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Renata Gulczyńska

Systems Research Institute, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland
renag1823@op.pl

 0000-0002-8193-9612

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The Old Polish cookbooks as the part of the Polish cooking heritage

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to describe the perception of food in the Old Polish cookbooks. Assuming that what is “food” is ultimately culturally and socially conditioned and constructed, an analysis of recipes contained in *Compendium ferculorum...* [Collection of dishes] by Stanisław Czerniecki, *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów i innych słodkości* [Very good fashion frying various confections and other sweets] and *Kucharz doskonały...* [Perfect cook] by Wojciech Wincenty Wielądsko was done. Referring to preserved archival materials and subject literature, nutritional practices and culinary tastes were recreated. That allowed to learn about the customs related to the culinary culture of the Old Polish period. The structure and content of the texts were discussed.

Key words: historical gastronomy – cookbooks – Old Polish cuisine – Czerniecki Stanisław (17th century) – Wielądsko Wojciech Wincenty (1749–1822)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization¹ (UNESCO) legitimated cooking as an immaterial heritage of mankind in 2010. It defined the art of cooking very broadly as a comprehensive model including all activities related to meal preparation: from farming, through the skills and methods of cooking handed over the centuries, to all community activities related to meal preparation and eating.

Cookbooks, as a part of intellectual discourse, reflect reality and transform it in text worlds simultaneously. Cooking habits, perceived as static phenomena, are actually dynamic processes susceptible to historical, religious, and social influences. They determine cookbook forms, functioning in specific social and cultural context of given time. Cookbooks must consider the relationships between taste preferences, the development of cooking techniques, and changes in the tradition of consumption.

This article refers to the historical reception of eating. The author attempts to present the eating habits of the rich nobility and the bourgeoisie, the main addressees of cookbooks of the Old Polish period².

Some scientists specialised in the history of cooking are convinced that the character and way of eating remain unchanged. Thus, the incomprehensible tastes of our ancestors are sometimes reasoned with rational examples taken from the modern time³. The concept of Old Polish cooking was diversified and changeable; however, it can be identified with one consistent cooking trend.

The Renaissance started with the arrival of the first products from the New World. Finding a marital way to India and the development of trade resulted in the dissemination of exotic spices and sugar, and turkeys as well. The invention of Johannes Gutenberg effected faster dissemination of knowledge about new products, discussions on diets, or tastes.

Different perceptions of a fast became one of the most important arguments in a dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants in the 16th century. When Martin Luther initiated his activity with critique of indulgences, the

1 Ustawa z dnia 22 października 2010 r. o ratyfikacji Konwencji UNESCO w sprawie ochrony niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego, sporządzonej w Paryżu dnia 17 października 2003 roku [Act of 22 October 2010 on the ratification of the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, done at Paris on 17 October 2003], Dz. U. 2010, No. 225, pos. 1462.

2 The Old Polish period in literature starts at the beginning of the 16th century and ends after the third decade of the 18th century. See: S. Cywiński, *Sprawa podziału dziejów literatury polskiej na okresy*, [in:] *Prace historyczno-literackie. Księga zbiorowa ku czci Ignacego Chrzanowskiego*, Kraków 1936, pp. 39–63. The concept of the “Old Polish literature” was used just once for the period between 1500 and 1763, by Aleksander Brückner, see: *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzechowicza*. Vol. 1, Lwów 1916, pp. 157–158; cited after: S. Cywiński, op. cit., p. 52.

3 This topic is discussed more deeply by Jarosław Dumanowski in the introduction to *Compendium ferculorum* edition from the year 2010. See also: *Polska i świat przez kuchnię. Studia o dziedzictwie kulinarnym*, ed. A. Kamler, D. Pietrzakiewicz, K. Seroka, Warszawa 2018; *Kuchnia staropolska*, “Mówią Wieki” 2009, No. 12/09(599).

Swiss reformation started with eating sausages on Good Friday. The Polish evangelicals also quickly resigned from traditional fasting, complying with complete abstaining from foods⁴.

Although M. Luther's speeches also influenced the Catholic Church, the fasts had been maintained. It was assumed that this element would make a difference between confessions. Fasts were liberalized in some states, for example, in France, southern Germany, and Italy. However, it did not take place in Poland, where fasts were maintained or even tightened. A strict and frequent fast, as well as attaching great importance to an eve of different feasts, were specific for the Polish and catholic cooking, in particular after the counter-reformation. There was no one eve⁵, as they preceded all important feasts. The New Year's Eve was also the Eve of the Feast of Circumcision. A few days later an eve of Epiphany occurred, and before – a eve of the All Saints day. The Eves of Marian feasts were also celebrated, as well as the eves of feasts of the most important patrons.

Practical topics related to health and pleasures gained more importance for the Renaissance people. Thus, complications resulting from the desire to prepare a sumptuous feast combined with respect to fast limits occurred.

Old Polish recipe books move us to a completely different world – not a kitchen or cooking world, but rather the one seen from behind the scenes. Cooking patriotism, or even no tolerance for concurrent zealous imitation of foreign patterns, considering them as a home one, specific for Poland and the Sarmatian culture, better illustrates the lives of our ancestors than their commonly known opinions on openness or aversion towards the world, patriotism, or belief. The climate, economic, and social conditions that influenced the economy of that time should also be mentioned here. Information about Polish cooking culture can also be found in the literature, concerning total fasting or describing the organisation of ceremonial banquets⁶.

Kucharstwo is presumably the oldest cookbook published in the Polish language. However, its existence is not proved. It could have been a translation of the Czech manual by Pavel Severyn from the year 1540⁷. We do not know the name of its translator. Jarosław Dumanowski states that is mentioned in the list of the Polish books of 17 July 1551, which belonged to Helena

4 This natural fast was about eating only once a day, usually in the evening. Drinking water was allowed, probably also wine and beer. Fasting accompanied special circumstances, e.g. election of a king. For more information see: *Akta Synodów Różnowierczych w Polsce*. Vol. 3: (*Małopolska 1571–1632*), ed. M. Sipayłło, Warszawa 1983.

5 Originally, this word meant a day preceding a feast, not December 24, as today.

6 See: J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Warszawa 1985; U. Werdum, *Dziennik podróży 1670–1672. Dziennik wyprawy polowej 1671*, ed. D. Milewski, Warszawa 2012.

