

The Roast Charade: Travelling Recipes and their Alteration in the Long Eighteenth Century

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In this paper, I wish to focus on selected ‘travelling’³³⁶ recipes and explore possible reasons for their successful adoption or rejection. The dishes we eat are more than just energy supplies for our bodies; they give us a feeling of continuity and identity, and carry powerful symbolic significance. Via food, both individuals and groups are able to generate a sense of ‘home’ and membership of a particular social or ethnic group. Certain meals or food preparation methods are also seen as ‘typical’ of a region and are often used to express particular political views.³³⁷ In the long eighteenth century, for example, food items which were imported from the colonies – like coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco or spices – had much more influence on the attitudes of the British towards their Empire than pamphlets, newspapers or travel narratives.³³⁸ But this phenomenon was not limited to the British Empire; in the 1780s, goulash – formerly a dish restricted to Hungarian herdsmen and peasant communities – was used by the Hungarian nobility as a symbol of opposition to the attempts by the Austrian emperor, Joseph II, to modernise the economy and society, as well as to his aim of building a united empire, encompassing Austria, Bohemia and Hungary.³³⁹

The naming of adopted dishes can often be traced to a variety of political and social considerations. One of them is the prestige that can come with a foreign-sounding name because of the symbolic significance of foreign dishes (which are perceived as exotic, expensive etc.), with the result that travelling dishes either keep their foreign name or are even given a foreign-sounding name without actually being new or foreign. However, travelling recipes can also be named after a certain dish that is already known and happens to be similar in the way it is prepared, making it less exotic and easier for people to relate to.

The recipe that I will focus on here is taken from a cookery book from the early nineteenth century (dated 1818). Such cookery books for women – *Frauenkochbücher*³⁴⁰ – often rely on the transmission of written material that was most likely taken from unbound recipe collections; the recipe texts are

therefore often much older than the books in which they can now be found. Recipes of this kind are sometimes located within a European context, which means that similar recipes appear in the cookery books of different countries. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century it became a part of everyday linguistic practice to note down recipes, and so this text type can be seen as an example of the *Verschriftlichung des Lebens* (whereby many areas of everyday life were committed to the medium of writing),³⁴¹ and in particular of the writing habits of women.³⁴² Politically, by the time the cookery book was written in 1818, the Holy Roman Empire had already been abolished for about twelve years and Austria was ruled by Francis I, its first emperor, with Prince Klemens von Metternich as minister of foreign affairs, who implemented a repressive and autocratic regime.³⁴³ In the following analysis, it will be interesting to see whether the political situation of the time might be mirrored in the manuscript, i.e. in the non-appearance of recipes from enemy countries.

In the cookery book studied here – a manuscript from the Graz University Library with the number 1963³⁴⁴ – we find not only French, Spanish, Bohemian and Turkish recipes,³⁴⁵ but also instructions for preparing a dish called *Rost Pfiff* (ff. 67v–68r). The name of this recipe seems to point directly to the English national dish roast beef (given the obvious phonetic similarity between Brit. Eng. [rəʊst bi:f] and Austr. Ger. [ro:st pfi:f]).³⁴⁶ The origin of the dish therefore seems obvious – but only at first sight. Looking more closely at the recipe itself leads to some surprising discoveries.

The ingredients of *Rost Pfiff* are beef, bacon, cloves, cinnamon, onions, carrots, wine, water, bread crust and bay leaves. First, the meat has to be beaten and larded with bacon, cloves and cinnamon. A casserole dish is lined with a bed of sliced onions and carrots, onto which the beef is then laid and a mixture of half water and half wine poured on top. Finally, bread crusts and bay leaves are added and the casserole is sealed tightly with coarse dough, so that the steam stays in the pot. The meat has to be cooked for five hours and is meant to be served with a sauce consisting of the broth and the puréed vegetables. The German text reads, in rough translation:³⁴⁷

Rost Pfiff. First take 6 pounds of beef which is good to stew, beat it well with a rolling pin and lard it with bacon, cloves and cinnamon. Line a casserole with onion and carrots, then add a mixture of half wine and half water, baked bread crust and bay leaves. Cover with a tin lid and seal the lid with coarse dough, to prevent the steam [f. 68r] getting out. Put it on the embers, braise it well and let it cook for 5 hours. When it is ready to serve, dress the meat, sieve the sauce and pour it on top, it is good.³⁴⁸



Cookery book from 1818. From UBG, Sondersammlungen, Ms. 163. Source: Graz University Library.

Lingel Kratt Gebratter.

Wird mit guttem Lingelgichtel, Lingelalm, Spindel
in Wasser ab, frucht in, und faltet, Lohnt in Wasser, mit
Lingel in mit Löhren, Lohnt in fald gebrauchet ist,
so kocht in mit Milchsaure, durch in Lösung fast
Lingel, so ist fertig, gutte Kratt.

Spanischer Kallie.

Lingel in fald in mit gungge Kallie aber mit Kinn, Kinn-
flüss, und in allersam gungge Lohr, Kallflüss, Kinn,
Löhren, gungge, gungge und Löhren Kinn, Lohr, Kinn, fald
Kinn Kinn, Kinn, 2. gungge fald fald fald,
in gungge Lohr Kinn, 8. gungge Kinn, Kinn,
Lohr, in Kinn gungge Kinn, fald Kinn Lohr
Lohr, in Kinn in gungge Kinn, Kinn, aber nicht
gungge, fald Kinn in über in Kinn Kinn, Kinn
in fald, Kinn Kinn in Kinn gungge aber in mit Kinn
Kinn Kinn Kinn, Kinn Kinn Kinn Kinn, Kinn
Kinn Kinn Kinn, in in in Kinn Kinn Kinn,
Lohr in in Kinn Kinn Kinn, Kinn.

Kast Pfiff.

Lingel in fald in Kinn Kinn, Kinn in Kinn
in in Kinn Kinn Kinn in mit Kinn, gungge
Kinn, Kinn, Kinn in Kinn mit Kinn in
Kinn Kinn, fald Kinn Kinn Kinn in fald
Kinn, gungge Kinn Kinn, Kinn Kinn Kinn
in in mit Kinn Kinn Kinn in in Kinn Kinn Kinn

nicht feuernd Rauch, nißte er auf allen gleich, dinsten er
erofft ab, und tapper in 3 Rind dinsten, wird er gut
genü amischend, so nißte das Fleisch an, luyd die Rind
Dinstgruppene, und ginstet er darauf, ist gut.

Sauer Kraut mit Pfeffer.

Pfeffer feuernd Rauch, und ichnameroffen er das er nißte
zu feuernd ist, nißte er in die Pfeffer und Pfeffer, und
dann er mit einem Zucker braun, ist er ein wenig klein
genüschend genüschend, ist er das feuernd Rauch dinsten,
und dinsten er Pfeffer braun, nißte er auf den in, ist dann
er mit Pfeffer, Pfeffer nicht braun Pfeffer dinsten,
Pfeffer er, nißte er ein Genüschend Pfeffer dinsten, luyd
ist er in Rauch gut dinsten, nißte er Pfeffer in die
Pfeffer, das feuernd Rauch dinsten, ist gut.

