

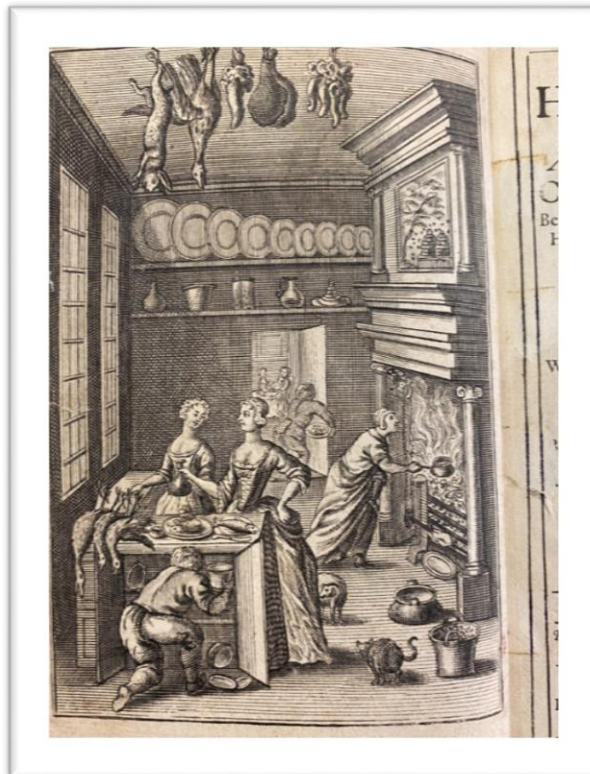


UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

## A taste of British cookbooks:

### The role of paratexts in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks

An approach to the Grewe Collection at the University of Barcelona



Libraries and Heritage Collections master  
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**COVER FIGURE.** A kitchen scene as a cookbook's frontispiece. UB 07 GW-47. Source: author.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1997, the University of Barcelona received through a donation the Rudolf Grewe's multilingual gastronomy personal library. Currently, 103 editions and 131 copies of the Collection, printed between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are kept at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The Grewe Collection is at the disposal of students and academics at the University Library and allows access to many outstanding British cookbook titles from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

This dissertation aims to approach 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks to identify and describe the role that paratexts, which are the book elements that surround the main corpus of the book, played in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks to complement receipts. The study is carried out, on the one hand, through a contextualization of cookbooks' contents and usage evolution since they appeared for the first time in England in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and, on the other hand, through a practical analysis in which Grewe's personal library editions have been classified according to their century, language, printing place and genre. Further analysis is carried out to identify and study the main paratexts observed in eight 18<sup>th</sup> century and two early 19<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks of the Collection. These studied paratexts are title pages, dedicatory epistles, prefaces, advertisements, frontispieces, bills of fare, lists of seasonal ingredients, tables of contents and alphabetical indexes.

It can be established that 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks made use of the same sort of paratexts since they were product of the fashions of time and place. For that reason, when cookbooks were reprinted, there were modifications and additions for they not to become obsolete, and when they were translated into other languages, they were adapted to the fashions of another culture. In addition, as receipts were purely thought to instruct readers in cookery and good household management, paratexts were intentionally used by authors for other purposes. Some paratexts were used with a pedagogical purpose — bills of fare, lists of seasonal ingredients, and sometimes prefaces—, whereas others were used with a commercial purpose—title pages, dedicatory epistles, advertisements, frontispieces and prefaces— and even an organizational one —tables of contents and alphabetical indexes—.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>2 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>4</b>
2.1 Theoretical study of the evolution of British cookbooks .....	4
2.2 Practical analysis around the Grewe Collection .....	5
<b>3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....	<b>7</b>
3.1 Medieval manuscript receipts: <i>The Forme of Cury</i> .....	7
3.2 The introduction of printed cookbooks in England .....	11
3.3 British cookbooks in 18 <sup>th</sup> century England .....	17
3.3.1 <i>The “expert housekeeper” authors</i> .....	19
3.3.2 <i>Mixed home receipts</i> .....	27
3.3.3 <i>Defining cookbooks’ paratexts</i> .....	30
<b>4 GREWE COLLECTION AT THE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY</b> .....	<b>40</b>
4.1 The Rare Book and Manuscript Library .....	40
4.2 The Grewe Collection .....	43
4.2.1 <i>The Collection by century and language</i> .....	45
4.2.2 <i>The Collection by printing place</i> .....	46
4.3 The rare English Grewe Collection.....	47
4.3.1 <i>English books by printing place</i> .....	49
4.3.2 <i>English books by genre</i> .....	50
4.4 Cookbooks’ paratextual corpus .....	51
4.4.1 <i>Title pages</i> .....	53
4.4.2 <i>Dedicatory epistles</i> .....	58
4.4.3 <i>Prefaces</i> .....	60
4.3.4 <i>Advertisements</i> .....	65
4.3.5 <i>Illustrations</i> .....	67
4.3.5.1 <i>Frontispieces</i> .....	68
4.3.5.2 <i>Bills of fare</i> .....	71

<i>4.3.6 Seasonal ingredients lists .....</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>4.3.7 Tables of contents and alphabetical indexes.....</i>	<i>77</i>
<b>5 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE APPROACHES .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>6 SOURCES.....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>7 BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>8 ANNEX .....</b>	<b>91</b>

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Even though the circulation and use of cookbooks in England go a few centuries back from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the form of manuscripts, it was not until this moment that these printed self-guide manuals became popular and accessible to a large part of the British society, not only to some wealthy families. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many cookbooks started to be constantly reprinted and their prices were not as high as other printed books of the time, such as the Bible.<sup>1</sup> In addition, their production did not seem to be thought for a “small cadre of elite professional cooks but instead for domestic use by socially aspiring households”.<sup>2</sup> They ended up becoming one of the most used and produced books by women “who generally branded themselves ‘experienced housekeepers’ rather than professional cooks”.<sup>3</sup> All the changes that cookbooks underwent by the 18<sup>th</sup> century—a change of format, authorship and public—directly contributed to the role these books played in the society and how cookbooks’ elements such as title pages, frontispieces, prefaces, dedicatory epistles and tables of contents, which were part of the paratextual corpus of the book that surrounded the main text, were used by authors to complement the receipts included in their cookbooks.

The decision to carry out this study has been influenced by my passion for cuisine and English literature as a former student of the English Studies degree. When I had to come out with an idea for my master’s dissertation, I was finishing my master’s internship at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Barcelona (UB), and a librarian, Núria Cangròs, recommended me to read a master’s dissertation from a former student. Laia Navarro de Llobet’s ‘*A voyage across books: el llibre anglès a l’Espanya*

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<sup>1</sup> BUTOESCU, Elena. From Culinary Practice to Printed Text: The Eighteenth-Century Language of London Cookbooks. *East-West Cultural Passage*, vol. 21 (2021), p. 9. <<https://sciendo.com/pdf/10.2478/ewcp-2021-0001>>

<sup>2</sup> BICKHAM, Troy. Defining Good Food: Cookery-Book Illustrations in England. *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 31, num. 3 (2008), p. 473. <[https://www.academia.edu/57876971/Defining\\_Good\\_Food\\_Cookery\\_Book\\_Illustrations\\_in\\_England](https://www.academia.edu/57876971/Defining_Good_Food_Cookery_Book_Illustrations_in_England)>

<sup>3</sup> SCHMIDT, Stephen. English-Language Manuscript Cookbooks. *The New York Academy of Medicine Library Blog*, 28 January 2021. <<https://nyamcenterforhistory.org/tag/cookbooks/>>

*del segle XVIII*<sup>4</sup> is an excellent approach to the presence and circulation of English books in Spain during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to her thesis, I discovered that the Rare Book and Manuscript Library preserves Rudolf Grewe's personal library, which consists of gastronomy documents, part of it in English. From the first moment, the Collection got my attention mainly for the lack of studies around it and the great diversity of gastronomy books in many different languages, being English the most predominant one, preceded only by French. In addition, as I started to look through the English books from the Collection, I realized that many of those classified as cookbooks were printed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and shared a similar content structure. Not only the receipts organization was so similar, but there were also similar elements surrounding the receipts, called paratexts, which are defined by the French literary critic, Gérard Genette, as:

A zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that —whether well or poorly understood and achieved— is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it.<sup>5</sup>

Before getting into the dissertation, I find important to first clarify some terminology that is going to be constantly referred to. Firstly, by 'gastronomy books', I will refer to the books related to food in general. That is food treatises, food encyclopedias, and even cookbooks. If I want to refer specifically to books that contain culinary, medicinal or domestic receipts, I will refer to these as 'cookbooks' or 'culinary books'. Secondly, by '18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks', I will refer to books that are written in English and were printed in England during the 18<sup>th</sup> century —translations included—. Furthermore, by 'paratextual corpus', I will refer to the whole group of

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<sup>4</sup> NAVARRO DE LLOBET, Laia. *A voyage across books: el libro inglés en la España del siglo XVIII*. [master dissertation, University of Barcelona]. Dipòsit digital de la UB, 2020. <<http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/172814>>

<sup>5</sup> GENETTE, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Lewin, Jane E., Trans.). Cambridge University Press, 1997 (original work published 1987), p. 2. <[https://www.almendron.com/tribuna/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/genette\\_gerard\\_paratexts\\_thresholds\\_of\\_interpretation.pdf](https://www.almendron.com/tribuna/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/genette_gerard_paratexts_thresholds_of_interpretation.pdf)>



paratexts or paratextual devices that are included in cookbooks, placed around the main corpus of the book. And finally, for the modern term ‘recipe’, this dissertation will use the 17<sup>th</sup> century term ‘receipt’ to refer to both, recipes for food and medicine.

The following study contains first a contextualization of cookbooks’ contents and usage evolution in England since they appeared for the first time in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This theoretical framework has been divided into three sections. The first one focuses on the contents and usage of medieval manuscript receipts, the second one on the changes that the invention of the printing press brought to the publication of cookbooks in England, and the last section is an in-depth look at the 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks’ female authorship, public, contents and the most frequent paratexts. After this theoretical study, the practical analysis results from analyzing the 103 Grewe Collection editions are shown through a classification based on the editions’ century, language and printing place. Subsequently, the 21 English editions have been selected for further classification based on their printing place and genre. Furthermore, after the Collection classification, through the analysis of eight British cookbooks editions from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and two from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the dissertation portrays an analysis of the most used paratextual devices: title pages, dedicatory epistles, prefaces, advertisements, frontispieces, bills of fare or table setting diagrams, seasonal ingredients lists, tables of contents and alphabetical indexes.

In short, this study aims to approach 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks and to identify and understand the role their paratextual corpus played in 18<sup>th</sup> century England to complement the main corpus of the book, the receipts.

## **2 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY**

The following study has been designed to achieve three main objectives:

- 1) Contribute to the knowledge of the contents and usage evolution of cookbooks in England since they appeared for the first time in the 14<sup>th</sup> century until their consolidation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- 2) Get to know the features of the Grewe Collection editions printed until 1820 and preserved at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library through a classification of the editions according to their century, language, printing place and genre.
- 3) Identify and analyze the role that paratexts played in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks through the study of a selection of Grewe's cookbooks kept at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

To accomplish them, a different methodology has been followed for the theoretical study of the evolution of British cookbooks and the practical analysis around the Grewe Collection.

### **2.1 THEORETICAL STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH COOKBOOKS**

For the analysis of the Grewe Collection, and before moving to analyze and exemplify paratexts used in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks from the Collection, it is strictly necessary to first introduce some context related to the evolution that cookbooks contents and usage underwent in England since they appeared for the first time in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the study briefly approaches cookbooks' contents and usage changes from the medieval manuscript receipts written in parchment rolls to the first printed cookbooks. Subsequently, the theoretical framework also offers an in-depth look at cookbooks printed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by studying their authorship, public and the main text surrounded by paratexts —mixed home receipts—. Finally, there's a brief

introduction to the main paratexts that have been identified by researchers in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks: title pages, dedicatory epistles, prefaces, advertisements, table setting diagrams and authors and kitchen scenes' frontispieces. These paratexts, however, are not exemplified since they are furtherly analysed in the practical analysis.

## **2.2 PRACTICAL ANALYSIS AROUND THE GREWE COLLECTION**

For the practical analysis, two different methodologies have been followed. One for the global analysis of the Grewe Collection printed until 1820 and the second one for the analysis of the paratexts from 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks identified in the Grewe Collection.

For the global analysis of the Collection, an Excel list with the information regarding all the editions and copies has been obtained through the library system, ALMA. This list is attached to the annex of this dissertation and includes the books' authors, titles, publishers, printing year and language. With the aid of this list, the Collection has been analyzed through a classification of all the editions by their century, language and printing place. There is not a classification by bibliographic typology since the Collection is seen to consist mainly of books and there's only a French magazine in eight volumes entitled *Almanach des gourmands* by Grimod de La Reynière. Subsequently, only the English books, a total of 21 editions, have been selected for a further classification based on their printing place and their genre. This classification will enable to know the main features of the Grewe Collection preserved at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library and to select the books that are used for the following analysis: 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks.

The analysis of the paratextual corpus aims to identify, analyze and exemplify the paratexts observed in the eight books from the Collection that are classified as 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks. However, as the sample of the study is not that big, two more editions from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century have been added to the analysis. These editions are analyzed through a grid (table 1) that has been elaborated through Microsoft Excel, and whose results are attached in table 4 for the analysis of the books' paratexts (section 4.4.). In this grid, paratexts observed in the theoretical framework are to be marked as being contained or not in each of the Grewe's editions to verify their usage frequency, to identify paratexts

that have not been previously introduced in the theoretical framework —such as lists of seasonal ingredients—, and to furtherly analyze and exemplify paratexts with Grewe’s personal library cookbooks.

<b>PARATEXTS</b>		
TITLE PAGE		
PREFACE		
DEDICATORY EPISTLE		
ADVERTISEMENT		
ILLUSTRATIONS	Frontispiece	<i>Author's</i>
		<i>Scene</i>
	Bills of fare	<i>One-page</i>
		<i>Pull-out page</i>
		<i>List</i>
	<i>Diagrams</i>	
TABLE OF CONTENTS		
INDEX		
OTHERS		

Table 1. Grid for the analysis of 18<sup>th</sup> century paratexts used in British cookbooks editions from the Grewe Collection. Source: author.

The ten analysed cookbooks, from the 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, that are used to carry out the practical analysis around the paratextual corpus of cookbooks, are cited with their full titles in the sources section, since they are continuously referred to by their abbreviated form. These analysed rare books have been cited separately from the modern references and the ones that have been used to complement the analysis, which are included in the bibliography section.

## 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was certainly the moment when cookbooks started to become abundant and accessible to a large part of the British society. In Maria de los Ángeles Pérez's words, it "was the golden century of the female household management and English rural cooking manuals".<sup>6</sup> However, looking back at the first British manuscript receipts, one realizes that cookbooks had to undergo many changes before being so heavily produced and consumed. The main changes in cookbooks involved a change in the support they were produced, their authorship and the public to whom they were addressed to. Therefore, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks' contents and structure had already undergone a progressive evolution towards the idea of cookbooks as self-guide domestic manuals.

### 3.1 MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT RECEIPTS: THE FORME OF CURY

The origin of cookbooks in England can be traced back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century with the first medieval manuscripts that contained receipts that were written on parchment rolls. These receipts most likely originated centuries before and were recorded in those rolls from oral communication by professional cooks.<sup>7</sup> Even though receipts written on a roll may seem quite uncomfortable to use, researchers agree that they also had many useful advantages. For instance, Sarah Peters Kernan explains that "the roll was a flexible and fluid form; with no pages to turn, a reader simply unrolled the portion of text he needed"<sup>8</sup> and "without a binding, the roll was lightweight and could be flexed into a

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<sup>6</sup> PÉREZ SAMPER, M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles. Los recetarios de mujeres y para mujeres. Sobre la conservación y transmisión de los saberes domésticos en la época moderna. *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, vol. 19 (1997), p. 130. <<https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CHMO/article/view/CHMO9797220121A>>

<sup>7</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. *A History of Cookbooks. From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries*. University of California Press, 2017, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. 'For al them that delight in Cookery': *The Production and Use of Cookery Books in England, 1300–1600*. [PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University], 2016, p. 38. <[https://etd.ohiolink.edu/apexprod/rws\\_etd/send\\_file/send?accession=osu1462569208](https://etd.ohiolink.edu/apexprod/rws_etd/send_file/send?accession=osu1462569208)>

variety of positions on a table or wall or, held in a hand”<sup>9</sup>. In a way, receipts written on parchment rolls presented many advantages against the codex form that will later substitute the rolls.

It is not clear which manuscript roll was the one that could have originated cookbooks in England, but many researchers agree to believe that the English *The Forme of Cury* is one of the oldest existing ones.<sup>10</sup> *The Forme of Cury* (figure 1) is a collection of British medieval manuscript receipts written by the professional cooks at the court of Richard II, together with the assistance and the approval of court physicians.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 1. Copy of *The Forme of Cury* written on a parchment roll. British Library, MS 5016.  
Source: <https://rb.gy/einzl2>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>11</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. (2016). Op. cit., p. 98.

This manuscript roll, as Andrew Dunning explains, was not thought to be addressed to beginners as it did not display food in the usual ways, but instead “they might use sugar, jelly or wax to confection models of buildings, ships or eagles”<sup>12</sup>. In addition, Henry Notaker adds that this roll is a clear representation of medieval manuscript receipts as it was “meant for professional cooks, who knew how to calculate the right amount of food for a certain number of guests and how to regulate the fire”<sup>13</sup>. It was common in medieval receipts that the instructions did not specify any of this information. Furthermore, Kernan points out that this roll together with many other medieval manuscripts, such as the *Viandier*, a French medieval manuscript receipt roll, “are united by the same set of medieval royal conventions of cuisine and etiquette, expansive kitchens, large teams of servants, and the desire and ability to impress royal power through opulent displays of feasting.”<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, even when in manuscript receipts authors did not make use of any sort of paratexts to address their public or justify their writing intentions, the receipts that were included were more likely only addressed to professional cooks and aristocratic households who could afford the extravagant receipts and follow the scarce directions.

In addition, as medieval receipts were more likely to appear alone without the aid of paratexts and their authors were mainly unacknowledged, their main function has caused disagreement among the researchers. For Kernan, manuscript receipts were not used to instruct, but she believes they served as *aides-mémories* (memory-aids in English), which only pretended to inform about the court cooks’ knowledge about what was served in feasts or among the aristocracy<sup>15</sup>. This statement is supported by other researchers, such as Dena Attar, who assures that medieval receipts were not instructional since they collected the extravagancies of the professional cooks and included lists of

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<sup>12</sup> DUNNING, Andrew. *Forme of Cury: A Medieval English Cookbook*. *British Library Medieval Manuscripts Blog*, 7 December 2016. <<https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2016/12/forme-of-cury-a-medieval-english-cookbook.html>>

<sup>13</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44.

their best dishes to be served in banquets and feasts<sup>16</sup>. However, other researchers have gone against this idea. For Ruth Carroll and Manfred Görlach, medieval cookbooks were thought to be instructional, but only for professional cooks since the lack of information about ingredients, quantities, and timing to carry on the receipts strictly required someone with experience in the art of cooking.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted by KERNAN, Sarah Peters. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47-48.



### 3.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTED COOKBOOKS IN ENGLAND

It was in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, years after the invention of the printing press the century before, when the production of cookbooks became faster in England as they were not written manually and under commission. The high prices and the low literacy rates still made cookbooks inaccessible for everybody who wanted to enjoy them. However, with the introduction of printed cookbooks in England, many changes in the structure of these books occurred and there was an attempt to broaden the audience to who they were traditionally addressed, mainly with a commercial purpose.

These changes happened progressively since the unknown author's *The Boke of Cokery* (1500), which is believed to be the first cookbook to be printed in England, did not contain many differences from previous medieval manuscript receipts.<sup>18</sup> This cookbook was anonymous and did not include a title page or other paratexts. However, it included an incipient preceding the receipts that indicated that they were thought for professional cooks and aristocratic households rather than for a new public: "Here beginneth a noble boke of festes royalle and Cokery a boke for a pryncis housholde or any other estates; and the makynge therof as ye shall fynde more playnly within this boke".<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the audience of the first printed cookbooks in England was still the same group of privileged people, but as the incipient states, a new tendency to try to make receipts easier to follow was beginning to arise. The similarity of the first printed cookbooks with the medieval manuscript ones, according to Notaker, is because the first printed cookbooks "were written long before they were printed; the books were based on manuscripts from court circles".<sup>20</sup>

It is in 1545 when *A Proper New Booke of Cookery* was published in England breaking with many of the medieval manuscript conventions of the time, which could still be seen in previous printed cookbooks such as *The Boke of Cokery*. Although still from an anonymous author, a common feature in manuscript receipts and first printed

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<sup>18</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. Op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> WHITAKER OXFORD, Arnold. *All English Cookery Books: From 1500 to 1850*. Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 1.

[https://books.google.es/books?id=rT36S0W8tRUC&hl=es&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.es/books?id=rT36S0W8tRUC&hl=es&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

<sup>20</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 191.

cookbooks, it introduced a very important paratext: the title page.<sup>21</sup> Even though printed cookbooks still made use of many manuscript receipts conventions, “the title-page was new, if perhaps unanticipated, product of the new technology”.<sup>22</sup> The title page included the books’ titles and a summary of the main contents in the form of short and long statements. In addition, the authors’ intended public was also addressed in title pages, like in *A Proper New Booke of Cookery* (figure 2): “for al of them that delight in Cokery”. For the first time, not only professional cooks and aristocratic households were thought to be the public of cookbooks, even if not everyone still could afford and read such books.<sup>23</sup> Title pages substituted cookbooks’ incipients or authors’ opening words before the main text, mainly with a commercial purpose in mind.<sup>24</sup>

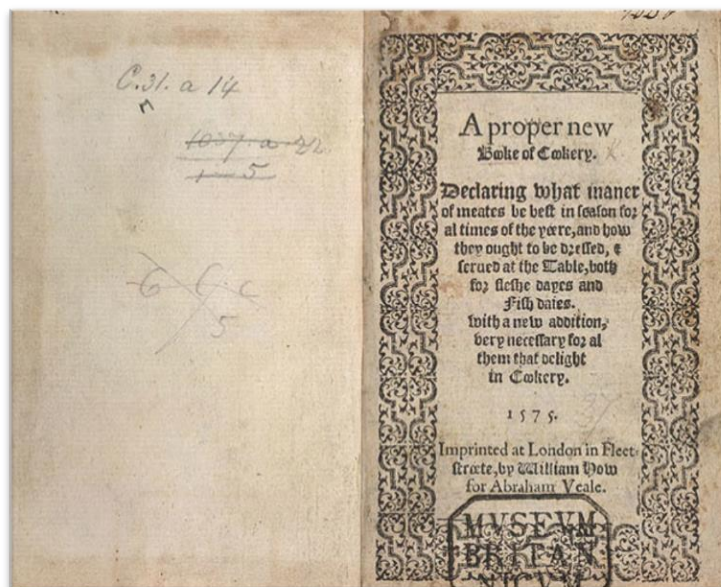


Figure 2. Title page of the unknown author’s *A Proper New Booke of Cookery* (1575) at the Library of Congress. Source: <https://rb.gy/nfdmno>

<sup>21</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. Op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>22</sup> RAVEN, James. *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*. Yale University Press, 2007, p. 55.  
<[https://books.google.es/books?id=2y9L5ChxDScC&hl=es&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.es/books?id=2y9L5ChxDScC&hl=es&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

<sup>23</sup> KERNAN, Sarah Peters. Op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>24</sup> RAVEN, James. Op. cit., p. 55.

