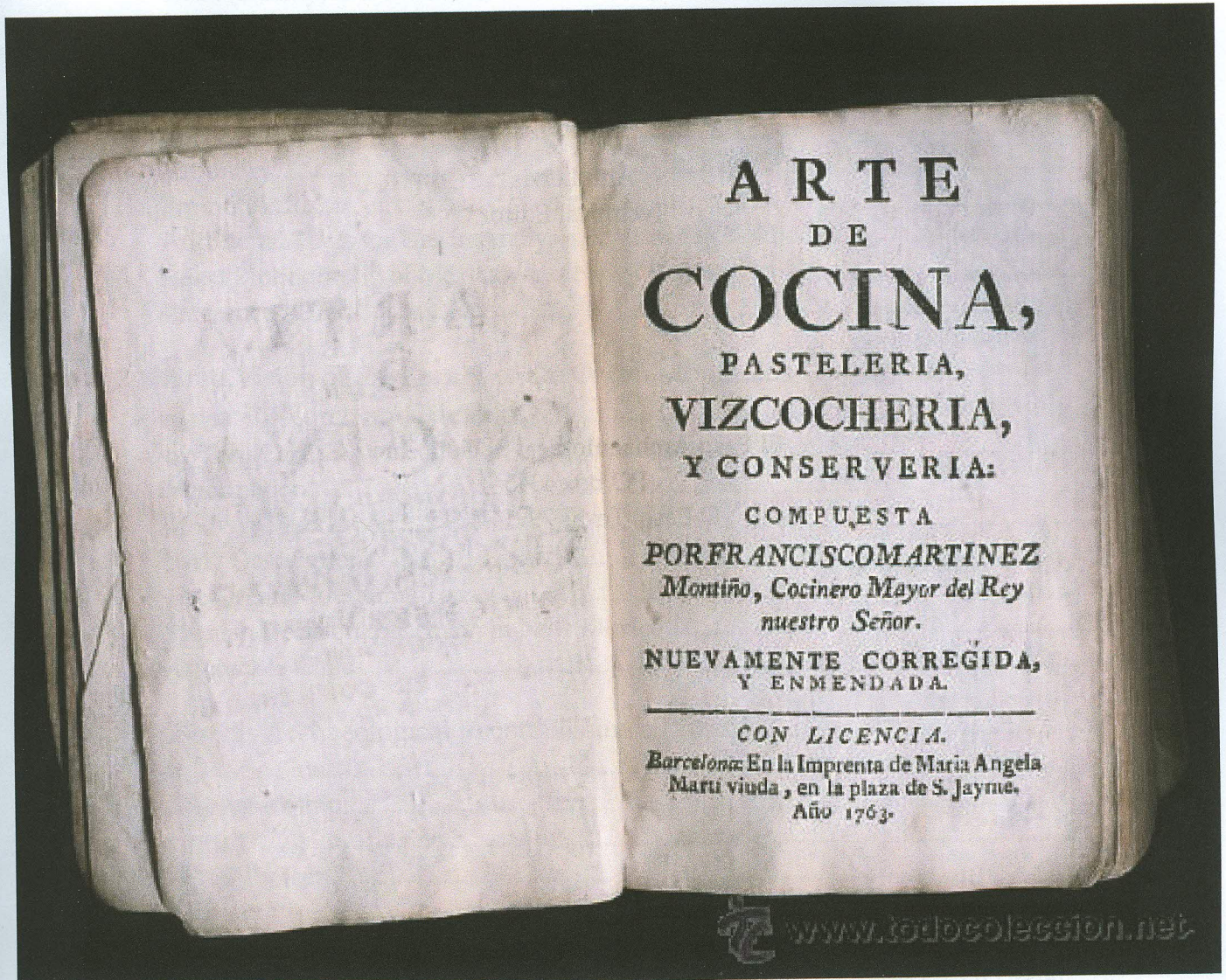


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Title Page of Francisco Martínez Montañó's *Arte de Cocina*, 1763 printing.
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DAILY LIFE THROUGH COOKING AND COOKBOOKS: A BRIEF GUIDE TO USING COOKBOOKS AS A TOOL IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

BY CYNTHIA D. BERTELSEN

INTRODUCTION

As a food historian, I find archaeology helps me in interpreting aspects of food history. This article is dedicated to the memory of my childhood friend, Meli Duran (Kirkpatrick). Although we both grew up in Washington State, our travels and interests took us many places. Meli ended up in New Mexico and I spent time in Mexico, studying the history of Spain and Latin America. It only seemed appropriate, since we both loved food, to write something about cooking in conjunction with Meli's love of archaeology, too.

In this article I will be discussing cookbooks and how they can provide information on a wide variety of topics useful to archaeologists. This includes what is a cookbook and a brief history of cookbooks. For New Mexico cookbooks, it is important to know the origins of cookbooks in Mexico and Spain (Figure 1). The article concludes with several research questions and topics that cookbooks may be useful in historic archaeology projects.