7 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia staropolska*. Vol. 14, Kraków 1896, pp. 566–567.

Florianowa, the widow of the printer Florian Ungler⁸. Teresa Gałczanka, the widow of Kraków bookseller Maciej Scharffenberg, possessed a book with quite similar title *Kuchmistrzostwo*⁹. It is confirmed by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowka, who writes:

w walce o język polski pierwsze lody zostały już dawno przełamane, Maciej [Scharffenberg] kontynuował, zatem intratne publikacje: popularne, dewocyjne, «sowiżrzańskie» w rodzaju *Frantowych praw, Kuchmistrzostwa. Historii rzymskich*¹⁰

[In the fight for the Polish language the ice was broken a long ago for the first time, therefore Maciej [Scharffenberg] continued profitable publications: popular, devotional, witty ones, like *Frantowe prawa, Kuchmistrzostwo. Historie rzymskie*].

Moreover, in the collected works edited by Stanisław Tazbir we can read: “*Kuchmistrzostwo* jest pierwszą polską książką kucharską. Wydrukował ją krakowski drukarz Hieronim Wietor w latach 1535–1547”¹¹ [*Kuchmistrzostwo* is the very first Polish cookbook, printed by the printer Hieronim in the years 1535–1547].

Zygmunt Wolski, a librarian at the Krasieński Library, published in his article¹² two charts from this print as a facsimile, including the recipes for a wine vinegar, and declaring that these are fragments of Ungler’s *Kuchmistrzostwo*. However, Kazimierz Piekarski corrected his assumption and determined that the types used for printing these pages most likely belonged to Hieronim Wietor (approx. 1480–1546/7)¹³. Referring to the pages preserved by Wolski, the Czech historian Cenek Zbirt expressed a different opinion, that “*Kuchmistrzostwo* to dokładne tłumaczenie czeskiego druku z 1535 roku”¹⁴ [*Kuchmistrzostwo* is an exact translation of the Czech print from the year 1535]. It is far from clear which of the cited statements is true. However, the recipes published by Wolski are consistent with those for wine vinegar from the work by P. Severin¹⁵. Besides, while analysing the fifth chapter of the cookbook from Germany, from

8 J. Dumanowski, *Tajemnica pierwszej polskiej książki kucharskiej*, “Silva Rerum”, [online] https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/tajemnica_pierwszej_polskiej_ksiazki_kucharskiej.html [accessed 01.02.2021].

9 Register of 12 April 1559, pos. 163; A. Benis, *Materyały do historii drukarstwa i księgarstwa w Polsce*. Vol. 1, Kraków 1890.

10 A. Kawecka-Gryczowka, *Z dziejów polskiej książki w okresie Renesansu*, Wrocław 1975, p. 57.

11 *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, ed. S. Tazbir, Warszawa 1961, p. 768.

12 Z. Wolski, *Kuchmistrzostwo, Szczątki druku polskiego z początku w. XVI*, Biała Radziwiłłowska 1891.

13 K. Piekarski, *Miscellanea bibliograficzne*. “*Kuchmistrzostwo*” Macieja Szarffenberga, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 1930, No. 4, pp. 415–418.

14 C. Zbirt, *Polské kuchmistrzostwo překladem staročeského kuchařství Pavla Severina z r. 535*, Lwów 1926.

15 The same 10 recipes for wine vinegar and three for beer vinegar.

the year 1486¹⁶, we can the recipes identical to those of Severyn and Wolski. According to Professor Aleksander Brückner, this book was not in daily use, despite its great popularity in Poland, because:

wiek XVI wszystko w książki wkładał, od lekarstw końskich, przepisów kuchennych, galanteryi dworskiej do konstytucji, lecz życie praktyczne nie porzucało własnych torów dla tej literatury: one biegną obok siebie, nie zlewają się nigdy¹⁷

[the 16th century put everything into the books, from horse medicines, recipes, court courtesy, up to the constitution. However, practical life did not quit its way for this literature: they run side by side and never join].

Concluding, one should agree with the statement that *Kuchmistrzostwo* definitely existed. Was it an original text? Or a translation? The answers to these questions require further studies.

The first preserved in total Polish cookbook is certainly the *Compendium ferculorum, czyli zebranie potraw* [Collection of dishes] by Stanisław Czerniecki, published in 1682 in Kraków¹⁸. The literature review reveals that its author was a cook at the court of Aleksander Michał Lubomirski, and as such, is noticed in the history. Czerniecki did not by chance name himself a chef in a preface to a book reader, that is, a cooking teacher. This term named an expert in the art of cooking in that time, who not only managed the kitchen but also supervised and taught new generations of cooks. Thus, he enjoyed a high-prestige at the court¹⁹.

Czerniecki earned the title of a pioneer of Polish cooking writing and a real artist in his domain. His work is unique evidence of the Polish aristocratic cooking, intended to amaze the guests and to prove an honoured position of a host. The work presents cooking free from financial or conceptual restrictions, a real, grand spectacle of taste. The author promotes tradition, creates his vision of the Polish cooking by forming contradictions to foreign kitchens, specifically the French one.

This work was published many times in the 18th century. The Estreicher bibliography lists 10 editions of Czerniecki's cooking manual in total. Some of them with a changed title. Actually, there were more of them; however, it is difficult to determine when the following additional printings or versions with minimal changes can be perceived as separate editions. The great popularity

16 *Küchenmaisterei Nürnberg*, 1486, [online] <http://www.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/bvgs.htm> [accessed 02.02.2021]. Unnumbered sheets.

17 A. Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej. Polska u szczytu potęgi*, Kraków 1930, p. 123.

18 See: S. Czerniecki, *Compendium ferculorum or Collection of dishes*, ed. J. Dumanowski, M. Spychaj, transl. A. Czuchra, M. Czuchra, Warszawa 2014.

19 J. Dumanowski, A. Pawlas, J. Poznański, *Sekrety kuchmistrzowskie Stefana Czernieckiego. Przepisy z najstarszej polskiej książki kucharskiej z 1682*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 25–46.

of this work is also proved by the quick publication of the following editions and additional printings. It had been the only work on this topic in Poland for a long time; however, its popularity was surprising and a bit late. Almost half a century had passed from the original print until the next edition (1730)²⁰.