Other paratexts *A Proper New Booke of Cookery* introduced, moving away from manuscript receipts conventions, were the bills of fare —the English word at the time for menus—, which consisted of lists of different expensive dishes divided into two different courses, depending on the part of the meal they were served. In addition, receipts started to become more detailed in ingredients, quantities and timing,<sup>25</sup> allowing then a wider public and not only professional cooks to elaborate them. For instance, looking at the cheesecake receipt, the hours and the quantities are specified:

Take harde Chese and cut it in slices, and pare it, then lay it in fayre water, or in sweete mylke, the space of three houres, then take it up, and break it in a mortar till it be small, then draw it up through a strayner, with the yolkes of six egges, and season it up with Suger and sweete butter, and so bake it.<sup>26</sup>

Years later, in 1585, it was published Thomas Dawson's *The Good Huswife's Jewell* (figure 3), which finally started to broaden the contents of cookbooks to be useful not only for the aristocratic households and the professional cooks. This book, together with *The Good Hus-wifes Handmaid for the Kitchen* (1594) and *The Booke of Carving and Sewing* (1597) by the same author, "covered a broad range of subjects, such as general cookery, sweet waters, preserves, animal husbandry, carving, sewing and the duties of servants".<sup>27</sup> In addition, as in *A Proper New Booke of Cookery*, it included bills of fare that provided the readers with lists of dishes separated into different courses and the receipts directions could be more easily followed by beginners as quantities and timings were given in many instances.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>*A Proper New Booke of Cookery*. British Library, n.d. <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/a-proper-new-booke-of-cookery>>

<sup>26</sup> MYERS, Daniel. *A proper New Booke of Cookery* British Library 1575 edition transcription. *Medieval cookery*, 2007. <<https://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/pnboc1575.txt>>

<sup>27</sup> *The Good Huswifes Jewell*. British Library, n.d. <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-good-huswifes-jewell>>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

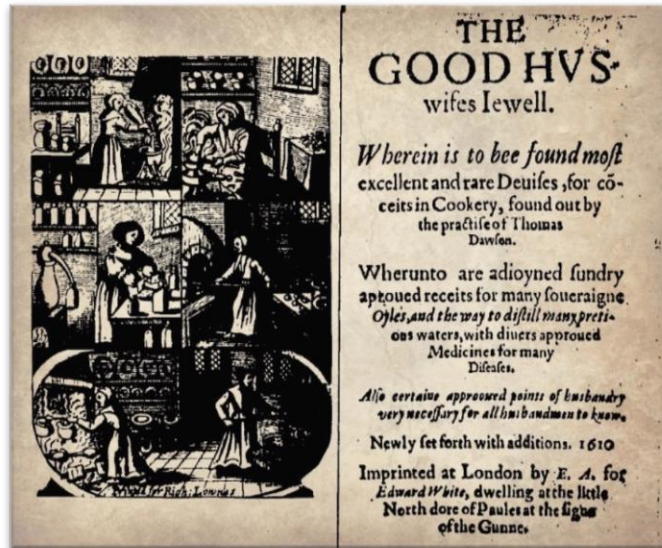


Figure 3. Frontispiece and title page of Thomas Dawson's *The Good Huswifes Jewell*, 1610. Source: <https://rb.gy/i48wgx>

In addition, *The Good Huswife's Jewell* is considered to be the first printed British cookbook to be addressed towards women, even if only to some privileged noble ones, since at the time the literacy rates among women were still so low and the prices of some of the receipts' main ingredients, such as sugar and spices, were still very high and could not be afforded by the middle and the low classes.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, even though it was not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century that many cookbooks started to be produced and consumed by women from many different social statuses, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the first steps to move away from a male elite public were taken. By this century, there may have even been cases of receipts that originally belonged to women, but after being compiled from manuscripts, publishers gave them male authorship leaving those women unacknowledged.<sup>30</sup>

Even though some male elites seemed to have a problem in admitting women's authorship,<sup>31</sup> the protagonism of women in the production of receipts was recognized by

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> SCHMIDT, Stephen. Op. cit.

<sup>31</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 44.

some authors before the publication of the first cookbook under a woman's name. It was Gervase Markham, who in his 1615 edition of *The English Huswife* (figure 4), made clear that “the medical and culinary recipes were taken from various sources, among them a manuscript allegedly written by a woman”.<sup>32</sup> In addition, his book full name —*The English Huswife: Containing the Inward and Outward Vertues Which Ought to Be in a Complete Woman: as her Phisicke, Cookery, Banqueting-stuffe, Distillation, Perfumes, Wooll, Hemp, Flaxe, Dairies, Brewing, Baking, and all other things belonging to an Houshold*— already “gives some sense of the direction cookbooks in general will be headed in the following century”.<sup>33</sup>

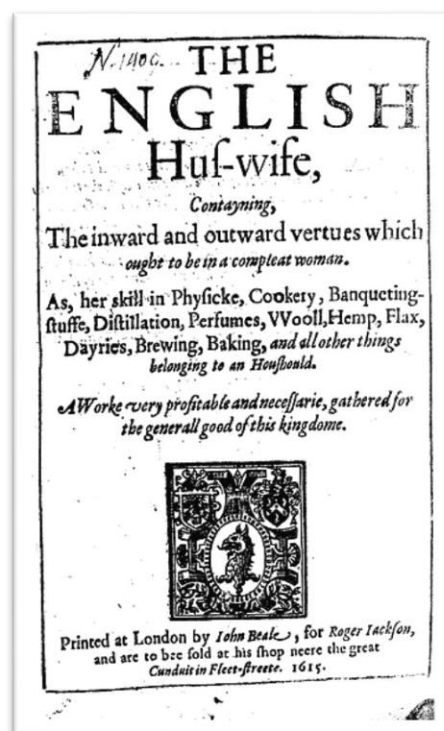


Figure 4. Title page of Markham's *The English Huswife*, 1615. Source: <https://rb.gy/hdbkja>

Nonetheless, until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was a strong tendency among many cookbook authors to expose aristocratic culinary secrets in their books, rather than

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> *History of Cookbooks: Part 2 — Going into Print*. Richard Nielsen, 27 May 2020. <<https://richardnielsen.com/2020/05/27/history-of-cookbooks-part-2-going-into-print/>>

teaching readers about culinary receipts. In these books, receipts were presented as being taken from a metaphorical closet to show the secrets from the aristocratic cuisines, since even if the readers could not afford to put them in practice, imitating the aristocracy was believed to be a way of having social status.<sup>34</sup> Actually, many cookbooks already portrayed this idea in their title pages, with titles such as *The Ladies Cabinet Opened* (1639), *A Precious Treasury of Twenty Rare Secrets* (1649), *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened* (1669) and *The Queen-Like Closet* (1670).

However, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with a readership and authorship change, in which not only male chefs but also female housekeepers began to publish cookbooks, many authors started to break away with old traditions and decided to place cookbooks in the kitchen, getting away from old aristocratic customs and relating culinary skills with practical housework.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, these changes, together with an intention to broaden the cookbook market by addressing a female public, made that the contents of these books did just not focus on receipts related to health, diet and cookery—a common feature in early cookbooks—,<sup>36</sup> but also in advice on good household management and table etiquette. Nevertheless, it is not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when many women started to produce and consume cookbooks, that this new content was fully consolidated.<sup>37</sup> This new trend to include advice on good household management in cookbooks is believed to be directly influenced by the medieval French manuscript *Le Ménagier de Paris* (1393) since this manuscript was “aimed not at professional kitchens but at the edification and instruction of women” by including culinary receipts and some tips for gardening and etiquette.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> WALL, Wendy. *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016, p. 35. <[https://books.google.es/books/about/Recipes\\_for\\_Thought.html?id=8m1YrgEACAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.es/books/about/Recipes_for_Thought.html?id=8m1YrgEACAAJ&redir_esc=y)>

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> DAVIDSON, Alan. FOOD: The Natural History of British Cookery Books. *The American Scholar*, vol. 52, num. 1 (1983), p. 99. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41210911>>

<sup>37</sup> *History of Cookbooks: Part 2 — Going into Print*. Op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

### 3.3 BRITISH COOKBOOKS IN 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ENGLAND

As stated by Elena Butoescu, “it is during the eighteenth century that cookery books and treatises became marketable commodities attempting to teach cooking in a print environment dominated by urban growth”.<sup>39</sup> If publishers and authors were starting to widen the audience of cookbooks in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when this change actually occurred, mainly because of the increase in the literacy rates in British society. In addition, as the book market started to grow, gastronomy books began to appear in different formats such as “treatises, short pamphlets, brief guides to baking or dictionaries of fishes”.<sup>40</sup>

One of the trigger points in England that lead to the consolidation of new content and the emergence of new paratexts in cookbooks is the shift from male to female authorship. However, even if it is in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when this shift occurred, Hannah Woolley (1622 – 1675), believed to be the first female cookbook author, was the one who paved the way for her next century’s successors. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, she published five cookbooks that became all well-acknowledged: *The Ladies Directory* (1661), *The Cooks Guide* (1664), *A Guide to Ladies* (1668) —figure 5—, *The Queen-Like Closet* (1670) —figure 6— and *The Ladies Delight* (1672). All her books, as will happen with her successors’ cookbooks, included culinary and medicinal receipts, followed by some good household management and etiquette advice.

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<sup>39</sup> BUTOESCU, Elena. Op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> PELLISSIER, Marie. *Cookery Books in Context*. More than a kitchen aid, n.d. <<https://mediakron.bc.edu/capellmanuscript/cookery-books-in-context>>

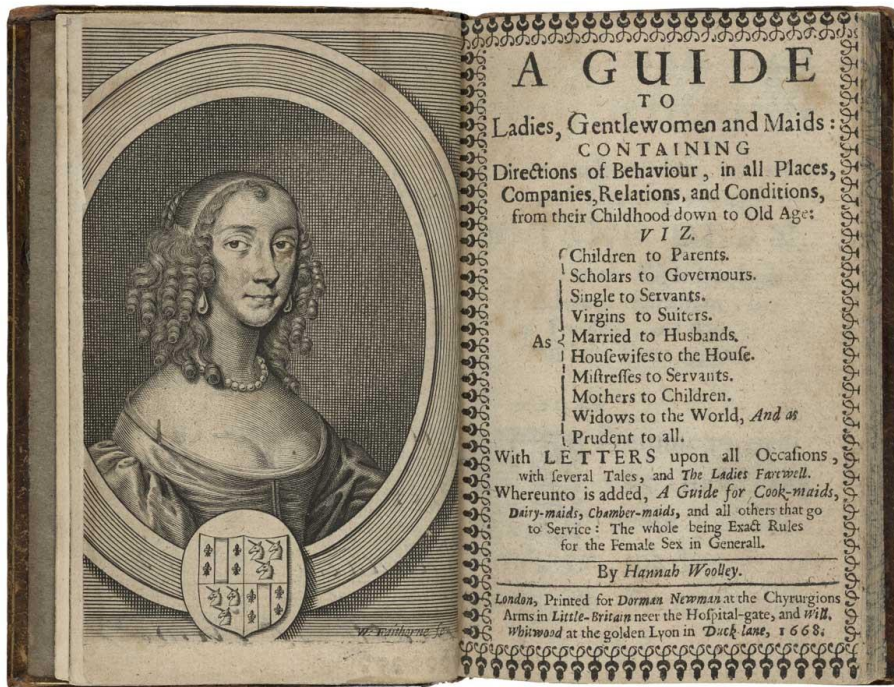


Figure 5. Frontispiece and title page of Woolley's *A Guide to Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids*, 1668. Folger Shakespeare Library, W3278.5. Source: <https://rb.gy/qyom8f>

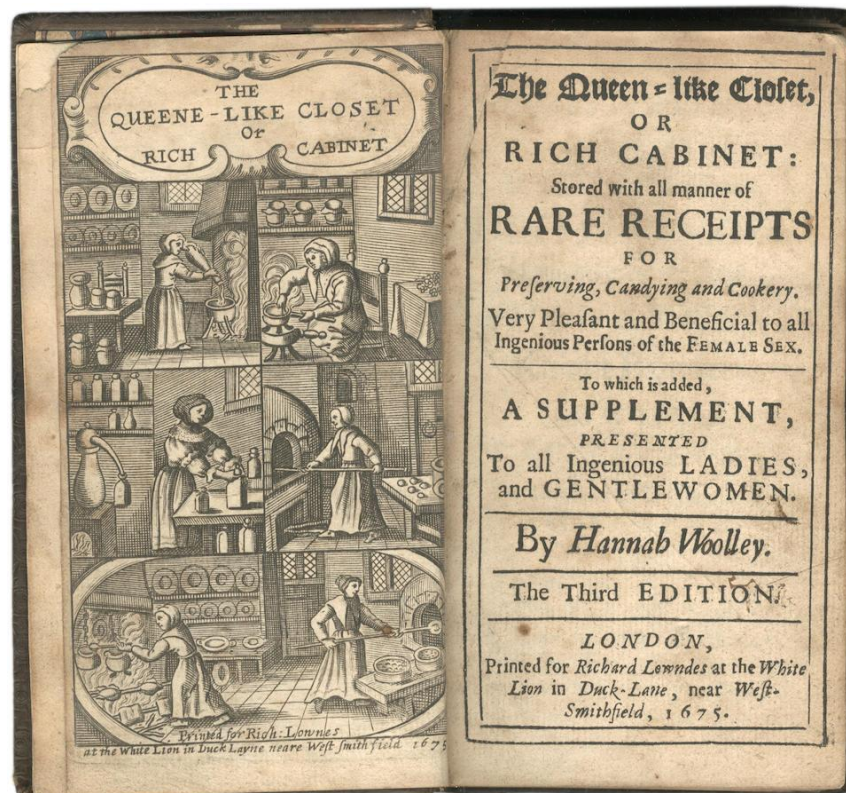


Figure 6. Frontispiece and title page of Woolley's *The Queen-like Closet*, 1675. Source: <https://rb.gy/i7113j>



### 3.3.1 THE “EXPERT HOUSEKEEPER” AUTHORS

As previously mentioned, some British male upper classes had problems accepting that women could write a cookbook.<sup>41</sup> This was the case for centuries and continued to be in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Dr. Samuel Johnson, according to James Boswell, stated at a dinner in London in 1778: “Women can spin very well, but they cannot make a good book of Cookery”.<sup>42</sup> This strong statement, which was directed towards the doubtable existence of the female author Hannah Glasse, was supported by other male elites, and Glasse’s book *The Art of Cokery Made Plain and Easy* (1747) was even thought to be written by Dr. Hill, a male physician.<sup>43</sup> This in a way was also a consequence of the fact that by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many women already added their names on their cookbooks’ title pages, but some of them were still anonymous or identified themselves “simply by their initials or by expressions such as ‘By a Lady’”.<sup>44</sup> However, Glasse’s existence being a reality or not —although it was proved in the twentieth century that she existed<sup>45</sup> —, she was not the only woman to write cookbooks in 18<sup>th</sup> century England. She was just one of the pioneers of her time, together with many other female authors such as Eliza Smith and Elizabeth Raffald.

It is in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when many women, who in their title pages and prefaces identified themselves as ‘expert housekeepers’ under the service of wealthy families, started to write books based on their years of practical experience. This information provided by the authors was considered a commercial strategy for the credibility of the content of their books and for the readers to trust the practicality of their receipts.<sup>46</sup> In

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<sup>41</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Hannah Glasse: Stolen Identity During the Eighteenth Century. *The Historic Foodie’s Blog*, 30 January 2015. <<https://thehistoricfoodie.wordpress.com/2015/01/30/hannah-glasse-stolen-identity-during-the-eighteenth-century/>>

<sup>46</sup> ROCHE, Karina Alexandra. *Every Woman Her Own Physician: Sustaining the Female Voice in Medicine in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century England*. [master thesis, Sonoma State University], 2020, p. 41-42. <<https://scholarworks.calstate.edu/downloads/n583z028r>>

addition, at the beginning of the century, cookbooks were addressed to gentlewomen, as happened with Woolley's cookbooks, but during the middle and the second half of the century, they started to be addressed to middle and lowest class female readers.<sup>47</sup> For that reason, female authors were in favour of the simplicity and the practicality in their receipts and criticized the French cuisine for being so extravagant and abundant.<sup>48</sup> Previously published cookbooks by men or that used a language level difficult to follow or to understand were as well criticized by female authors in their books' prefaces.

However, even if in 18<sup>th</sup> century England many of the authors who produced cookbooks were women, men did not move away from the market and still wrote well-known cookbooks that shared a similar structure and content to the ones written by women.<sup>49</sup> Some cookbooks written by men were Charles Carter's *The Compleat City and Country Cook: or, Accomplish'd Housewife* (1732), William Ellis's *The Country Housewife's Family Companion* (1750) —figure 7—, Robert May's *True Gentlewoman's Delight* (1707), John Nott's *The Cooks and Confectioners Dictionary: Or, the Accomplish'd Housewives Companion* (1723) and Richard Bradley's *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director* (1732) —figure 8—.

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<sup>47</sup> PÉREZ SAMPER, M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles. Op. cit., p. 130-131.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 131.

<sup>49</sup> *History of Cookbooks: Part 3 — The Women Take Charge*. Richard Nielsen, 4 June 2020. <<https://richardnielsen.com/2020/06/04/history-of-cookbooks-part-3-the-women-take-charge/>>

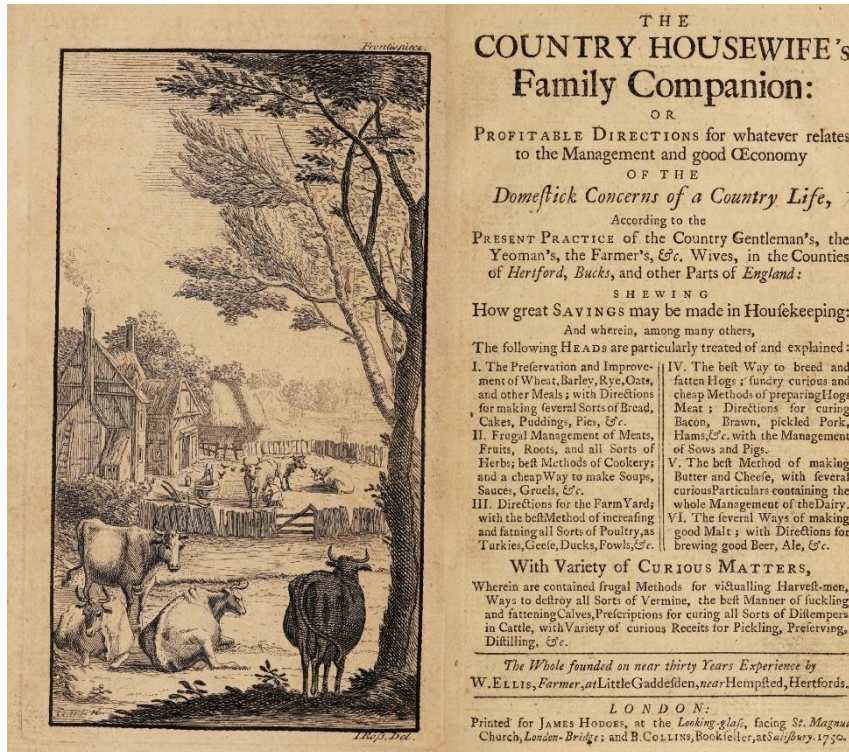


Figure 7. Frontispiece and title page of William Ellis's *The Country Housewife's Family Companion*, 1750. Source: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/esfeb8ez>

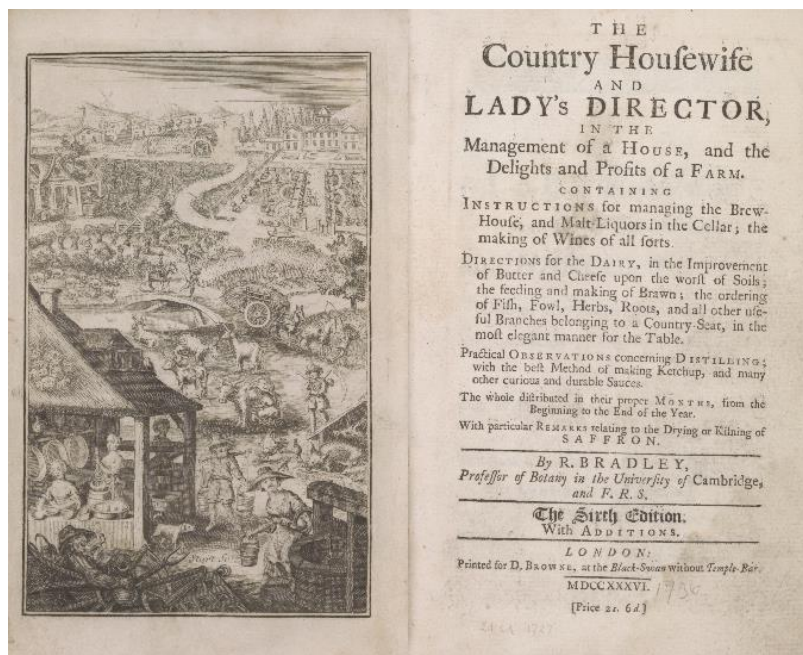


Figure 8. Frontispiece and title page of Richard Bradley's *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*, 1736. Library of Congress, TX705 .B812. Source: <https://www.loc.gov/item/44043097/>

Contrary to what Dr. Johnson could have thought about the capacities of women in writing cookbooks, it is undeniable that many good female authors appeared in 18<sup>th</sup> century England since for the first-time cookbooks went through many reprints, each of them with new additions and modifications. In addition, these female authors considered cookbooks published previously to their own as not being practical and economical. These two features were indispensable to be able to address their receipts to a large public and they criticized the lack of them through her books' prefaces. This paratextual device had a commercial function since authors did not just criticize previous cookbooks or the French cuisine through their books' prefaces, but they also used them to promote their books' contents and their experience in the subject.

One of these female authors who proclaimed herself an 'experienced housekeeper' was Elizabeth Smith, author of her believed only published cookbook *The Compleat Housewife, or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* (1727). In the preface, her book was presented as being:

[...] the product of my own experience, and that for the space of thirty years and upwards; during which time I have been constantly employ'd in fashionable and noble families, in which the provisions ordered according to the following Directions.<sup>50</sup>

Not a lot is known about her, other than her book had multiple editions signed as E.S. and E. Smith and that her cookbook was the first one to be printed in the British American Colonies, although her receipts were adapted to fit American tastes.<sup>51</sup> In addition, as many other authors did at the time, in her preface, there's a criticism of previous cookbooks for:

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<sup>50</sup> SMITH, Eliza. *The Compleat Housewife: Or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*. London: J. and J. Pemberto, 1739. UB 07 GW-47, sheet A5 ("Preface").

<sup>51</sup> *History of Cookbooks: Part 3 — The Women Take Charge*. Op. cit.