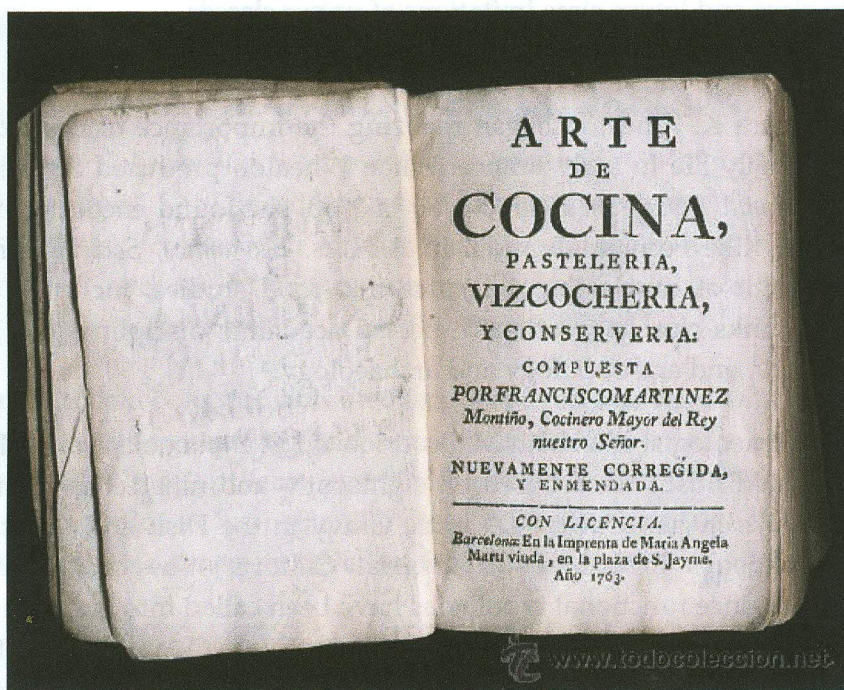


Figure 1. Title Page of Francisco Martínez Montañó's *Arte de Cocina*, 1763 printing. (<http://www.todocoleccion.net/arte-cocina-pasteleria-vizcocheria-conserveria-f-m-montano-barcelona-1763-original~x26867770>) accessed March 18, 2012

WHY USE COOKBOOKS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH?

Cookbooks make concrete what is basically oral culture. In many areas of the world and in many periods of history as well, cookbooks are as scarce as hens' teeth. When people, mostly men, wrote down bits and pieces about food, something compelled them to do so. Whatever their motives, such material provides historians and historical archaeologists with another tool useful in the search for the often nebulous past.

Put into the context of the time period under scrutiny, researchers can read cookbooks in many different ways. In examining period cookbooks, either printed or in unpublished manuscript form, evidence often exists to illuminate many of the following points:

- Family size
- Societal changes
- Literacy and mathematical skills
- Technological changes
- Gender roles and accepted behavior
- Ingredients available locally
- Ingredients acquired through trade
- Cooking equipment
- Meal patterns and other food-related behavior
- Upper class values, or status markers
- Middle-class and lower-class imitations of upper classes
- Traditions

Scholars like Barbara K. Wheaton began realizing the importance of cookbooks in the interpretation of daily life in early France. When Wheaton produced *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* in 1983, she found encouragement in the work of historians like Fernand Braudel in *Annales: Economics, Sociétés, Civilizations*.¹ Since then, a wealth of scholarship indicates that food studies, including studies of cookbooks, now ranks closely to other respected academic disciplines like chemistry, engineering, history, and anthropology and archaeology.²

Like Wheaton, archaeologist Elizabeth M. Scott looked at cookbooks from a Eurocentric culture, in this case British. She focused on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Anglo-American cookbooks in her article " 'A Little Gravy in the Dish and Onions in a Tea Cup': What Cookbooks Reveal about Material Culture." She concluded that, for archaeologists, "... since functional typologies have been called into question for Anglo-American households, we should be even more cautious when assigning function to artifacts from households of other ethnic and racial groups. It is clear that established methodologies, interpretation of vessel use, status studies, and analyses of gendered labor roles all need thoughtful, critical reconsideration."³

One underrepresented area is that of multicultural cookbooks. Work done by Arjun Appadurai, with his study of contemporary Indian cookbooks and nationality, began to appear in the late 1980s.⁴ And in 1960, the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski stated, so astutely, "An object, whether a cooking pot or a digging stick, a plate or a fireplace, has to be skillfully, lawfully, and reverently manipulated, since it is very often effective not merely by technology, but also by customary or ethnical regulation."⁵

Cookbooks reflect many aspects of human culture, but do not necessarily record what people actually ate. Therefore, cookbooks, however valuable as primary sources, must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. According to Tom Jaine, of Prospect Books, there's a gap between what the cookery books portrayed versus what people actually ate every day. This trend has been around since the beginning of cookbook printing and continues to this day with monthly glossies that have readers drooling on the pages of glorious photographs of dishes that no one will make more than once, if ever.

But cookbooks often provide the only written record directly concerning food practices and ingredients. A careful examination of the words used often indicate what tools may have been used to achieve a desired dish or taste.

The following brief foray into the nature of cookbooks attempts to clarify their potential worth in historical study, including general applications in historical archaeology. Examples from cookbooks pertaining to Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico illustrate the idea that researchers may not find the fabled city of El Dorado, but nonetheless Cookbooks can provide a treasure trove of material.

WHAT (EXACTLY) IS A COOKBOOK?

Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines a cookbook as being "a book of cooking directions and recipe." The *Oxford English Dictionary* reveals that the word "cookbook" or rather "cook-book" comes from American usage around 1809, by a certain R. Tyler in *Yankey in London*, referring to cookery books. Cookery, in turn, signifies "The art or practice of cooking, the preparation of food by means of fire."

