The Materiality of Writing.
Manuscript Practices in the Age of Print
SKRIFTER UՏGIVNA AV AVDELNINGEN F ör LITTERATURSOCIOLOGI
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Manuscript Practices in the Age of Print

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The Chameleon in the Kitchen: The Plural Identities of the Manuscript ‘Cookery Book’

Helga Müllneritsch

The functions of what are generally known as manuscript cookery books are manifold and are not exhausted by the provision of culinary or medical recipes.¹ They are usually seen as personal objects, strongly attached to the domestic sphere. Additions such as the birth dates of children, family events, or recipes provided by neighbours, friends or family members, are very likely to be found in them up to the twentieth century, and this makes them notebooks as well as reference books for their users.² While German studies in the field deal mainly with the linguistic pecularities of these books, Anglo-American studies give little attention to that aspect; focusing on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material, they have been interested in the relevance of manuscript recipe books for women’s life-writing,³ as well as in the recipes they contain and
of being personal or communal documents, though often created by the work of ‘many hands’, as Catherine Field titles her 2007 study, making them collaborative and even communal documents.\(^5\)

However, German and Austrian scholars have pointed out that a number of manuscripts show less personal, communal or collaborative features, but seem rather to be showpieces and were possibly even produced to order. Following this hypothesis, my focus here is on how the influence of the printed book on the manuscript can be observed in manuscript cookery books, and how that helps us to understand how this kind of manuscript could function as a literary medium in its own right and as a manual of practical instruction which could include educational and scientific material. The inclusion of educational material has been understood as a distinctive characteristic of English manuscripts. In fact, however, manuscripts from German-speaking countries include such material as well, and this makes clear, that if we want to understand them as a genre, the manuscripts have to be examined in the light of a common European context of
reading and writing practices, rather than studying each national-linguistic corpus in isolation. Accordingly, I draw on contemporary literary texts (Jean Paul’s *Leben Fibels* (Life of Fibel), first published in 1811 and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Emile*, first published in 1762) and cookery book related texts (the introduction to Christine Knoer’s printed cookery book *Sammlung vieler Vorschriften*, usually referred to as *Göppinger Kochbuch*, first published in 1785) to provide context for reading manuscript cookery books in terms of the ways in which the relationship between manuscript practices and print culture was understood in the long eighteenth century.

Many of the manuscripts which are examined in this study have rarely—if ever—been discussed before. This has much to do with the contrast between the number of texts available and the dearth of bibliographical or archival material available for contextualising them. Cookery books which are not still owned by individuals (and therefore entirely out of reach) are often literally hidden away in archives, libraries or museums, poorly catalogued or not catalogued at all. The institutional holdings are rarely homogeneous collections of related manuscripts (such as collections of family or personal papers), and this makes it hard to date and locate the material or to assign it to a certain social class or individual owner; manuscript cookery book collections tend to be a rather motley mix, often purchased by the institutions via
dealer sales or at auction or received as donations by private collectors.  

Nevertheless, a detailed analysis of manuscript cookery books in their perhaps unwelcome status as isolated artefacts can add a new dimension to two developing fields of scholarship, and to the relationships between them: study of the manuscript as ‘book’ or, more precise, literary medium in its own right (‘eigenständige literarische Buchform’), and the history of reading and writing. In his study on the *Silbernes Buch*, a manuscript book written by Caroline Flachsland and Johann Gottfried Herder at the end of the eighteenth century, Carlos Spoerhase raises the problem of the ‘modern’ understanding of books and manuscripts that many scholars adopt in their analysis of the object. The manuscript book is now commonly seen as being inferior to the printed book, as a cheap option for capturing thoughts and ideas or the preliminary stage of a print publication, serving the purpose of collecting material, as a private archive or a copy that is waiting to be set in type. This dates back to the eighteenth century, when encyclopedists began to define manuscripts as a different form of medium from printed books; the latter are ready for the eyes of the public, while manuscripts contain work that is secret or at least unfinished, i.e. not publishable (although of course the manuscript serves as copy for the printer). It is therefore not surprising that manuscript cookery books tend to be seen as personal notebooks or occasional collections, not meant for dis-
semination or for a wider public. As Tobias Fuchs outlines in his chapter on Jean Paul’s handwritten books in this volume, in the eighteenth century a manuscript was first and foremost a book (i.e. not automatically excluded from the public), and maybe even intended for publication or general dissemination in manuscript form, which certainly makes the manuscript book a literary medium in its own right (‘eigenständige literarische Buchform’) and not merely a predecessor of the printed book. This understanding of the manuscript book goes hand in hand with the conclusions of Arno Mentzel-Reuters, who actually sees the production of printed books up to the late eighteenth century as limited to noble and bourgeois élites, while the majority of the population used handwritten documents for circulation and dissemination. Like David McKitterick, Mentzel-Reuters points out that the manuscript served specific purposes and was used to circulate knowledge when printing the material was not economical.