[...] many of them to us are impracticable, others whimsical, others unpalatable, unless to depraved Palates, some unwholsome, many Things copied from old Authors, and recommended without (as I am persuaded) the Copiers ever having had any Experience of the Palatableness, or had any Regard to the Wholsomeness of them: Which two Things ought to be standing rules, that no Pretenders to Cookery ought to deviate from. And I cannot but believe, that those celebrated Performers, notwithstanding all their Professions of having ingeniously communicated their Art, industriously concealed their best Receipts from the Publick.<sup>52</sup>

One of the most well-known female cookbook authors of 18<sup>th</sup> century England was Glasse, writer of *The Compleat Confectioner* (1755), *The Servant's Directory, or Housekeeper's Companion* (1760) and *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747). In the preface of her most famous cookbook, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, she also stated her book to be the result of many years of experience. In this case, however, she was addressing her book to the lowest classes of the society:

I believe I have attempted a branch of Cookery, which nobody has yet thought worth their while to write upon: but as I have both seen, and found by experience, that the generality of servants are greatly wanting in that point, therefore I have taken upon me to instruct them in the best manner I'm capable of; and I dare say, that every servant who can but read, will be capable of making a tolerable good cook, and those who have the least notion of Cookery cannot miss of being very good ones.<sup>53</sup>

She declared her book to be something completely new and needed, a recurrent statement by female cookbook authors in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but she was certainly the first one to address a cookbook towards the lowest class of British society. It is not clear if

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<sup>52</sup> SMITH, Eliza. Op. cit., sheet A4-A5 (“preface”) A5. UB 07 GW-47.

<sup>53</sup> GLASSE, Hannah. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. London: Robert Jameson, 1778. UB 07 GW-72, p. i (“To the reader”).

many servants, however, would have been able to enjoy her book, since not that many had a good literacy level, but she stated in her preface to have avoided the use of refined language, for the low classes to understand her. In addition, she did not only adapt the language of the receipts for servants to understand her, but she believed her receipts to be economical and criticized the French cuisine for being extravagant and abundant:

A Frenchman in his own country will dress a fine dinner of twenty dishes, and all genteel and pretty, for the expence he will put an English lord to for dressing one dish. But then there is the little petty profit. I have heard of a cook that used six pounds of butter to fry twelve eggs; when every body knows (that understands cooking) that half a pound is full enough, or more than need be used: but then it would not be French. So much in the blind folly of this age, that they would rather be imposed on by a French booby, than give encouragement to a good English cook!<sup>54</sup>

Another female author of the time was Elizabeth Raffald, known for writing *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1769). In the preface, her book was also claimed to be the result of years of experience working as a housekeeper for wealthy families:

I may be necessary to inform my readers that I have spent fifteen years in great and worthy families, in the capacity of a Housekeeper, and had the opportunity of travelling with them; but finding the common servants generally to ignorant in dressing meat and a good cook to hard to met with, put me upon studying the art of Cookery more than perhaps I otherwise should have done.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. iii-iv (“To the reader”). UB 07 GW-72.

<sup>55</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. *The Experienced English Housekeeper: For the Use and Ease of Ladies, Housekeepers, Cooks &c.* London: T. Willson and R. Spence, 1803. UB 07 GW-100, p. vi (“Preface to the First Edition”).

However, not only Eliza Smith, Hannah Glasse and Elizabeth Raffald published cookbooks in 18<sup>th</sup> century England, but many other well-known female authors, such as Susannah Carter (*The Frugal Housewife, or Complete Woman Cook*, 1765), Elizabeth Moxon (*English Housewifery Exemplified*, 1741 —figure 9—) and Sarah Harrison (*Housekeeper's Pocket Book, and Compleat Family Cook*, 1733 —figure 10—) published cookbooks and claimed them to be new and better than previous ones. Therefore, with all the great amount of cookbooks in the market that dealt with the same subject, many authors added new contents to their books, mainly paratexts, to differentiate them from previously published ones. It is the case of Charlotte Mason's *The Lady's Assistant* (1773), in which the preface states:

There having already been a great number of publications concerning the art of Cookery, it may perhaps be thought unnecessary to produce another book on the subject—yet, I trust that, upon examination this work will appear of more real utility than may be at first imagined. There are many books of receipts, yet I have never met with one that contained any instruction for regulating the table.<sup>56</sup>

Therefore, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century women proclaimed their voice in the cookbook genre and this contributed directly to the consolidation of new contents and the emergence and modification of some paratexts.

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<sup>56</sup> MASON, Charlotte. *The Lady's Assistant for regulating and supplying her table, being a complete system of Cookery*. London: J. Walter, 1775. UB 07 GW-68, p. v (“Introduction to the First Edition”).

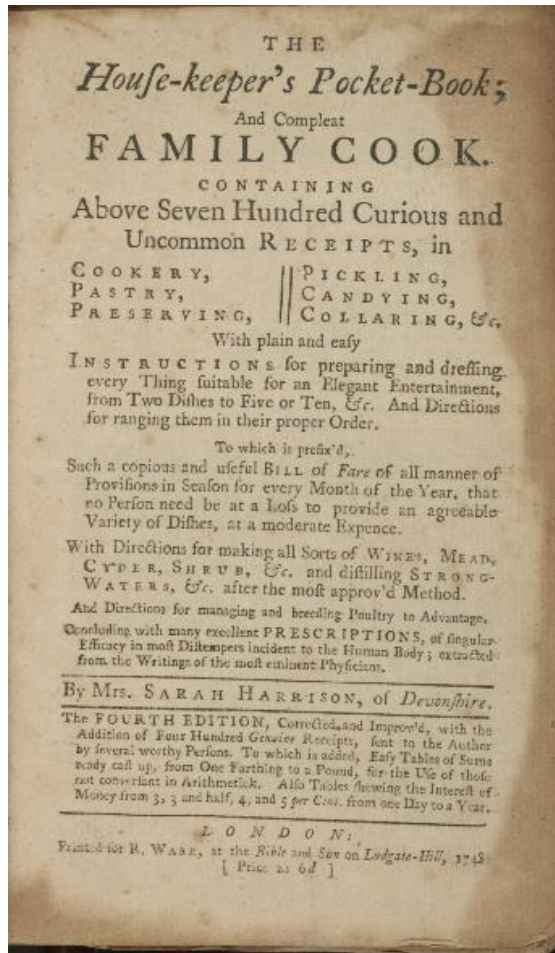


Figure 9. Title page of Sarah Harrison's *Housekeeper's Pocket Book, and Compleat Family Cook*, 1748. Library of Congress, TX705 .H3 1748. Source: <https://www.loc.gov/item/75313835/>

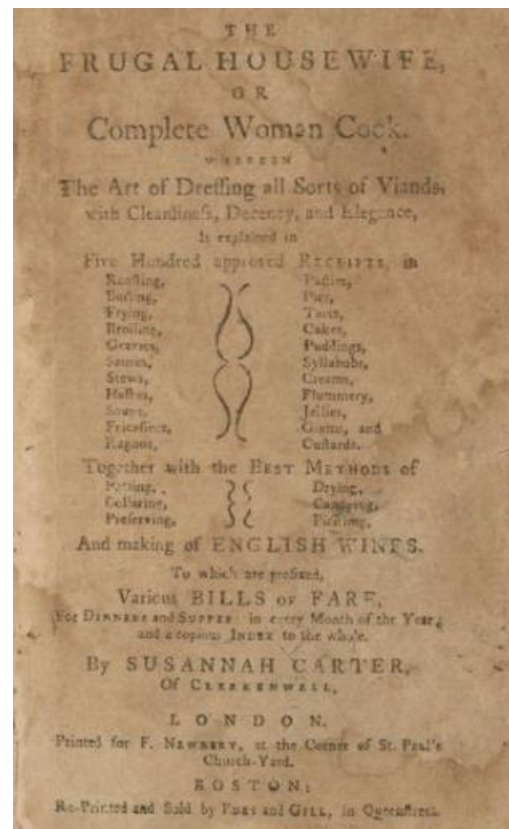


Figure 10. Title page of Susannah Carter's *The Frugal Housewife, or Complete Woman Cook*, 1772. Library of Congress, TX705 .C32. Source: <https://www.loc.gov/item/07035668/>



### 3.3.2 MIXED HOME RECEIPTS

Stephen Schmidt referred to cookbooks as books of “mixed home recipes” as he observed that, since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the British society established a clear division between the receipts that were practiced by women and by men, being the ones that pertained to the home environment undertaken by women and the ones involving tasks outside the house undertaken by men.<sup>57</sup> With the desire to embrace all the home sphere receipts, not just culinary and medicinal ones, advice in household management and etiquette became an indispensable part of these sorts of books since “providing a respectable and well-ordered home while remaining frugal and efficient was imperative and expected among most women running a household”.<sup>58</sup>

Therefore, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century “most of the cookbooks covered a vast multitude of receipts for processes such as canning, preserving, brewing, pickling, fermenting, distilling, baking, cooking, cleaning, starching, provisioning, dressing a table, creating menus, and providing medical remedies”.<sup>59</sup> Cookbooks also included other contents, such as table settings diagrams, tips to choose the best ingredients at the market and lists of seasonal ingredients.

Some of these contents were provided in the text together with the receipts, meanwhile others were provided in the paratextual corpus of the book. For instance, table setting diagrams and lists of seasonal ingredients, if given, were not provided throughout the text, as they were extra information for the receipts. In addition, as Alexandra Roche points out, “almost every cookbook combined a table of contents and an index of substantial size”.<sup>60</sup> In some cases, one of these two paratexts went missing, but either one or the other was provided in all cookbooks since by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the number of receipts included in cookbooks had increased and some sort of visual organization device was required. The table of contents, and sometimes the title pages, let the reader know how the receipts were organized throughout the book: by cooking techniques such as roast, boil and beak, among others; by the main ingredient; or by the moment in which they

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<sup>57</sup> SCHMIDT, Stephen. Op. cit.

<sup>58</sup> ROCHE, Karina Alexandra. Op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

were served,<sup>61</sup> mainly “beginning with appetizers, soups, and entrées, followed by the main dishes of fish and meat, then vegetables and sauces, and finally desserts, cakes, and confectionery”.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile the receipts, even paratexts, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were very similar among cookbooks, the title page was an indispensable paratext because “what often differed among cookbooks was whether they were written for cooks, maids, servants, wives, mothers, or ladies”.<sup>63</sup> This information was provided on the title page, together with the book contents and new additions. Since authors always wanted to provide readers with “dishes that were new and fashionable, prestigious, or intended for special occasions”, they fell into using similar receipts that changed together with the fashions of the time, and therefore, that required many changes of ingredients and techniques with further book editions.<sup>64</sup>

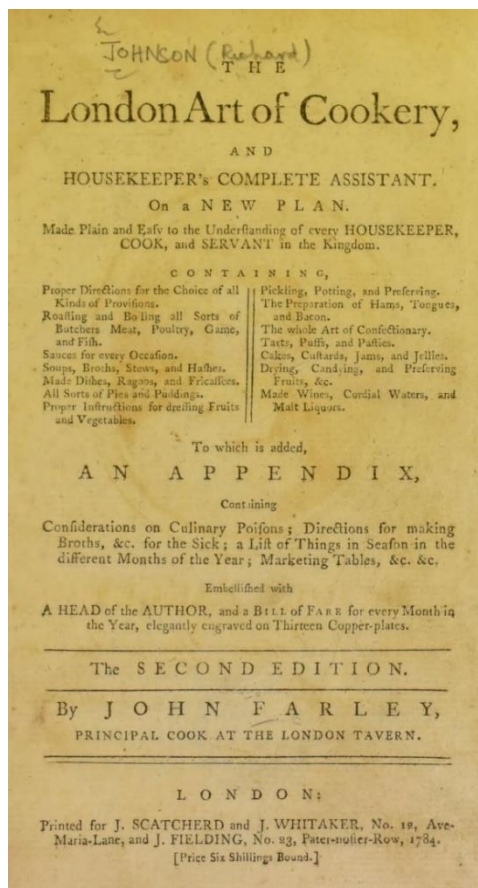


Figure 11. Title page of John Farley's *The London Art of Cookery* (1784).

Contains the receipts' sections and information on new additions. Source: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/bjq6z3k>

<sup>61</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p. 92.

<sup>63</sup> ROCHE, Karina Alexandra. Op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>64</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 82.

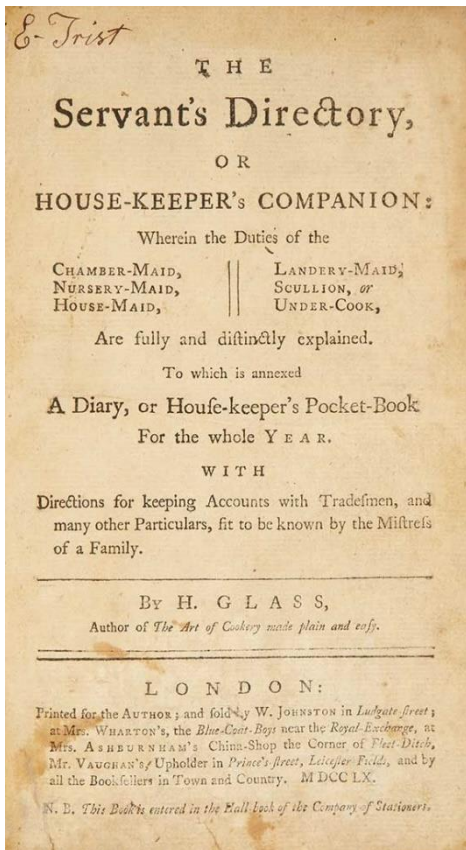


Figure 12. Title page of Hannah Glasse's *The Servant's Directory* (1760). Only a part of the contents are explicitly indicated. Source: <https://rb.gy/bbhwo>

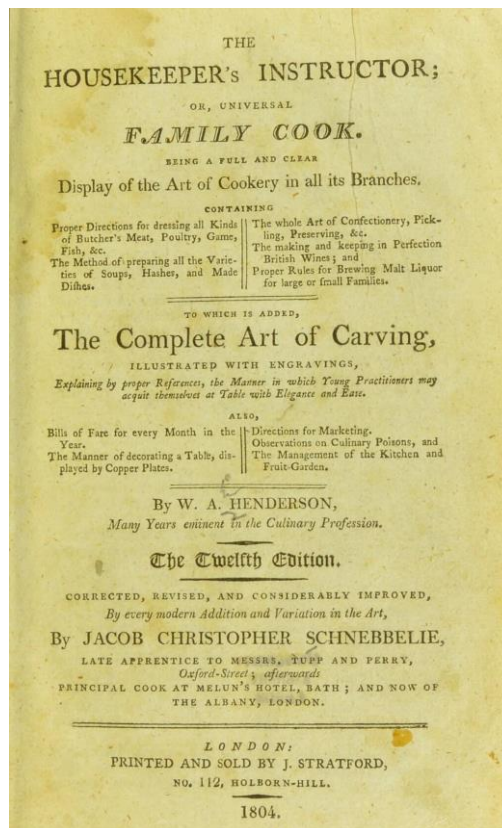


Figure 13. Title page of W.A. Henderson's *The Housekeeper's Instructor* (1804). Contains the receipts' sections and information on new additions. Source: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/us5a58>

### 3.3.3 DEFINING COOKBOOKS' PARATEXTS

As Maarit Knuuttilla explains, “recipes in cookbooks –even in the oldest ones– are surrounded by other material (textual, visual or graphical) supplied by the writer of the cookbook, or the editor or the publisher. This extra material could jointly be named as paratexts”.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, “frontispieces, title pages, prefaces, indexes, appendices belong to the paratextual apparatus, which consists of essential elements accompanying the text in order to embody, explain, disseminate and transmit knowledge in the written form”.<sup>66</sup> Paratexts can be defined as those parts of the book that are not part of the main text, but that are extra information related to it, and as “a good cookbook teaches you a technique [...] a cookbook with excellent paratext tells you how to read the author’s recipes”.<sup>67</sup> In addition, paratexts are always functioning meanwhile the reader goes throughout the author’s text, not only at the beginning, since “they continuously inform the process of reading, offering multiples points of entry, interpretation, and contestation”.<sup>68</sup>

The position of some of these paratexts in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks was similar in many cases. First, there was a title page that could be faced by a frontispiece of the author’s bust or various scenes, for instance, the scene of a kitchen. Immediately after, the preface followed, sometimes written by the author, and when not supplied, by the publisher or the compiler; in some cases, after the preface, there was a table of contents preceding the receipts. At the end of the main text, after the receipts, there was almost always an alphabetical index which was sometimes followed by a publisher’s advertisement. This structure, however, was not fixed since it was sometimes altered by

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<sup>65</sup> KNUUTTILLA, Maarit. *Narrating cuisines - food stories and paratexts in regional cookbooks*. [PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki]. Academia, n.d., p. 5. <[https://www.academia.edu/8774814/Narrating\\_cuisines\\_food\\_stories\\_and\\_paratexts\\_in\\_regional\\_cookbooks](https://www.academia.edu/8774814/Narrating_cuisines_food_stories_and_paratexts_in_regional_cookbooks)>

<sup>66</sup> BUTOESCU, Elena. Op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>67</sup> HERRMANN, Rachel. On Paratext, Cookbooks, and No Useless Mouth. *The recipes project*, 22 August 2019. <<https://recipes.hypotheses.org/15310>>

<sup>68</sup> SMITH, Helen, WILSON, Louise. *Renaissance paratexts*. Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 6. <<https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84923797269&doi=10.1017%2fCBO9780511842429&partnerID=40&md5=beab0d1e428c667256fbc7fc6a3928>>

the omission of some paratexts or the presence of many others such as dedicatory epistles, table setting diagrams or lists of seasonal ingredients, that were incorporated around the main text —the receipts—.

Hence, although not all paratexts had a fixed position in the structure of cookbooks and not all of them were used with the same frequency, some of them were considered by authors to be mandatory since at the time it was almost unacceptable for a cookbook to appear without them. It was the case of title pages, prefaces and indexes.

This section will introduce some of the most common paratexts that have been observed by researchers to appear in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks, which will later be exemplified in the analysis of the Grewe Collection.

## **TITLE PAGES**

As has already been mentioned in the previous section, title pages were introduced in cookbooks in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the commercial purpose to differentiate cookbooks by giving the readers information about the book's contents and audience. It was indispensable for 18<sup>th</sup> century printed cookbooks to have a title page that contained the name of the authors and their experience in the subject since, by this century, cookbooks were not anonymous anymore and the authorship of cookbooks was important for their reliability and their commerciality. Furthermore, according to Karina Alexandra, cookbooks' "title pages frequently followed a template of design".<sup>69</sup>

On the one hand, there was always a first and a secondary title, that even if not the same, were so similar to other cookbooks' titles of the time "not in an attempt to plagiarize the work of another, but to stir the interest of their intended audience by using memorable titles that many readers were likely to have encountered before".<sup>70</sup> Therefore, as happened with cookbooks' contents and structure, when constructing cookbooks' titles, authors

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<sup>69</sup> ROCHE, Karina Alexandra. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

made use of similar words or structures as a result of the fashions of the time. This strategy was already used in 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks with words such as “cabinet”, “rich”, “closet”, “opened” and “secret”, and it was still so much used in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks. As Notaker points out, when authors wanted to praise the quality of their books, they used words such as “good”, “accomplished”, “perfect” or “practical.”; if they wanted to describe to who their books were addressed, they used words such as “sensible”, “experienced”, “wise, “housewives”, “ladies”, “gentlewoman” or “servants”; if they wanted to reveal the market to which their cookbooks were written, they used words such as “royal”, “court”, “bourgeois”, “city”, “town”, “country”, “cottage” or “family.”; and if they wanted to emphasize their books usage, they used words such as “guide”, “companion”, “instruction” or “manual”.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, after the title, it followed a complete or a partial summary of the contents of the book, mainly in the form of two columns, that showed how the receipts have been organized throughout the book: by the main cooking technique, by the main ingredient or by the moment in which they were served.<sup>72</sup> This gave the readers a first sight idea of the sort of receipts that were included in the book and how they have been organized without having to check the table of contents.

In addition, other than the imprint, on title pages was also common to find new additions or modifications added to new editions. It could be additions to the main text, such as the introduction of new receipts by other authors, or paratextual additions, such as illustrations, bills of fare or lists of seasonal ingredients.

## **DEDICATORY EPISTLES**

Even though dedicatory epistles were not very much used in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, some authors followed the early tradition of introducing their receipts with a

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<sup>71</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 92.

dedication towards a person of authority.<sup>73</sup> It was mainly used by housekeepers or professional cooks who worked for wealthy families. However, not all housekeepers and professional cooks included a dedicatory epistle in their books. As female authors, who worked as housekeepers for wealthy families, liked to let the readers know about their years of experience, not all of them mentioned who did they work for and some authors preferred to use the preface to mention or praise them briefly.

However, not only wealthy families who employed authors in their life were the receivers of dedicatory epistles. As Notaker points out, “the dedicatees were often credited as being responsible for the success that the author had obtained and was “humbly” acknowledging”. Therefore, authorities such as other authors or historical figures were also acknowledged here.

Dedicatory epistles underwent a content change by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since the information that in this century was added in cookbooks’ prefaces, such as the authors’ intentions or a brief speech about food and cooking, was previously written in dedicatory epistles.<sup>74</sup> In addition, even though in previous centuries, epistles were mainly used by authors to guarantee some sort of income for the book publication,<sup>75</sup> this income method gradually fell of use, since from the 17<sup>th</sup> century towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was established in England a subscription publishing method to guaranty an income. With this new method, a group of people contributed in advance with the cost of the book for authors to be able to publish their books and for subscribers to later obtain a copy.<sup>76</sup> These subscribers were mainly acknowledged in books’ prefaces, but in some exceptional cases, they were acknowledged, independently of their social status, by naming them in another paratext that consisted of a list of subscribers, which was an addition to dedicatory epistles or directly substituted them.<sup>77</sup> Subscribers’ lists were not that common in cookbooks

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 135-136.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> GENETTE, Gérard. Op. cit, p. 119.

<sup>76</sup> O’REILLY, Erin. Cookbook Subscribers-1747. Convivial Supper, 13 December 2018. <<https://convivialsupper.com/2018/12/13/georgian-cookbook-subscribers-1747/>>

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

since most authors acknowledged their subscribers in prefaces, but a clear example was the list of subscribers that was found in the 1747 edition of Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (figure 14).

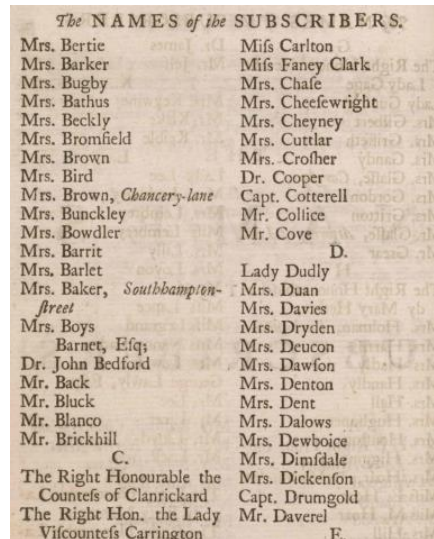


Figure 14. List of subscribers from the 1747 edition of Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Library of Congress, TX705 .G54 1747. Source: <https://www.loc.gov/item/45050213/>

## PREFACES

Prefaces were to be added before the text, such as a prologue or a foreward.<sup>78</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, almost all cookbooks included prefaces of different extensions, written by the author, the publisher or the compiler. Furthermore, as Notaker points out, meanwhile the language of the receipts was more formulaic, the one used for the preface was completely discursive,<sup>79</sup> and therefore, it allowed a “direct written extra-communication with the reader”.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit, p. 137.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> BUTOESCU, Elena. Op. cit., p. 15.



For that reason, authors used prefaces to include their motivations in writing a cookbook in a market full of books that dealt with the same subject. In many cases, this declaration of intentions coincided with the one given by other authors, so they criticized previous books and emphasized all the features that made their books a novelty of their time: be the use of plain language, the simplicity of their receipts or addressing the lowest classes of the British society. Other recurrent topics were a justification for the selection and omission of certain receipts, a justification for the use of certain ingredients or the name of certain dishes and speeches about the Art of Cookery.