In other words, cookbooks provide a collection of recipes, which include instructions and information about preparing and serving food. And—nearly always—cookbooks also chronicle the cultural artifacts surrounding cooking. Most literate societies boast of a culinary canon, which in the beginning came primarily (and ironically) from the pens of aristocratic men who generally never set foot in a kitchen.

A BRIEF GENERAL HISTORY OF COOKBOOKS

Prior to the invention of printing, most culinary manuscripts fell into the category of formularies or books of medical advice, dispensing "receipts" for good health. Once cookbook publishing became common after the invention of the Gutenberg press with its movable type around 1439, many of these early manuscripts surfaced in print. And

then few new cookbooks appeared until after the sixteenth century. Why? People found that the old cookbooks and cookery manuals worked just fine, allowing them to prepare medicines, luxurious dishes, and preserve food, just as modern cooks turn to Grandma's early copies of *The Joy of Cooking*. Religious and medical concerns determined the composition of menus as well. The average print run of a cookbook ran to whopping 500 and 2,000 copies.

Three major stages in the historical development of printed cookbooks can be determined. Within each stage are a number of sub-stages and trends, which tend to pertain to most Western cultures and parts of the no-Western world where colonialism held sway.

Until the nineteenth century, most cookbooks were written by men. As Doctor Samuel Johnson said so pithily, "Women can spin very well, but they cannot write a good book of cookery."⁶ A few exceptions did exist; take Hannah Woolley's *The Queen-Like Closet* (1670). Male cookbook authors like Bartolomeo Scappi (*Opera dell'arte del cucinare*, 1570) wrote for the *maîtres d'hotel* of the large, wealthy households and palaces they managed for kings and queens, powerful noble families, and high-ranking church officials. Cookbooks served primarily as *aides memoires* for these cooks, a sort of archive to pass down necessary information about ingredients and techniques for carrying out large banquets, as well as every day menus. An anonymous Italian manuscript cookbook dating to the end of the fifteenth century, *The Neapolitan Recipe Collection* (*Cuoco Napoltetano*) contains a number of opulent banquet menus. An example of the recipe collections, or "courtly dining guides," produced for the managers of large noble, royal, and ecclesiastical households, *The Neapolitan Recipe Collection* is representative of many of the books produced by such writers.

These recipe collections were for use by the master/head of the household in instructing the cooks. In the earliest manuscripts, cooking times, ingredient quantities, and number of servings were not mentioned. Later, especially in the Italian manuscripts emerging in the late fifteenth century, authors began to include this information, albeit sporadically. Early cookery books show many commonalities, not at all surprising considering that copying and borrowing that occurred constantly. Plagiarism, no problem!

Compilers organized these books in various ways, usually by ingredient or part of the meal, as in many early cookbooks as well as modern cookbooks. Many books focused on the health aspects of foods, including the hot-cold theories and humors. Some early cookbook authors organized their works alphabetically by the name of the recipe. And sometimes gave no names for the recipes. Much is missing because the commonest dishes and procedures were so well known that no one thought that they needed to be recorded or mentioned. A case in point is that of vegetables and fruits, which are shown in abundance in paintings of various periods, but are often lacking in the recipe collections. Illustrated cookbooks came into vogue in 1700s.

The second stage of cookbook development came in the form of household management books written by men and women for housewives, with a very rigid and rule-encrusted, prescriptive tone. In England, for example, one of the first cookbooks to address women's cooking, Thomas Dawson's *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (1585), focused not only on the nobility in planning banquets, but also on gentlewomen in charge of day-to-day household tasks. Other early examples of this trend include French chef Menon's *La cuisinière bourgeoise* (1746), and *Traité historique et pratique de la cuisine. Ou le cuisinier instruit* (2 vol., 1758). Isabella Beeton's *The Book of Household Management* (1861)—an encyclopedic 1,112 pages—contained detailed chapters on ingredients and how to prepare a variety of different dishes. The book also included information about medicine, legal terms, menus, and the like.

Later, as women's literacy increased and the Industrial Revolution surged forward, women began to write cookbooks meant for women's use in smaller, less affluent households, with a great emphasis on economy. Within the trend lie several subgroups of cookbooks: 1) charitable or community cookbooks to raise money for the Civil War soldiers, 2) promotional or advertising cookbooks printed by companies seeking to sell food products or kitchen wares, and 3) publications from the cooking school/home economics/domestic science movement, including health and nutrition topics.

This trend is most apparent in the United States, which had less of a tradition of wealthy households festooned with servants. Because of the move westward, many women no longer could access the oral tradition of recipes being passed down from mother to daughter and so family manuscript cookbooks became important. And published cookbooks took on a greater role in educating women about household management and cooking because their far-flung family members could not stand at their sides to teach them. Reprints of numerous books and the many editions issued of these cookbooks underscore the popularity and usefulness of these books to women across America.

The same situations persisted in cookbooks from other geographical areas of the world as people migrated out of their homelands. For example, British women in colonial India relied on Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management* (1861), which appeared in various guises for over 125 years after the author's childbirth-related death in 1865.

HISTORY OF COOKBOOKS IN MEXICO

All roads lead to Rome, and the old adage holds (mostly) true when it comes to Western cuisine. The antecedents of Spanish cooking lie in Roman sensibilities, with the Roman's excessive use of exotic and costly spicing, a practice that lasted longer in Spain than in the rest of Europe.