Six manuscripts are examined more closely here in order to illustrate the variety of functions that this manuscript genre could have. The approach towards a typology of manuscript recipe books is still at the beginning, because it constantly has to be revised the more material we find. Instead of classifying the books based on physical characteristics and content of the books (as done by Madeline Shanahan, for example), I see it more useful to
differentiate between types of usage, based on Thomas Gloning’s works.\textsuperscript{15}

The first example, the Begbrook manuscript from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century (Downside Abbey Archives and Library, Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset), shows the influence of printed books on a collaboratively created manuscript cookery book which includes recipes attributed to individuals, and also shows how the manuscripts served for the cultivation of reading and writing skills.\textsuperscript{16} Two manuscripts from the Austrian National Library in Vienna (both dated 1798), created by the author Mathias Zelena and the scribe Joseph Zeilner, show the function of the manuscript cookery book as literary medium in its own right and prestigious or highly valued object, as does a manuscript from the Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum in Linz, dated 1748.\textsuperscript{17} The last section discusses the function of the manuscript cookery book as manual of practical instruction, using a manuscript from the second half of the eighteenth century (Blagg-Huey Library at the Texas Woman’s University) and a manuscript, dated 1759–1798 (Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz).\textsuperscript{18}

The multifarious functions of the manuscript cookery books as well as the combinations of different areas of knowledge within them make clear that it is necessary to analyse the material appearance of the books to fully understand their function and composition. The attention currently given to manuscript cook-
very books focuses primarily on women’s life-writing, while their importance for the field of literary and book history and the history of reading and writing is still neglected. As this study will show, it is worthwhile taking up the challenge and trying a different approach towards the interpretation of the material, always bearing in mind that ‘[t]he cookbook itself does not determine how it is to be investigated; the disciplinary approach does’.\textsuperscript{19}

Manuscript Cookery Books as Memory Aids and Imitations of Print

The first case study is one which displays evidence of collaborative production and clearly has the function of a memory aid, but which declares its status as a book in its own right (rather than a piece of life-writing or a book of recipes that ‘grew’ organically through successive additions and extensions) though the deliberate imitation of the form of a printed volume. The Begbrook manuscript demonstrates a number of features which occur quite often in work with manuscript cookery books. The manuscript is part of the Downside Abbey Archives and Library in Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset.\textsuperscript{20} Almost nothing is known about the owners or creators of the volume; it was purchased in the nineteenth century by the collector Daniel Parsons (~1860 –1900), who lived in Little Malvern, Worcestershire. Parsons’ collection was probably given to the archive in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The manuscript was found by fortunate
coincidence in the course of major renovation work associated with an update of organisation, cataloguing and storage. It is bound in leather, presumably cheap sheepskin, and consists of 140 pages of handmade paper. The first handwriting in the book, which may also be the oldest hand, reflects the use of a goose quill, while the later hands almost certainly wrote with a steel pen (Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1

The first three pages (page 2 is blank) contain an inventory list and a sample exercise in subtraction, dated 1793 and written by the first hand. This particular hand does not appear anywhere else in the manuscript. A second hand starts the cookery book—
probably several years later—on the fifth page, penning three recipes (two referring to a Mrs. Broughton and a Mrs. Broderik) and noting on page eight, between two horizontal lines at the bottom, ‘Finis coronabit opus’. Despite this final remark a third hand continues on page 9, succeeded by several other hands over the following 130 pages. Several of the recipes show pencil marks in form of an x or cross, probably to highlight especially good or successful dishes. Such marks are very common and they can be much more elaborate, as Elaine Leong points out in her analysis of the seventeenth-century manuscript of Lady Fanshawe. They are also not limited to English manuscripts, for several Austrian examples show the same traces of interaction which were left by users of the cookery book. The Begbrook MS does not contain any medical remedies, only culinary recipes and household/beauty recipes (2 out of 142: ‘Composition for clean-ing Marble Hearths, Chimney pieces etc’ and ‘Pomade divine’). The collaborative and communal aspect of the manuscript cookery book can clearly be seen through the various hands penning the recipes as well as the names of individuals provided (Mrs. Broughton, one recipe, Mrs. Broderik, three recipes, and Mrs. Harriss, one recipe).