Lingel Knoll in der Klein Saft.

Pfeffer mit Lingelknoll fuchel er ab, ist er nicht
Pfeffer, dinsten er mit Pfeffer, Pfeffer, mit Pfeffer dinsten,
gallertend genüschend, mit Pfeffer dinsten, dinsten er Pfeffer
dinsten, ist er ein gute Pfeffer dinsten, luyd Pfeffer,
nicht ein wenig Pfeffer, dinsten er ein Pfeffer mit Pfeffer.
Pfeffer, Pfeffer und Pfeffer, Pfeffer mit Pfeffer, Pfeffer
Lingelknoll, luyd Pfeffer, nißte er Lingelknoll in ein
Pfeffer, Pfeffer die Pfeffer dinsten, luyd Pfeffer Pfeffer die
die Pfeffer Pfeffer er, so nißte auf die Pfeffer.

Recipe of Rost Pfiff from 1818. From UBG, Sondersammlungen, Ms. 163. Source: Graz University Library.

Inevitably we may wonder: is this a recipe for a roast at all? *Rost Pfiff* is cooked in a pot and not in fact roasted, i.e. not ‘carefully balanced on a revolving spit before a glowing fire’, as Helen Gaffney describes the traditional way of making roast beef.³⁴⁹ In the *Rost Pfiff* recipe, a mixture of water and wine is poured over the meat and the lid is closed tight. ‘Typical’ roast beef however, considered the national dish of England (preferably served with Yorkshire pudding), is nowadays – as it has been since the eighteenth century at least, as I will explain later – characterised not only by the cut of the beef (topside/silverside, sirloin, forerib or thick flank), but also by the care which has to be exercised when preparing the meat and cooking it rare, medium or well-done – with all the nuances. Television chef and cookery book author Nigel Slater is clear and unambiguous about this, when he states: ‘And it really must, must be rare; cook it for longer and all sensuous, wanton pleasure is lost. You might as well roast your slippers.’³⁵⁰

If *Rost Pfiff* is not even a roast, then the recipe can hardly derive from the famous English dish. That means we need to ask further questions. What dish might be behind the recipe’s name, and how did it come to be called what it is? Is it possible that the name was chosen because of a certain prestige associated with *roast beef*?³⁵¹ Or might there actually have been a version of roast beef which was popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, whereby the beef was not roasted, but cooked in a tightly closed casserole? The example of *blanc manger* shows clearly how much travelling recipes can change over time: the medieval ‘white dish’ of chicken, fish or rice eventually changed into a dessert. To gain clarity in the *Rost Pfiff* case, it is necessary to shed some light on the history of roast beef and its rise to an English national dish, in order to find out more about its symbolic qualities. In this context it will be interesting to see what value beef had in the eighteenth century in Britain or, more precisely, England.

Inevitably we must define a text corpus for comparison purposes, consisting in this case of four very popular Austrian cookery books, printed in Graz/Styria from 1686 to 1858.³⁵² This is a valid corpus, because even if we do not know who wrote manuscript 1963 or the area to which it belongs, the written language of the cookery book manuscript shows that it can be located in southern Germany or Austria. The oldest printed Austrian cookery book, the *Koch- und Artzney-Buch* (1688, 2nd edition),³⁵³ is also the first cookery book of the corpus, followed by the *Grätzerisches Kochbuch* (1804, 8th edition),³⁵⁴ the *Allerneuestes Kochbuch für Fleisch- und Fasttage* (1825, 4th edition),³⁵⁵ and finally the first edition of the *Süddeutsche Küche* (1858).³⁵⁶ These published books can also be regarded as the ‘highlights’ of Styrian (and Austrian) cookery book literature from the late seventeenth to the mid nineteenth century, based on the large number of new editions and the fact that many other contemporary cookery books incorporate (according to common practice at the time) the recipes provided by these select few examples, giving them a status of originality.³⁵⁷ The corpus will help us to

work out which dish *Rost Pfiff* might actually derive from and subsequently shed light on the travelling of recipes in Europe.

Roast beef – the construction of a ‘national dish’

In the instance of roast beef, we see a clear case of constructing a national identity. In medieval times beef was by no means a highly valued meat; indeed, it was considered rather vulgar and not worth mentioning in medieval cookery books, although it was eaten quite often, accounting for about half of the total consumption of meat in the fifteenth century.³⁵⁸ In the sixteenth century beef then started to be seen as a simple and nourishing dish suitable for the ‘healthy Englishman’³⁵⁹ and in the seventeenth century it finally began to shed its reputation as a ‘vulgar’ sort of meat. English cuisine even became famous for its excellent roasts.³⁶⁰

The eighteenth century, however, brought a massive change in the perception of beef. Because of trade with the colonies and new food, spices and recipes finding their way into the British Empire, allowing almost everybody to interact with foreign cultures without the need to travel,³⁶¹ and especially in the second half of the century, it became necessary for Great Britain in general to differentiate itself from these foreign influences.³⁶² As mentioned before, coffee, tea, sugar or tobacco were making their way onto the table of almost every Briton, and were much more prevalent than pamphlets, newspapers or travel narratives. It may come as little surprise that, in the light of this, certain traditional dishes started to be seen as ‘national’ in contrast to the new foreign influences, and so ‘[r]oast beef, haggis and frothing beer certainly carried connotations of Englishness, Scottishness and sometimes Britishness’.³⁶³

The satirical song *The Roast Beef of Old England*,³⁶⁴ first performed in 1735, was invented as a political statement against Robert Walpole, who was faced with accusations of cowardice because of his positive position towards Spain, while anti-Spanish sentiment grew among the British public. The song denounces the ‘degeneration’ of the contemporary Englishman, who is delighted by ‘fancy French food’³⁶⁵ and is in no way similar to his robust, strong – and beef-eating – ancestors. The song reflects the public mood at that time, when French and Indian cuisine especially were seen as ‘intruders’ and roast beef therefore became a symbolic ‘bastion of uncorrupted and incorruptible English authenticity’³⁶⁶ against foreign influences.

Hannah Glasse, one of the best-known cookery book writers of the eighteenth century (*The Art of Cookery made plain and easy*, first published in 1747), launches a virulent attack on French cooks and their ‘French Tricks’,³⁶⁷ which can be read in the foreword of *The Art of Cookery*. Glasse also provides us with a recipe for a roast which we might want to consider a primordial recipe for roast beef – the method of preparation has probably

undergone minor changes and variations over the centuries, but the basic method has always remained the same:

If Beef, be sure to Paper the Top, and baste it well all the Time it is roasting, and throw a Handful of Salt on it. When you see the Smoke draw to the Fire, it is near enough; then take off the Paper, baste it well, and drudge it with a little Flour to make a fine Froth. (Never salt your roast Meat before you lay it to the Fire, for that draws out all the Gravy. If you would keep it a few Days before you dress it, dry it very well with a clean Cloth, then flour it all over, and hang it where the Air will come to it; but be sure always to mind that there is no damp Place about it, if there is you must dry it well with a Cloth.) Take up your Meat, and garnish your Dish with nothing but Horse-raddish.³⁶⁸

As far as English or British cuisine is concerned, we should note that roast beef is a roast and is never cooked in a closed casserole. But it is a long way for a dish to travel across Europe to southern Germany and Austria, and therefore possible that recipes for roast beef may have undergone major changes. Analysis of the corpus sheds light on this matter.