## **ADVERTISEMENTS**

As dedicatory epistles, advertising paratexts were not that frequently included in cookbooks such as other paratexts, like title pages or prefaces. Depending on the printer and the advertisement form, advertisements could appear at the beginning or the ending of the main text. The most recurrent advertising paratexts were lists of other books by the same publisher and advertisements on new editions, that informed about new additions or modifications.

## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

Before the invention of the printing press, illustrations had already been included in manuscript receipts as ornamental elements to decorate, for instance, borders or initials.<sup>81</sup> Frontispieces could also be spotted in some previous cookbooks from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but it wasn't until the 1700 that “illustrated cookbooks came into vogue”.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>82</sup> WEISS ADAMSON, Melitta, SEGAN, Francine. History of Cookbooks. In *Entertaining from Ancient Rome to the Super Bowl: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (2008), p. 187. [https://books.google.es/books?id=PPDIx6WWuOQC&dq=The+Good+Huswifes+Jewell+address+women&hl=es&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.es/books?id=PPDIx6WWuOQC&dq=The+Good+Huswifes+Jewell+address+women&hl=es&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

According to Bickham, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, three of the most recurrent sorts of illustrations that were included in British cookbooks were table setting diagrams, authors' portraits and kitchen scenes.<sup>83</sup> Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was not common to find pedagogical illustrations that accompanied the receipt instructions, since they could have been the result of the success of table setting diagrams in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Proof of this is that illustrations included in 19<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, like for instance, *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (1817)<sup>84</sup> and *The London Art of Cookery* (1811),<sup>85</sup> used a similar letter/number-code strategy to accompany directions (figure 15) or to illustrate the different parts of animals (figure 16), which was already used in 18<sup>th</sup> century table setting diagrams.



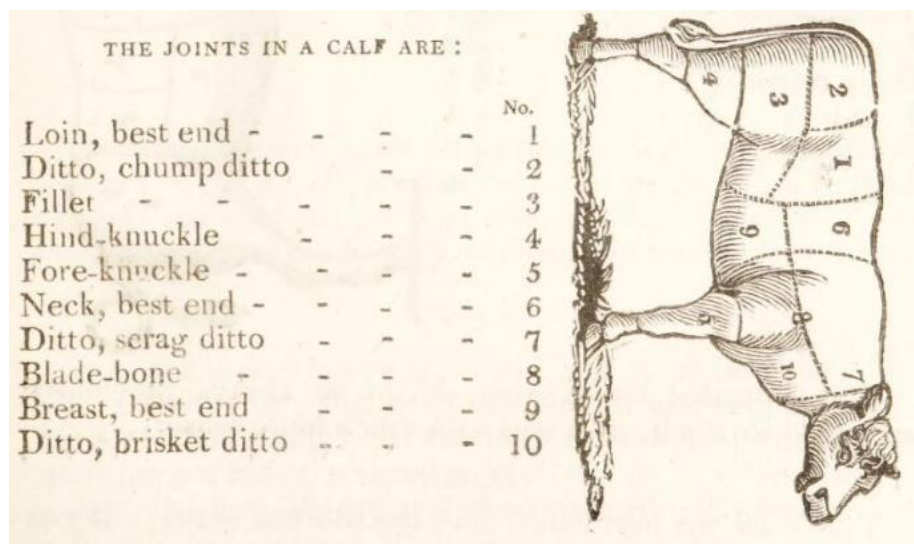
Figures 15. Illustration accompanying the instructions for carving a quarter of Lamb from the 1814 edition of Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery*. Source: <https://rb.gy/9qj5by>

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<sup>83</sup> BICKHAM, Troy. Op. cit., p. 473.

<sup>84</sup> RUNDELL, Maria. *A New System of Domestic Cookery*. London: Robert M'Dermut, 1817. <[https://books.google.es/books/about/A\\_New\\_System\\_of\\_Domestic\\_Cookery.html?id=l\\_IpAAAAYAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.es/books/about/A_New_System_of_Domestic_Cookery.html?id=l_IpAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y)>

<sup>85</sup> FARLEY, John. *The London Art of Cookery*. London: Scatcherd and Letterman, 1811. <<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/mjvrcefap>>



Figures 16. Joints of a calf from the 1811 edition of John Farley's *The London Art of Cookery*. Source: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/mjvrcfap>

### TABLE SETTING DIAGRAMS

The most common type of pedagogical illustrations in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks were table setting diagrams, that by 1730 were included in almost all British cookbooks.<sup>86</sup> They consisted of lists of dishes that were grouped to create a proper meal of one or two courses and that were organized in the form of a diagram throughout the page, according to each dish's position on the table. These diagrams intended to provide readers with visual instruction in the art of table setting, as it was considered equally important than good cooking skills for good household management. The importance of table setting is mentioned in many cookbooks' prefaces, such as the one in Mason's *The Lady's Assistant*:

It is certain that a woman never appears to greater advantage than at the head of a well-regulated table; which should be always so supplied that the

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p. 477.

unexpected visit of a friend or even of a stranger, should occasion no inconvenience or confusion. If a dinner be small and simple, the manner of serving it will make it appear to great advantage; and, I think I venture to say that with the assistance of the bill of fare herein inserted, with the variety that every person of but moderate taste will be able to introduce, a table may be so conducted as to do credit both to the taste and management of the mistress.<sup>87</sup>

Table setting diagrams were a novelty of 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks to portray bills of fare with the position of dishes on the table in a more visual way.<sup>88</sup> They could be presented as one-page diagrams or pull-out diagrams. However, some authors preferred to omit diagrams and still used bills of fare in the form of lists, although with some instructions for table setting. These diagrams were used for daily meals, such as a dinner in summer or winter, but there were also some for special occasions, for instance, a ball or a wedding. For that reason, the dimensions of table setting diagrams varied depending on the number of dishes of the meal and the number of courses to be served. There were table setting diagrams or bills of fare of only one course, others consisting of a first and a second course and others of three courses.

#### AUTHORS' FRONTISPIECES

The authors' frontispieces, fronting the title page, were also very common in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks as a commercial strategy. They consisted of the author's bust in a stoic position, and they contributed to the creation of intimacy between the author and the reader by providing readers with a familiar face, and therefore, more credible content to put into practice.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> MASON, Charlotte. Op. cit., p. v-vi ("Introduction to the First Edition"). UB 07 GW-68.

<sup>88</sup> BICKHAM, Troy. Op. cit., p. 479.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p. 480.

In addition, these illustrations changed from one edition to another. Sometimes, in further editions, the author's frontispiece was omitted or substituted for another one of the same author with different clothes or a different hairstyle that adjusted better to the fashion of the moment, only "to make them seem more fashionable and contemporary – all with the undoubted intention of selling more books".<sup>90</sup>

### KITCHEN SCENES

In many 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks, it was also possible to find frontispieces that consisted of different scenes. The most recurrent ones were kitchen scenes, in which there were mostly women doing tasks in the room. These scenes, as the authors' frontispieces, had a commercial purpose because by being so idyllic, far than portraying the realities of cooking in middle and elite households, they showed the readers what was pursuit.<sup>91</sup> In fact, in these illustrations, as Bickham points out:

The kitchens are faultlessly organised and tidy and the figures neat and apparently content. Most, unsurprisingly, show kitchens in which a cookery book features, either in the form of the mistress or housekeeper consulting the open book as she prepares the meal, or of the mistress copying out the recipe for a waiting servant.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 481.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 483.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

## **4 GREWE COLLECTION AT THE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY**

The Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the UB has been the recipient of various personal library donations over the years. Although a large part of the library collection comes from the disentaileed convents, the collection has increased with subsequent incorporations, in which personal libraries are included. It is the case of Rudolf Grewe's personal library.

During the last years, the library receives donations of rare books —published until the 1820— and modern books —published after the 1820— that are later registered in the library's annual report. Although in 2019 the library only received donations of modern books, in 2018 and 2020 the library received a total of 105 and 140 rare books, respectively. The last donations made in 2020 consisted of 14 volumes by the philosopher Jaume Bofill i Bofill (Barcelona, 1910-1965); 125 volumes by the philologist, literary critic and poet Joaquim Marco Revilla (Barcelona, 1935-2020); 3 volumes by the writer Elisabeth Mulder (Barcelona, 1904-1983); and 2 volumes by the doctor and university professor Josep M. Calbet i Camarasa (Vinaixa, Garriges, 1935).

### **4.1 THE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY**

The Rare Book and Manuscript Library belongs to the *Centre de Recursos per a l'Aprenentage i la Investigació* (CRAI) of the University of Barcelona and its function is the conservation, description and dissemination of its bibliographic collection of material printed before 1820. Its origin, explains Neus Verger, is the result of mainly two historical events. On the one hand, the expropriation in 1835, where it was collected “the collection of 23 convents and religious colleges in the city of Barcelona, Gràcia, Sarrià, the Montalegre Carthusians, the Sant Benet de Bages Benedictines and the city of Manresa

Jesuits and Capuchins”.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, it was also the result of the restoration of the University of Barcelona in 1836. However, the movement of the collection to the new building was not completed until 1882.<sup>94</sup>

Therefore, approximately 80% of the library collection comes from the holdings of Barcelona’s convents, which results in a rich chronological and thematic collection, as it keeps documents of many different subjects like theology, philosophy, gastronomy, medicine, zoology, botany, astronomy, among many others.<sup>95</sup> The reason for this large multidisciplinary collection is because convents controlled all the branches of knowledge, and illustrious people from Barcelona, on their death, ceded their personal libraries to the university library.<sup>96</sup>

Besides the conventual documents, the collection has increased with further additions, including various donations. Some of these further additions have been part of the collection of the old library of the University of Cervera (1,600 volumes, including 76 manuscripts and 5 incunabula), books of the Dukes of Osuna library (approximately 1,000 editions that were sent by the *Ministerio de Fomento*), duplicate engravings from the National Library of Spain (5,392 prints), part of the collection of the Surgery and Medicine College and the 131 copies of Rudolf Grewe’s personal library.<sup>97</sup>

The library collection can be divided into five main groups: manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, engravings and parchments. It preserves approximately 2,180 manuscripts, mainly medieval religious ones from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Nearly 830 editions and 1,240 copies of incunabula are as well preserved at the library, of which 94

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<sup>93</sup> VERGER ARCE, Neus. La Biblioteca de Reserva de la Universitat de Barcelona. *BiD: textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació*, num. 21 (2008). <<http://bid.ub.edu/21/verger.htm>>

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> MIQUEL OLIVER, Joan, CABALLER ALBAREDA, Gemma. *Descobreix la cara oculta de les biblioteques: el CRAI Biblioteca de Reserva*. [video]. Dipòsit Digital de la UB, 27 January 2021. <<http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/173664>>

<sup>97</sup> VERGER ARCE, Neus. Op. cit.

editions are unique throughout Spain and six of them worldwide. It also preserves a total of 120,000 printed books from 1501 to 1820 from Spanish, Italian, French, German, British and Flemish printers. Engravings are preserved more than 8,000 from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and there are as well preserved 890 parchments from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Other materials such as a collection of loose covers and more than 250 pieces of accompanying material are also preserved at the library.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.



## 4.2 THE GREWE COLLECTION

The Grewe Collection at the University of Barcelona was created in 1997 with the donation of the personal library of the doctor in mathematical logic and researcher in gastronomy and food studies, Rudolf Grewe (1927-1994). Grewe, besides being the owner of many gastronomy books published throughout several centuries in many different languages, oversaw the 1979 edition of the '*Llibre de Sent Soví*', which is commented on by him.

The Collection consists of 103 rare books and almost 700 modern books on gastronomy that in many cases are combined with other subjects —such as domestic economy and health— and is mainly kept in two different CRAI libraries: the Rare Book and Manuscript Library and the Pharmacy and Food Science Library. The largest part of the Collection corresponding to modern books is kept at the Pharmacy and Food Science Library. However, it is also possible to find some modern books from the Collection in other libraries of the University: the Clinic Campus Library, the CETT campus (attached to the UB), the Mundet Campus Library, the Cervera Diposit, the Philology Library and the Philosophy, Geography and History Library. The rare books, printed until 1820, are kept at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The information about the exact number of books that were donated to this library can be sort of misleading by looking at different sources. On the one hand, according to the *Memòria Digital de Catalunya* (MDC), the donation consisted of 129 rare books.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, in an article published by the University of Barcelona regarding the visit of Grewe's descendants,<sup>100</sup> the donation is said to have consisted of a total of 128 rare books.<sup>101</sup> However, for this study, to be as accurate as possible, the total donated editions and copies have been obtained through the library system bibliographic records, since all the Collection preserved at the library is catalogued. Therefore, the donation to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library can be said to had consisted of a total of 103 editions and 131 copies.

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<sup>99</sup> Fons Grewe d'alimentació i gastronomia. *Memòria Digital de Catalunya*. <<https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/fongrewe>>

<sup>101</sup> Universitat de Barcelona. *Visit from Rudolf Grewe's descendants in the Rare Book and Manuscript CRAI Library*. The University of Barcelona website, 20 January 2020. <<https://crai.ub.edu/ca/Noticies-butlleti/visita-dels-descendents-de-rudolf-grewe-al-crai-biblioteca-de-reserva>>

In addition, to give visibility to the rare book Collection, a selection of books have a digitalized version. Since 2006, fifty books from the Grewe Collection are exhibited in the MDC —figure 17— and, since 2019, it is possible to consult fifty-three books from the Grewe Collection at the ‘*Gastronomia i cuina*’ collection, available at the UB *Biblioteca Patrimonial Digital* (BiPaDi) —figure 18—. The ‘*Gastronomia i cuina*’ collection has subsequently been completed with other books that do not belong to the Grewe Collection, but which share the same subject. It is expected for all the Grewe Collection books that are preserved at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library to have a digitalized version soon.

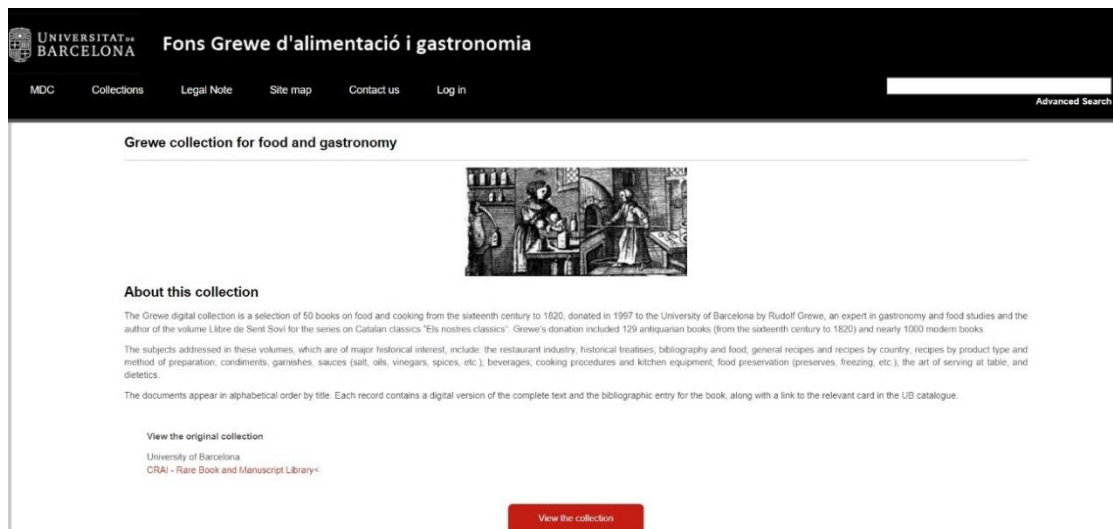


Figure 17. Grewe Collection at the *Memòria Digital de Catalunya* cooperative repository. Source: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/fonsgrewe>



Figure 18. ‘*Gastronomia i cuina*’ collection at *Biblioteca Patrimonial Digital*. Source: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/cuina>

## 4.2.1 THE COLLECTION BY CENTURY AND LANGUAGE

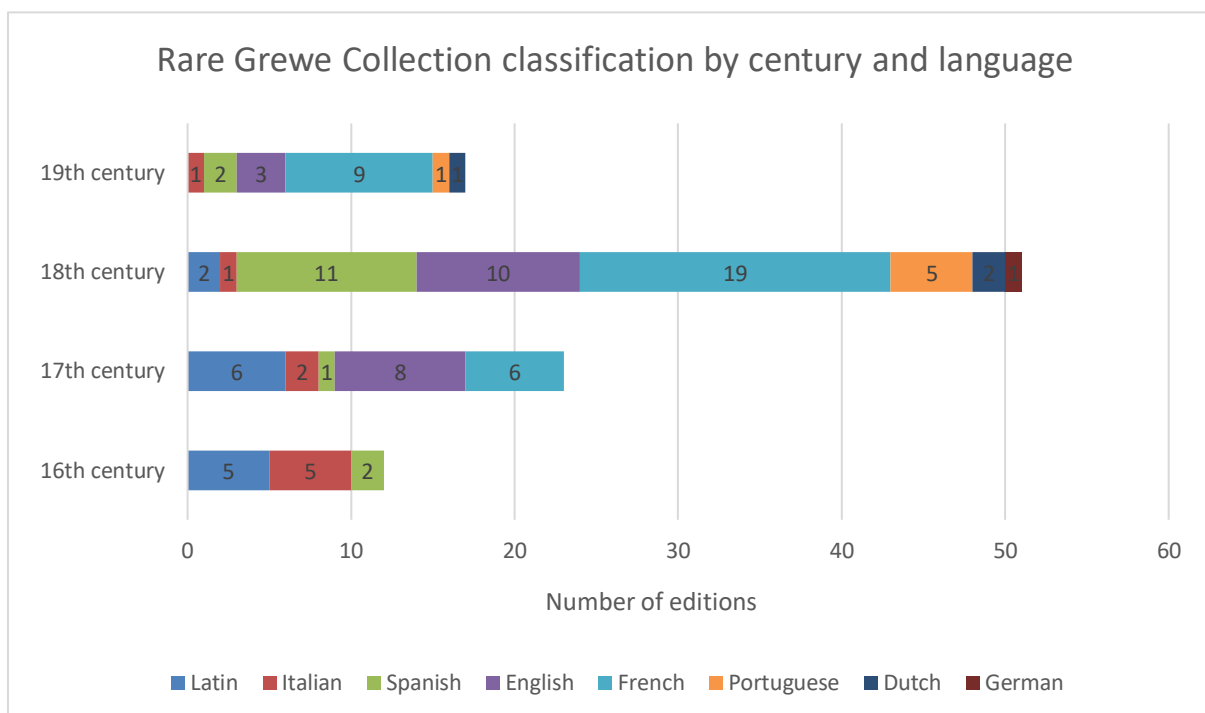


Figure 19. Editions from the Grewe Collection at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library classified by their century and language. Source: author.

As can be observed in figure 19, the part of the Grewe Collection kept at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library consists of a large variety of documents printed between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century in eight different languages: Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and German. The Collection consists mainly of books in French (34 books), English (21 books) and Spanish (16 books), printed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that most of the editions are dated from the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be because gastronomy books were more produced and started to circulate more freely at that time, allowing for a more successful preservation than the ones from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the Collection a total of 21 gastronomy books are in English: eight English editions printed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, ten in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and three in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century—the last one dated in 1817, since the library only keeps documents printed until the 1820—.

## 4.2.2 THE COLLECTION BY PRINTING PLACE

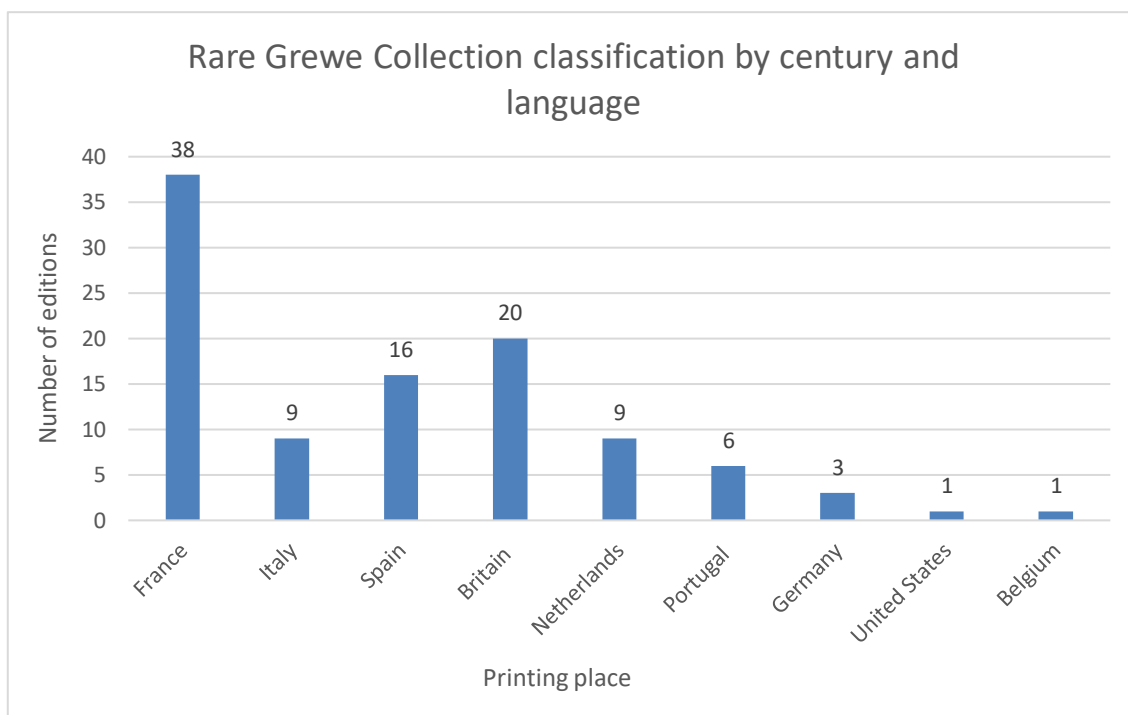


Figure 20. Editions from the Grewe Collection at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library classified by their printing place. Source: author.

By looking at figure 20, it can be stated that editions printed in France are the most numerous ones from the Collection—a total of thirty-eight books—, as happens with editions in French. However, not only books in French were printed in France. Seven out of the thirteen books from the Collection in Latin were printed in this country: the five dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and two from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The other six, dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, were printed in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium.

Except for Latin books, and one edition written in French printed in the Netherlands, all the books from the Collection were printed in the language of their printing country. Therefore, Britain and Spain, as British and Spanish books, are two of the main printing places of the Collection, with twenty and sixteen printed books respectively, preceded only by France.