Besides exposing the networks which helped to gather new recipes, the Begbrook MS also shows a remarkable example of penmanship. On page 32 a recipe for ‘Scotch Collops’ is written in a decorative but rather large and uncertain—presumably
young—hand (Fig. 2.2); the page is preceded and followed by pages containing recipes written in a more confident and fluent hand.

Fig. 2.2

It seems likely that this particular recipe was deliberately meant to serve as a penmanship exercise for a presumably young person, whose handwriting does not appear anywhere else in the manuscript. The cooking instruction fits exactly on the page and the practised hand takes up the work on the next page.

Although the Begbrooke MS was written by various hands, quite certainly over the course of several years and maybe even
with contributions from family or community members and friends, it was planned rather than ‘grown’. Even the penmanship exercise was executed deliberately and planned, and very likely with approval of the person writing down the recipes that precede and follow it.

The manuscript does not show blank pages or space, which in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century receipt books were left to serve as room for later expansions. It is less a piece of female life-writing, text collection or ‘starter’ collection than a clearly structured memory aid for the cook, created with the purpose of facilitating the use of the recipes and not meant to receive later additions or personal entries. With regard to the familiar triumvirate of cooking recipes, medical recipes (for both humans and animals) and household related recipes (for example ink, dye or cleaning recipes), seen by many scholars as almost compulsory for this genre, it is interesting that this manuscript does not include medical remedies. Rather than being a household manual, this manuscript is nothing more or less than a cookery book. Several Austrian manuscripts from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century show the same characteristics.

At the same time, the form of this manuscript invokes that of contemporary printed books; the volume claims to be part of the ‘Begbrook Kitchen Library’ (perhaps referring to the residence Begbrook in Winterbourne, Gloucester or to the parish Beg-
brooke/Begbroke in Oxfordshire) on the inside cover. On page 139, it closes with the remark ‘End of Volume the first’, the verso-page 140 (which is also the last page of the book) being left blank. It is unclear whether this hand is the same that features on pages 3 to 8, although it looks very similar; in any case, the manuscript certainly appears to be designed as a book, the first volume of a series. So far no succeeding volumes are known and it is likely that this series is a fictional construction. But that raises the question of why a collaboratively created manuscript, which even made space for the writing practice of (presumably) a family member, displays characteristics which are commonly associated with printed books. Perhaps the Begbrook MS can be understood as a ‘private’ hybrid which plays with the fiction of bookness—in contrast with manuscripts that are more ‘public’ in their representational character and accordingly more affirmative in their bookness. *Die Kunst zu Kochen I* and *II*, discussed in the next case study, are examples of the latter.

**Manuscript Cookery Books as Highly Valued Objects and Literary Media**

The highly elaborate layouts and handwriting styles displayed by some manuscript cookery books have led some scholars to propose that professional scribes (male or female) may have been involved. The two volumes *Die Kunst zu kochen I* and *II* clearly support this theory. The manuscripts discussed in this section do
not show signs of collaborative authorship or multiple ownership, but rather appear to be prestige objects, created to impress and to cast a favourable light on their owners. It seems the objects were not primarily meant to serve as reference guides for the cook, but rather to be presented to family members or friends. According to Spoerhase, the material (in case of the Silbernes Buch high-quality paper (‘Postpapier’) and the silver-coloured carton cover) and the form of the book, i.e., textual features, which imitate the form of printed books and (in literary works) provide intertextual references to other (printed) works, can be read as a sign of a manuscript acting as literary medium in its own right. Flachsland’s and Herder’s manuscript for example was meant to circulate between friends and family members, probably even presented to potential patrons. Some of the manuscript cookery books might have served as such literary media in their own right, although more research needs to be carried out in the future as well as a counter-reading of manuscript books against letters or literary texts to answer these questions.

Evidence for the possibility of such a function of manuscript books can be found in contemporary literary work. Jean Paul, a well-known German romantic novelist and philosopher, addresses the topic of manuscripts which mimic prints in his satirical novel Leben Fibels (Life of Fibel). Gotthelf Fibel (the name Fibel translates as ‘primer’), author of the Bienroda primer, decides to write the primer after a particularly inspirational dream.
He chooses Gothic type and chancery hand as well as black, red, blue and green ink, for the purpose of imitating the appearance of a printed book, in hopeful anticipation of the inheritance which should allow him to have his primer actually printed. To prevent his precious work from getting lost or destroyed, he even makes the effort to create several copies. When his work is finally published, he is transformed from scribe to author through the power of the printing press. Life of Fibel is indeed a satirical novel, but it reflects common practices of the time. As Tobias Fuchs discusses at greater length in his chapter, Jean Paul himself engaged in the practice of manufacturing blank books for his own use and composing manuscript books in the style of printed works.