The consistency and topicality of the following editions is interesting. Were they caused by a limited range of printing? Did referring to handwritten and foreign collection of recipes influence that? What was the role of the cult of the past and the strength of tradition?

Separate explanation of such a long-time popularity of this work is the change of its title. All editions since 1755 (Wilno, Sandomierz, Lwów), and the one of 1744 (Wilno) were titled *Stół Obojętny, To iest Panski A oraz y Chudopacholski, Abo Sposob gotowania rozmaitych potraw według rozmaitości smaku y upodobania, tak względem bogatych, iako też ubogich Traktamentow...* We can guess that a cookbook written by a chef and an aristocrat at the same time reached a wider audience in the following century. The recipes remained the same; however, their reception evolved. What was perceived as sophisticated and extraordinary became ordinary and popular in the second half of the 18th century.

The content of Czerniecki's work is interesting and consequently developed. *Additamenta* (supplements) are joined to all parts of the book, presenting the next ten recipes for the meals already described. The author uses the language typical for cooking and eating in his narration, and some things are communicated directly and understandably, although apparent and confusing at the same time. His manifestation of hostility towards foreign cooking, presented in the commentaries dispersed in the text, and in introduction, is incompatible with information contained in the cooking language: culinary techniques, selection of products, and their taste. It is already expressed in the supplement to the first chapter concerning French dishes. Moreover, in many recipes, Czerniecki refers to French cookbooks. For example, he offers simple and mild vegetable dishes, describing delicate *fricassés*, prepared with butter²¹. Cooking practice is indisputably very far from his ideological declaration here.

Analysing Czerniecki's work, one shall also pay attention to the chef's secrets. They are a kind of the cook's showcase, confirming his extraordinary skills and outstanding taste. Original and impressive meals: *szczuka jedna*

20 See: J. Dumanowski, *Staropolskie książki kucharskie*, [in:] *Kuchnia staropolska...*, pp. 36–41.

21 S. Czerniecki, *Compendium ferculorum, albo zebranie potraw, przez Urodzonego Stanisława Czernieckiego I.K.M. Sekretarza, A Iaśnie Wielmożnego Iego Mości Pana Alexandra Michała Hrabie na Wiśniczu y Iaroslawiu Lubomirskiego, Woiewody Krakowskiego, Sandomirskiego, Zatorskiego, Niepołomskiego, Lubaczewskiego, Ryckiego etc. etc. Starosty: Kuchmistrza, Ad Usum Publicum napisane*, Kraków 1682, p. 109, [online] <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/413917/edition/326600/content> [accessed 03.04.2021].

*całkiem nierozdzielna*²²; *sekret dla chorych źle się mających i już o zdrowiu desperujących*²³ and *kapłon całkiem w flaszce*²⁴ [a pike, a meal for the sick and a capon] were for special occasions only. The latter recipe is a kind of Baroque concept that aims rather at interest and surprise than at satisfying the taste of the diners. *Kapłon we flaszce* [a capon] was prepared with its skin, from which meat and bones were removed. A skin, as a kind of sack or balloon, was put into a “flask” (a bottle), filled with yolks and milk, boiled together with a bottle. When it swelled, it looked like a huge capon which in an unbelievable way fit into a bottle. The author proudly wrote: *będzie się każdy dziwował, jako tamtego włożono kapłona [...] a kto tego nie wie, nie będzie przez podziwienia wielkiego*²⁵ [everyone will be surprised how it was placed there [...] and who does not know that would be greatly astonished].

Interesting is also the lack of creams and vegetable soups in the *Compendium ferculorum*... Czerniecki offered only a few such recipes, with an annotation:

żebyś się zacny czytelniku nie gorszył, żem wprzód położył polskich potraw różne smaki, chciałem w tem dogodzić Twojemu Geniuszowi, żebyś wprzód pokosztowawszy polskich potraw, a w nich swojego nie znalazłszy ukontentowania do francuskich potażiów swój obrócił apetyt²⁶

[Do not be stumbled over, noble reader, that I first offered Polish meals of different taste. I wanted to please your genius in that you first try Polish dishes, if not satisfied, then move your appetite to French soups].

There is no doubt that the author was an ardent enthusiast of the social group for which he worked and its eating preferences. All the features prescribed nowadays to the Old Polish kitchen are among the attributes of his chef’s kitchen: large amount of fat, joining sweet and sour tastes, generous usage of spices, as well as decorating meals and surprising with their appearance²⁷. This multilayered, complex ‘good taste’ resulted from the use of intense spices, as well as sour and sweet tastes²⁸. It was widely known in Europe in the Middle Ages. The preference for meals of different colours and smells had developed at the same time due to Arabic influences. Honey, must, cane sugar, flavouring

22 Ibidem, pp. 99–100.

23 Ibidem, pp. 141–142.

24 Ibidem, pp. 64–65.

25 S. Czerniecki, *Compendium Ferculorum albo Zebranie Potraw*, ed. J. Dumanowski, M. Spychaj, Warszawa 2010, p. 54.

26 Ibidem, p. 63.

27 For more information, see: M. Łozińska, J. Łoziński, *Historia polskiego smaku*, Warszawa 2013.

28 See: J. Carcopino, *Życie codzienne w Rzymie w okresie rozkwitu cesarstwa*, Warszawa 1960, p. 306.

additives (rose water, pepper, cinnamon, and saffron) were included in the recipes for savoury dishes²⁹.

The image of the Old Polish kitchen would be only partial with no references to beverages and their role in cooking. Contrary to Mediterranean countries, where wine was used to season, cook, make sauces, and roast, it was perceived as a shameful luxury and extravagance. According to Czerniecki, such habits were even a menace to the identity and individuality of Polish cooking art:

Lubo wino żadnej potrawy nie zepsuje i są niektóre takowe, które w samym winie gotowane bywają i mają swój osobny smak [...] te jednak, które potrzebują octu, wino im niewiele doda smaku, a każda być może bez wina i może być każda potrawa bez wina nagotowana, tylko wygodzić octem, a słodkością³⁰

[Although a wine would not ruin any meal, and there are such boiled in a wine only, and have their own specific taste [...] however, wine would not add any taste to those requiring vinegar, and each can be cooked without wine].