Recipes for roast beef in published Austrian cookery books

It is important to emphasise that popular German encyclopaedias of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries include entries for roast beef (s.v. *Rost beef*, *Rinderbraten*, *Rostbraten*), which clearly point out that the meat has to be roasted on a spit or in a pan.³⁶⁹ Braising it – cooking it in a tightly closed pot – is not listed as an option. It might be thought that beef was perhaps eaten less frequently in the south of Germany or in Austria, but in fact Britain was not the only European country consuming a fairly large amount of meat; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the average Austrian adult consumed about 800 grams of meat per day.³⁷⁰ Studies show that beef was one of the most commonly eaten types of meat in eighteenth-century Austria. One major difference lay in the way it was prepared: in the British Empire and northern Germany, beef was preferably roasted, whereas in south Germany and Austria it was usually braised in a closed casserole and hardly ever roasted.³⁷¹ In the late eighteenth century, roast beef found its way from England to the German-speaking countries, but especially in the south it was not a great success, possibly due to the unfamiliar and complicated preparation method.³⁷² Also, French and Italian cuisine had a much greater impact on the south, whereas northern Germany had closer contact with English and Dutch cuisine.³⁷³

The Austrian cookery books studied here are written by commoners for commoners, but the authors try to provide a range of recipes which could also be served on the tables of the aristocracy. Accordingly, it is almost

mandatory for published cookery books of this period to include Italian, Bohemian, Polish, Spanish, English, French and Dutch recipes.³⁷⁴ There are in fact quite a few English recipes (or recipes referred to as English) in all the publications belonging to the corpus – mainly recipes for puddings, cakes, pastries, sauces, jellies, stews and jams.

When it comes to a recipe for roast beef, however, the analysis of the corpus is surprising. Only the *Süddeutsche Küche* provides a recipe explicitly named *Roastbeef*. It is a rather meagre version of the English original: a piece of sirloin is beaten, boned and rolled, salted and put on a spit. During the cooking process it is basted with water (not butter or gravy!) and it is taken off the spit when it is well cooked. Finally, the roast is cut into slices (pieces) and served with potatoes. The Austrian recipe reads as follows (in rough translation):

Roastbeef. A good piece of sirloin must be beaten, deboned, wrapped into a sausage shape, salted and put on a skewer. Baste it constantly with water while it is roasting. Take it off the skewer when it is very juicy. Cut it into pieces, garnish with potatoes and serve.³⁷⁵

It is possible, though, that the corpus contains recipes for roasts which are not necessarily entitled roast beef.

The next step of our analysis includes recipes for English roasts, because they may possibly correspond to roast beef despite having a different name. This time the search is for recipes called *Englische Braten* (English roasts) or similar. There are at least three that match. The *Grätzerisches Kochbuch* provides us with a recipe for a roast where the beef first has to be larded with bacon, marinated for one or two days, wrapped into paper covered in bacon, onions and lemon peel, and finally roasted on a spit. Although this roast may indeed be delicious, it is far removed from the one Glasse recorded in *The Art of Cookery*. Much closer to the English model is the recipe in the *Allerneuestes Kochbuch*, which is a rather simple one using a piece of sirloin, salt, pepper and butter. It should be noted that the meat is salted before it is roasted (a method Glasse did not recommend), but otherwise it has quite a lot of similarity to ‘plain, honest roast beef’.³⁷⁶ The *Englischer Braten* in the *Süddeutsche Küche*, too, is rather plain and very similar to the recipe mentioned above. The only difference is that the meat is covered with bacon and the suggestion is to serve it with whole or mashed potatoes.

So far, so good – but our *Rost Pfiff* shows no similarity either to the recipe for *Roastbeef* provided in the *Süddeutsche Küche*, or to the recipes for *Englische Braten*. What recipe lies behind this name? Once again, the answer can be found in our text corpus.

French *boeuf à la mode*

The oldest cookery book of the corpus, the *Koch- und Artzney-Buch* from 1688, may not include a recipe for an English roast, but it does tell us how to cook beef *auff Englisch* (in English style):

How to cook beef in English style. Take a piece of good topside of beef and trim it carefully, so as not to cut it apart. Take bacon which is a finger long and a finger thick and lard the meat carefully; the bacon must be well salted and seasoned. Lard the meat nicely lengthwise, take a pot or cauldron big enough for the meat, then let it boil well and take care that it is always well covered; when the meat is getting soft, put an onion studded with cloves in the pot and a piece of ginger, broken into pieces, and coarse pepper, delicate herbs, such as rosemary, thyme, three bay leaves; half an hour before one wants to serve it, the fat must be skimmed off and 1 Seidl [= 0.35 litre]³⁷⁷ of good wine and half a Seidl of good vinegar poured in; take mushrooms and ox palate, both must be cut up small, and let it all boil down until the broth is thick, then dress the meat nicely and adjust to taste with the mushrooms and the ox palate.³⁷⁸

In the research literature, this recipe is considered to be congruent with the French recipe *boeuf à la mode*³⁷⁹ and a precursor of the modern *Wiener Tellerfleisch*³⁸⁰ (boiled beef).³⁸¹

Why the French dish is called ‘English’ remains to be answered, but the *Rindfleisch auff Englisch* already makes us suspicious – and finally the recipe for *Rindfleisch Boeuf a la Mode* in the *Grätzerisches Kochbuch* is all we need to be convinced: we have found the dish that lies behind the name *Rost Pfiff*. The recipe reads as follows (in rough translation):

Beef Boeuf a la Mode. Take a good piece of sirloin, lard it with bacon and ham, each cut into finger-thick slices, after that put bacon fat, ham, thyme, bay leaves, basil, onions, lemon peel, whole cloves, mace, good wine vinegar and beef broth in a casserole or tin mould, salt it, and put the larded beef in there too, cover it well, and close it with dough, so that no steam gets out. When you think that the meat is tender, put it to one side and let it cool. When it has cooled, take it out, clean it neatly, put it in the dish and garnish it nicely. This meat can also be served warm with its own sauce, but before serving the sauce must be strained, and the fat must be neatly removed.³⁸²

The similarities to our *Rost Pfiff* are obvious. The ingredients are very similar and the meat is prepared in the same way. The lid of the casserole has to be closed tightly with a piece of dough, and after boiling for several hours, the beef can be served with a finely strained sauce.