The history of cookbooks in Mexico rests primarily on the history of Spanish cookbooks, which in turn evolved from one thirteenth-century Spanish cookbook that has survived

the molds and fires of time, *An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook* (Perry n.d.). *Libre de Sent Soví*, in fourteenth-century Catalan, recorded 222 recipes as prepared in Aragon before the influx of foods from the Americas. Other manuscripts dating from this time period also demonstrate borrowings from *Sent Soví*, namely *Le livre du cuisinier de l'évêché de Tarragone*, written in 1331; and *Com usar de beure e menjar*, written by a cleric named Francesc Eiximenis (1337 - 1409), who quipped somewhat nationalistically that "*com catalans mengen pus graciosament e ab millor manera que altres nacions*," or that "Catalans eat more graciously and better than do other nations!"

Another cookbook from the fifteenth century, *Libre de totes maneres de confits*, included 33 recipes for fruit confits, may have been based on material from the *Sent Soví* manuscript. The anonymous author of the *Manual de mugeres en el cual se contienen muchas y diversas recetas muy buenas* also cherry picked recipes from *Sent Soví*.

Arab sources such as the 10th-century *Kitab al-Tabikh* (The Book of Dishes), by Ibn Sayyir al-Warraaq, provide a glimpse of the roots of spicing patterns used in medieval Spanish cuisine and throughout Europe. Characteristic ingredients found in Spanish cooking owe much to the presence of Arabs, who dominated the Iberian Peninsula for almost 800 years, from 711 to 1492. Many of the following spicing ingredients still appear in familiar recipes found in Spanish and Mexican cooking:

- Sugar
- Honey
- Saffron
- Cinnamon
- Cloves
- Black pepper
- Mace
- Cubeb pepper
- Sumac
- Anise
- Asafoetida
- Caraway
- Celery seed
- Coriander
- Cumin
- Fennel
- Galingale
- Hyssop
- Lavender
- Liquamen
- Lovage
- Marjoram
- Mastic
- Mint
- Mustard
- Oregano
- Parsley
- Rosemary
- Rue
- Sage
- Sandalwood
- Thyme

Convent and monastery cuisine impacted so strongly on Spanish and later Mexican kitchens, it is likely that the daughters of *conversos* (Jews or Muslims or their descendants who converted to Catholicism in Spain and Portugal in the 14th and 15th centuries) had significant contributions to the cuisine. These women entered religious life to avoid marriage with Christians and brought their familial food traditions with them along with their trunks of clothes and passed those traditions on to their new communities. In particular, nuts, eggs, sugar, honey, raisins, and frying oil enriched baked goods and other confections. Another source of Moorish cuisine lay with the transfer of Moorish slaves to the New World by Spanish religious orders.

One of the most widely used cookbooks, Ruperto de Nola's *Libro de guisados, manjares y potajes*, appeared in Castilian in 1525. Nola's original title read *Libre del coch*, likely written in Catalan or Limousin. Chef to Fernando, king of Naples, Nola mixed recipes from many different areas: Aragon, Provence, Valencia, Italy, and, of course, Catalonia. These formed the basis for many cookbooks that came later. Because Nola also added cooking times, ingredient quantities, and how-to dos, it is not unreasonable to conclude that like many early innovations, this pattern of cookbook writing became fixed.

The first cookbooks were available for sale in Mexico as early as 1584. But, these came from Spain. According to John Super in a presentation given in Puebla, Mexico, on July 7, 1992, at the *Simposio 1492: El encuentro de dos comidas*, no cookbooks were published in all of Latin America during the colonial period.

Eight cookbooks printed in the 350 years after the invention of printing represent the core of Spanish cooks until the nineteenth century. These books included the following:

- Francisco Martínez Montañón, *Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería, y conservía* (originally printed 1611, reissued 1725 and 1795. [Figure 2])
- Diego Granado, *Libro del arte de cocina* (1614)
- Juan de Altamira, *Nuevo arte de cocina* (1758)
- Juan de la Mata, *Arte de repostería* (1747)

Of particular interest here is the Martínez Montañón book, because the author served as chef to Philip II, and the book reflects court culture surrounding the cuisine. The 1611 version of the book traveled with Don Diego de Vargas, Spanish governor of New Mexico and formed part of his library in Santa Fe.

In the nineteenth century, the first truly Mexican cookbook appeared, *El Cocinero Mexicano* (1831), written by an anonymous author. Later, a publisher reissued the book as *Nuevo cocinero mexicano en forma de diccionario* (1881). These set the stage for books like *La Cocinera Poblana* (1890), of which New Mexican Ernesto Garza wrote in *Barrio Boy* (1972):

"Books were rare. My mother had one, which she kept in the cedar box. It had a faded polychrome drawing on the cover with the title *La Cocinera Poblana*, a cookbook which had belonged to Grandmother Isabel. We did not need it for the simple, never-changing meals of the family. It was the first book from which Doña Henriqueta ever read to me. The idea of making printed words sound like the things you already knew about first came through to me from her reading of the recipes. I thought it remarkable that you could find oregano in a book as well as in the herb pot back of our house."