Finally, he concludes ironically: “cała sprawa jest po prostu spiskiem kucharzy, którzy po wczorajszym piwie radzi winem gardło płuczą”³¹ [the whole matter is nothing but the cooks’ plot, who gladly gargle with wine after yesterday’s beer].

Detailed review of *Compendium ferculorum...* reveals the author’s inconsequence. At least one-sixth of the recipes in the book consider wine as an ingredient. It is noticeably mostly for fast and fish dishes, but also for soups and sauces.

Presumably, this discrepancy results from a wide critique of wine consumption in Poland. Wine was an expensive and scarce commodity. The destructive influence of wine consumption on the well-being of the nobility is described by Ignacy Krasicki in *Pan Podstoli*:

Gdybyśmy wiedzieli, jakąową szkodę używanie wina Polsce przynosi, brzydzilibyśmy się jak trucizną tym napojem. Trafiło nam się być przy rachunkach cel koronnych i przestraszyłem się niezmiernie, gdyby obaczył, iż sama opłata skarbowi z beczek wina wchodzących w kraj na kilkakroć sto tysięcy wynosiła. Wyjąwszy z tego to, co sobie przywłaszczali przełożeni przez libetace, to, co kupiec przemycił, znajdzie się suma niemiernie wychodzącą z kraju bez żadnej nadziei powrotu; nic albowiem Węgrzy w zamian nie biorą³²

[If we knew the damage of wine consumption in Poland, we would be disgusted with this drink as a poison. We were in crown customs calculations, and I was extremely scared when

29 Z. Kuchowicz, *Stoły pańskie i chudopacholskie*, [in:] idem, *Obyczaje staropolskie XVII–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1975.

30 S. Czerniecki, *Compendium...*, op. cit., p. 104.

31 Ibidem.

32 I. Krasicki, *Pan Podstoli*, Olsztyn 1994, p. 32.

I saw that the stamp duty itself for imported wine barrels was several times the number of hundred. Excluding what the supervisors expropriate and what a merchant smuggled, there is an amount living the country with no hope of coming back, as the Hungarians do not take anything in exchange].

However, beer and vodka remained the most popular drinks among the aristocracy. “Służba piła na równi z panami, oczywiście z wyjątkiem najwyższych gatunków alkoholu”³³ [The servants drunk as much as the nobility, excluding the best kinds of alcohol, of course].

Rich nobility pretty quickly fast also an excuse for the following toasts, like birthdays, namedays, or health:

Kiedy zdrowiów nie stało, a trwała ochota picia, wymyślali rozmaite. Takimi zdrowiami bywały: prosperatitas publica, salus publica, dobra przyjaźń, dobra kompania i tym podobne³⁴ [With no more health, while the desire to drink lasted, they were finding different toasts, such as: prosperatitas publica, salus publica, good friendship, good company and so on].

In addition to the recipes, Czerniecki included a detailed description of the duties of a chef in his manual. According to his function, the chef not only prepared the feast, but also developed its agenda. Reading the introduction, we can already read:

jego jest powinność zrozumieć intencją pana swego albo autora bankietu, jako wiele gości ma mieć i zrozumieć stół, a według stołu bankiet akkomodować, żeby zbytku nie uczynić³⁵ [it is his duty to understand the intention of his master and the banquet author, how many guests are planned, and to understand a table, and accomodate a banquet accordingly, not to make a luxury].

What was this luxury based on? For example, on that, each guest received at least one meal plate. The ceremony itself must have had adequate arrangement, required were the drummers, trumpeters, orators, “infantry for sentry” and people “to broom before dancing”. Regarding the cooks, they were to be “ochędożni, trzeźwi, czujni, wierni, a nade wszystko panu swemu życzliwi i prędcy”³⁶ [nice looking, sober, vigilant, faithful, and first of all kind to their master and fast].

Responsibility for the host’s reputation and a wide range of duties placed a chef high in a court hierarchy. We can conclude that it was accompanied

33 Z. Kuchowicz, *Obyczaje...*, op. cit., p. 32.

34 J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów...*, op. cit., p. 477.

35 S. Czerniecki, *Compendium...*, op. cit., p. 43.

36 Ibidem, pp. 44. See: A. Kamler, *Polskie biesiady w relacji szwajcarskiego nauczyciela Henryka Wolfa. Wartość informacyjna źródła*, [in:] *Polska i świat...*, op. cit., pp. 23–32.

by a high pay. This topic is analysed in detail by Aleksandra Kleśta-Nawrocka. As an expert of the Old Polish cooking, she refers to the document *Regestr do zapłacenia Suchedni ludziom kuchennym y kredensyrom na rok ieden według Xięgi Jurgeltowej w Puławach die 11 8bris ad. 1720 spisany*, being a collection of information concerning the earnings of a kitchen personnel. It should be added that it was not precisely specialised and included a chef, followed by people responsible for (in order) pastry, pate, roast, bread, and support staff. The register maintained in the Czartoryski Library in Kraków reveals that the cook's salary of that time amounted to 300 Polish zloty annually, a pastry cook received 200 Polish zloty, and a support staff from 24 to 80 Polish zloty. A chef's remuneration is not mentioned there. Kleśta-Nawrocka, referring to data from other sources, considers that it exceeded 100 Polish zloty, which was a huge sum³⁷. For example, civil servants of medium rank earned 30 Polish zloty annually. Evidence from Lublin from that time reveals that a city treasurer received approximately 20 Polish zloty annually, while an organist – 9 Polish zloty³⁸.

Describing the Old Polish cooking, one cannot omit its health aspect. It was stated that eating is very important for health. Adequate feeding became one of the methods of preserving an adequate level of “humours” in the organism. A “humour diet” assured wellbeing only if adapted to temperament, as well as internal and external factors of human character³⁹. Food products, similar to individual humours, were of pairs of basic attributes, e.g. coldness and dryness or warmth and humidity⁴⁰. However, it should be mentioned that a humour diet was a bit conventional, because the features of specific products could be changed⁴¹. It referred to the marks attached to separate products by association. For example, drying properties were attributed to spices. The meat of hot blood animals and all related products (such as cheese, cream, milk, eggs) were perceived as warm. Water mammals, amphibians, reptiles, and fish were perceived as coldblooded⁴². Humour dietetics related also to the food recommended for a fast period, because “hot” dishes caused aggression and promiscuity, and “cold” ones removed from sin and impurity, and calmed down. Therefore, beaver tails and fishers were popular fast meals⁴³.