The possibility that manuscript books were produced as a way of avoiding the cost of a large print-run has already been suggested. However, this does not mean that they were cheaper than printed books; they could even be significantly more expensive, as contemporary texts show. In the case of handwritten cookery books, the introduction to the first volume of the Sammlung vieler Vorschriften (also called ‘Göppinger Kochbuch’, comprising three volumes), published in 1785 by Christine Knoer, wife of the Göppingen town clerk Karl Friedrich Knoer, provides some evidence for their character as fashionable presige objects and also for their economic implications. Knoer justifies her decision to publish with the fact that she had been encouraged by friends to
bring out a cookery book which ‘has been tested and is suitable for future cooks and middle-class persons, and which can avoid the huge effort and the high costs which have to be invested in copying, because hardly any woman wants to be without a cookery book (i.e. a book of recipes they can refer to). Gloning sees the emphasis on the ‘huge effort’ and the ‘high costs’ required to produce a handwritten cookery book as proof for the existence of professional scribes. If the owner did not want to make the effort to write the book on their own, a professional scribe was commissioned to carry out the task for them.

The manuscripts Die Kunst zu kochen I and Die Kunst zu kochen II from the Austrian National Library in Vienna are particularly interesting artefacts, both in the evidence they provide for the existence of professional scribes, and in the manifest quality of the manuscript as a literary medium in its own right or showpiece. Both manuscripts are dated 1798 and listed in the library catalogue under the title Die Kunst zu kochen, with their entries giving not only the name of the author—Mathias Zelena—but also the name of the scribe, Joseph Zeilner. Both are bound in green Morocco leather, gilded by hand and displaying the words ‘Die Kunst zu Kochen von M. v. Z.’ on the book spine; the cover insides are lined with pink paper. Die Kunst zu kochen I is illustrated with a genre scene on fol. 5v, showing a busy kitchen and accompanied by the closing line (complete with
reference) of a fable written by the German fable writer Magnus Gottfried Lichtwer (1719–1783) (Fig. 2.3).40

Fig. 2.3

This is followed by a title page on fol. 6r (Fig. 2.4), which reads (the straight lines mark the line break): ‘Die Kunst zu kochen. | verfasst vom Mathias Zelena | K. K. Hof Kücheninspektor.’ Fol. 7r (Fig. 2.5) reads ‘Erster Theil | geschrieben im September 1798 von | Joseph

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Zeilner. | Ingrossisten der K. K. N. Oe. prov. Staatsbuch-| -haltung.’ The author Mathias Zelena and the scribe Joseph Zeilner can easily be traced. Both are listed in the Viennese Hof- und Staatsschematismus (the court calendar), Zelena as ‘Hof- kücheninspektor’ (court kitchen inspector) and Zeilner as ‘Accs- sessist’ (assessor).41

This manuscript turns out to be the first volume of a series (of two); Die Kunst zu kochen II is the second volume, displaying a title page on fol. 5r, which (once more) reads ‘Die Kunst zu kochen. | verfaßt von Mathias Zelena | K. K. Hof Kücheninspektor.’, followed by ‘Zweiter Theil. | geschrieben von | Joseph Zeilner | K. K. N. Oe. provinzial- Staats- | Buchhaltungs Ingrossisten.’ on fol. 6r and illustrated with a harvest scene on fol. 4v. This volume does not give a date, but it
is very likely that it was finished soon after the first volume, perhaps in the winter of 1798; the library catalogue at least lists the same year for both manuscripts. *Die Kunst zu kochen I and II* were originally a part of the Fideikommissbibliothek in Vienna, which was the private library of Austrian Emperor Franz I, until it was incorporated into the Austrian National Library in 1921.\(^{42}\) So far it is unclear how the manuscripts were acquired, but it seems to be reasonable to assume that they were ordered from Zelena and Zeilner by or on behalf of the Holy Roman Emperor Franz II and subsequently added to the collection.\(^{43}\)