A serving option which the manuscript does not give is the possibility of eating the meat not only warm, but cold as well – a suggestion we find in Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery*:

Beef à la Mode in Pieces. You must take a Buttock of Beef, cut it into two Pound Pieces, lard them with Bacon, fry them Brown, put them into a Pot that will just hold them, put in two Quarts of Broth or Gravy, a few Sweet Herbs, an Onion, some Mace, Cloves, Nutmeg, Pepper and Salt; when that is done, cover it close, and stew till it is tender, skim off all the Fat, lay the Meat in the Dish, and strain the Sauce over it. You may serve it up hot or cold.³⁸³

In Anna-Maria Bußwald's *Allerneuestes Kochbuch* we find a recipe (no. 306) for *Boeuf à la Mode*, which provides quite detailed preparation instructions (given here in rough translation):

Boeuf à la Mode. The meat must be a piece of topside from a good ox, which must be fat; beat it with a large knife or a rolling pin, to make it tender; after that, cut one-finger-long and finger-thick bacon and ham, which do not have a bad smell; also, chop these herbs very finely: parsley, shallots, basil, thyme, mix them with bacon and ham on a plate, add pepper, a little nutmeg and salt; lard the meat with this using a large wooden larding needle; if you don't have one, pierce the meat with the knife, and put in bacon and ham alternately; after that take a casserole dish, which has a well-closing lid, put bacon rinds on the bottom, put the meat on top, cover it also with bacon; around the sides put some veal, [a couple of or some] whole onions, carrots, parsnips, a little basil, thyme and one bay leaf, a little mace, several cloves; pour a [small] glass of wine over it, cover it tight with the lid, around the lid make a coarse dough of water and flour, close it all around with dough and paper, so that no steam gets out; put it into an oven, or put a small glowing fire on top of and beneath it, braise it for 4 hours; after that, put it aside until it is cool, so that it does not lose its taste. After that open it [the casserole], take the meat out, skim the fat nicely, but sieve the sauce through a fine sieve. If you want to serve it hot, and if you have a good broth, add 2 spoonfuls of it, put it in a dish big enough for the meat and the sauce; if you have no good broth, then make a roux with a spoonful of flour and put it in the sauce; after that put it on a small glowing fire, let it boil very slowly, so that it does not become too tender. When it is time to serve, add the juice of a half or whole lemon, depending on the sauce, also lemon peel without the pith, to give the sauce a nice taste. When you want to serve it, first brush the dish in which you want to serve it with garlic, take the lemon peel out and serve the meat warm for the first course. If you want to serve it cold for the second course, however, do as described for salted meat; but after the sauce is sieved, let it boil down on the fire for a moment. Finally, add lemon juice and put it in a dish which is big enough for the meat, pour the sauce into it, put the meat on top, salt it, and if you want to serve it, put a serviette over the dish, turn the dish around and turn the meat out onto the serviette and serve it in a large piece for the second course. Many also pour a little tarragon [Berchtram = Bertram, Lat. *Artemisia dracunculus*] vinegar over it, if it is served cold.³⁸⁴

Bußwald, like Glasse, suggests that the meat can be eaten hot or cold; in the latter case, it can be served with vinegar.

In the *Süddeutsche Küche* we find a recipe not only for *Englisches Rindfleisch*, but also for *boeuf à la mode*, the two printed consecutively (text in rough translation):

English beef. A nice piece of beef (similar to so-called Weißbraten [sirloin]) cut as a loin roast, is salted and larded, and also rubbed with crushed juniper berries, thyme, marjoram, basil, rosemary and lemon peel, and put aside to rest for 24 hours. Then it is put together with everything needed for marinade no. 2 in a pan; also add a bit of uncooked ham, close the lid and braise until tender. After that the juices must be drained [from the meat], the root vegetables are cooked in fat, dusted, put together with the juices and when everything is boiled down, [the sauce] must be sieved and poured on the meat. When it is served, one pours just a little of the sauce on the meat, serving the rest in a separate bowl.

Boeuf à la mode. Is prepared like the recipe above, but nothing is rubbed onto the meat; as well as with bacon, it can also be larded with tongue, both cut into small finger-long and finger-thick strips, which are inserted obliquely. Or: One can chop onions, lemon peel, thyme and anchovies very small, and roll the bacon which is used for larding in the mixture, but then the tongue can be omitted. One can also put sugar into lard, let it caramelize and add it to the meat before it is dusted. When the sauce has been sieved, the meat, which is cut into pieces, has to be boiled with it for one hour.³⁸⁵

It is interesting to see how similar these recipes are and how little they changed over time. The recipes for *boeuf à la mode* from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are fundamentally similar to the one for *Rindfleisch auff Englisch zu kochen* in the *Koch- und Artzneybuch* – a recipe which is not only a French dish incorrectly referred to as an English beef recipe, but which can also be seen as a forerunner of *Wiener Tellerfleisch* – and to the recipes for *boeuf à la mode* in the *Grätzerisches Kochbuch* and the *Süddeutsche Küche*.

Interestingly the *Koch- und Artzney-Buch* from the seventeenth century claims the French dish to be an English one, while the recipe in the *Süddeutsche Küche* presents the French dish after the English recipe and, given the way the method of preparation is described, it almost seems as if *boeuf à la mode* is a variation of *Englisches Rindfleisch*. The recipe in the *Allerneuestes Kochbuch*, with the option of eating the dish hot or cold, clearly shows the evolution of *boeuf à la mode* to *Wiener Tellerfleisch* and to *Tellerfleisch* as it is now served in Bavaria.

Conclusion

What, then, can we learn from this short study? We started with the mysterious dish called *Rost Pfiff*, recorded in the Austrian cookery book manuscript

1963, which seems to refer to English roast beef – not only because of the phonetic similarity, but also because of the piece of beef that is its main ingredient. It was very tempting to think of this English ‘national dish’, because of the strong symbolic function which it assumed in the eighteenth century. The roast was used as a political statement, as well as to portray the inhabitants of the British Empire as honest, strong and healthy people with high morals; it also served as a contrast to foreign influences, mainly from the colonies or France. A closer study of the method of preparation, however, revealed that *Rost Pfiff* does not derive from an English but from a French recipe – *boeuf à la mode*. Furthermore, it may be noted that meat, or beef in particular, was not roasted in southern Germany and Austria, but boiled, braised or stewed, in contrast to north Germany, which had a much closer relationship to England and therefore shared many of its cooking habits. It is easy to accept that, over the course of the journey to the south of the German-speaking countries, *roast beef* may have lost its political and symbolic connotations and instead simply come to be considered a tasty and exotic dish.

With regard to our opening question about the possibility of political conflicts (such as the Napoleonic Wars) having an impact on the decision to reject recipes or include them in the cookery book manuscript, it cannot be claimed that such an influence is visible. Moreover, it seems rather unlikely that the French name would have been replaced by an English one to hide the origins of *Rost Pfiff*. Quite the opposite is the case in cookery, it seems. Whatever the political animosities, a simple rule applies: it is the taste which matters most. Even Glasse, who is by no means a friend of French cooks and fanciness, notes rather pragmatically that she has ‘indeed given some of her Dishes *French* Names to distinguish them, because they are known by those Names’ and that ‘it matters not whether they be call’d by a *French, Dutch* or *English* Name, so they are good’.³⁸⁶

The corpus used for our analysis also revealed a high degree of arbitrariness and lack of clarity in the naming of dishes, as was demonstrated by the English names for French dishes and vice versa. Furthermore, it became clear which parts of the recipe changed down the centuries – spices and herbs, parts of the preparation like the beating of the meat to soften it, dough to close the lid tightly, and various ingredients – and which parts remained stable, like the larding of the beef with bacon, the braising of the meat, and the sauce made out of the finely puréed herbs and vegetables.