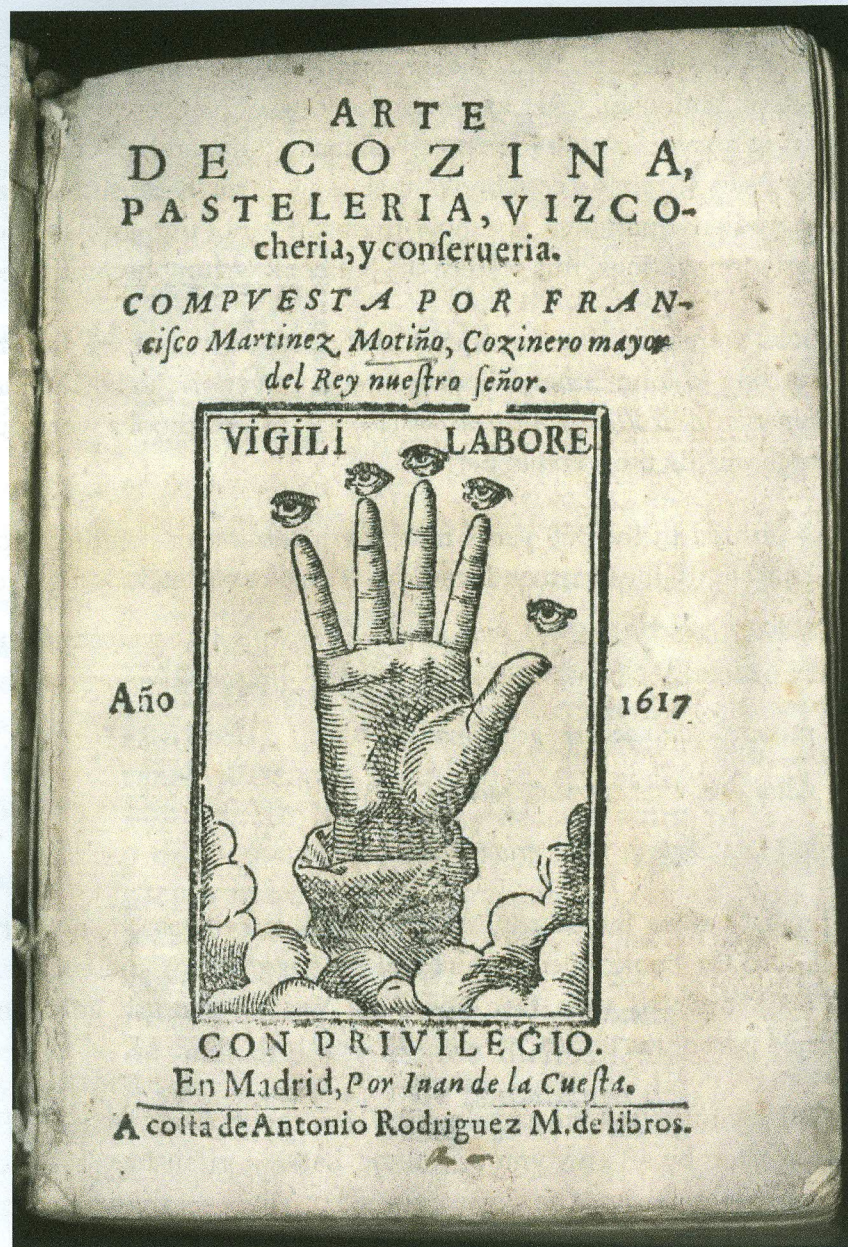


Figure 2: Another title page for an Early Printing of Francisco Martínez Montaña's *Arte de Cozina*.

By the end of the nineteenth century, French culinary influence became quite pronounced, especially among Mexico City's elite. This trend spider-webbed throughout the country, even into the Yucatan. The chef of Paris's Jockey Club, Jules Gouffé, authored *Le livre de cuisine* (1867), which soon ended up translated into Spanish as *El libro de cocina* (1893). Upper-class Mexicans used the book quite extensively. As late as 1996, Diana Kennedy, the doyenne of Mexican cooking, contributed a recipe to *Food & Wine* magazine for *Sopa Seca* (noodles in tomato broth) taken from Gouffé's 1893 tome.

HISTORY OF COOKBOOKS IN NEW MEXICO

Six months travel time away from Mexico City, Spain's New Mexico took a slightly different turn. With 700 people trailing behind him, and with food and water often nothing more than a dream, Juan de Oñate settled New Mexico in 1598, which has one of the oldest and most deeply entrenched culinary cultures in the U.S. Southwest.

According to Gifford-Gonzalez, "Detailed archaeological evidence for early phases of the development of such syncretic Hispanic cuisines in either Mexico or the borderlands is not well documented. However, as early as the Oñate expedition [1598], the influence of Central Mexican Indian cuisine on habits of the Hispanic colonialists is shown in inventories of food preparation gear."⁷ However, the development of the cuisine now known as "New Mexican" took root with frequent fertilizations from Native American, Mexican, Spanish, and Anglo foodways. The possibility of an African impact on the cuisine might also be evident, since antebellum Army wives and other Anglo settlers brought along black slaves to help with household chores.

Obviously, families carefully guarded their notebooks and ledgers filled with recipes. Those manuscripts were the first New Mexican cookbooks. A number of archaeological sites around Santa Fe attest to the familial presence: Baca-Garvisu site; the Sanchez Site, an early Spanish *estancia*, or rural settlement; and San Gabriel del Yungue near Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, where the first Spanish colonists briefly settled. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the exodus of Spanish settlers to El Paso del Norte left a large hole in the culinary history of New Mexico. By 1692, Governor Diego de Vargas returned to Santa Fe, proclaiming Spanish "reconquest," seemingly bloodless and quick, although subsequent years saw violent interactions between the Spanish and the Pueblo. Spanish cuisine permeated the kitchens of the settlers for over 300 years.