### 4.3 THE RARE ENGLISH GREWE COLLECTION

As has been observed in figure 16, the Grewe Collection consists of a total of 21 rare gastronomy books in English, printed between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Even though they are not the most numerous ones from the Collection, since there are a total of 34 rare gastronomy books in French, English books are the second most numerous ones from the Collection. These books are kept at Rare Book and Manuscript Library and consist of the following titles:

	<b>AUTHOR</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>PUBLISHER</b>
<b>1</b>	W.M.	The Queens closet opened	London: printed for Nathaniel Brooks, 1658
<b>2</b>	Brooke, Nathaniel	The Compleat cook	London: printed by EB for Nath Brook, 1658
<b>3</b>	W.M.	The Queens closet opened	London: printed for N Brooke, and are to be sold by Charles Harper, 1671
<b>4</b>	Woolley, Hannah	The Queen-like closet, or Rich cabinet	London: printed for Richard Lowndes, 1672)
<b>5</b>	Markham, Gervase	The English House-wife	London: printed for George Sawbridge , 1675
<b>6</b>	Lémery, Nicolas,	Modern curiosities of art & nature	London: printed for Matthew Gilliflower and James Partridge, 1685
<b>7</b>	May, Robert	The Accomplisht cook, or The art & mystery of cookery	London: printed for Obadiah Blagrove, 1685)
<b>8</b>	Lister, Martin	A Journey to Paris in the year 1698	London: printed for Jacob Tonson, 1699
<b>9</b>	Lamb, Patrick	Royal cookery, or The compleat court-cook	London: printed for E and R Nutt, and A Roper, and sold by D Browne, J Isted and T CoX, 1726
<b>10</b>	Smith, E.	The Compleat housewife, or Accomplish'd gentlewoman's companion	London: printed for J and J Pemberto, 1739
<b>11</b>	Lémery, Louis	A treatise of all sorts of foods, both animal and vegetable, also of drinkables	London: printed for W Innys, T Longman and T Shewell, 1745
<b>12</b>	Moxon, Elizabeth	English housewifry exemplified	Leeds: printed by Griffith Wright 1764
<b>13</b>	Mason, Charlotte	The Lady's assistant	London: printed for J Walter, 1775
<b>14</b>	Robertson, Hannah	The Young ladies school of arts	Edinburgh: printed for Robert Jameson, 1777
<b>15</b>	Glasse, Hannah	The Art of cookery made plain and easy	London: printed for W Strahan etc, 1778
<b>16</b>	Pegge, Samuel	The Forme of cury: a roll of ancient English cookery	London: printed by J Nichols, 1780
<b>17</b>	Assen, Benedictus Antonio van	The Ladies' library or, Encyclopedia of female knowledge in every branch of domestic economy	London: printed for J Ridgway, 1790

<b>18</b>	Warner, Richard,	Antiquitates culinariae or Curious tractats relating to the culinary affairs of the old english	London: printed for R Blamire, 1791
<b>19</b>	Farley, John	The London art of cookery and housekeeper's complete assistant	London: for James Scatcherd et al, 1801
<b>20</b>	Raffald, Elizabeth	The Experienced English housekeeper	London: published and sold by all the Booksellers and by T Wilson and R Spence, 1803
<b>21</b>	Rundell, Maria Eliza Ketelby	A New system of domestic cookery	New-York: published by Robert M'Dermut, 1817

Table 2. Rare English editions from the Grewe Collection kept at the Rare Book and Manuscript Librarv.

### 4.3.1 ENGLISH BOOKS BY PRINTING PLACE

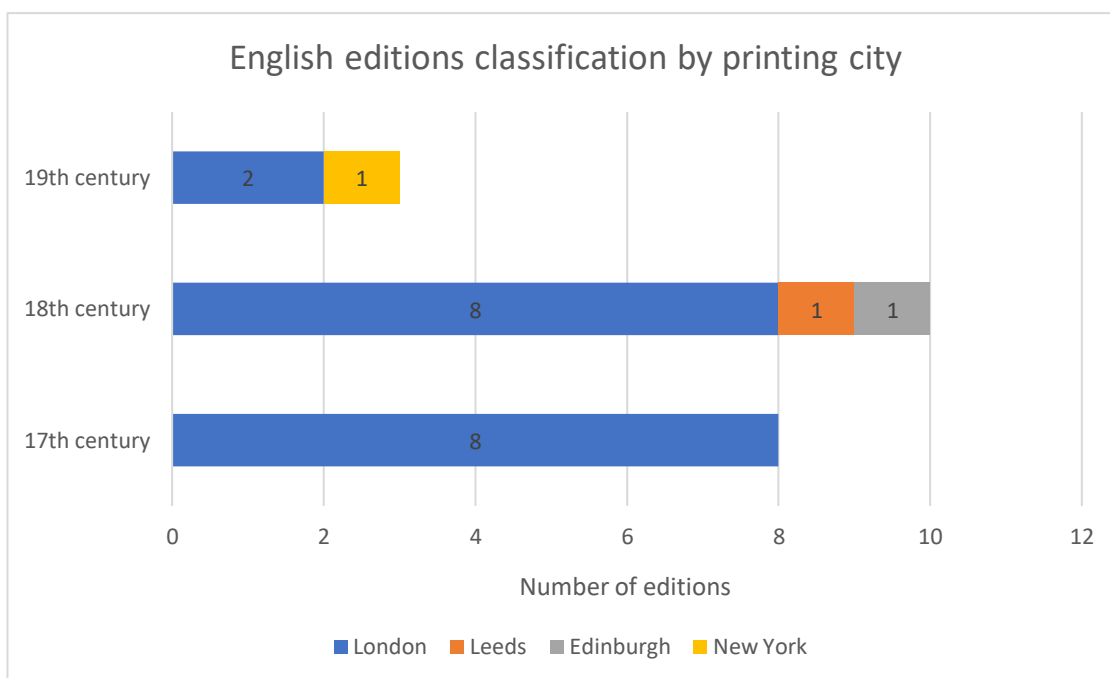


Figure 21. English editions from the Grewe Collection at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library classified by their printing place. Source: author.

As shown in figure 21, the English books from the Grewe Collection were printed in four different cities: London, Leeds, Edinburgh and New York. Since London, Leeds and even Edinburgh—who became part of Britain in 1707—were British cities, there’s only one American edition in the Collection written in English. However, this American book, *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, was originally a British book that was later reprinted and well-sold in America in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition, among the British editions, out of 20 books, a total of 18 books were printed in London between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since there are only two books printed in Leeds and Edinburgh dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. All the 17<sup>th</sup> century gastronomy books were printed in London. Therefore, it can be guessed that London, as the British capital, was already the core of the gastronomy book market since the 17<sup>th</sup> century and continued being in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the market started to expand as books started to be printed in other British cities and even outside the country in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 4.3.2 ENGLISH BOOKS BY GENRE

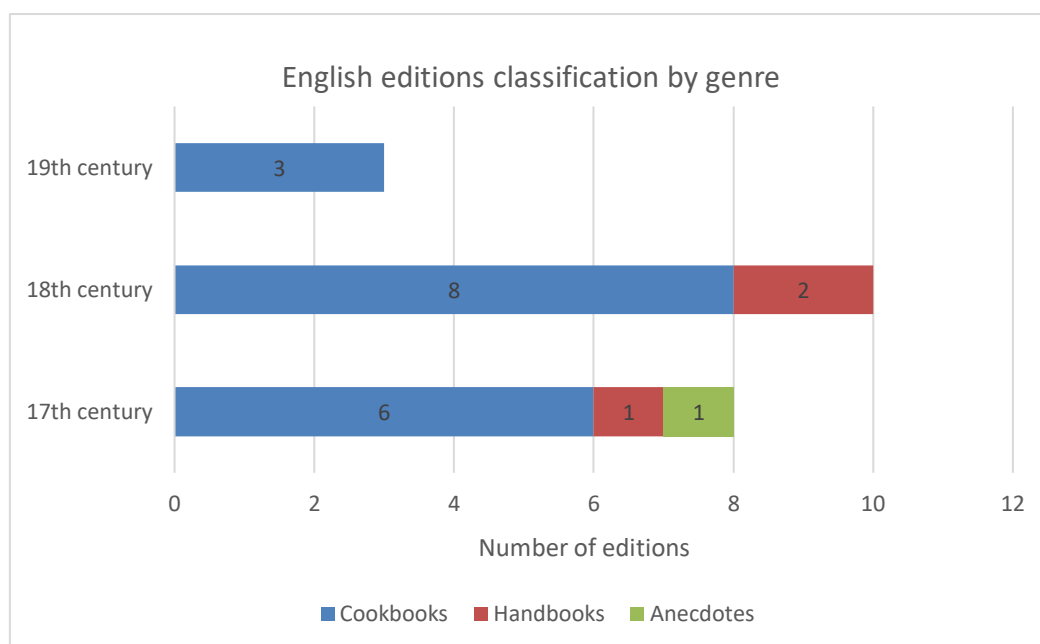


Figure 22. English editions from the Grewe Collection at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library classified by their genre. Source: author.

As observed in figure 22, three genres from the English editions of the Grewe Collection can be identified: cookbooks, handbooks and anecdotes. It is interesting how all these books contained receipts, however, depending on the book genre they did not have the same degree of importance or were organized differently. Most of the books in the Collection are cookbooks—a total of 18 books—, all printed in England and most of them, a total of eight, dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. By cookbooks, I refer to books whose main text consists of a selection of culinary, medicinal and domestic economy receipts thought to instruct readers. However, in the Collection, there is also a 17<sup>th</sup> century English anecdote book called *A Journey to Paris in the year 1698* (1699), in which the author made a trip to the city and in his book, he included all sorts of travel anecdotes, including some related to the gastronomy and the culinary customs of the city. In addition, the Collection also includes three handbooks from the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries: *The Ladies' library or, Encyclopedia of female knowledge in every branch of domestic economy* (1790), *A treatise of all sorts of foods, both animal and vegetable, also of drinkables* (1745) and *Modern curiosities of art & nature* (1685). These handbooks are reference works in which the information is more informative than practical as they informed readers about the taste of different foods, the perfect season to eat them, the advantages and the disadvantages of some aliments and the best way to manipulate them.



## 4.4 COOKBOOKS' PARATEXTUAL CORPUS

For the study of cookbooks' paratextual corpus, I have selected the eight editions from the Grewe Collection that have been classified in figure 19 as 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks. However, as the study sample is not that big since there are only eight editions, I will include two more editions to the study that are from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century —*The London Art of Cookery* (1801) and *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1803)—. Therefore, this analysis focuses on the following ten editions:

	<b>AUTHOR</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>PUBLISHER</b>
<b>1</b>	Lamb, Patrick	Royal cookery, or The compleat court-cook	London: printed for E and R Nutt, and A Roper, and sold by D Browne, J Isted and T CoX, 1726
<b>2</b>	Smith, E.	The Compleat housewife, or Accomplish'd gentlewoman's companion	London: printed for J and J Pemberto, 1739
<b>3</b>	Moxon, Elizabeth	English housewifry exemplified	Leeds: printed by Griffith Wright 1764
<b>4</b>	Mason, Charlotte	The Lady's assistant	London: printed for J Walter, 1775
<b>5</b>	Robertson, Hannah	The Young ladies school of arts	Edinburgh: printed for Robert Jameson, 1777
<b>6</b>	Glasse, Hannah	The Art of cookery made plain and easy	London: printed for W Strahan etc, 1778
<b>7</b>	Pegge, Samuel	The Forme of cury: a roll of ancient English cookery	London: printed by J Nichols, 1780
<b>8</b>	Warner, Richard,	Antiquitates culinariae or Curious tractats relating to the culinary affairs of the old english	London: printed for R Blamire, 1791
<b>9</b>	Farley, John	The London art of cookery and housekeeper's complete assistant	London: for James Scatcherd et al, 1801
<b>10</b>	Raffald, Elizabeth	The Experienced English housekeeper	London: published and sold by all the Booksellers and by T Wilson and R Spence, 1803

Table 3. British cookbooks from the Grewe Collection, printed in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
Source: author.

As has already been mentioned in the theoretical framework, cookbooks followed the fashions of time since authors and publishers tried to keep those books updated with the emergence of new ingredients, new techniques, and even new structural patterns, that directly contributed to the addition of new receipts and paratexts. Therefore, certain paratexts that were commonly found in 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, mainly dedicatory epistles —found in three out of six 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks from the Grewe Collection—, were rarely used in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks. In addition, a common 17<sup>th</sup> century paratext

consisting of a list of prescribers and approvers of the book’s receipts, which is found in two out of six 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks from the Collection, fell out of use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since any cookbook from the Collection belonging to this century includes it. Likewise, some common 18<sup>th</sup> century paratexts —table setting diagrams, prefaces and lists of seasonal ingredients— were not commonly found in 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, since any cookbook from the Grewe Collection belonging to this century is seen to contain table setting diagrams or lists of seasonal ingredients, and only one contains a preface. Other paratexts —title pages, frontispieces, advertisements, tables of contents and indexes— are used in both centuries’ cookbooks, but their contents varied according to the time fashions.

The following analysis will describe the features and usage of paratexts in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks, from the selected editions belonging to the Grewe Collection. For that purpose, the results of table 1 are portrayed in table 4, which shows the presence of the paratexts that have been introduced in the theoretical framework. Other paratexts that have not been introduced previously, and which have been identified by completing the grid, will also be analysed and exemplified. It is the case of the lists of seasonal ingredients.

PARATEXTS			Royal Cookery (1726)	The Compleat Housewife (1739)	English housewifry Exemplified (1764)	The Lady's Assistant (1775)	The Young Ladies school of Arts (1777)	The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy (1778)	The Forms of Cury (1780)	Antiquitates Culinariae (1791)	The London art of cookery (1801)	The Experienced English housekeeper (1805)
TITLE PAGE			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PREFACE			✓	✓	✓	introduction	✓	✓	✓	Preliminary discourse	✓	✓
DEDICATORY EPISTLE							✓		✓			✓
ADVERTISEMENT			✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	
ILLUSTRATIONS	Frontispiece	Author's Scene		✓		✓				✓		✓
		One-page Pull-out page	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓		
	Bills of fare	List	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
		List	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
		Diagrams	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓
TABLE OF CONTENTS							✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
INDEX			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
OTHERS						List of seasonal ingredients				Additional notes	List of seasonal ingredients	List of seasonal ingredients Three stove-fire illustration

Table 4. Grid indicating with a check mark the presence of paratexts in the 10 selected English editions from the Grewe Collection. Source: author.

#### 4.4.1 TITLE PAGES

Title pages were not used in medieval manuscript receipts and the first printed cookbooks. This paratext appeared for the first time in British cookbooks in 1545. As in many other sorts of books from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, title pages had a commercial purpose since they informed readers of the book's contents, the author, and even "the name of the printer and the address of the bookshop where the book could be purchased".<sup>102</sup> In Notaker's words, "the increasing commercial interest in book publishing strengthened the need for publicity and marketing. This led to the emergence of title pages".<sup>103</sup>

In cookbooks, even the titles were used as a commercial strategy since all consisted of similar words and structural patterns that emphasized their public and usage.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, in the Grewe Collection, all the book titles from the 18<sup>th</sup> century contained nouns such as "housewives", "gentlewomen", "ladies", "young ladies" and "housekeepers" and adjectives such as "complete", "accomplished", "royal", "plain" and "easy". This sort of strategy was already in use in the 17<sup>th</sup> century since cookbooks from the Collection are observed to contain words such as "queen", "closet", "opened", "rich" and "cabinet", because there was a previous tendency for cookbooks to reveal the secrets of aristocratic kitchens, by disclosing secrets hidden in a metaphorical closet.<sup>105</sup>

The authors' names and their experience in the art of cookery and household management were also commercial strategies used in title pages since by the 18<sup>th</sup> century "a famous name gave authority to the work and promoted sales".<sup>106</sup> Medieval manuscript receipts were mostly anonymous. However, by the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the authors' names became important as they "were introduced as court cooks or prominent

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<sup>102</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 40

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> SHERMAN, Sandra. "The whole art and mystery of cooking": What cookbooks taught readers in the eighteenth century. *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol. 28, num. 1 (2004), p. 132.  
<<https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-60950173704&doi=10.1215%2f00982601-28-1-115&partnerID=40&md5=16e2e0b4dd4e6e47febb2ef406a66ab1>>

<sup>106</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit, p. 41.

administrators”<sup>107</sup> to gain the reader’s trust and increase sales. 18<sup>th</sup> century female authors did the same, although, some women remained in the anonymity by identifying themselves as “by a Lady”, “by a Young Lady” or by their initials.<sup>108</sup> It is the case of two female authors from the Grewe Collection: Smith, who identified herself as E. Smith, and Glasse who identified herself as “By a Lady” in most of the editions of her book *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, including the one from the Collection.

In addition, many cookbooks’ title pages included detailed lists of the sections in which the books’ receipts had been divided since, in this century, clarity and structure were important features in cookbooks, and receipts were no longer organized alphabetically (figure 23). Out of the ten British cookbooks, a total of seven included this section summary. Furthermore, many title pages, a total of seven from the Collection, included the announcement of additional receipts that have been added to the book’s new edition by the author, the editor, the publisher, or other authors. For instance, on the title page of the two volumes of *The Young Ladies School of Arts*, the new receipts appeared under the announcement “never before published” (figure 22). It is also the case of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, in which newly added receipts are even stated to be written by other modern authors, for the new edition to adapt to the new improvements of the society and not to become obsolete among all the already existing cookbooks (figure 24).

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p. 43.

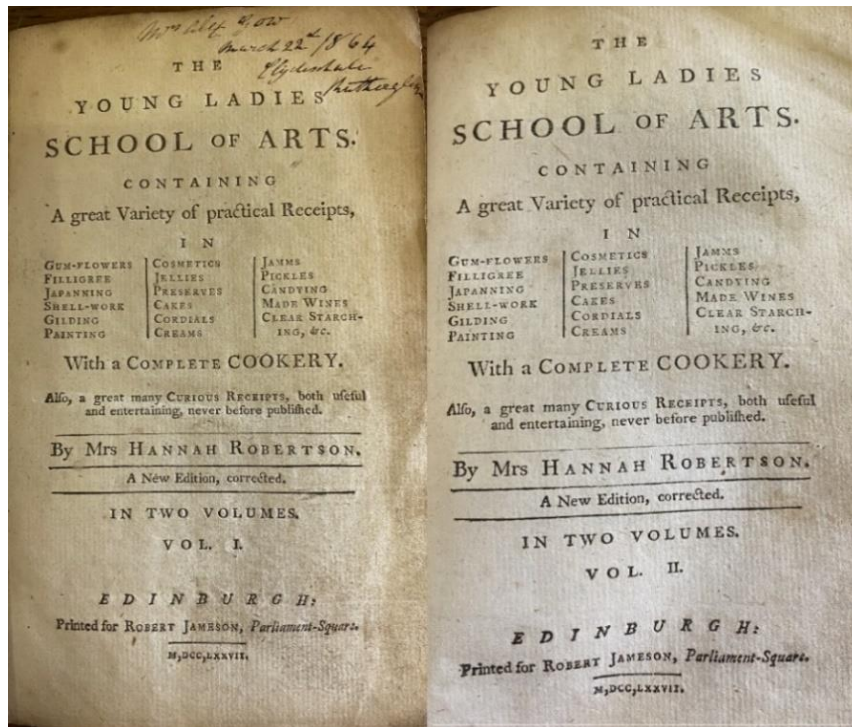


Figure 23. Title pages of volume I and II from the 1777 edition of Hannah Robertson's *The Young Ladies School of Arts*. UB 07 GW-71-1 and 07 GW-71-2. Source: author.

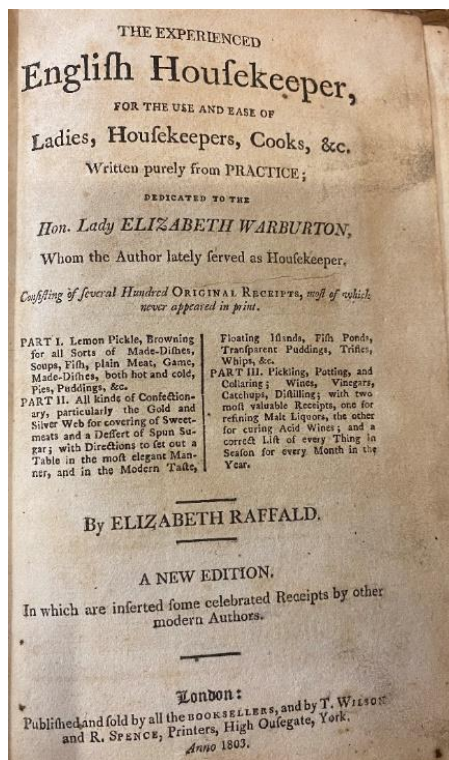


Figure 24. Title page from the 1803 edition of Elizabeth Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper*. UB 07 GW-100. Source: author.

As receipts organization and new additions were announced in title pages, the same happened with the paratextual devices that were included in cookbooks. These paratexts announcements were in many instances used by authors to claim their books as a novelty of their time, even if these paratexts were already used in many other cookbooks. The announcement of paratexts is included in eight out of ten title pages from the Collection. It is the case of *The English Housewifery Exemplified*, in which not only the contents of the book were included on the title page, but it also claimed to contain “cuts for the orderly placing the dishes and courses; also bills of fare for every month in the year; and an alphabetical index to the whole”<sup>109</sup> (figure 25). Furthermore, paratexts that were added to new cookbook editions were sometimes announced on title pages. They are found in four title pages from the Collection, such as in Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, in which the new edition was said to add “modern improvements, and also the order of Bills of fare, for each month, in the manner the dishes are to be placed upon the table, in the present taste”<sup>110</sup> (figure 26). This could have also been a commercial strategy to let readers know that cookbooks were updated according to the fashions of the time.

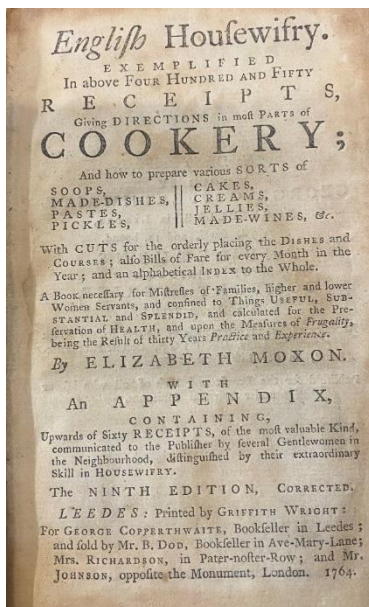


Figure 25. Title page from the 1764 edition of Elizabeth Moxon’s *The English Housewifery Exemplified*. UB 07 GW-58. Source: author.

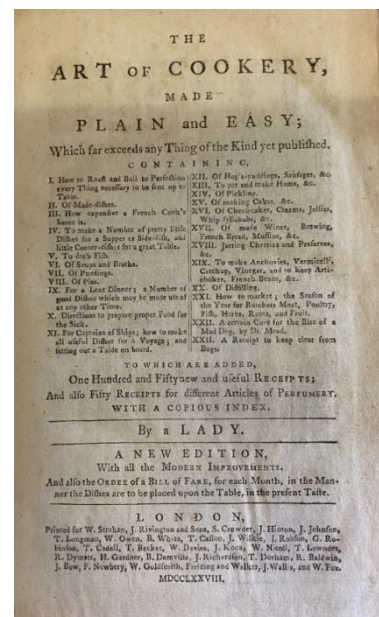


Figure 26. Title page from the 1778 edition of Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*. UB 07 GW-72. Source: author.

<sup>109</sup> MOXON, Elizabeth. *English Housewifery Exemplified*. Leeds: Griffith Wright, 1764. UB 07 GW-58, “Title page”.

<sup>110</sup> GLASSE, Hannah. Op. cit., “Title page”. UB 07 GW-72.

Therefore, announcing in title pages the paratexts that complemented authors' receipts was a very recurrent strategy since, as has already been mentioned, it is seen to be the case in a total of eight British cookbooks from the Collection. It was also the case of *The Compleat Housewife's* title page, in which apart from stating the sections in which the receipts have been divided, the book also announced to contain bills of fare in the form of lists and table setting diagrams monthly organized (figure 27). The same happened with the *Royal Cookery's* title page, in which the book claimed to contain a total of forty table setting diagrams for special occasions, such as balls, weddings and coronations (figure 28).