To find an answer to our main question concerning the naming of *Rost Pfiff*, it is important to keep in mind that Glasse also provides a recipe for *boeuf à la mode*, with the suggestion that it may be served hot or cold. As I have pointed out already, *boeuf à la mode* is said to be a precursor of *Wiener Tellerfleisch*, and if we follow the recipe through the centuries, this evolution is easy to imagine, although it is not a direct route – the *Grätzerisches Kochbuch*, for example, does not give the option of eating the beef cold,

neither does the *Süddeutsche Küche* (although there we can find a recipe for *Kaltes Rindfleisch*³⁸⁷ [cold beef], which is similar to the Bavarian *Tellerfleisch*).

Both *roast beef* and *boeuf à la mode* can be served hot or cold and cut into thin slices. It may be assumed that the French recipe (in the text corpus, moreover, repeatedly presented as English) was mistaken for a recipe for roast beef because of the similar appearance of the dish as it was served. Taking this into account, it is understandable that the name *Rost Pfiff* was – probably without irony – adopted from the English recipe, while the preparation method matches the French dish, which was presumably quite popular at that time, especially in south Germany and Austria. It is possible that the male or female scribe or author who wrote the cookery book in 1818 knew the name of the new English national dish (maybe from sources such as novels or magazines), which grew more and more popular during the eighteenth century, but did not know anything about how it was prepared, since roasted beef was rather unusual in southern Germany and Austria at that time.

What the writer certainly did know from real life was *boeuf à la mode*; maybe he or she wanted to add a recipe for a prestigious dish to the manuscript and assumed that *roast beef* was a kind of *boeuf à la mode* – not too unlikely, given that the French recipe was mistaken for an English dish in various popular printed cookery books, which the writer may have used either to copy out some recipes or at least as templates. At this point, however, such hypotheses can be nothing more than ideas that could form the basis for further research.

³³⁶ The term ‘travelling recipes’ means recipes which serve as exotic ‘souvenirs’, worth being noted down and remembered (with the intention of cooking the dishes one day), and which thus find their way from one country to another. It is used synonymously with the ‘floating’ (or ‘wandering’) quality of recipe texts, as described in Hans Ramge, “‘Ich folg vielmehr // Der Tugend und dem Fleiß, die bringen Ehr.’” Zur Sprache im Kochbuch von Goethes Großmutter’, in Gudrun Marci-Boehncke & Jörg Riecke (eds.), *Von Mythen und Mären’ – Mittelalterliche Kulturgeschichte im Spiegel einer Wissenschaftler-Biographie* (Olms, 2006), pp. 417–40 (p. 437).

³³⁷ Cf. Roman Sandgruber, ‘Österreichische Nationalspeisen: Mythos und Realität’, in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann & Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 179–203 (p. 180).

³³⁸ Cf. Troy Bickham, ‘Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in *Past and Present* 198/1 (2008), p. 73.

³³⁹ Cf. Esther Kisbán, ‘Dishes as Samples and Symbols: National and Ethnic Markers in Hungary’, in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann & Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 204–11 (p. 206).

³⁴⁰ The German term *Frauenkochbuch* (‘woman’s cookery book’) refers to cookery books written by and/or for women. Usually a woman’s name is noted, although it is often uncertain whether it is the name of the owner or the writer. The term *Frauenkochbuch* is ambiguous, but commonly accepted. Cf. Thomas Gloning, *Das hand-*

schriftliche Kochbuch zum Gebrauch der Theresia Lindnerin (Gießen, 2009), p. 3, http://geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2009/7361/pdf/mc-1_kochbuch-lindnerin.pdf (accessed 23 Dec. 2013).

³⁴¹ Cf. Christopher Young & Thomas Gloning, 'Language use for special purposes: Cookery recipes 1350–1600', in *A History of the German Language through Texts* (Oxford, 2004), p. 185.

³⁴² Cf. Young & Gloning, 'Language use for special purposes', p. 194.

³⁴³ Francis (Franz) I (reigned 1804–35) had been the last Holy Roman Emperor as Francis II, reigning from 1792 until 1806. After Napoleon had declared himself emperor in 1804, Francis I was involved from the start of his reign until Napoleon's defeat in 1815 in military conflicts with the French and the Napoleonic Wars, followed by the re-establishment of the territorial divisions of Europe at the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15. In 1806 Prince Klemens von Metternich was given almost total control of foreign affairs (and over the emperor) in his role as foreign minister; he was involved in the creation of the Quadruple Alliance (Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria) and the German Confederation under Austrian leadership (including territories ruled by the kings of England, the Netherlands and Denmark), which was heavily dominated by his reactionary influence until 1848. Cf. Alan W. Ertl, *Toward an Understanding of Europe: A Political Economic Précis of Continental Integration* (Florida, 2008), pp. 319–20; see also 'German Confederation' and 'Quadruple Alliance', in *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition* (New York, 2014); for an overview, see Peter H. Wilson, 'The Meaning of Empire in Central Europe around 1800', in Allen Forrest & Peter H. Wilson (eds.), *The Bee and the Eagle: Napoleonic France and the End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806* (Houndmills, 2009), pp. 26–33. France joined the Quadruple Alliance in 1818 to form a Quintuple Alliance. Britain, which had refused to sign the declaration of the Holy Alliance (agreed amongst the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia) in 1815, retired into splendid isolation, repelled by the reactionary solidarity. Cf. John Cannon, 'Holy Alliance', in John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, 2009 [e-book]); also, 'Holy Alliance', 'Quadruple Alliance', *CEE*.

³⁴⁴ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen, Ms. 1963 (online: <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/druckschriften/dergedeckteTisch/album1963/index.html>, accessed 19 Apr. 2015).

³⁴⁵ According to the headings the recipes come from foreign countries, but this does not necessarily mean that they really are foreign. Conversely, it is possible that some recipes not marked as foreign in their headings are in fact dishes originating from other countries.

³⁴⁶ For more information concerning possible reasons for this mistake (e.g. the use of Upper German written language, the lower educational level of women, and a lack of knowledge of foreign languages), see Peter Wiesinger, *Das österreichische Deutsch in Gegenwart und Geschichte* (Vienna and Berlin, 2006); Peter Wiesinger, 'Österreichische Adelsbriefe des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts als Textsorte', in Franz Simmler (ed.) *Textsortentypologien und Textallianzen von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 289–310 (pp. 296 f.); and Ingo Reiffenstein, 'Frauenbriefe des 18. Jahrhunderts als sprachgeschichtliche Quellen',

in Irmhild Barz et al. (eds.) *Sprachgeschichte als Textsortengeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 281–96 (pp. 285, 289–93).