37 A. Kleśta-Nawrocka, *Specyfika kuchmistrzowskiej profesji*, [online] https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/specyfika_kuchmistrzowskiej_profesji.html [accessed 05.02.2021].

38 W. Adamczyk, *Ceny w Lublinie od XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Lwów 1935.

39 J. Węglorz, *Zdrowie, choroba i lecznictwo w społeczeństwie Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2015, pp. 70–71.

40 J. Dumanowski, *Dietetyka historyczna*, [online] http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/dietetyka_historyczna.html [accessed 06.02.2021].

41 J. Dumanowski, M. Kasprzyk-Chevriaux, *Kapłony i szczezuje. Opowieść o zapomnianej kuchni*, Wołowiec 2018, pp. 253–257.

42 Ibidem, p.157.

43 Ibidem.

Promotion of humour theory led to cooks being treated equally to medical doctors. This status resulted also from including artefact theory into the core of medicine of that time. Moreover, cooks who prepare meals were, to some extent, responsible for the life and health of their masters. Czerniecki was aware of a cook's range, in the conclusion of his book he writes: "kuchmistrz bardzo siła umieć powinien"⁴⁴ [a chef should have a great knowledge]. His competences should include not only different ways of cooking, but also proficiency "we wszystkich rzeczach, którekolwiek do życia ludzkiego należą"⁴⁵ [in all the matters somehow related to human life]. It referred to human health or illness or organisational matters, such as the management of banquets, weddings or funerals.

The discovery of an anonymous recipe in the Nieśwież archive significantly enriched the knowledge of the Old Polish kitchen. The *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów i innych słodkości* [Very good fashion frying various confections and other sweets]⁴⁶ cookbook written in approximately 1686 is an extraordinary and unique text. This is the other, apart from the work by Czerniecki discussed above, preserved Polish cooking text from the 17th century. Referring to only one work while analysing the whole spectrum of the Old Polish kitchen narrows our knowledge to quite a short list of dishes, representative type of cooking, and individual language style. The terms used in *Compendium ferculorum...* are unclear and used only there. The art of cooking presented in the manuscript reveals differences and similarities with Czerniecki's kitchen. Beyond any reasonable doubt, they both present Baroque cooking style, characterised (as I mentioned before) by the aptitude to create taste and visual illusion, and expressive, pungent, and selected by contrast flavours.

The book starts with a group of 60 recipes, not organized into any category. It includes descriptions of preserves from herbs and fruits, sweets, and cakes. The next twelve chapters present a diversified set of recipes, like (among others): "Different soups and spices", "Meat dishes", "Fishes", "Soups", and "Pates"⁴⁷. However, basically, the recipes for preparing healing sweets, baking cakes, cookies, and tortes can be found there. These recipes for sweets prove the author's specific interest in pastry.

Neither the author nor the date is mentioned in the text. Presumably, he was related to the Radziwiłł court, and came from the territory of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. "Katalog ksiąg pozostałych ze znakomitej Biblioteki Nieświejskiej

44 S. Czerniecki, *Compendium ferculorum...*, p. 23. [online] <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/413917/edition/326600/content> [accessed 03.04.2021].

45 Ibidem, p. 25.

46 *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów i innych słodkości, a także przyrządzania wszelakich potraw, pieczenia chleba i inne sekreta gospodarskie i kuchenne*, ed. J. Dumanowski, R. Jankowski, Warszawa 2011.

47 Ibidem, p. 27.

JOO Książąt Radziwiłłów przy archiwum nieświeskim znajdujących się” [The catalog of the books remained from the eminent Nieśwież Library of the Prince Radziwiłł in the Nieśwież archive], elaborated in 1845, lists the manuscript titled *Moda bardzo dobra...* in part “XV. Miska[I]lanea”, with a description of its cover and format⁴⁸. According to Rafał Jankowski, who deals with the Warsaw Archive of the Radziwiłł Family in the Central Archives of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie), this manuscript can be dated on the 17th century⁴⁹. Radziwiłł inventories and catalogues do not register any other cooking-related manuscript, while lists of printings from the Radziwiłł libraries in Biała and Nieśwież from the end of the 17th and 18th century register one copy of an original edition from the year 1682, and two rather late editions of the work of S. Czerniecki⁵⁰. Presumably, the author of this book was Jan Mikołajewski, a pastry chef of Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Sanguszko, who worked at the Radziwiłł court in the years 1682–1723⁵¹. Considering the time and place of his work, we can assume that he had contact with it.

The author willingly referred to recipes from Habsburg countries, mostly from Italy and southern Germany. Specific relations are very clear, sometimes in the form of exact borrowings. References to Czerniecki’s recipes can also be found in this text. One can be convinced that it was constructed in a way facilitating its usage, or was planned for publication. It is confirmed by a balanced edition and perceiving the text as a specific whole by an author, not a casual collection of added recipes. In addition, references to previous information can be found in particular recipes and techniques can be found⁵². Presumably, the author copied the recipes from a draft.

The content of *Moda bardzo dobra...* is more complex than the work of Lubomirski’s cook. Most recipes are more detailed and precise. Although short advice relating to the preceding recipe can also be found here, it consists

48 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD – Central Archives of Historical Records), Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów (AR – Warsaw Archive of the Radziwiłł Family), Rękopisy biblioteczne (Rb – Library manuscripts), No. XV-275.

49 R. Jankowski, *Rękopisy biblioteczne w Warszawskim Archiwum Radziwiłłów*, “Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica” 2018, Vol. 25, p. 194.

50 W. Karkucińska, *Działalność gospodarcza i mecenat*, [in:] eadem, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa (1676–1746)*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 174–285; AGAD, AR, Rb, No. 10, p. 12.

51 J. Dumanowski, R. Jankowski, “Według swej największej wiedzy, smaku i umiejętności”. *Osiemnastowieczne kontrakty kuchmistrzów z terenu Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, “Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica” 2010, Vol. 27, pp. 141, 143.