Interestingly, the manuscripts show a similar structure to contemporary printed books, to a much greater extent than the Begbrook MS. Following the illustration and the title pages (each of them on recto-pages, the verso-page left blank), Zelena starts both volumes with an introduction (‘Vorrede’), in *Die Kunst zu kochen I* on fol. 8r–8v and in the second volume on fol. 7r, the verso-page left blank, and he closes each with an index (‘Blattzeiger’), indicating the end of both volumes with the remark ‘Ende’ (end). The blank pages at the end of both manuscripts show empty frames and thin pencil-lines, which in the light of the clear ‘Ende’ may indicate that pages were prepared and bound as blank books in advance and more were prepared than the text would fill. *Die Kunst zu kochen I* begins with advice about products, equipment and methods, while *Die Kunst zu kochen II* is structured in different sections (‘Abteilungen’) for meat, vegeta-
bles etc., including advice on tableware and other equipment at the end of the book. Different ‘fonts’ of varying sizes are used to guide the reader through the clearly structured sections and to highlight words in languages other than German. The pages are numbered and the margins are defined with a frame, while the lines are perfectly balanced and the quality of the writing is consistent over the two volumes (Die Kunst zu kochen I contains about 157 written folio-pages, Die Kunst zu kochen II about 114 written folio-pages). The introductions refer to each other, and this is further evidence that the content of the volumes was planned and compiled by the author first and later penned carefully by the scribe. A first examination shows that the texts were not annotated by later hands, and this leads to the question about the purpose of these manuscripts; quite clearly they were not created for the use in a kitchen, not even for a household.  

It seems valid to assume that they were made—presumably at some cost—to be incorporated in the library and accordingly that Die Kunst zu kochen I and II were precious (and prestige) objects, i.e. luxury items for personal consumption and showing to friends as well as literary media in their own right. Mathias Zelena does not appear as author of any other books, either manuscript or print, but his son Franz Zelena, one of Archduke Johann of Austria’s cooks, does; he is one of the best-known Austrian cookery book authors, while his father has slipped into oblivion.  

In his book Die Kochkunst für herrschaftliche und bürgerliche Tafeln,
oder allerneuestes Österreichisches Kochbuch, first published in 1828, Zelena does not mention his father’s manuscripts, but rather claims to rely on his experience which he had gained over the course of many years (‘nach eigenen und vieljährigen erprobten Erfahrungen’). The only credit he gives to Mathias Zelena is a comment in the introduction where he mentions that he had learned the art of cookery from his father—without making any reference to the manuscript. A first and very brief examination of Zelena’s book reveals that he did not directly plagiarise his father’s manuscript, but he did copy several sections almost unchanged and used a very similar structure. A detailed analysis of Mathias Zelena’s manuscripts and his son’s published cookery book is something for the future, but the use to which Franz put his father’s recipes suggests that Mathias Zelena’s manuscript was more than an encyclopedic exercise; clearly the recipes he included were ones that he knew would work.

Besides this very spectacular example, several other manuscripts can be found which are similar in being neither the work of multiple family members nor expandable ‘starter’ collections. The MS 121 of the Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum is a particularly interesting example of a carefully written and—at least to a certain degree—planned cookery book, which might have served as gift or prestige object. It contains (on basis of a first analysis) mainly cooking recipes, with meal plans/menus (‘Speisßöttl’) at the end of the book. Unlike Die Kunst zu kochen
I and II, it provides names of neither its owners nor any professionals involved in the making of the manuscript. The title page on fol. 1r is beautifully calligraphed in the colours red, green, blue and yellow, which is unusual for a manuscript of this kind: it bears the date (1748) and the title (‘book of all kinds of warm dishes, also cakes and pastry’/Buech|Allerhand Warmber|Speisen|Auch Tortten Vnd|Bastötten’). The book is entirely (over the course of 247 folio pages) written in one hand, using red and blue ink for the headlines, and coloured ink for the vertical lines on the side to define the writing space. It is possible that some pages are missing; in view of the great care given to the whole book, this best explains some missing lines of text (the last few lines of the recipe on fol. 237v as well as the first four table plans, plan number 5 starting on fol. 238r, and probably the last meal plans). The recipes are arranged into groups, which are introduced by larger headlines. The meal plans at the end of the manuscript are obviously planned, giving the number of dishes in the headline (for example ‘Speiß Zöttl auf 12. Speißen’) and listing the respective dishes (the recipes are included in the preceding pages) underneath. Although neither page numbers nor an index are provided (it is possible that there was an index which has since gone missing, but the absence of page numbers makes this rather unlikely), no later or contemporary entries, marks or other signs of use can be found. Given its good condition, the manuscript may well have been kept in a in a chest, drawer or
house library rather than used anywhere near the kitchen. Even if it is a fair copy of an old volume or a loose collection, it is likely that this artefact was penned by a professional scribe, commissioned to create a beautiful object which served as gift or to display the wealth of the owner as well as to express their identity.  