³⁴⁷ Transcription policy: the intention of the transcriptions of recipe texts provided by the author has been to produce accurate and consistently transcribed texts. No distinction is made between the different palaeographic letter forms of long-*s* and short-*s*, both versions being represented as ‘s’. The ligature of long-*s* and *z* is represented as ‘ß’ (sharp *s*, *eszett*). Headings are set in line with the body text. Text connectors at the end of a line have been skipped, and virgules are given as forward slashes. Superscripts have been regularised. However, there has been no regularisation of orthography (*u* and *v* stay unchanged, separator characters are represented as hyphens), although redundant words at the bottom of the page have been deleted. If a recipe continues on a second page, the page break is not marked. Capitals are regularised. Corrupted letters are underlined.

³⁴⁸ ‘Rost Pffiff. Erstlich nihm 6. lb bradiges Rindfleisch, Klopfe es wohl mit einen Nudlwalger spicke es mit Speck, gewürz Nageln, Zimath, beleg ein Kastrol mit Zwifel und gelben Ruben, hernach nehme halb Wein und halb Wasser, gebachene Brodrinten, Lorberblatl decke es zu mit Blech vermachs mit einen Teig das der Tampf [f. 68r] nicht heraus komt, richte es auf die Glut, dünste es wohl ab, und lasse es 5 Stund dünsten, wird es Zeit zum Anrichten, so richte das Fleisch an, laß die Soß durchpassiern, und gieße es darauf, ist gut.’

³⁴⁹ Helen Gaffney, ‘The Sunday Joint – Meat in Britain’, in *The Great British Kitchen* (*The British Food Trust*) (online, 2014). Available from <http://greatbritishkitchen.co.uk/the-gbk-cookbook/eating-history/the-sunday-joint-%11-meat-in-britain/> (accessed 10 Feb. 2014).

³⁵⁰ Nigel Slater, ‘Tickled Pink’, in *The Observer*, 19 Nov, <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2006/nov/19/foodanddrink.recipes1> (accessed 10 Feb. 2014).

³⁵¹ Names of dishes do not necessarily relate to their origins (cf. Hans Wiswe, *Kulturgeschichte der Kochkunst* (Munich, 1970), pp. 105–06), nor are they connected with a specific preparation method (cf. Trude Ehlert, ‘Regionalität und nachbarlicher Einfluß in der deutschen Rezeptliteratur des ausgehenden Mittelalters’, in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann & Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 131–47 (pp. 145–46)).

³⁵² For more information, see Helga Müllneritsch, ‘Der Kürbis als Nahrungsmittel in der Steiermark des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Stadt Graz: Eine staatliche Vorschrift unter Joseph II. im Spiegel der Grazer Kochbuchdrucke des späten 17. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Graz* 41 (2011), pp. 300–05.

³⁵³ *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch* (Grätz [Graz], Widmanstetterische Erben, 1688), <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/druckschriften/dergedeckteTisch/drucke/ub-sosa-kochbuch1688.php> (accessed 22 Jan. 2014). The famous published cookery book of Duchess Eleonora Maria Rosalia von Eggenberg, née Duchess von Liechtenstein, the *Freiywillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appfel*, has not been included in the text corpus. The reason for this is that the recipe *Rindfleisch auff Englisch zu kochen* is an almost exact copy of the recipe from the *Koch- und Artzney-Buch*. See Eleonora Maria Rosalia, Herzogin von Troppau und Jägerndorf, *Freywillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appfel des christlichen Samariters . . .* (Leipzig, 1709), no. 172, p. 32,

<http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/druckschriften/dergedeckteTisch/T13580/index17.html> (accessed 11 Feb. 2014). Furthermore, the *Granat-Appfel* contains neither a recipe for roast beef nor a similar recipe to *Rost Pffiff*.

³⁵⁴ J[acob] M[elin], *Grätzerisches durch Erfahrung geprüfetes Kochbuch* (Graz, 1804), reprint with a postscript and glossary by Franz Maier-Bruck (Graz, 1978).

³⁵⁵ Anna Maria Bußwald, *Allerneuestes Kochbuch für Fleisch- und Fasttage* (Graz, 1825). Available from http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/druckschriften/dergedeckteTisch/Kochbuch_Busswald/index.html (accessed 20 Jan. 2014).

³⁵⁶ Katharina Prato, *Die süddeutsche Küche auf ihrem gegenwärtigen Standpunkte, mit Berücksichtigung des jetzt so üblichen Thee's* (Graz, 1858), http://austria-forum.org/ebook/wbin/ambrosius.html#pagenum=0&layer=default1&thumbview=2p&book=Kochen/Die_sueddeutsche_Kueche&pageid=ev00001 (accessed 25 Jan. 2014).

³⁵⁷ See also Maier-Bruck's register of eighteenth-century Austrian cookery books. Cf. Franz Maier-Bruck, 'Das Grätzerische Kochbuch', in *Grätzerisches durch Erfahrung geprüfetes Kochbuch*, (Graz, 1978), pp. 2–7.

³⁵⁸ For the king's table, game or poultry was considered more suitable. Cf. Gilly Lehmann, *The British Housewife* (Totnes, 2003), p. 24.

³⁵⁹ Lehmann, *British Housewife*, p. 29.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Lehmann, *British Housewife*, p. 36.

³⁶¹ Cf. Bickham, 'Eating the Empire', pp. 71–109 (p. 96).

³⁶² It should be pointed out again that this tendency is not restricted to the British Empire, but can be seen as ubiquitous. The invention of tradition leads immediately to the invention of stereotypes – examples are the Hungarian goulash already discussed, invented as a political statement against Joseph II, but adopted by the Austrian nobility with no awareness of its symbolic function; Swiss fondue; or German stew. Cf. Kisbán, 'Dishes as Samples and Symbols', pp. 205–07; Sandgruber, 'Österreichische Nationalspeisen', p. 183. The attempt to construct a link between certain foods and dishes and a social or ethnic group not only serves to establish the connection with a suitable historical past, but also to distinguish the group in question from others. Cf. Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 2.

³⁶³ Bickham, 'Eating the Empire', p. 94. According to Hobsbawm, this phenomenon is no surprise, as it is closely linked to the invention of the 'nation', with the necessity of creating new (national) symbols and traditions, using old materials and putting them into a different context to serve a certain purpose. Cf. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', pp. 7, 13.

³⁶⁴ The first and third verse read as follows: 'When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food, / It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood; / Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good. / O, the Roast Beef of old England, / And O, the old English Roast Beef! / [. . .] / Our fathers of old were robust, stout, and strong, / And kept open house with good cheer all day long, / Which made their plump tenants rejoice in this song. / O, the Roast Beef / [. . .]', Henry Fielding, 'The Roast Beef of Old England', in Francis Hovey Stoddard & Bliss Carman (eds.), *The*

World's Best Poetry, vol. 8 (Philadelphia, PA, 1904),

<http://www.bartleby.com/360/8/10.html> (accessed 13 Feb. 2014).

³⁶⁵ Olive Baldwin & Thelma Wilson, '250 Years of Roast Beef', in *The Musical Times*, 126 (1985), pp. 203–07 (p. 203).

³⁶⁶ David Salter, 'Remembering the Catholic Middle Ages: The Franciscans, English National Identity, and William Hogarth's 'The Roast Beef of Old England'', in *Logos* 16/4 (Fall 2013), pp. 99–123 (p. 113).