In spite of this very long history, the first uniquely New Mexican published cookbook appeared in 1916. Alice Stevens Tipton wrote a 64-page booklet titled *New Mexico Cookery: Some Products of the State and How to Prepare Them*, issued and distributed by the State Land Office. According to Dr. Cheryl Foote,

The agency recruited Alice Stevens Tipton, the wife of a Land Office employee, to write a book called *New Mexico Cookery*, a wise choice of title. [...] *New Mexico Cookery* was designed to advertise New Mexico produce and make recipes available to those who might want to cook the dishes they were tasting here. A skillful cook herself, Tipton cautioned readers that authentic knowledge and expertise in preparing New Mexican dishes resided with the 'native house-wife.' Still, she felt familiar enough with the local dishes to emphatically express her opinion about the proper use of chile, beginning her discussion by noting that "in preparing dishes made with chile, two prominent DON'Ts are important factors. DON'T use ground chile, and DON'T use either seeds or skins of

the pods under any circumstances whatever.' Her book also featured recipes for dishes using New Mexican turkeys, New Mexico celery, and New Mexico walnuts to convince readers that New Mexico could yield many products in addition to chile. Unfortunately, distribution of Tipton's book was stopped when a state court enjoined the Land Office from using its funds to advertise and scuttled the project. Few copies of it survive, and it is doubtful that many people saw it or used it. However, the manuscript survived and in the 1930s the State Tourist Bureau reprinted the recipes and distributed them.'⁸

Next came Erna Fergusson's popular *Mexican Cookbook* in 1934. Other cookbooks devoted solely to New Mexico spilled from the pens of two women, contemporaries, about whom much has been written: Cleofas Jaramillo and Fabiola Cabeza de la Baca Gilbert. A descendent of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, one of the early explorers of New Mexico, Fabiola Cabeza de la Baca Gilbert worked for thirty years as a home demonstration agent for the agriculture extension service. She also wrote cookbooks like *The Good Life: New Mexico Traditions and Food* (1949) and extension bulletins like *Historic Cookery* (1956) that helped to bring home economics information to the Spanish-speaking residents of New Mexico between 1929 and 1959. Cleofas Jaramillo started the *Sociedad Folklórica de Santa Fe* in 1935, because she observed that the native culture was in danger of disappearing through assimilation. She also wrote about the culture and produced a cookbook, *The Genuine New Mexico Tasty Recipes: Potajes sabrosos* (1939).

Ironically, cookbooks served as tools of assimilation in many cases, as a quick glance at *Favorite Recipes of Colfax County Club Women*, a community cookbook published in 1946 by an extension-related group led by Mrs. Lillie Mae Daugherty so aptly suggests.

Modern New Mexican cookbooks, such as *The Rancho De Chimayo Cookbook: The Traditional Cooking of New Mexico* (1991) by the Jamisons, emphasize the culinary inheritance wrought by the combination of Native American, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo foodways.

USING COOKBOOKS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

A number of writers have confirmed the use of cookbooks as sources for historical research.⁹ Few have provided in-depth methodology for carrying out the process. And few have analyzed cookbooks from cultures other than Eurocentric ones. An exception to this tendency can be found in the work of Lourdes Ortiz Díaz, who analyzed four cookbooks from the second half of the nineteenth century in New Spain.

One researcher, Dr. Laura Jane Harper, the first female dean at Virginia Tech, offered a class at Virginia Tech in the early 1980s. Harper attempted to get students to think about frameworks for studying food in culture. Out of that endeavor came a dissertation that, sadly, is virtually unknown because of the death of the author, Maryellen Spencer, who

died a few months after she received her Ph.D. "Food in Seventeenth-Century Tidewater Virginia: A Method for Studying Historical Cuisines" presents a clear method for the study of cuisines for which much written material is non-existent.

Spencer relied on unique primary sources, much of it archaeological and based on the pioneering work of archaeologists Ivor and Audrey Noel Hume, who worked in the area around the original Jamestown settlement and Williamsburg. Audrey Noel Hume's book, *Food* (1978), provides much information of interest to culinary historians and historical archaeologists attempting to reconstruct conditions about which the written word sheds little light. Granted, historians and historical archaeologists utilize many different types of documents in their endeavors, but cookbooks are more than merely lists of recipes. Even when no commentaries accompany the recipes, it is possible to recreate in certain ways the world of the people who might have eaten food prepared using the recipes as guidelines.

Trigg states that "Some archaeological indicators of cuisine may point to mestizaje. In colonial households, women's work, less visible tasks, and lower-status items reflect influence from indigenous sources, while men's work and highly public and valued practices tend to reflect the culture of the colonizers." She gives as an example sandstone comals versus metal comals peculiar to the Spanish.¹⁰

Questions, as implied by Trigg's comment, begin always with attention to the following major contexts. And these groupings apply equally well to the subset of culinary history, with its focus on kitchen processes, cooking techniques, and recipes.

