus OH, April 13-14, 2004.

"Ungrammatical VSO in Italian: A Morphosyntactic Approach" (with João Costa). Paper presentation. Going Romance 2002. Groningen, Netherlands, November 28-30, 2002.

"Dare del tu o dare del Lei? / Tratar por tu ou tratar por você? Un approccio linguistico e culturale delle forme di cortesia in italiano e in portoghese europeo". Invited talk. Università per Stranieri, Perugia, Italy, May 5, 2002.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

AATI – American Association Teachers of Italian	since 2018
BSA – The Bibliographical Society of America	since 2018
HASTAC (Humanities Arts Sciences Technology Alliance and Collaboratory)	since 2018
RSA – Renaissance Society of America	since 2016

LANGUAGES

Italian	native speaker
Portuguese and English	near native competence
Spanish, French, German	good reading, fair speaking and writing proficiency
Catalan	reading proficiency