³⁶⁷ Hannah Glasse, '*First Catch Your Hare. . .*' *The Art of Cookery made plain and easy. By a Lady (Hannah Glasse). Facsimile of the first edition [1747], supplemented by the recipes which the author added up to the fifth edition [1755]* (reprint of the 1983 facsimile with additional introductory material from 1995) (Totnes, 2012), p. ii [italics in original].

³⁶⁸ Glasse, *Art of Cookery*, p. 3.

³⁶⁹ Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oeconomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Land- Haus- und Staats-Wirthschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung* (Berlin, 1773–1858), <http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/home.htm> (accessed 14 Feb. 2014); *Rost beef* in vol. 127, pp. 382–83, and *Rinderbraten* in vol. 123, p. 484. Meyer's *Conversations-Lexikon*, Hermann Julius Meyer (ed.) (Hildburghausen, 1851); *Rostbeef* and *Rinderbraten* in vol. 6, p. 390.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Elke Hammer-Luza, 'Alltagsleben in Graz', in Walter Brunner (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Graz* (Graz, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 391–502 (p. 414); also cf. Roman Sandgruber, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft: Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1982), pp. 160–61. In contrast to this, Wiegelmann states that in the sixteenth century, at the beginning of the seventeenth and around 1800 in Austria (and particularly in Styria), pastries were consumed much more than meat. In northern Germany, however, it was the other way round. See Günter Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen in Mitteleuropa: Innovationen, Strukturen und Regionen vom späten Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (2nd edn, Münster, 2006), pp. 39 and 46; on the situation in Styria (around 1820) in particular, see p. 58. After 1800, however, the consumption of meat increased throughout Europe. See Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, pp. 67, 208. With regard to the differences in consumption of braised and roasted beef, Wiegelmann, too, notices that beef was more commonly braised in Austria and south Germany than roasted. See Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 207.

³⁷¹ Cf. Hammer-Luza, 'Alltagsleben', p. 414. By 1800 beef was mostly consumed in ordinary urban households in Austria, usually braised. The nobility preferred it roasted, in accordance with the method common in England and America. See Heinz-Dieter Pohl, *Die österreichische Küchensprache: Ein Lexikon der typisch österreichischen kulinarischen Besonderheiten (mit sprachwissenschaftlichen Erläuterungen)* (Vienna, 2007), p. 143.

³⁷² Cf. Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, pp. 38, 207 (esp. note 6). Also cf. Glasse, *Art of Cookery*, p. 3. Glasse here explains several things a cook has to pay attention to in making a roast: 'I shall first begin with Roast and Boil'd of all Sorts, and must desire the Cook to order her Fire according to what she is to dress; if any Thing very little or thin, then a pretty little brisk Fire, that it may be done quick and nice: If a very large Joint, then be sure a good Fire be laid to cake. Let it be clear at the Bottom; and when your Meat is Half done, move the Dripping-pan and Spit a

little from the Fire, and stir up a good brisk Fire; for according to the Goodness of your Fire, your Meat will be done sooner or later.’

³⁷³ Cf. Wiegmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, pp. 43, 46.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Maier-Bruck, ‘Das Grätzerische Kochbuch’, p. 7.

³⁷⁵ ‘Roastbeef. Ein gutes Hufstück wird geklopft, von den Beinen gelöst, zu einer Wurst gebunden und gesalzen an einen Spieß gesteckt. Es wird bei beständigem Begießen mit Wasser gebraten, und abgezogen, wenn es im besten Saft ist. Zu Stücken geschnitten und mit Erdäpfeln garnirt, serviren.’ Prato, *Die süddeutsche Küche*, pp. 99–100.

³⁷⁶ Salter, ‘Catholic Middle Ages’, p. 113.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Andrea Gruber, ‘Einst *fauler Hans* genannt im steirischen Land – heutzutage’ ist er als *nackter Bub* bekannt: Zu Maßen und Gewichten in alten Kochbüchern’, in Peter Anreiter, Peter Ernst & Isolde Hausner (eds.), with contributions from Helmut Kalb, *Namen, Sprachen und Kulturen: Iмена Језики in Kulture. Festschrift für Heinz Dieter Pohl zum 60. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2002), p. 290.

³⁷⁸ ‘Rindfleisch auff Englisch zu kochen. Njimme von einem Rind ein gutes Schwaiffstück und zertheils gemacht daß mans nicht zerschlägt nimb Finger lang und Finger dick Speck und spicks fein wol; der Speck muß aber wol gesalzen und gewürzt seyn und spick das fein nach der Läng hinein nimb ein Hafen oder Kessel so groß das Fleisch mag seyn alsdann laß wol sieden daß allezeit wol zugedeckt bleibt wann das Fleisch anfangt weich zu seyn würffe darein ein Zwiffel voller Näglein gesteckt und ein Stuck Jmber von einander gebrochen und groben Pfef fer / feine Kräuter / als Roßmarin / Kundelkraut / drey Lorbeer-Blätter / ein halbe Stund zuvor man anrichten will muß man die Faisten darvon schöpfen und hinein giessen ein Seidl von guten Wein / und ein halb Seidl guten Essig / nimme Schwäml und Oxengäm / müssen klein geschnitten werden / und laß einsieden daß die Suppen kurz ist / dann richte das Fleisch sauber an / und reguliers mit dem Schwäml und Oxengäm.’ *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch*, pp. 65–66.

³⁷⁹ *Boeuf à la mode* is thought to be a creation of François-Pierre de La Varenne, one of the most important chefs of the seventeenth century. Pierre François La Varenne, *Le cuisinier françois, enseignant la manière de bien apprester et assaisonner toutes sortes de viands . . . légumes, . . . par le sieur de La Varenne . . .* (Paris, 1651), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114423k.r=.langFR> (accessed 31 Dec. 2013). The recipe can be found on p. 50 and reads as follows: ‘53. Bœuf à la mode. Battez le bien & le lardez avec de gros lard, puis le mettez cuire dans vn pot avec bon bouillon, vn bouquet, & toutes sortes d’espices, & le tout estant bien consommé seruez avec la sauce.’ Shortly afterwards, in 1653, an English translation was made (in the English edition, the recipe can be found on p. 44): ‘53. Beefe a la mode. Beat it well, and lard it with great lard, then seeth it in a pot with good broth, a bundle of herbs, and all kind of spices, and when all is well consumed, serve with the sauce.’ Pierre François La Varenne, *The French cook: Prescribing the way of making ready of all sorts of meats, fish and flesh, with the proper sauces, either to procure appetite, or to advance the power of digestion. [. . .] Written in French by Monsieur De La Varenne, clerk of the kitchin to the Lord Marquesse of Uxelles, and now Englished by I.D.G.* (London, 1653), http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:111078:36 (accessed 31 Dec. 2013).

³⁸⁰ *Tellerfleisch* is boiled beef (or pork); in Vienna the meat is cooked in broth (bouillon) and served with vermicelli and root vegetables. In Bavaria, however, it is served without broth, arranged on a plate, finely sliced and with horseradish (and vinegar). See Pohl, *Die österreichische Küchensprache*, p. 147; and cf. [Christina Zacker,] *Das neue Lexikon, Küche und Keller: Mehr als 5000 Stichwörter von A bis Z* (Paderborn, 2005), p. 301.