The larger historical questions, with sub-groupings, invite investigations concerning:

1. The political context
2. The physical context
3. Aesthetic context

What can be learned about the following aspects surrounding cuisine and culinary practice? The next grouping of questions focuses on cuisine, throwing light on what people actually ate:

1. Catalog of available foods (including identification of varieties, forms, and sensory properties)
2. Food production
3. Food choices and preferences
4. Physical facilities for food preparation and storage
5. Cooks and food-preparers
6. Servers and other servants

7. Food preparation and utensils
8. Food storage
9. Food preservation
10. Feeding patterns (food habits)
11. Food style and aesthetics
12. Dining: Presentation and serving of food
13. Culinary heritage
14. Beliefs and values (taboos, psychological functions)
15. Ideology of food

Once the questions have been determined, then comes the search for illuminating material. That can be done by looking at a number of aspects in cookbooks, one by one:

- **Ingredients** – indicate seasonality, rural or urban location, suggest how people replenished their pantries and other food storage spaces
- **Textures** – hint as to what people sought in terms of
- **Flavors** – suggest basic cultural markers
- **Action words** – illustrate how cooking actually took place
- **Equipment** – implied by action words or described, indicating trade goods or local industry to provide the materials
- **Kitchen arrangements** – how did cooks operate in the space, how many people needed to be there to produce the food?
- **Procedures and steps** – again, how many people did the cook need to help prepare the food? What equipment seems to be necessary to carry out these procedures? What is being left out? Why?
- **Details about serving** – indicates wealth or lack of it, as well as equipment and other material culture.
- **Title pages** – rich sources sometimes about the author, patrons, and other biographical information

The key is to focus on each aspect at a time. Not every cookbook renders up all of these aspects. And another problems lies in the vocabulary used during different periods of history. Many historians rely on the *Oxford English Dictionary* when trying to decipher books like *The Forme of Cury* (1390). Glossaries and typologies for articles of material culture also assist greatly in the interpretation of the world of the people of the period.

Taking a cookbook like Baca de Gilbert's *Good Life* (1949), after thumbing through the pages, it is possible to list a number of words indicating the utensils used in a kitchen during the time period she's describing:

- *Cazuelas* (casseroles)
- *Molino de maiz* (corn grinder)
- *Comals* (griddles)
- *Molcajete* and *tejolote* (mortar and pestle)
- *Molinillo* (whisk)
- Indian earthenware pots for cooking beans
- *Meneador* (wooden stirring stick)
- Ovens sealed with mud so no steam comes out - definitely not a fancy Wolf gas range!

A partial listing of ingredients reveals foods that the author prioritizes and has available: red and green chiles, *chicos* (dried steamed corn), cane molasses, *piñón*, pork (*morcilla*), hog cracklings eaten with tortillas, *pozole*, *buñuelos*, *biscochitos*, lard, anise, *molletes*, *empanaditas*, *tamales*, *carne con chile*, *marquesotes* (light sponge cakes), *capirozada* or bread pudding (raisins and cinnamon, soaked in wine after baking), *panocha* (wheat pudding for Lenten meals), dried squash, dried peas, cheese, *chimajá* (wild parsley), *cabrito* (kid), saffron, raisins, pine nuts, oregano, wine, canned or powdered shrimp, *torrejas*, Spanish omelet, garbanzos, sausages, beans (*pinto*, *bolita*), rice, greens (lambs' quarters and purslane), *natillas*, eggs, onions, garlic, *atole*, and *pinole*.

Compare Cabeza de Baca Gilbert's list of ingredients to those found in *Libro de Cocina del hermano fray Geronimo de Pelayo* (1780):

Garbanzos, garlic, ham, onions, peas, beans, *yerba buena*, *culantro verde*, black pepper, cloves, saffron, poultry, cumin, chile, goat, tripe, epazote, bread (as thickener), parsley, bay leaves, wine, vinegar, salt, rosemary, carrots, oregano, cinnamon, ginger, turkey, milk, nutmeg, lemon, oranges, chocolate tablets, rabbit, tomatoes, squash, and capers.

In 1776, Fray Joaquín de Jesús Ruiz, a missionary at Jémez, wrote "*Observations on the Administration of the New Mexico Missions*." He described the kitchen arrangements in some detail:

"There are two, summer and winter. The cooking is done with charcoal winter and summer; this makes things much easier for the people, since the little loads of coal that two boys, who are assigned each week, bring at the hour of evening doctrine would not be matched [in wood] by using

the whole pueblo. The food is better; the cooks are not troubled, and filth does not fall into it. They have their little brick ovens with a grate, and if the father does not care for them himself, he will eat poorly, the pueblo will work carting wood, and he will live in impatience. He should not permit the sacistrans to remain in the kitchen or to enter it except for fire or to summon one of the cooks; in the first place, because they do so for dalliance, and in the second place, to eat up the dinner."¹⁰

The good friar didn't think much of the people of his flock, but he did describe various food-related activities that might be similar to what transpired at Fray Geronimo's monastery.