52 For example, the recipes for: *Cukier dęty biały z formy* [White blown moulded sugar] (No. 7), *Sok jabłeczny w formę* [Moulded apple juice] (No. 38), *Cytryny w cukrze i miedzie* [Lemons in sugar and honey] (No. 51), *Skórki limoniowe i pomarańczowe* [Lemon and orange peels] (No. 56), *Ryż w cieście tretowany* [Battered fried rice] (No. 124), a version of *Tort z raków* [Crayfish cake] (No. 174), *Szczupak nadziewany* [Stuffed pike] (No. 95), *Paszet migdałowy...* [Almond pate] (No. 114), see: *Moda bardzo dobra...*, op. cit.

mainly of very carefully noted cooking procedures. One of the main differences compared to the *Compendium* is the indication of measures and proportions of ingredients. It relates specifically to recipes for healing “sweets” from different roots, herbs, and coagulated syrup.

It should be emphasised that the anonymous author presents the sections of the art of cooking in his work which were treated by Czerniecki as secondary ones. Eight of the 13 chapters consist in total or at least partially of the recipes for cakes and sweets.

According to the concept of a Baroque kitchen, sugar is joined with expressive aroma of exotic spices and pungent, hot flavour. It is also a season. The advice concerning adding sugar to egg, poultry, or fish dishes reminds us of the recipes from *Compendium ferculorum*... Fascination with sugar, noticeable in the recipes in both books, is a characteristic feature and a relic of medieval cooking. In the 16th century, it was perceived as a universal flavour, replacing honey, so valuable previously in elitist cooking⁵³. Honey, both in *Moda*... and in Czerniecki's work, is a marginal ingredient, hardly applied. This was a pan-European phenomenon. Medieval and modern dietetics identified sugar as digestive. Saint Thomas Aquinas enrolled it to fast food⁵⁴. This health significance had not been questioned in the following centuries, when sugar became a flavour, a sweetening substance, and a decoration due to its authority. Therefore, it played a unique role in Catholic countries as a pleasure accepted during fast times.

A long-term fast and rigorous restriction in eating (as well as among the elites) intensified preferences for meat and fat meals. Fattened poultry, capons and geese, and the aforementioned fishes, played an important role here, due to aversion to pork, rooted in cultural and religious taboo. A pork was “unclean” meat, people often were anxious about diseases related to eating pork, a humour dietetics of that time was also prejudiced towards it. The relationship between an assumption of adverse health effect and the conviction of its social inferiority is strongly evidenced in the old culinary literature and diet writings⁵⁵. The pork was perceived as too ordinary, banal, and boorish for the elites, did not deserve to be mentioned in old cookbooks presenting elegant kitchen. Furthermore, its share, along with other types of meat, in the food of lower social groups, was small⁵⁶.

53 S.W. Mintz, *Sweetness and power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York 1986, pp. 86–87.

54 T. Richardson, *Sweets. A History of Candy*, New York 2003, pp. 147–148.

55 S.K. Hercius, *Bankiet narodowi ludzkiemu od Monarchy Niebieskiego zaraz przy stworzeniu świata z różnych ziół, zbóż, owoców, bydła, zwierzyn, ptastwa, ryb etc. zgotowany*, Kraków 1660, p. 31.

56 A. Wyczański, *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, Warszawa 1969, p. 42. Rabbit meat often replaced poultry and fish on poorer tables, the latter preferred by rich nobility.

Czerniecki was a proponent of traditional, very rigorous fast requirements, fully complying prohibition of eating not only meat but also eggs, butter, milk, and cheese. The same and invariant separation of fast and meat meals can also be found in *Moda bardzo dobra...* In the recipe for “a pike on a lard” (No. 97), the author suggested replacing lard with white bread and meat gravy with a pea soup. Not only lard, but also meat are not mentioned in the fast recipes collection, neither dairy nor eggs. At the same time, despite scrupulous observation of religious restrictions in fast recipes, a cook’s efforts to prepare a meal not only delicious, but also sophisticated can be noticed.

Czerniecki, together with many travelers visiting Poland in the 17th century, represented the view that the Poles did not eat soups. Borscht, stew, or broth were not perceived as soups at the time. This name was reserved exclusively for French “potages”. This attitude is also confirmed in *Moda bardzo dobra...* The recipes for light beer, wine, almond or milk soups, presented there, were not perceived as soups, and beyond all doubt they did not belong to significant dishes of the Radziwiłł family kitchen. This approach can be surprising. However, the historicity of cooking and eating symbolises not only the variability of meal ingredients and cooking techniques, but also modifications in defining and classifying food.

The recipes collected in the Radziwiłł cookbook are full of practical advices, which can be sought in vain in the Czerniecki’s work. They prove the strictly usable character of this text. The care for selection of products, different advices, warnings, and the need of correcting measurements and procedures prove the skills in foreseeing problems in cooking and experience of the anonymous author. For example, the purchase of lemons imported from Italy at the end of October was mentioned, and an adequate concentration of water salinity should be verified by dropping fresh eggs into it, which should float there. Indications on how accurately and long scrape cake mass “to make not clots” can be found in the recipe for “Another almond bisquits” (No. 149). Other recipes offers remarks concerning the size of paper on which a cake is baked, methods of putting ember, shelling peas, cleaning pots, dishes serving time, meat cutting, frying, and cooking. The “Recipe for Hamburg bread” (No. 307) underlines that the eggs should be whisked the whole hour. Moreover, they definitely should “be whisked in one way only, no stopping, to not allow them to water”. Changing the whiskers was a practical solution to this problem (“they can change, so as not to whisk all by one”)⁵⁷.

The concept of culinary Baroque presented in *Compendium ferculorum...* and *Moda bardzo dobra...* At the end of the 17th century slowly began to be outdated and was replaced by a classical cooking. Sophisticated concepts

57 *Moda bardzo dobra...*, pp. 240, 242–244.

and hot spices were replaced by natural flavour and moderateness. The works of Czerniecki and the anonymous author, distancing themselves from foreign cooking traditions, were to give way to a book which often referred to the recipes of the Seine cooks, very popular at that time.

It should be mentioned that relationships between Polish and French kitchens reach the 16th century already, when Henry Valois attempted to enrich the Old Polish cooking with his favourite French flavours. However, the real French trend began in Poland but almost a century later. It was initiated by the French princess Marie Louise Gonzaga, the wife of Władysław IV Vasa, and next his brother Jan Kazimierz. For her sake, the court chefs began to join traditional Polish recipes with French news. Therefore, the Polish-French kitchen enjoyed permanent popularity at royal courts since the end of the 17th century.