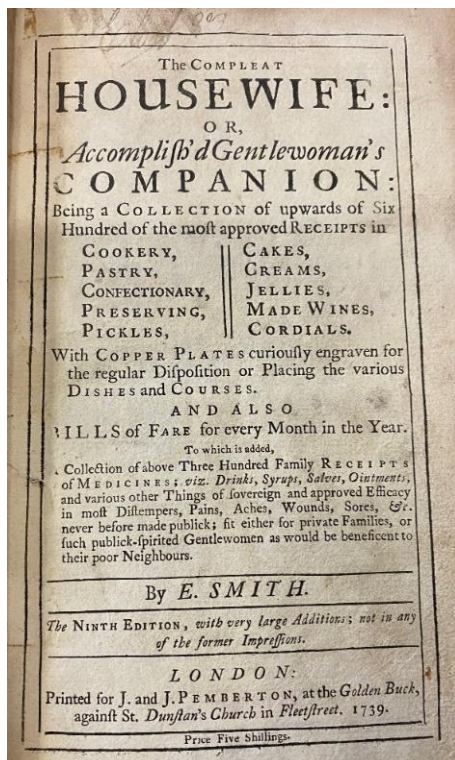


Figure 27. Title page from the 1739 edition of Elizabeth Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*. UB 07 GW-47. Source: author.

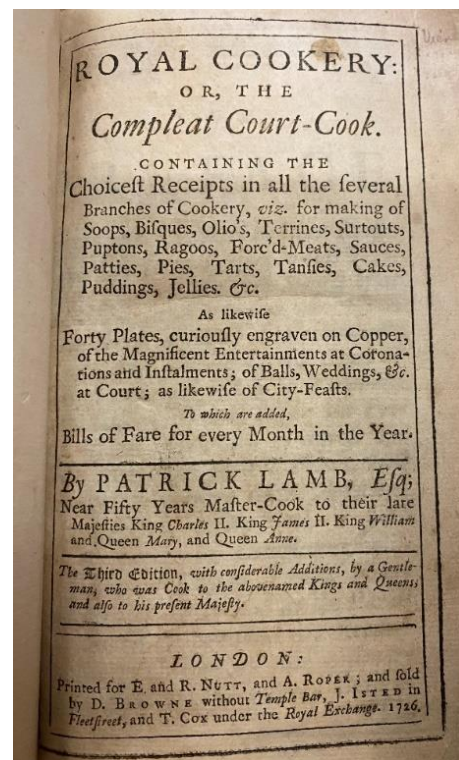


Figure 28. Title page from the 1726 edition of Patrick Lamb's *Royal Cookery*. UB 07 GW-41. Source: author.

#### 4.4.2 DEDICATORY EPISTLES

Even though, dedicatory epistles were frequently used in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was not the case. Actually, only three 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks from the Collection contain dedicatory epistles: *The English Housewifery Exemplified*, *The Experienced English Housekeeper* and *The Forme of Cury*. Dedications were mostly addressed by housekeepers or cooks towards the mistresses or the aristocrats they worked for. For instance, the dedicatory epistle in Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper* was addressed to the Lady Elizabeth Warburton:

Permit me, honoured Madam, to lay before you a work, for which I am ambitious of obtaining your Ladyship's approbation, as much as to oblige a great number of my friends who are well acquainted with the practice I have had in the art of Cookery ever since I left your ladyship's family[...].<sup>111</sup>

It is as well the case of Hannah Robertson's *The Young Ladies School of Arts*, in which the author dedicated the book to the countess of Nothesk; and also Samuel Pegge's *The Forme of Cury*, in which the author dedicated his book to his master, Gustavus Brander, who made the book publication possible by owning a copy of the original 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, *The Forme of Cury*, which was used by Pegge to write his book ("I return your very curious roll of cookery"<sup>112</sup>). Therefore, dedicatory epistles were full of flattery<sup>113</sup>, as was seen in *The Experienced English Housekeeper's* dedicatory epistle:

As I flatter myself I had the happiness of giving satisfaction, during my service, Madam, in your family, It would be a still greater encouragement should my

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<sup>111</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. iii ("Dedication"). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>112</sup> PEGGE, Samuel. *The Forme of Cury: a roll of ancient English cookery*. London: J. Nichols, 1780. UB 07 GW-74, p. iii ("Dedication").

<sup>113</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 135.



endeavours for the service of the sex be honoured with the favourable opinion of so good a judge of propriety and elegance as you Ladyship.<sup>114</sup>

However, following old conventions, 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbook epistles could also contain information about the authors' intentions, that were more likely to be found in prefaces.<sup>115</sup> From the Collection, it is only the case of Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, which said: "I am not vain enough to propose adding any thing to the Experienced Housekeeper, but hope these receipts (written purely from practice) may be of use to young persons who are willing to improve themselves"<sup>116</sup>. As prefaces were not very much used in 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, it was common at the time for authors to address a person of authority and even readers in the same epistle to explain their motivations and address the book to a certain public. It was the case of the 1658 edition of W.M.'s *The Queens Closet Opened* and the 1672 edition of Woolley's *The Queen-like Coset, or Rich Cabinet*, both titles belonging to the Grewe Collection.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, dedicatory epistles functioned mostly as authors' form of gratitude for the obtained knowledge working under their mistresses' service, as a prove of authors' experience in the subject, or as a way to guarantee financial support for the publication of their book since "in the centuries before authors could expect to receive some sort of pecuniary remuneration for their work, settled by a contract with the publisher".<sup>117</sup> This last function was not that common, since as has already been mentioned in the theoretical framework, in 18<sup>th</sup> century England, cookbook authors used a subscription publishing method to be able to publish their books. From the Grewe Collection, any book included a list of subscribers, since they were not common, but subscribers were anonymously acknowledged by authors in their prefaces, like in Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper*:

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<sup>114</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. iii ("Dedication"). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>115</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>116</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. iii-iv ("Dedication"). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>117</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 135.

I think it my duty to render my most sincere and grateful thanks to my most noble and worthy friends, who have already shown their good opinion of my endeavours to serve my sex, by raising me so large a subscription, which far exceeds my expectations have not only been honoured by having above eight hundred of their names inserted in my subscription, but also have had all their interest in this laborious undertaking.<sup>118</sup>

### 4.4.3 PREFACES

The preface was one of the most used paratexts in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks, together with title pages and indexes. This was not the case, however, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when it was so rare to find a cookbook with a preface. From the Grewe Collection, only the 17<sup>th</sup> century *The Accomplisht Cook* (1685) is seen to contain a preface, in contrast with all the 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks that are seen to contain one. Nonetheless, although 18<sup>th</sup> century authors claimed prefaces to be indispensable for cookbooks to be published, their addition has been attributed to the fashions of time rather than to their utility. It was the case of Smith, who stated in the preface of her book *The Compleat Housewife*:

It being grown as unfashionable for a book now to appear in public without a preface, as for a lady to appear at a ball without a hoop-petticoat, I shall conform to custom for fashion sake, and not through any necessity; the subject being both common and universal, need no arguments to introduce it.<sup>119</sup>

For that reason, as authors included a preface just for the fashion of it, they did not know what they could address on them that had already not been stated on the title

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<sup>118</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. v (“Preface to the First Edition”). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>119</sup> SMITH, Eliza. Op. cit., sheet A2 (“Preface”). UB 07 GW-47.

page, which already introduced the book's contents, public and author. *The English Housewifery Exemplified*'s preface, for instance, it said the "reader will find the following book in correspondence with the title, which will supersede the necessity of any other recommendation that might be give it".<sup>120</sup> However, the usage of prefaces being the result of fashion or necessity, authors saw the opportunity to use them to go beyond what was introduced in the title pages by addressing their book's intentions and novelty, and even to instruct readers in food and cooking history.

One of the most recurrent topics in prefaces was the authors' intentions by publishing their cookbooks, which were quite similar in all cases. After years of experience working as housekeepers and cooks, they all wanted to share their practical knowledge with those women who could not have access to any sort of instruction. It was the case of Mason in writing *The Lady's Assistant*:

The great inconvenience I experienced, on commencing mistress of a family, from the want of such assistance, has since prompted me to attempt a set of bills of fare, which I flatter myself will be of great use to ladies in general, but particularly to the younger part of my sex, who, on their entering into life, may not have those advantages which arise from instruction, as well as from practice, and are greatly at a loss how to conduct their table with that decency and propriety which are much to be desired.<sup>121</sup>

Raffald's motivation for writing *The Experienced English Housekeeper* was very similar to Mason's and other authors of the time:

It may be necessary to inform my reader, that I have spent fifteen years in great and worthy families, in the capacity of a housekeeper, and had an opportunity of travelling with them; but finding the common servants generally to ignorant in

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<sup>120</sup> MOXON, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. iii ("The preface"). UB 07 GW-58.

<sup>121</sup> MASON, Charlotte. Op. cit., p. v ("Introduction to the First Edition"). UB 07 GW-68.

dressing meat, and a cook so hard to be met with, put me upon studying the art of Cookery more than perhaps I otherwise should have done.<sup>122</sup>

However, as authors were conscious of the great quantity of books that were already on the market dealing with the same subject, they needed a commercial strategy to attract readers' attention to distinguish their books from previous ones. They did that by criticizing previously published cookbooks and by later explaining the novelty of their own. Smith, in her book *The Compleat Housewife*, criticized previous books for not being practical and original:

There are indeed already in the World various Books that treat on this Subject, and which bear great Names, as Cooks to Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, and from which one might justly expect something more than many, if not most of those I have read, perform; but found myself deceiv'd in many expectations; for many of them to us are impracticable, others whimsical, others unpalatable, unless to deprav'd palates; some unwholesome, many things copy'd from old Authors, and recommended, without (as I am persuaded) the Copiers ever having had any Experience of the Palatableness, or had any regard to the wholsomness of them.<sup>123</sup>

John Farley also attacked previous cookbooks. In his book *The London Art of Cookery*, he criticized them for being disorganized, and presented his own book as being ordered and consistent in comparison:

[...] And though there are so many books of this Kind already published, that one would hardly think there could be Occasion for another[...] The Generality of Books of this kind are so grouped together, without Method, or Order, as to render them

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<sup>122</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. vi ("Preface to the First Edition"). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>123</sup> SMITH, Eliza. Op. cit., sheet A4-A5 ("Preface"). UB 07 GW-47.

exceedingly intricate and bewildering; and the receipts written with so much carelessness and inaccuracy[...] In this Work, however, we hope, that Perspicuity and Regularity will be seen in every Step we have taken.<sup>124</sup>

In addition, criticism was also addressed towards French cooks as British authors considered the French cuisine to be so extravagant in comparison with the practicality of the English one. Glasse, in her book *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, added in her preface that “so much is the blind of this age, that they would rather be imposed on by a French booby, than give encouragements to a good English cook!”<sup>125</sup> Moreover, she also explained what she found extravagant about the French cuisine:

A Frenchman in his own country will dress a fine dinner of twenty dishes, and all genteel and pretty, for the expence he will put an English lord to for dressing one dish. But then there is the little petty profit. I have heard of a cook that used six pounds of butter to fry twelve eggs; when every body knows (that understands cooking) that half a pound is full enough, or more than need be used: but then it would not be French.<sup>126</sup>

This criticism was immediately followed by what authors believed made their books a novelty of their time. It could be the addition of new receipts or paratexts, addressing a new public, or a change in the language register. In *The Lady's Assistant*, the content that was presented as a novelty was the set of instructions for regulating the table:

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<sup>124</sup> FARLEY, John. *The London Art of Cookery and Housekeeper's Complete Assistant*. London: James Scatcherd et al., 1801. UB 07 GW-97, p. iii-iv (“Preface”).

<sup>125</sup> GLASSE, Hannah. Op. cit., p. iii-iv (“To the reader”). UB 07 GW-72.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p. iii (“To the reader”). UB 07 GW-72.

There having already been a great number of publications concerning the art of Cookery, it may perhaps be thought unnecessary to produce another book on the subject—yet, I trust that, upon examination this work will appear of more real utility than may be at first imagined. There are many books of receipts, yet I have never met with one that contained any instruction for regulating the table.<sup>127</sup>

In Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, however, the novelty was the public to whom the book was addressed:

I believe I have attempted a branch of Cookery, which nobody has yet thought worth their while to write upon: but as I have both seen, and found by experience, that the generality of servants are greatly wanting in that point, therefore I have taken upon me to instruct them in the best manner I’m capable of; and I dare say, that every servant who can but read, will be capable of making a tolerable good cook, and those who have the least notion of Cookery cannot miss of being very good ones.<sup>128</sup>

In other cookbooks, such as Raffald’s *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, the novelty was in the use of plain language instead of a high style one.

I can faithfully assure my friend, that they are truly written from my own experience and not borrowed from any other author, nor glossed over with hard names, or words of high style, but written in my own plain language.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> MASON, Charlotte. Op. cit., p. v (“Introduction to the First Edition”). UB 07 GW-68.

<sup>128</sup> GLASSE, Hannah. Op. cit., p. i (“To the reader”). UB 07 GW-72.

<sup>129</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. v (“Preface to the First Edition”). UB 07 GW-100.

Although this commercial usage of prefaces to gain readers' trust and attention was followed by almost all the authors from the Collection —eight out of ten—, Pegge and Warner, in their books *The Forme of Cury* and *Antiquitates Culinariae*, used their prefaces to instruct readers in the 'Art of Cookery'. Another author who took this pedagogical approach in her preface, combined with a more commercial one, was Smith in her book *The Compleat Housewife*:

[...] but having three or four pages to be filled up previous to the Subject itself, I shall employ them on a Subject I think new, and not yet handled by any to the pretenders of the art of Cookery; and that is, the Antiquity of it; which if it either instruct or divert, I shall be satisfied, if you are so.<sup>130</sup>

#### 4.3.4 ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisements were fully commercial paratexts that were found in nearly all books of the time, not only cookbooks. In 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks, there were mainly two types of advertisements that predominated: lists of books by the same publisher and advertisements for new editions.

On the one hand, at the end of the book, it was common to find long lists of books to advertise other books from the publisher, even though they were not related in content. These listed books appeared with their form and price (figure 29). This sort of advertisement is found in four out of the five books from the Collection that contain advertising paratexts, and they are also found in 17<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks from the Collection, such as W.M.'s *The Queens Closet Opened* (1658) and May's *The Accomplisht Cook* (1685). However, in contrast with 18<sup>th</sup> century advertising lists, they consisted of long advertisements of five to even fifteen pages, that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were reduced to two.

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<sup>130</sup> SMITH, Eliza. Op. cit., sheet A2 ("Preface"). UB 07 GW-47.

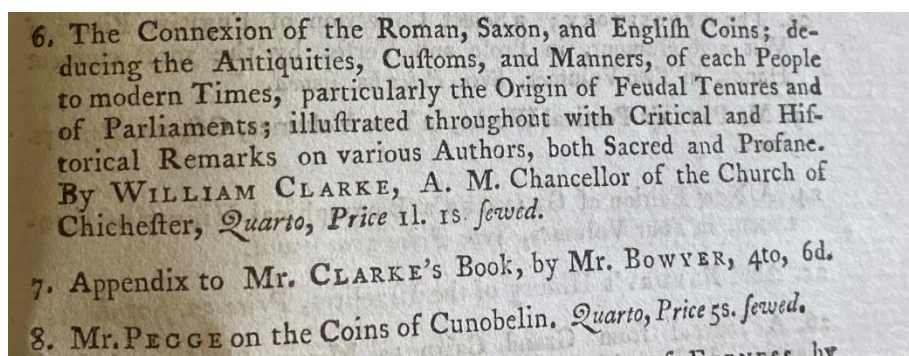


Figure 29. Fragment from the list of books advertised by the publisher of the 1780 edition of *The Forme of Cury*. UB 07 GW-74. Source: author.

On the other hand, before the receipts, it was also possible to find short advertisements, in which there were announced additions or modifications that had been done to the new book edition. From the Collection, it is only the case of Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*, since other books, such as Patrick Lamb's *Royal Cookery*, introduced the new edition improvements in the preface:

It remains only to say something of this third Edition, in which we have endeavour'd to make it of a more general use than it was before, when in was calculated only for the Kitchens of Princes and Great Men, by adding a great number of new Receipts, which not being so expensive as the others may be useful in those of private Gentlemen likewise.<sup>131</sup>

As not all authors or publishers used their prefaces to comment on new editions, these sorts of advertisements were considered important since, as has been mentioned, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cookbooks were undergoing many reprints. With new editions, there was a need to inform readers about the books' new contents and modifications. As explained in *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* editor's preface:

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<sup>131</sup> LAMB, Patrick. *Royal Cookery, or The Compleat Court-cook*. London: E. and R. Nutt, and A. Roper, 1726. UB 07 GW-41, "The Preface".



The Art of Cookery, like all other arts, is subject to the variations of fashion, and the improvements of taste.— Therefore, notwithstanding the just claim of Mrs. Glasse’s Book on that subject to the approbation of the public, yet it was apprehended that a careful revival might render this new edition of her work still more acceptable and more useful: how far the editor has succeeded, the public will determine: but to enable them to judge of his performance, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the improvements and alterations.<sup>132</sup>

### 4.3.5 ILLUSTRATIONS

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, illustrations also functioned as ornamental elements to garnish initials and the heads of cookbooks as in medieval manuscript receipts.<sup>133</sup> However, looking at the Grewe Collection, by this century, illustrations were also used for commercial and pedagogical purposes. Two of the main types of illustrations that are observed in these books are frontispieces and table setting diagrams.

However, in the 1803 edition of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, there’s another type of illustration that was uncommon in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks. It worked as a pedagogical illustration that showed three fire-stoves with some letter-code instructions for readers understand how they worked in a more visual way (figure 30). This sort of letter/number-code strategy is firstly observed being used in table setting diagrams during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and is going to directly influence 19<sup>th</sup> century illustrations.

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<sup>132</sup> GLASSE, Hannah. Op. cit., p. v (“The editor’s preface”). UB 07 GW-72.

<sup>133</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 128.

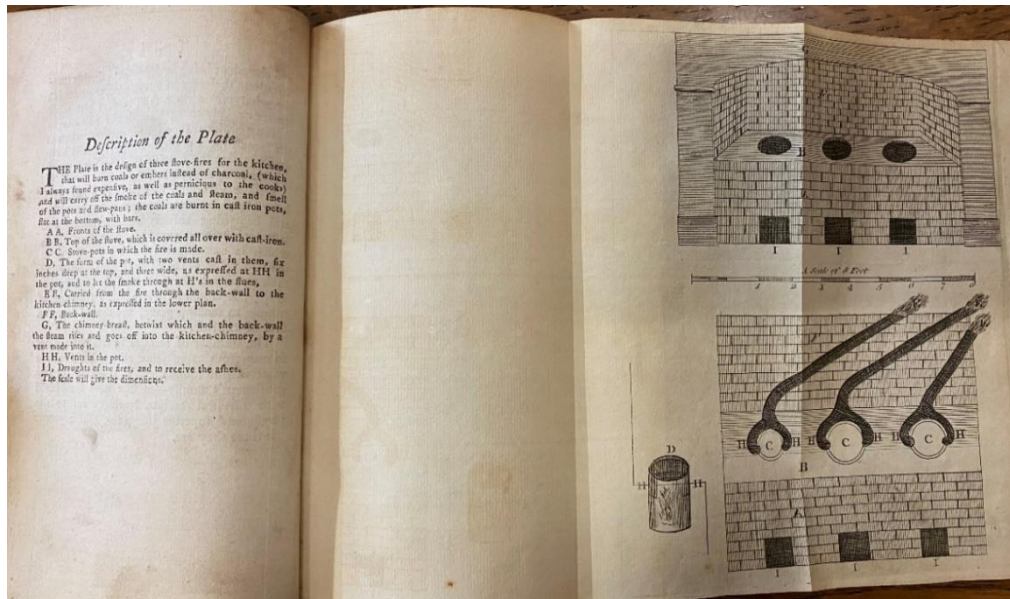


Figure 30. Pedagogical illustration at the 1803 edition of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*. UB 07 GW-100. Source: author.

#### 4.3.5.1 FRONTISPIECES

Frontispieces were one of the main sorts of illustrations with a commercial function found in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks. They were mainly authors' portraits and kitchen scenes.

As has been previously mentioned, authorship in cookbooks was very important to gain readers' trust and to guarantee sales<sup>134</sup> since practical receipts were associated with reliable authors that had experience in the subject to "an extent that it became part of the marketing, even if the claims that were being made were not true".<sup>135</sup> Therefore, authors not only included their names and experience on their books' title pages and prefaces but, in some cases, they also included a portrait of themselves as a frontispiece. These portraits consisted of authors' busts facing readers, which appeared with their names and sometimes their position as housekeepers or cooks. They are found in the 1780 edition of *The Forme of Cury*, which included a frontispiece of Pegge (figure 31), in the 1803 edition of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, which included another one from

<sup>134</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 1

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

Raffald (figure 32) and in the 1801 edition of *The London Art of Cookery*, which also included one from Farley with his position as a principal cook at the London Tavern (figure 33).



Figure 31. Portrait of Samuel Pegge as a frontispiece. UB 07 GW-41. Source: author.



Figure 32. Portrait of Elizabeth Raffald as a frontispiece. UB 07 GW-100. Source: author.

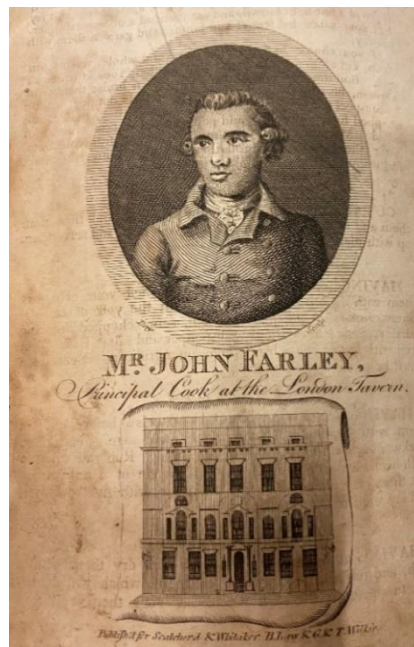


Figure 33. Portrait of John Farley (“Principal cook at the London Tavern”) as a frontispiece. UB 07 GW-97. Source: author.

Authors' frontispieces in cookbooks gain so much importance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that it became uncommon to find an aristocratic figure working as a frontispiece for an author's book. Therefore, by this century it was completely cleft aside the previous tradition of using portraits of people for whom authors had worked. This old convention is seen in the 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbook *The Queens Closet Opened* (1658), belonging to the Collection, which included a bust of Henrietta Maria —King Charles I's wife— (figure 34) since the receipts in the book were originated by the author while working under her service. This change can be attributed to the growing importance of authorship since any 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbook from the Collection contains an aristocratic figure as a frontispiece.



Figure 34. Portrait of Henrietta Maria as the frontispiece of W.M.'s 17<sup>th</sup> century cookbook. UB 07 DG-GW-17-1. Source: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collectio/n/fongrewe/id/47105>

Apart from authors' portraits, it was also common to find different scenes working as frontispieces, being a kitchen scene the only one found in the Collection. They were already introduced by Woolley in her books by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (figure 35), and as can be seen in the frontispiece of the 1739 edition of *The Compleat Housewife*, these illustrations were also considered to have a commercial function, rather than a

pedagogical one, since they portrayed what was pursued in the domestic sphere rather than the reality of it by using idyllic scenes<sup>136</sup> (figure 36).