Archaeological work on seventeenth-century sites like La Fonda in Santa Fe, summarized by Trigg, indicate that the eighteenth-century priest's recipes serve as a good source for documenting what foodstuffs were available. Trigg lists the following comestibles found information confirming the use of "wheat, lentils, peas, watermelons, muskmelons, and peaches."¹¹

The introduction of new foods required new equipment; for example ovens for the production of the wheat-based bread so important to the Spanish and the Roman Catholic Church with its communion bread. A list of ingredients or analyses of recipes will demonstrate the appearance of these new foods, if a careful analysis of extant cookbooks takes place. Juan Luís Juárez López found a scarcity of New World foods in eighteenth-century Spanish cookbooks and listed some of them in his stimulating work, *La lenta emergencia de la comida Mexicana*.¹²

Among the foods not found in these cookbooks were chocolate, tomatillos, tomatoes, chiles, pineapple, coconut, plantains, turkey, rabbit, *bobo* (a type of fresh water fish), corn, squash, and beans. A question to ask would be, "What new equipment would be needed in the typical Spanish kitchen to deal with these new foods?" For that matter, what equipment existed in the Spanish kitchen and what equipment did Don Juan de Oñate and his settlers carry with them on their trek to New Mexico, aside from china dishes that actually came from trade with China? What did 129 soldiers and their families take with them besides 83 wagons and 7,000 head of cattle? What did this first governor of New Mexico see on his dining table? Which cookbook might have been tucked into a trunk? That of Vatican librarian Bartolomeo Platina, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (*On honourable pleasure and good health*, ca 1465, printed 1475), heavily based on the work of Maestro Martino, *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* (*The Art of Cooking*) (ca. 1465) or the sixteenth-century *Manual de Mugerres en el cual se contienen muchas y diversas recetas muy buenas*. Evidence exists, from Mexico, that Spaniards brought in equipment from the mother country. A certain Sebastián Pliego, living in Puebla in 1581, wrote to his wife in Granada, asking her to bring a frying pan, dish rack, rolling pin, ladle, casserole, pot, plates and dishes, and earthenware bowl.¹³

And that brings up Don Diego de Vargas and his cookbook, documented as being in his possession: the 1611 edition of Martínez Montañó's *Arte de cozina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservía*. Many of the recipes call for enormous amounts of meat, a fact reflected in the copious numbers of livestock raised in New Mexico, which in many regards resembled the vast open areas of Estremadura, Spain. One recipe in particular poses a number of interesting angles: *capirotada*.

In modern New Mexican cuisine, *capirotada* garners up visions of a sweet, wine-infused bread pudding bursting with raisins. In Martínez Montañó's day, *capirotada* was another dish altogether, containing copious amounts of meat: pork loin, sausages, chopped sirloin, quartered partridges, eggs, strips of bread, ginger, grated cheese, saffron, and lard. And the whole dish ended up baked in an oven. Right away there are pieces of equipment noticeable in the recipe, implied and overt: a pot or pan large enough to layer the ingredients, some type of grater, knives, and an oven.

Sopa de Capirotada.

TOMARAS lomo de puereco, y salchichas, y perdizes todo asado, y haras torrijas de pan, y iras armando tu sopa con torrijas y solomo, y salchichas y perdizes; han de ser hechas quartos las perdizes, y el solomo hecho pedaços; e iras poniendo todo este recaudo en lechos; y como fueres echando las torrijas, y la carne, iras echando queso rallado, y en el queso echaras pimiento, y nuez, y xabre,

Figure 3. Capirotada Recipe from Francisco Martínez Montañó's *Arte de Cozina*.

(Take pork loin and sausages and partridges, all roasted, and you then make toasted bread strips, and you make your soup with the pork sirloin, and sausages and partridges which must be cut into quarters and the loin cut into small pieces,

you lay the meats in layers in a pan with the toasted bread, sprinkle grated cheese on top, and on top of the cheese add pepper, nutmeg, and ginger (?) ...)

Another recipe of interest appears on page 460 of Martínez Montañó's opus: mutton in an adobo sauce (Figure 4). *Carne adovada* is a popular modern New Mexican dish, but completely different from the manner presented in *Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservía*. Martínez Montañó mentioned *carnero* forty times, giving cooks in New Mexico a large number of options for cooking one of the commoner meats eaten by the colonialists. As a matter of fact, the colonialists disdained eating the deer and other game eaten by the Pueblos, so the presence of recipes and the availability of sheep points to heavy ingestion of meat. Ingredients for this dish included bacon, honey, wine, almonds, "all spices," cinnamon, saffron, lemon or orange juice, and sliced bread tell a likely tale of beekeeping, importation of almonds and spices, and cropping of wheat. Knives, colanders, and large pots, all implied or explicit pieces of equipment suggest the possible presence of these items in the households, or at least some sort of substitutes.

Un plato de Carnero adobado.

Tomas carnero que sea de pecho,
y haraslo pedaços, y luego echalo
a cozer con agua y sal, y vn poco de ra
gino: y quando este cozido sacalo en el
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Figure 4. *Adobada* Recipe from Francisco Martínez Montañó's *Arte de Cocina*.

(Take a suckling lamb and cut it into pieces, and then let it cook with water and salt, and cook a little while, and when it is cooked, take it ...)

SUMMARY

Although it is never possible to be absolutely certain that people actually cooked the recipes in cookbooks, given that food and status and identity become intertwined in cookbooks, it is possible to look at cookbooks as one more tool in clarifying the historical record, even in historical archaeology. Clues and hints reveal themselves in a number of different ways, through close readings of the texts, awareness of past trends in cookery, and knowledge of cooking techniques. It could be that the cookbooks served only as nostalgic mementos for people far from their cultural homes, facing deprivation that

forced them to eat purslane and other foods they viewed only as famine foods. On the other hand, cookbooks provide a window into the kitchen, a place which historically has generated little documentation, due to it being primarily women's domain.

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6. *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, by James Boswell (1791).
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