Kucharz doskonały... [Perfect cook] was considered the second Polish cookbook until the discovery of the Radziwiłł manuscript. To be precise, this is the translation of the French *La cuisinière bourgeoise*, slightly modified by Wojciech Wincenty Wielądko, to adapt the recipes to Polish circumstances. *Kucharz*... published for the first time in 1783⁵⁸, presents a new approach to the Polish kitchen, not only considering the recipes, but also surprising publishing work. Wielądko did not cook by profession, he missed the professional experience of Czerniecki or the anonymous chef. He was one of the less popular literates, living from writing light comedies⁵⁹ and ceremonial poems. He also wrote about politics and history⁶⁰.

The author himself promoted his book as a translation from the French language. However, his *Kucharz doskonały*..., despite apparent relations with at least a few French cookbooks from the epoch, is not a simple translation of any of them. From either author's or his contemporary Polish readers' point of view, numerous loans from the already published French texts only increased the value of this work.

The book of Wielądko replaced in the Polish book collections the Czerniecki's work from 1682, still reedited in the 18th century, but undoubtedly outdated in its Baroque tastes. Deterioration of the material situation of rich nobility and

58 W. Wielądko, *Kucharz doskonały, pożyteczny dla zatrudniających się gospodarstwem. Okazując sposób poznawania, rozbierania różnego rodzaju mięsiwa, ryb, etc. przytym naukę dając przezorną o mocy, czyli wyśmienitości warzywa i ziół, oraz wyborze onych używania. Tudzież robiena wódek, likworów, syropów, ciast i cukrów. z francuskiego przetłomaczony i wielą przydatkami pomonony przez Wojciecha Wielądkę*, Warszawa 1783 and 1786.

59 His most famous comedy is *Figlarna dziewczyna, czyli Dowcip w kochaniu, Komedya oryginalna w 3. Aktach przez Wojciecha Wielądkę ułożona*, from the year 1796, [online] https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza/wpis/?sort=nazwisko_imie&order=1&id=210354&offset=0&index=1 [accessed 06.02.2020].

60 He wrote political letters and lampoons during the Great Sejm. He also left an unfinished work on the history of Poland under the reign of the Saxions and Stanisław August Poniatowski.

aristocracy forced them to moderate their consumption of sophisticated and lavish meals. The outnumbered bourgeois also expected dedicated culinary offers. The Warsaw writer expected significant reading of this kind of book, and thus he decided to publish such a book. Wielądko's recipes are also a bit closer to our ideas about cookbooks than the works of his predecessors. The author of *Kucharz doskonały...* created a more practical book dedicated to a slightly wider reading audience⁶¹ than *Compendium ferculorum...* with its surprising concepts.

Different thoughts can be found in W.W. Wielądko's narration can be found than in the Radziwiłł book and Czerniecki's work. The author's lack of knowledge on a broader context for this project significantly complicates not only their reading or understanding. It also hinders perception of quite complicated layers of his narration. The original French *La Cuisinière bourgeoise* was already a new, more popular type of manual dedicated to city women. It was indicated either in a title or the advice in its content. The purpose of the publication was essentially different from strengthening social influence and development of an employer's aristocratic prestige by a court chef as well. In both French and Polish versions, an economic kitchen was described – without lavishness or sophistication typical for the meals of rich nobility and aristocracy, but still affluent. However, the presentation of the French bourgeois kitchen changed the social reception of this content in Poland. The Warsaw literate tried to hide very carefully the fact, that the recipes in his work are dedicated exclusively to women. Despite changing the title, he eliminated information about cook ladies, although inconsequent in the latter.

It should be remembered that Polish inhabitants perceived daily cooking and preparing lavish feasts as responsible and very important duty, therefore, most men were doing that. In *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* [Dictionary of the 16th-Century Polish Language] there is an information that a cook is a lady who “cooks and prepares meals, sometimes also fulfils the role of a mistress of the house, also a kitchen maid”⁶². There is no evidence that a woman managed the kitchen at that time. The 16th century relations that describe dinners at the professors of the Kraków Academy mentioned that a cook was a woman and had a maid⁶³. Thus, it could not be an incident. The work of cooks and kitchen maids was done by women in the town, but often their competences did not differ much from the skills of other maids⁶⁴.

61 The burgeoisie was considered as three readers for the first time.

62 M.R. Mayenowa, *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*. Vol. 11, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 528.

63 A. Karbowski, *Obiady profesorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w XVI i XVII wieku*, Kraków 1900.

64 W. Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach*, Kraków 1974, p. 15.

Apart from manipulation with references to town women and a title, the translation of a popular French cookbook, despite quite literal translation, completely lost its origin in different gastronomic circumstances. Due to the high price and difficulties in purchasing products easily accessible in France, salads, marine fishes, herbs, chestnuts, cheeses, and wines, the bourgeois French kitchen evolved into a noble, aristocratic, and elitist one in Poland. Declaratory, quite scrupulous way of storytelling, although sometimes unwillingly repeated after the original, however, created an eating narration completely incompatible with a starting point.

Kucharz doskonały... consists of two extensive parts. The first one includes recipes for meat dishes, such as, for example, “wether brain stewed”⁶⁵ or “beef brain with different seasoning”⁶⁶. The revised edition of this book from the year 1800⁶⁷ also includes recipes for such dishes, among others: “Italian calf brain”⁶⁸, “beef brain with different seasoning”⁶⁹, “calf brain fried”⁷⁰. These dishes differ much from the Baroque Czerniecki’s cooking, where no such specialties exist.

Using animal internal organs, which had not been used so broadly in the Polish kitchen before, reveals a kind of breakthrough and specific of a new cooking style. Offal were not popular delicacies of the aristocracy, as we may find out reading *Compendium ferculorum*... All elements were transformed in the French kitchen and offal took up the most space in it. Presumably this can be a reference to an antique kitchen, where such meals were perceived as elegant ones. We conclude this from analysis of the recipes from the Apicius’ cookbook⁷¹. The brain is a perfect confirmation of the use of offal in the Polish kitchen. It is a unique example because its preparation and serving seem to be surprising nowadays. Most of the brain dishes – referring to Apicius’ culinary treatise, Czerniecki’s work, and Paul Tremo’s⁷² recipes, are opposite. Brain was the most often used as one of the ingredients, sometimes added to a stuffing, hardly served in total.