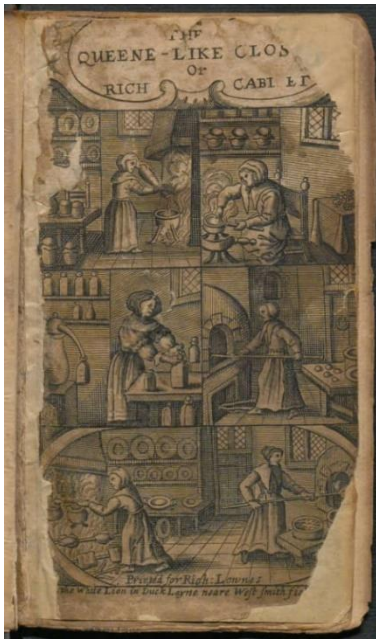


Figure 35. Kitchen scene as a frontispiece in Woolley's *The Queen-like closet, or Rich cabinet* (1672). UB 07 DG-GW-21. Source: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collectio n/fongrewe/id/48620>

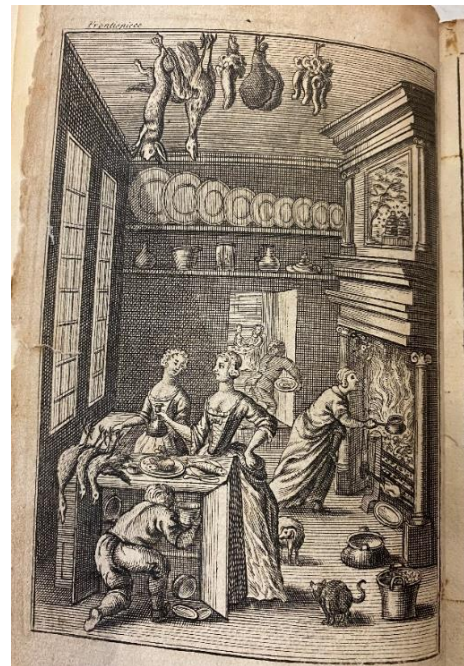


Figure 36. A kitchen scene as a frontispiece. UB 07 GW-47. Source: author.

#### 4.3.5.2 Bills of fare

Bills of fare were portrayed in cookbooks through two different paratexts: table settings diagrams and lists of dishes with table setting instructions. In contrast with frontispieces, they had a pedagogical function. One of the main features of table setting diagrams was their aestheticism as tables and dishes were symmetrically portrayed with geometrical forms with a bird-view perspective.<sup>137</sup> The name of the dishes could be given inside the geometrical figures (figure 37) but also using a number-code illustration (figure 38). These diagrams could also be substituted or accompanied with lists of dishes with

<sup>136</sup> BICKHAM, Troy. Op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>137</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 272.

table setting instructions (figures 39 and 40). From the Grewe Collection, a total of five British cookbooks made use of diagrams, and three of them included lists of dishes.

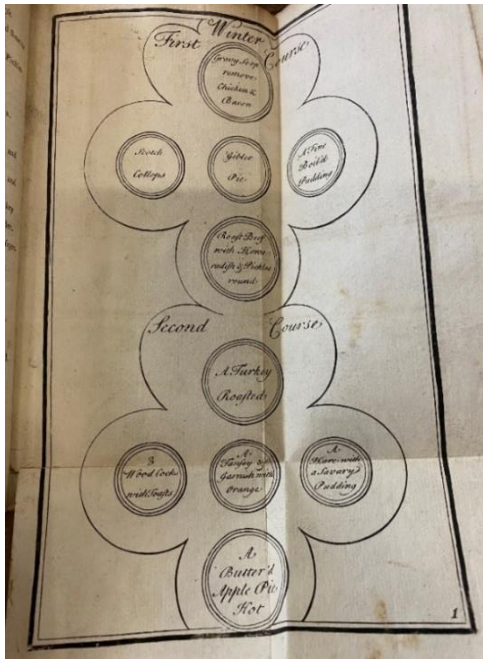


Figure 37. Table setting diagram with the names of dishes inside the geometrical figures. UB 07 GW-47. Source: author.

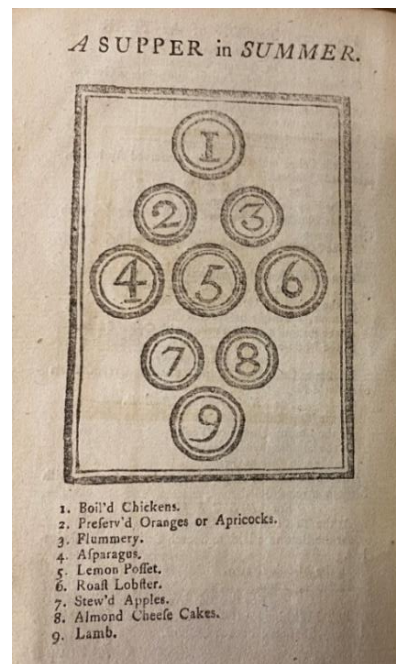


Figure 38. Number-code table setting diagram. UB 07 GW-58. Source: author.

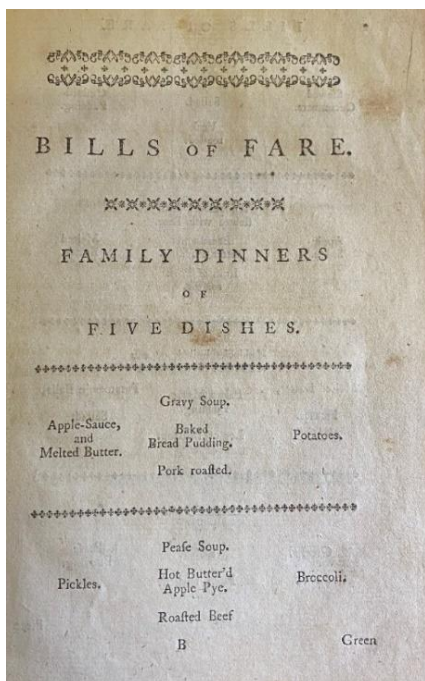


Figure 39. Bill of fare with table setting distribution. UB 07 GW-68. Source: author.

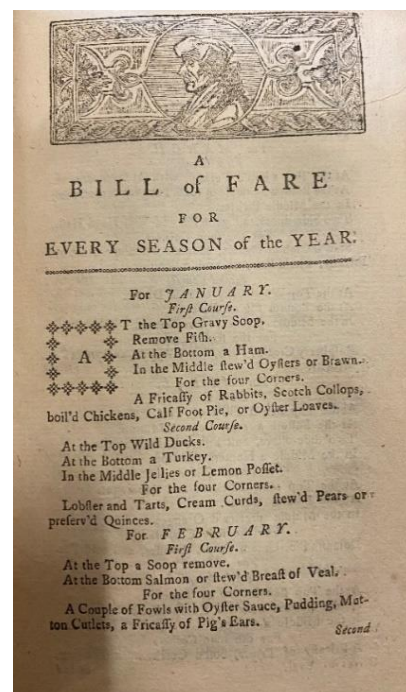


Figure 40. Bill of fare with table setting instructions. UB 07 GW-58. Source: author.

As these paratexts were mainly used to teach middle and low-class women to display dishes on the table, they were kept economical and thought for daily meals. However, from the Collection, a few authors —Warner and Lamb— used these paratexts with other intentions. In Warner’s *Antiquitates Culinarie*, bills of fare were used to teach readers about the sort of dishes that were served in ancient feasts, like the Intronization of Archbishop Nevill. As cooking techniques and ingredients vary with time, the bills of fare in Warner’s book were not thought to be put into practice, but just as historical knowledge for readers. Also, in Lamb’s *Royal Cookery*, the 40 table setting diagrams included are not thought for daily meals, but for aristocratic balls, weddings, coronations, or city feasts with a great quantity of dishes (figures 41 and 42).

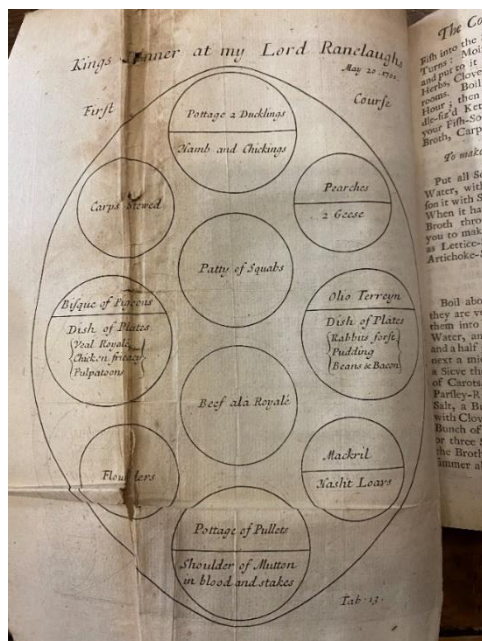


Figure 41. Table setting diagram for a King’s dinner. UB 07 GW-41. Source: author.

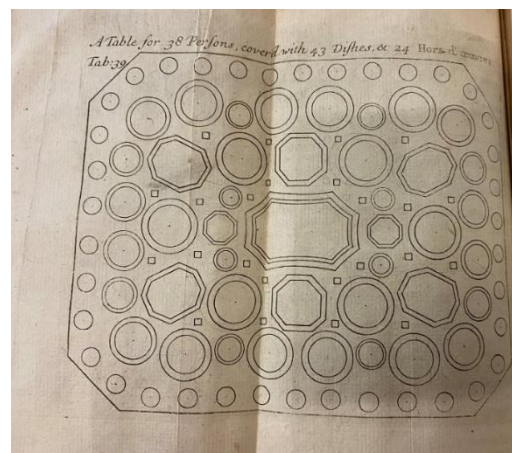


Figure 42. Table setting diagram for the placing of 43 dishes at a table for 38 people. UB 07 GW-41. Source: author.

Many authors from the Collection, who included instructional bills of fare in their books —Moxon, Raffald, Mason and Smith—, also liked to add bills of fare for special occasions, but they were kept to a minimum and grouped with bills of fare for daily occasions. In *The Lady’s Assistant’s*, the bills of fare go from four dishes to nineteen dishes, so the readers could use them for multiple different occasions since, as it is stated

in *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, authors did not want “to confine any lady to such a particular number of dishes, but to choose out of them what number they please”.<sup>138</sup>

Common features identified in all the instructional bills of fare from the Collection are the displayed meals, the number of courses, the dishes’ disposition and the seasonality of ingredients. Dinner and supper were the only meals that were elaborated in bills of fare since there was not a meal such as lunch as the midday meal, but it was called dinner at the time, and the supper was the evening meal.<sup>139</sup> As the midday meal was considered the big meal of the day, that could go on for hours, in a few cases, it was the only one that consisted of two courses (figure 43). In addition, there were mainly one or two-course meals, but Mason and Glasse introduced a third one consisting of desserts (figure 44). However, as the second course already displayed desserts in the center of the table, three-course meals were not that frequent.

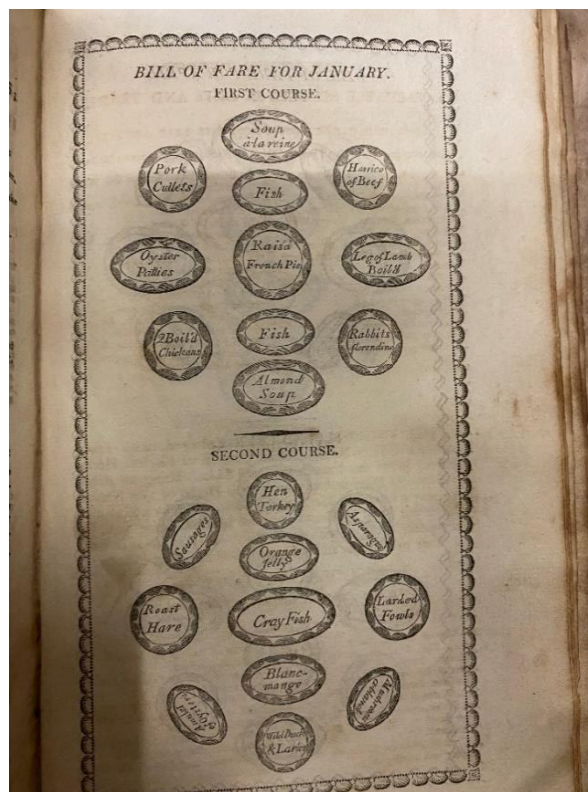


Figure 43. Bill of fare consisting of a two-course meal. UB 07 GW-97. Source: author.

<sup>138</sup> RAFFALD, Elizabeth. Op. cit., p. 383 (“Direction for a Grand Dinner”). UB 07 GW-100.

<sup>139</sup> OLVER, Lynne. Meal times. *Food Timeline*, 27 February 2015. <<https://www.foodtimeline.org/foodfaq7.html>>



**The ORDER of a MODERN BILL of FARE, for each Month,**  
In the MANNER the DISHES are to be placed upon the TABLE.

JANUARY.	FEBRUARY.	MARCH.	APRIL.
<b>FIRST COURSE.</b> Chefnut Soup. Leg of Lamb. Chicken and Veal Pie. Cods Head. Roast Beef. Tongue. Raidfish. Maid of Honour. Vermicelli Soup.	<b>FIRST COURSE.</b> Peas Soup. Chickens. Harico of Mutton. Pork Cutlets. Sauce Robert. Chicken Parry. Salmon and Scallops. Oyster Patties. Soup Saine.	<b>FIRST COURSE.</b> Mutton Collops. Rump of Beef a la Daub. Small Ham. Sheeps Rump. Chine of Mutton and Stewed Celery. Veal Collops. Soup Lorraine. Almond Pudding. Stewed Carp or French. Beef-Steak Pie. Onion Soup.	<b>FIRST COURSE.</b> Fillet of Pork. Lamb's Head. Calves Ears. Crimp Cod and Smelts. Marrow Pudding. Cutlets a la Maitre d'Hotel. Spring Soup. Beef Tremblong. Figs and Figgs. Tongue. Whittings boiled and broiled.
<b>SECOND COURSE.</b> Roast Turkey. Marinated Smelts. Roast Sweetbread. Almond Tart. Tartlets. Mince Pies. Stands of Jellies. Larks. Lobsters. Woodcock.	<b>SECOND COURSE.</b> Wild Fox. Caribons. Scolloped Oysters. Compout Pies. Dish of Jell. Epergne. Caramel. Harc. Stewed Pippins. Ragout Melé. Artichoke Bottoms. Harc.	<b>SECOND COURSE.</b> A Pottery baked and roasted. Asparagus. Ragout Sweetbread. Crawfish. Bismarck. A Trifle. Cheese-cakes. Tame Figs and roasted. Prawns. Fricassee of Rabbits. Fricassee of Mushrooms.	<b>SECOND COURSE.</b> Duckings. Tartlets. Jellies and Syllabubs. Tranley. Ribs of Lamb. Asparagus. Roast Swines. Stewed Peas. Black Caps. Oyster Leaves. Mushrooms.
<b>THIRD COURSE.</b> Morels. Artichoke Bottoms. Calfsars. Scolloped Oysters. Potred Chars. Rabbit Fricasseyed. Duch Beef. Macaroni. Black Caps. Stewed Celery.	<b>THIRD COURSE.</b> Two Woodcocks. Crawfish. Pige Ears. Blanched Almonds and Raisins. Larks a la Suppée. Prefered Cheries. Lamb Chops. Lardel. Prawns.	<b>THIRD COURSE.</b> Ox Palates Sivered. Potred Larks. Cardoons. Black Caps. Sewed Pippins. Spanish Peas. Ported Partridge. Cocks Comb.	<b>THIRD COURSE.</b> Pain Figoons. Mushrooms. Marinated Smelts. Blanched Almonds. Figs and Figgs. French Plum. Sweetmeats. Raisins. Artichoke Bottoms. Calves Ears a la Braise.

Figure 44. Bills of fare consisting of a three course meal. UB 07 GW-72. Source: author.

Furthermore, in all bills of fare, the disposition of the dishes on the table also followed an ideal of symmetry since the main dish was placed in the center, together with some desserts that were surrounded by dishes of vegetables, meat and fish, cooked using different techniques.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, the dishes' display respected the seasonality of the ingredients, as bills of fare were organized by month (figure 45) or season —winter and summer—.

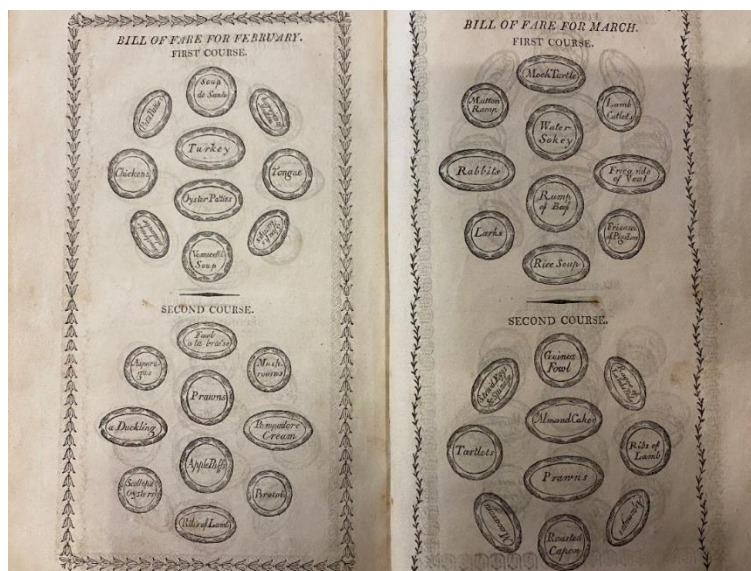


Figure 45. Table setting diagrams monthly organized. UB 07 GW-97. Source: author.

<sup>140</sup> NOTAKER, Henry. Op. cit., p. 273

### 4.3.6 SEASONAL INGREDIENTS LISTS

Table setting diagrams or bills of fare were monthly or seasonally displayed, respecting the “seasonal availability of different foods and traditional cultural preferences”.<sup>141</sup> Seasonal products had always been considered fresher when being eaten in their proper season and they were also cheaper and easier to find in the market. For that reason, 18<sup>th</sup> century authors saw the necessity to add in their cookbooks a list of seasonal ingredients for every month of the year to instruct readers about those ingredients’ availability. These lists were introduced for the first time in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and they are found in three British cookbooks from the Collection: *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, *The Lady’s Assistant* and *The London Art of Cookery*. In the three books, the ingredients are classified in the same sections: meat, fish, poultry, vegetable and fruits (figure 46).

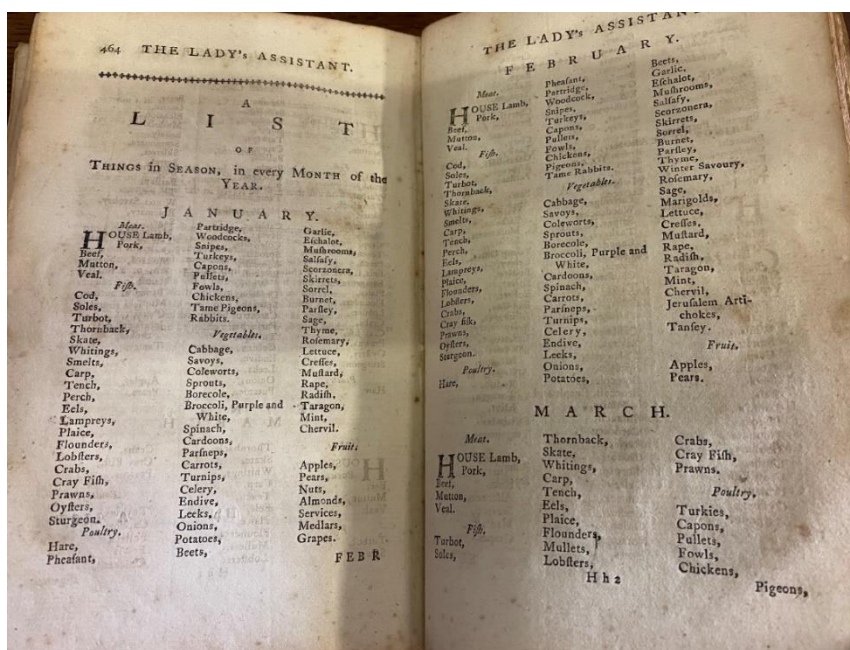


Figure 46. List of seasonal ingredients organized by month and food category. UB 07 GW-68. Source: author.

<sup>141</sup> MCWILLIAMS, James E. *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. Columbia University Press, 2005, p. 219. [https://books.google.es/books?id=DxhuZ8uRt4UC&dq=seasonal+eating+cookbooks+england+eighteenth+century&hl=es&source=gb\\_s\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.es/books?id=DxhuZ8uRt4UC&dq=seasonal+eating+cookbooks+england+eighteenth+century&hl=es&source=gb_s_navlinks_s)

#### 4.3.7 TABLES OF CONTENTS AND ALPHABETICAL INDEXES

The tables of contents and alphabetical indexes, in contrast with the previous paratexts, did not instruct readers or promoted cookbooks, but they were meant to organize the receipts. Tables of contents were placed before the receipts to organize them in different sections, normally announced on the title pages. Alphabetical indexes were placed after the receipts to organize them alphabetically with their page number. Even though in the 16<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks did not contain these paratexts, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, alphabetical indexes started to be used, but tables of contents were still rare. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cookbooks needed to contain a table of contents or an alphabetical index. Not only did the number of receipts that were included in cookbooks grow, but there was also a tendency to organize receipts in different sections —not alphabetically— and to let the readers know beforehand. Actually, all the 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks from the Collection are seen to contain a table of contents or an alphabetical index, and two of them —*The Forme of Cury* and *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*— contain both. Therefore, as stated in *The London Art of Cookery*'s preface, these paratexts were important to help readers find a section they were interested in and to know the book's contents:

We hope, that Perspicuity and Regularity will be seen in every Step we have taken. We have divided the whole Book into separate Prats and Those Parts into Chapters; so that our Readers have only to look into the Contents, and they will there find at one View, the whole of that Brach of Cookery they may want to consult.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> FARLEY, John. Op. cit., p. iv (“Preface”). UB 07 GW-97.

## 5 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE APPROACHES

It can be asserted that the arrival of the printing press to England was the inflection point for paratexts as they started to appear for the first time in 16<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks. Since then, cookbooks' contents and structure kept evolving as they dealt with a subject that was in constant evolution and bounded to the fashions of time and place. However, it wasn't until the 18<sup>th</sup> century that cookbooks, due to their female authorship, broad public, more affordable prices and the growth of literacy, started to be heavily produced and consumed, and for the first time were thought to instruct middle and lower classes in cooking and household management. This popularity, which led to an overproduction of cookbooks, generated in authors a need to distinguish their books from other ones on the market, mainly by a change of language register, public and the addition of receipts and paratexts, which in most cases were claimed to have never been used before.

The Grewe Collection at The Rare Book and Manuscript Library has provided a first-hand insight into a rich personal library consisting of 103 editions and 131 copies of gastronomy documents, belonging to different centuries, countries and genres. The Collection consists mainly of books—a total of 102 editions—, 51 from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the predominating languages being French, English and Spanish. Out of 21 English editions, ten belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and a total of eight are classified as British cookbooks, all of them well-known titles of their time, which are observed to share a similar structure and features. The dissertation has studied their paratextual corpus and analyzed the role each of their paratexts played during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Cookbooks' receipts were seen to have shared a common role: to teach readers about culinary and medicinal receipts, etiquette and household management. The instruction was done using recurrent receipts that were similarly organized since, even when authors wanted to distinguish their books from other ones in the market, they also felt the need to make their books follow the current trends. The same behaviour is observed in the authors' use of paratexts. These sorts of devices were included in cookbooks with the pretext of being never introduced before or just for books to be more complete than others. However, after the analysis of the paratextual corpus of cookbooks belonging to the Grewe Collection, it has been observed that authors used them in very

similar ways, and they even felt the pressure of adding them, even when they claimed that their books did not need further introduction than their title pages. Nevertheless, in contrast with receipts, paratexts were not just used to instruct readers, but authors also used them for commercial and organizational purposes.