³⁸¹ Herta Neunteufl, 'Das erste Grazer Kochbuch und die Entwicklung der österreichischen Küche: Vorstellung des ersten gedruckten Grazer Kochbuches von 1686 und zusammenfassender Vergleich zu Kochbüchern von heute', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 32 (1978), pp. 81–114 (p. 107). Why the French dish is called 'English' remains, as yet, an open question. In her study on Baroque cookery, Neunteufl notes, rather matter-of-factly, that culinary designations were not very fair or precise. Herta Neunteufl, *Kochkunst im Barock: Aus der Welt der steirischen Küche um 1686* (Graz and Vienna, 1976), p. 5.

³⁸² 'Rindfleisch Boeuf a la Mode. Nimm ein schönes Schweifstück, spicke es mit einem Finger dick geschnittenen Speck und Schinken, darnach nimm in eine Casse-rolle oder Wandel Speckfetten, Schinken, Kudelkraut, Lorbeerblätter, Basilien, Zwiebel, Limonienschalen, ganze Gewürznägerl, Muskatblüthe, guten Weinessig, und Rindsuppe, salze es, und gib das gespickte Rindfleisch hinein, decke es wohl zu, und verpappe es mit Teig, damit kein Dunst davon kommt; wenn du glaubst, daß das Fleisch weich ist, so stelle es auf die Seite, und laß kalt werden, wenn es ausgekühlt, so nimm es heraus, putze es sauber ab, lege es auf die Schüssel, und garniere es schön. Man kann auch dieses Fleisch warm mit der eigenen Soß geben, doch muß bevor die Soß durchgeschlagen, und die Fette sauber abgezogen werden.' M[elin], *Grätzerisches Kochbuch*, p. 49.

³⁸³ Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, p. 20.

³⁸⁴ 'Boeuf à la Mode. Dieses Fleisch muß von einem guten Ochsen ein Schweifstück seyn, welches fett ist; schlage es mit einem großen Messer oder Nudelwalker, damit es mürbe wird; dann schneide einen Finger lang und Finger dick Speck und Schinken, die keinen üblen Geruch haben, schneide auch Kräuter fein, als: Petersilie, Schalotten, Basilicum, Thymian, mische sie mit dem Speck und Schinken auf einem Teller ab, nimm dazu Pfeffer, ein wenig Muskatnuß, und Salz, mit diesem durchspicke das Fleisch mit einer großen hölzernen Spicknadel, wenn du keine hast, so durchstich das Fleisch mit dem Messer, und stecke einmahl den Speck und Schinken ein; nimm hernach ein Kasserol, wo sich der Deckel gut darauf schließt, lege Speckschwarten auf den Boden, das Fleisch darauf, bedecke es oben auch mit Speck, um die Seite herum lege etwas Kalbfleisch, ein Paar ganze Zwiebeln, gelbe Rüben, Sellerie, Pastinakwurzel, ein wenig Basilicum, Thymian, und ein Lorbeerblättchen, ein wenig Muskatblüthe, etliche Nelken, gieß ein Stutzenglas voll rothen Wein daran, decke es knapp mit dem Deckel zu, um den Deckel mache einen schlechten Teig von Wasser und Mehl, mache es rings um mit Teig und Papier zu, daß kein Dampf herausgehe, setze es in einen Backofen, oder auch auf ein kleines Gluthfeuer oben und unten, laß es 4 Stunden lang dünsten, hernach setze es auf die Seite, bis es kalt wird, damit es den Geruch nicht verliere. Nach diesem mache es auf, nimm das Fleisch heraus, schöpfe das Fett rein ab, die Soß aber passire durch ein feines Haarsieb. Willst du es warm geben, und hast du eine gute Suppe, so nimm 2 Löffel voll dazu; nimm es in ein Geschirr, wo du das Fleisch sammt der Soß hineinbringen kannst, wo nicht, so kannst du auch einen Löffel voll Mehl gelb machen, und in die

Soß geben, wenn du keine gute Suppe hast; setze es hernach auf eine stille Gluth, laß es langsam kochen, nur daß es nicht zu weich wird. Ist es Zeit zur Tafel, so nimm den Saft von einer halben oder ganzen Limonie dazu, je nachdem die Soß ist, auch Limonieschalen ohne dem Weißen, damit die Soß einen Geschmack bekommt. Wann du anrichtest, bestreiche zuvor die Schüssel, in die du anrichten willst, mit Knoblauch, nimm die Limonieschalen heraus, und gib das Fleisch vor dem auswechseln warm auf den ersten Gang. Willst du es aber für die zweyte Tracht kalt geben, so mache es wie bey dem Pöckelfleische gemeldet wird; aber nachdem die Soß passiert ist, laß sie auf dem Feuer kurz eingehen. Zulezt nimm Limoniesaft dazu, und lege es in ein Geschirr, wo eben das Fleisch hinein paßt, schütte die Soß hinein, das Fleisch darauf, salze es, und willst du es zur Tafel geben, so muß du eine Serviette auf die Schüssel breiten, stürze das Fleisch darauf, und gib es für ein großes Stück auf den zweyten Gang. Viele nehmen auch ein wenig Berchtramessig dazu, wenn es kalt gegeben wird.’ Bußwald, *Allerneuestes Kochbuch*, pp. 292–94.

³⁸⁵ ‘Englisches Rindfleisch. Ein schönes Stück Rindfleisch (dem sogenannten Weißbraten) gleich und dick wie Lungenbraten geschnitten, salzt und spickt man, reibt es mit gestoßenen Wachholderbeeren, Thymian, Majoran, Basilikum, Rosmarin, Limonieschalen ein und läßt es 24 Stunden liegen. Dann gibt man es mit allem was zur Beitze Nr. 2 gehört, in eine Rein, auch etwas rohes Schinkenfleisch dazu, und dünstet es zugedeckt mürbe. Der Saft wird dann herabgeschüttet, die Wurzeln mit Fett gedünstet, gestaubt, mit dem Saft vergossen und wenn es verkocht ist, durch ein Sieb über das Fleisch gegeben. Beim Anrichten gibt man nur etwas von der Sauce zum Fleische, die übrige in besonderer Schale.’ Prato, *Die süddeutsche Küche*, p. 104.

‘Boeuf à la mode. Wird, das Einreiben ausgenommen, wie obiges bereitet, nebst Speck kann man es auch mit Zunge spicken, beides fingerlang und klein fingerdick geschnitten und schief hinein durchzogen. Oder: Man kann Zwiebel, Limonieschalen, Thymian und Sardellen recht fein schneiden, den Speck zum Durchziehen darin umdrehen, dafür die Zunge weglassen. Man läßt auch Zucker in Schmalz braun werden und gibt dieß vor dem Stauben dazu. Wenn die Sauce passirt ist, läßt man das zu Stücken geschnittene Fleisch eine Stunde damit kochen.’ Prato, *Die süddeutsche Küche*, p. 105.

³⁸⁶ Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, p. ii [italics in original].

³⁸⁷ Prato, *Die süddeutsche Küche*, p. 156.