65 W. Wielądtko, *Kucharz doskonały*..., Warszawa 1786, pp. 71–72.

66 Ibidem, pp. 39–40.

67 W. Wielądtko, *Kucharz doskonały w wybornym guście*, Warszawa 1800 – this is one of the following editions of this author’s cookbook, under the same title. Wielądtko noted on a title page his remarks that this is a revised version, with recipes not only from French but also from German cookbooks.

68 Ibidem, p. 105.

69 Ibidem, pp. 75–76.

70 Ibidem, p. 103.

71 Apicjusz, *O sztuce kulinarnej ksiąg dziesięć*, transl. I. Mikołajczyk, S. Wyszomirski, Toruń 1998.

72 Paul Tremo worked as a chef for Stanisław August Poniatowski. His art of cooking was based on a synthesis of the Polish and French kitchen. He was preparing the so-called Thursday Dinners. The manuscript *Kuchnia na sześć osób* [Kitchen for six persons] is a remnant of his creativity.

Pork is also the basis for a dozen meals in *Kucharz doskonały*, hardly findable in the *Compendium ferculorum...* Wielądsko preceded the port recipes with a short introduction, where he explained his attitude towards this part of the art of cooking. He stated that:

wieprzowina jest smaku bardzo przyjemnego i w kuchni obejść się bez niej nie można, jednak niewiele tu używana będzie, ponieważ lubo to mięso posilne, ale trudne do strawienia, i żołądek osłabia, przecież dogadzając wieprzowinę lubiącym, cokolwiek o niej nadmienię⁷³ [pork is of a very nice taste, one cannot do without it in a kitchen, however, it will not be used often here, because although it is a healthful meat, but hard to digest, and weakens a stomach. Nevertheless, I will mention it here, to please those who like pork].

The author's hesitation was related to the attempts to introduce this meat to aristocratic tables. Not before the 18th century, a pork was no longer considered as a second-quality meat. Therefore, with no doubts, Wielądsko in the edition of the year 1800 wrote about it a bit more favourably:

Wieprzowe mięso z tłustości najpotrzebniejsze do kuchni, lubo same mięso słodkie i smaczne w potrawie lub pieczone, atoli dla ludzi podeszłych i delikatnych do strawienia ciężkie i szkodliwe. Młodym zaś ludziom i pracującym czyni żywność⁷⁴ [Pork is the most needed in cooking due to its fat, although the meat itself is sweaty and tasty in a stew or baked. However, for older and delicate stomachs that are difficult to digest and harmful. Nourishing for the young and working].

The first part is complemented with the recipes for so-called "potages", i.e. soups. The other part consists of two chapters with recipes for dishes from river and marine fishes. The following concerns preserves, syrups, desserts, as well as eggs and dairy meals and vegetables. This precise structure indicates the more practical and guiding type of the Wielądsko's book than *Compendium ferculorum...*

The author of *Kucharz doskonały...*, referring to contemporary French cookbooks, began his work with a specific calendar. Diversified recommendations regarding the quality and availability of different products are formulated in accordance with subsequent months and seasons. It resulted from a conviction that fresh products should be eaten first, originating from a given region, and maintaining their natural flavours, smells, and appearance, very typical for the French art of cooking. That was in clear contrast if compared to a Baroque kitchen, valuing sophisticated and unnatural forms of dishes, hiding their real look and origin; refined, extraordinary flavours created by complicated compositions and heavy sauces.

73 W. Wielądsko, *Kucharz doskonały...*, Warszawa 1786, p. 37.

74 W. Wielądsko, *Kucharz doskonały...*, Warszawa 1800, p. 42.

Going deeper into the content of *Kucharz doskonały* from 1783, one may find man information prompting peculiar, rational economy or specific supply of food. Many recipes present how to reuse the already prepared and served meals. The remains of meals that returned to the kitchen should be used as ingredients in other dishes: as a filling or stuffing⁷⁵.

There is no food waste in *Wielądko* book. How should it be interpreted? Is it related to the opinion of the 18th-century economics that Medieval and Baroque extravagancy and wastage were irrational? Maybe it expresses the attitude towards food that should not be thrown away, because it is deprived of respect for that? Or, specifically, it speaks about the craft and foresight of a cook, able to prepare a noteworthy meal with anything?

Cooking recipes from the 17th and 18th centuries do not recall modern ones at all. Weights or measures will not be found there. These are a collection of advice, leaving a huge space for cook's experience and imagination. Taste preferences or cooking choices, although they can pretend to be natural or too trivial to catch researchers' attention, undoubtedly are culture dependent. This statement can consider the modern world, as well as situations from a historically distance period⁷⁶. Each story about food should then be located in a specific context, as it refers to culture and cultural background reflecting, for instance, eating preferences, which itself can also be a specific, sensual code. The kitchen is not only eating, but also a lifestyle, which we choose more or less deliberately.

Observation of cooking understood as change of preferences and values reveals the complexity of processes influencing the development of opinions and evaluations. One can notice that it is difficult to evaluate something adequately without reference to context or the significance of a subject being evaluated. Most of the examples mentioned above show that taste feelings are born in mind. Taste if perceived by senses, however, understanding it depends on knowledge and competence. Culture is where we should look for a key to understand these phenomena.

75 Exemplary recipe: "Toasts, with different meats: take any meat you prefer, which returned from a table, dice it, make a season, when cooled, put two fresh yolks, put a meat on toasts, stroke it with a knife dipped in yolk, spread with bread, fry beautifully, serve to the table with a clear sauce", see: W. Wielądko, *Kucharz doskonały...*, Warszawa 1786, p. 362.

76 T.H. Eriksen mentions in his work *Małe miejsca, wielkie sprawy. Wprowadzenie do antropologii społecznej i kulturowej* (transl. J. Wołyńska, Warszawa 2009, p. 185): "Why do people, for example, prefer meal A to meal B, even if both are proved as equally nourishing? And, moreover, meal B is much cheaper? A complete answer requires analysis of cultural categories of a society, not an analysis of a «rational» choice and maximisation of values. Although people all over the world strive to maximise values, the definition of a «valuable» changes depending on culture and a man".

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