Commercial paratexts were mainly used by authors as a strategy to increase sales in front of the abundance of cookbooks that dealt with the same subject in the 18<sup>th</sup> century British market. They were title pages, dedicatory epistles, advertisements and frontispieces. In these paratexts, authors, even publishers, promoted their names, their years of experience, their positions and their books, for them to gain readers' trust and attention since, by this century, practical receipts were thought to come from reliable acknowledged sources. Prefaces were also used as commercial paratexts. They were mainly used to communicate authors' intentions, experience and criticism of previous books, to further introduce their own. However, they were also used as instructional or pedagogical paratexts. When authors did not feel the need to promote themselves or their books with more than their title pages, prefaces were used to instruct readers in the 'art of cookery' or ancient feasts.

Other pedagogical paratexts were bills of fare. Authors, conscious of the growing importance of the disposition of dishes on the table, provided visual —table setting diagrams— and textual instructions for readers to use them on daily meals and special occasions. Bills of fare made use of lists of seasonal ingredients —another type of pedagogical paratext—, to instruct readers in the distribution of dishes for different seasons and months of the year, respecting the seasonality of ingredients as they were cheaper and easier to find in the market on certain seasons.

Organizational paratexts, which were tables of contents and alphabetical indexes, were also very common and necessary in 18<sup>th</sup> century cookbooks since receipts were not organized alphabetically anymore, but by cooking techniques, main ingredients, or the moment when dishes were served in the meal. Therefore, for clarity and structure — important features in cookbooks of the time—, they were used for readers to find in an easier and faster way the receipts or sections in cooking they were interested in.

Therefore, paratexts, in contrast with cookbooks' receipts, took different roles, and even if at some point they started as an additional novelty, they ended up becoming a trend, used in very similar ways by authors in their cookbooks.

This dissertation has focused on identifying and studying the role that paratexts played in 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks through a selection of books from the Grewe Collection. One further step could be carrying out a physical exposition at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, which is situated at the Historic Building of the UB sharing space with the CRAI Library of Letters, by exposing the 10 books that have been analysed in this dissertation. However, there are many other branches of investigation that are left open to be analyzed in the future. On the one hand, one possible study would be analyzing the propriety marks that are found in many of the 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks from the Collection —many of them belonging to women— and some of the manuscript notes observed in these books. On the other hand, the Collection consists of many gastronomy books from different centuries and in many different languages that can be studied. Being cookbooks a product of their time and place, another possible study would be to analyze French gastronomy books, as French books are the most numerous ones from the Grewe Collection—a total of 34 books— and the French cuisine was considered one of the most important ones in Europe for a long time.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to provide more information about the donation of Grewe's personal library or how he collected the great diversity of multilingual gastronomy books from his Collection since I could not find bibliography about it. However, even if there's an important lack of information about the Collection, I hope the classification analysis that is provided in this dissertation will be useful for other academics to get to know the Collection and approach it from different perspectives. In addition, I also hope my thesis shows how cookbooks' paratextual corpus was as important as receipts and how they evolved at the same time. Many studies have focused on the evolution of receipts, leaving paratexts aside or studying them independently and not as a whole corpus, which is what this dissertation has achieved.

Lastly, as a personal reflection as a student of the Libraries and Heritage Collections master, this dissertation has greatly contributed to my knowledge of personal libraries importance being kept and catalogued by university libraries to allow academics to study documents, which in another way will be difficult to have access to. It is the case of the sample books of this study: cookbooks printed in England during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, being kept at a Spanish university library. Thanks to the many outstanding cookbooks from the Grewe Collection and the librarians' hard work in preserving and cataloguing them, we can approach the reality of these sorts of books during this century. Overall, this study

has been so interesting to produce since I did not know anything about the subject when I decided to start my dissertation, and I hope that it will be useful for The Rare Book and Manuscript Library and for future researchers who may be interested in the Grewe Collection or 18<sup>th</sup> century British cookbooks.

## 6 SOURCES

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GLASSE, Hannah. *The Art of cookery made plain and easy : which far exceeds any thing of the kind yet published: to which are added one hundred and fifty new and useful receipts and also fifty receipts for different articles of perfumery: with a copious index.* London: Robert Jameson, 1778. UB 07 GW-72.

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*pastry, confectionary, preserving, pickles, cakes, creams, jellies, made wines, cordials, with copper plates curiously engraven for the regular disposition or placing the various dishes and courses and also bills of fare for every month in the year : to which is added collection of above three hundred family receipts of medecines, viz. drinks, syrups, salves, ointments and various other things of sovereign and approved efficacy in most distempers, pains, aches, wounds, sores, &c. never before made publick.* London: J. and J. Pemberto, 1739. UB 07 GW-47.

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# 8 ANNEX

1	Author	Title	Publisher	Year	↓	Editions	Exemplar	Language	Alternative signature
2	Mayno de'Mayneri	Excellentissimi Magnini Mediolanensis medici	Impressum Argentine	1503		1	1	Latín	07 GW-128
3	Galè, Claudi	Clavdii Galeni De alimentorvm facultatibvs libri	Parisiis : apvd Simonem	1530		1	1	Latín	07 GW-3
4	Apici	Caelii Apitii ... De re culinaria libri decem. B.	Lugduni : apud Seb	1541		1	1	Latín	07 GW-4
5	Dioscòrides Pedani	Dioscoridis libri octo graece et latine :	Parisiis : impensis viduae	1549		1	1	Latín	07 GW-5
6	Bruyerín, Jean Baptiste	De re cibaria libri XXII : omnivm ciborvm genera,	Lvgdvnri [Lió] : apvd Sebast	1560		1	1	Latín	07 GW-2
7	Giovio, Paolo	Libro di Mons. Paolo Giovio ... / tradotto in	In Venetia : appresso il	1560		1	1	italiano	07 GW-8
8	Dioscòrides Pedani	[Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo Acerca de la	[En Salamanca : por	1570		1	1	Español	07 GW-6
9	Núñez de Coria, Francisco	Aviso de sanidad : qve trata de todos los	En Madrid : por Pierres	1572		1	1	Español	07 GW-1
10	Gallo, Agostino	Le Vinti giornate dell'agricoltvra et de'piaceri	In Venetia : appresso	1575		1	1	italiano	07 GW-10
11	Durante, Castore	Il Tesoro della sanità, di Castor Durante da	In Venetia : appresso	1586		1	1	italiano	07 GW-123
12	Cervio, Vincenzo	Il Trinciante di M. Vincenzo Cervio : ampliato et	In Roma : ad istanza di	1593		1	1	italiano	07 GW-9
13	Romoli, Domenico	La Singolare dottrina di M. Domenico Romoli ... :	In Venetia : presso Gio	1593		1	1	italiano	07 GW-7
14	Duchesne, Joseph	Iosephi Quercetani ... Tractatvs dvo : quorum	Francoforti : praelo	1607		1	1	Latín	07 GW-11
15	Evitascandalo, Cesare	Libro dello scalco di Cesare Evitascandalo :	In Roma : appresso Carlo	1609		1	1	italiano	07 GW-13
16	Evitascandalo, Cesare	Dialogo del trenciante, di Cesare Evitascandalo	In Roma : appresso Carlo	1609		1	1	italiano	07 GW-12
17	Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum	Medicina Salernitana, id est, conservandae	Dvaci : ex officina Ioannis	1624		1	1	Latín	07 GW-14
18	Nonnius, Ludovicus	Lvdovici Nonni Diaeticon, sive De re cibaria	Antverpiae [Anvers] : apud	1627		1	1	Latín	07 GW-124
19	Herrera, Alonso de	Agricolvtra general : qve trata de la labranza del	En Madaid [sic] : por Carlos	1645		1	1	Español	07 GW-15
20	W.M.	The Compleat cook : expertly prescribing the	London : printed by EB for	1658		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-17-2
21	Simeo Sethus	Syntagma stoicheion peri prophon dunameon =	Lvtetiae Parisiorvm [París] :	1658		1	1	Latín	07 GW-16
22	W.M.	The Queens closet opened : incomparable	London : printed for	1658		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-17-1
23	Bonnefons, Nicolas de	Les Delices de la campagne : suite du Jardinier	Amsterdam : chez lean	1661		1	1	Francés	07 GW-18
24	Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum	Schola Salernitana, sive de conservanda	Roterodami : ex officina	1667		1	1	Latín	07 GW-19
25	Dufour, Philippe Sylvestre	De l'vsage du caphé, dv thé et dv chocolate	A Lyon : chez lean Girin &	1671		1	1	Francés	07 GW-126
26	W.M.	The Queens closet opened : incomparable	London : printed for N	1671		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-20
27	Woolley, Hannah	The Queen-like closet, or Rich cabinet : stored	London : printed for Richard	1672		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-21
28	Markham, Gervase	The English House-wife : containg [sic] the	London : printed for George	1675		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-22
29	La Varenne, François Pierre de	Le Cuisinier françois où est enseigné la maniere	Lyon : chez Jacques Canier,	1680		1	1	Francés	07 GW-23
30	Dufour, Philippe Sylvestre	Traitez nouveaux & curieux dv café, dv thé et dv	A Lyon : chez lean Girin & B	1685		1	1	Francés	07 GW-26
31	Lémery, Nicolas	Modern curiosities of art & nature : extracted out	London : printed for	1685		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-24
32	May, Robert	The Accomplisht cook, or The art & mystery of	London : printed for	1685		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-25
33	Lémery, Nicolas	Nouveau recueil de curiositez, les plus rares &	A Leyde : chez Pierre	1688		1	1	Francés	07 GW-27
34	Lémery, Nicolas	Nouveau recueil de curiositez, les plus rares &	A Leyde : chez Pierre	1688		0	1	Francés	07 GW-28
35	Stuck, Johann Wilhelm	Joannis Gvilielmi Stvckii ... Opervm tomvs	Lugduni Batavorum	1695		1	1	Latín	07 GW-29-1
36	Stuck, Johann Wilhelm	Joannis Gvilielmi Stvckii ... Opervm tomvs	Lugduni Batavorum	1695		0	1	Latín	07 GW-29-2
37	Massialot, François	Le Cuisinier roial et bourgeois : qui apprend a	A Paris : chez Charles de	1698		1	1	Francés	07 GW-30
38	Lister, Martin	A Journey to Paris in the year 1698 / by Dr.	London : printed for Jacob	1699		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-31
39	Audiger	La Maison réglée et l'art de diriger la maison	Amsterdam : chez Paul	1700		1	1	Francés	07 GW-32
40	Lémery, Louis	Traité des aliments : où l'on trouve par ordre, et	A Paris : chez Pierre Witte,	1705		1	1	Francés	07 GW-33
41	Apici	Apicii Coelii De osoniis et condimentis, sive	Amstelodami [Amsterdam] :	1709		1	1	Latín	07 GW-34
42	Groot, Gysbert de	De Verstandige kok, of Sorghwuldige	Amsterdam : by de wed van	1711		1	1	Holandés	07 GW-35
43	Massialot, François	Nouvelle instruction pour les confitures, les	A Paris : chez Claude	1716		1	1	Francés	07 GW-36
44	Massialot, François	Le Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois : qui	A Paris : chez Claude	1717		1	1	Francés	07 GW-37
45	Massialot, François	Le Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois : qui	A Paris : chez Claude	1717		0	1	Francés	07 GW-38
46	Liger, Louis	Dictionaire pratique du bon menager de	A Paris : chez la veuve de	1722		1	1	Francés	07 GW-39
47	Liger, Louis	Dictionaire pratique du bon menager de	A Paris : chez la veuve de	1722		0	1	Francés	07 GW-40
48	Lamb, Patrick	Royal cookery, or The compleat court-cook :	London : printed for E and	1726		1	1	Inglés	07 GW-41

1	Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Editions	Exemplar	Language	Alternative signature
49	Martínez Montaña, Francisco.	Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y	En Madrid : a costa de Doña	1728	1	1	Español	07 GW-42
50	Ribou, Pierre	L'Ecole parfaite des officiers de bouche : qui	A Paris : chez la veuve de	1729	1	1	Francés	07 GW-43
51	Liger, Louis	Le Menage des champs et de la ville, ou	A Paris : chez Paulus-du-	1732	1	1	Francés	07 GW-45
52	Rodrigues, Domingos	Arte de cozinha dividida em tres partes : a	Lisboa Occidental : na	1732	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-127
53	Marin, François	Les Dons de comus, ou Les délices de la table :	A Paris : chez Prault, fils,	1739	1	1	Francés	07 GW-46
54	Smith, E.	The Compleat housewife, or Accomplish'd	London : printed for J and J	1739	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-47
55	Lémery, Louis	A treatise of all sorts of foods, both animal and	London : printed for W	1745	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-48
56	Menon	La Science du maître d'hotel cuisinier : avec	A Paris : chez Paulus-du-	1749	1	1	Francés	07 GW-49
57	Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum	L'Art de conserver sa santé / composé par	A Paris : chez Pierre	1749	1	1	Francés	07 GW-50
58	Marin, François	Les Dons de comus, ou L'art de la cuisine :	A Paris : chez la veuve	1750	1	1	Francés	07 GW-51
59	Marin, François	Les Dons de comus, ou L'art de la cuisine :	A Paris : chez la veuve	1750	0	1	Francés	07 GW-52
60	Marin, François	Les Dons de comus, ou L'art de la cuisine :	A Paris : chez la veuve	1750	0	1	Francés	07 GW-53
61	Mata, Juan de la	Arte de repostería : en que se contiene todo	En Madrid : en la imprenta y	1755	1	1	Español	07 GW-62
62	Altamiras, Juan	Nuevo arte de cocina sacado de la escuela de la	Barcelona : en la imprenta	1758	1	1	Español	07 GW-56
63	Rodrigues, Domingos	Arte de cozinha dividida em tres partes : a	Lisboa : na offic de Manoel	1758	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-55
64	Martínez Montaña, Francisco.	Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y	Barcelona : en la imprenta	1763	1	1	Español	07 GW-57
65	Moxon, Elizabeth	English housewifry exemplified in above four	Leedes : printed by Griffith	1764	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-58
66	Rodrigues, Domingos	Arte de cozinha dividida em tres partes ... : obra	Lisboa : na offic de Joam	1765	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-59
67	Villena, Enrique de Aragón	Arte cisoría, ó Tratado del arte del cortar del	En Madrid : en la oficina de	1766	1	1	Español	07 GW-60
68	Vincent, Philippe	Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de	A Paris : chez Vincent,	1767	1	1	Francés	07 GW-61
69	Emy.	L'Art de bien faire les glaces d'office ou Les	A Paris : chez Le Clerc,	1768	1	1	Francés	07 GW-54
70	Zückert, Johann Friedrich	Johannis Friderici Zückert ... Materia alimentaria	Berolini [Berlin] : apud	1769	1	1	Latín	07 GW-63
71	Zerikhoven, Catharina	Volkoomen Neerlandsch kookkundig	Te Leeuwarden : by HA de	1772	1	1	Holandés	07 GW-64
72	Richter, Johann Adolph	Nutzbares, Galantes und Curieuses	Leipzig : in Gleditschens	1773	1	1	Alemán	07 GW-65
73	Richter, Johann Adolph	Nutzbares, Galantes und Curieuses	Leipzig : in Gleditschens	1773	0	1	Alemán	07 GW-66
74	Poncelet, Polycarpe	Nouvelle chymie du goût et de l'odorat, ou L'art	A Paris : chez Pissot,	1774	1	1	Francés	07 GW-67
75	Mason, Charlotte	The Lady's assistant for regulating and	London : printed for J	1775	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-68
76	Menon	La Cuisiniere bourgeoise, suivie de l'office, a	A Paris : chez Guillyn,	1775	1	1	Francés	07 GW-69
77	De Maria, Pier Paolo	El Gran tesoro escondido en las viñas, hallado	En Madrid : por Pedro	1777	1	1	Español	07 GW-70
78	Robertson, Hannah	The Young ladies school of arts : containing a	Edinburgh : printed for	1777	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-71-2
79	Robertson, Hannah	The Young ladies school of arts : containing a	Edinburgh : printed for	1777	0	1	Inglés	07 GW-71-1
80	Glasse, Hannah	The Art of cookery made plain and easy : which	London : printed for W	1778	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-72
81	Altamiras, Juan	Nuevo arte de cocina : sacado de la escuela de	Madrid : por D Manuel	1779	1	1	Español	07 GW-73
82	Pegge, Samuel	The Forme of cury : a roll of ancient English	London : printed by J	1780	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-74
83	Legrand d'Aussy, Pierre Jean	Histoire de la vie privée des français depuis	A Paris : de l'imprimerie de	1782	1	1	Francés	07 GW-75
84	Legrand d'Aussy, Pierre Jean	Histoire de la vie privée des français depuis	A Paris : de l'imprimerie de	1782	0	1	Francés	07 GW-76
85	Legrand d'Aussy, Pierre Jean	Histoire de la vie privée des français depuis	A Paris : de l'imprimerie de	1782	0	1	Francés	07 GW-77
86	Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum	L'Ecole de Salerne, ou L'art de conserver la	A Paris : chez Méquignon	1782	1	1	Francés	07 GW-78
87	Rigaud, Lucas	Cozinheiro moderno ou Nova arte de cozinha :	Lisboa : na officina de Lino	1785	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-80
88	Mata, Juan de la	Arte de repostería : en que se contiene todo	En Madrid : en la imprenta	1786	1	1	Español	07 GW-79
89	La Varenne, François Pierre de	Il Cuoco francese : ove viene insegnata la	Bassano : a spese	1787	1	1	italiano	07 GW-81
90	Bulhoens, José de Aquino	Arte nova e curiosa para conserveiros,	Lisboa : na offic de José de	1788	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-82
91	Assen, Benedictus Antonio van,	The Ladies' library or, Encyclopedia of female	London : printed for J	1790	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-88
92	Assen, Benedictus Antonio van,	The Ladies' library or, Encyclopedia of female	London : printed for J	1790	0	1	Inglés	07 GW-89
93	Jourdan-Lecoite	La Cuisine de santé, ou Moyens faciles &	A Paris : chez Briand,	1790	1	1	Francés	07 GW-83
94	Jourdan-Lecoite	La Cuisine de santé, ou Moyens faciles &	A Paris : chez Briand,	1790	0	1	Francés	07 GW-84
95	Jourdan-Lecoite	La Cuisine de santé, ou Moyens faciles &	A Paris : chez Briand,	1790	0	1	Francés	07 GW-85

1	Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Editions	Exemplar	Language	Alternative signature
96	Jourdan-Lecointe	La Cuisine de santé, ou Moyens faciles &	A Paris : chez Briand,	1790	0	1	Francés	07 GW-86
97	Jourdan-Lecointe	La Cuisine de santé, ou Moyens faciles &	A Paris : chez Briand,	1790	0	1	Francés	07 GW-87
98	Mata, Juan de la	Arte de reposteria : en que se contiene todo	En Madrid : en la oficina de	1791	1	1	Español	07 GW-91
99	Warner, Richard	Antiquitates culinariae or Curious tractats	London : printed for R	1791	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-90
100	Jourdan-Lecointe	La Patisserie de santé ou Moyens faciles et	A Paris : chez Briand,	1792	1	1	Francés	07 GW-93
101	Jourdan-Lecointe	La Patisserie de santé ou Moyens faciles et	A Paris : chez Briand,	1792	0	1	Francés	07 GW-94
102	Medina Conde y Herrera,	Disertacion en recomendacion y defensa del	Malaga : por Luis de	1792	1	1	Español	07 GW-92
103	Martínez Montañó, Francisco.	Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y	En Madrid : en la imprenta	1797	1	1	Español	07 GW-95
104	Berchoux, Joseph de	La Gastronomie ou L'homme des champs a	Paris : de l'imprimerie de	1801	1	1	Francés	07 GW-96
105	Farley, John	The London art of cookery and housekeeper's	London : for James	1801	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-97
106	Ibn Bassal, Muhammad b.	Libro de agricultura / su autor ... Abu Zacaria	Madrid : en la imprenta real,	1802	1	1	Español	07 GW-98
107	Ibn Bassal, Muhammad b.	Libro de agricultura / su autor ... Abu Zacaria	Madrid : en la imprenta real,	1802	0	1	Español	07 GW-99
108	Raffald, Elisabeth	The Experienced English housekeeper for the	London : published and	1803	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-100
109	Crescenzi, Pietro de'	Trattato della agricultura / di Piero de' Crescenzi	Milano : dalla Società	1805	1	1	italiano	07 GW-102
110	Crescenzi, Pietro de'	Trattato della agricultura / di Piero de' Crescenzi	Milano : dalla Società	1805	0	1	italiano	07 GW-103
111	Crescenzi, Pietro de'	Trattato della agricultura / di Piero de' Crescenzi	Milano : dalla Società	1805	0	1	italiano	07 GW-104
112	Viard, A.	Le Cuisinier imprérial, ou l'Art de faire la cuisine	A Paris : chez Barba,	1807	1	1	Francés	07 GW-101
113	Grimod de La Reynière,	Manuel des amphitryons : contenant un traité de	A Paris : chez Capelle et	1808	1	1	Francés	07 GW-111
114	Cadet de Gassicourt, C. -L.	Cours gastronomique ou Les diners de Manant-	Paris : Capelle et Renand,	1809	1	1	Francés	07 GW-112
115	Friedel, Louise-Béate-Augustine	Le Confiseur impérial, ou L'art du confiseur	A Paris : chez Henri	1809	1	1	Francés	07 GW-113
116	Beauvilliers, Antoine	L'Art du cuisinier / par A. Beauvilliers ...	Paris : chez Pilet,	1814	1	1	Francés	07 GW-117-1
117	Beauvilliers, Antoine	L'Art du cuisinier / par A. Beauvilliers ...	Paris : chez Pilet,	1814	0	1	Francés	07 GW-117-2
118	Rodrigues, Domingos	Nova arte de cozinha dividida em quatro partes	Lisboa : na offic de Antonio	1814	1	1	Portugués	07 GW-118
119	Carême, M. A.	Le Pâtissier royal parisien, ou Traité élémentaire	Paris : JG Dentu,	1815	1	1	Francés	07 GW-119
120	Carême, M. A.	Le Pâtissier royal parisien, ou Traité élémentaire	Paris : JG Dentu,	1815	0	1	Francés	07 GW-120
121	Rundell, Maria Eliza Ketelby	A New system of domestic cookery : formed	New-York : published by	1817	1	1	Inglés	07 GW-121
122	Bonnefons, Nicolas de	Le Jardinier françois : qui enseigne a cultiver	Rouen : chez Jean Dursel,	[1731?]	1	1	Francés	07 GW-44
123	Villalpando, Fermín Tadeo	Secretos raros de artes y oficios : obra util a toda	Madrid : Impr de	[1806]-1807	1	1	Español	07 GW-109
124	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	1	1	Francés	07 GW-105
125	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-106
126	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-107
127	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-108
128	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-110
129	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-114
130	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-115
131	Grimod de La Reynière,	Almanach des gourmands : servant de guide	A Paris : chez Maradan,	[1805]-1812	0	1	Francés	07 GW-116
132	Sweets, Hieronymus	De cierlyke voorsnydinge aller tafel-gerechten :	Amsterdam : by	[ca. 1660]	1	1	Holandés	07 GW-125
133		<b>Total:</b>			<b>103</b>	<b>131</b>		