Manuscript Cookery Books as Manuals of Practical Instruction

In this last section, the function of the manuscript cookery book as manual of practical instruction will be discussed. In general, it has to be said that there are no clear separations between the functions discussed in this chapter. Manuscript recipe books served the various needs of the housewife; as suggested, they probably helped her to learn how to read and were used to practise handwriting. And there were other things she needed to know. In Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s Emile of 1762, the ideal woman Sophie ‘has also studied all the details of housekeeping; she understands cooking and cleaning; she knows the prices of food, and also how to choose it; she can keep accounts accurately’. So many of the manuscript books from the seventeenth up to the nineteenth century contain both medical and cooking recipes that this type is now considered to be the ‘typical’ manuscript recipe-or notebook. There are exceptions which contain only one of the two kinds of recipe, but they are relatively rare, and the joint
appearance of medicine and cookery can certainly be seen as a pan-European phenomenon—at least in German- and English-speaking countries—as can as the practice of filling the book from both front and back, one being used to write down medical recipes and the other for culinary information. But the books did not contain only medical or culinary recipes; as Madeline Shanahan writes, the incorporation of ‘poetry, educational material and lessons, political commentary, religious verse and various other types of writing and memoranda is also particular to English-language recipe books and makes them quite distinct’. The material under consideration here, however, shows that this particularity was by no means limited to English-language manuscripts, but was also commonly practised in German-speaking countries. The MS 136 from the Library of the Oberösterreiches Landesmuseum, dated 1759–1798, is a fascinating example in many respects. First of all, it is in very good condition, naming the owner on a beautifully calligraphed title page as ‘Maria Roßalia Mayrwalterin’ and giving the date 1759. Above the name another entry can be found, claiming that the book belongs to ‘Josepha Schramlin’, giving the date 31st July 1798. We may presume that Josepha Schraml either belonged to Mayrwalter’s family and inherited the book, or purchased it. The manuscript consists of about 263 folio-pages, numbered and framed until page 492; the last 17 folio-pages, containing an index, have been numbered by a later hand (presumably an archiv-
ist or librarian). The first part of the book includes, on first examination, mainly culinary recipes up until page 399. Page 400 is left blank, but framed and numbered. On page 401, a calligraphic headline identifies the section as ‘Raitt-Büchel’ (arithmetic book), and this section stretches from page 401 to page 487 (Fig. 2.6).
The arithmetic book includes lessons and examples for addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, subtraction with coin weights and measurements, again subtraction with coin weights, measurements and weights, *Gerhabschaftsrechnung* (form of accounts for income and outgoings associated with guardianship relations), *Regula Dedri* (rule of three) in fractions and *Gesellschaftsrechnung* (the calculation of fellowship). The pages 488–492 are blank, page 493 is wrongly numbered with a crossed out ‘249’. The index stretches from fol. 1r to fol. 13v and is titled with ‘Register | Aller deren in disen Buch Begriffenen | Warmen Speissen, welche nach ihrem | gezeichneten Numero Leicht | Zu finden seindt’ (register of all warm dishes in this book, which can be easily found by following the [page] number). The index seems to be complete and planned; it ends in the first quarter of fol. 13v. It is unclear whether the same hand or another continues with arithmetic lessons and examples on fol. 14r, including addition, division, subtraction, multiplication and probably a short version of the rule of three (‘Schuß Rechnungen auf kurz’). The sources of this arithmetic book are unclear, but it is possible that a printed book served as a blueprint or was entirely copied. The manuscript ends on fol. 17v, the last page of the book. Four snippets of paper, possibly cut out of a magazine or another printed medium, are also included. The whole volume seems to be written by one skilled hand, at least until fol. 14r; the recipe section and the arithmetic part both show calligraphic headlines,
and hardly any corrections; on first examination no later entries, marks or comments can be found. In terms of Pennell’s study on Hannah Bisaker’s manuscript this seems to be a very ‘specific textbook’, including a body of knowledge which was essential for housekeeping. It is also possible that MS 136 was made by a commissioned professional scribe, thus possibly also acting as a prestige object or a gift of love; what the material certainly tells us is that this book was not used by Maria Roßalia Mayrwalter or Josepha Schraml for any form of life-writing or notes.

Rousseau’s text indicates that it was desirable for the housewife to possess some knowledge of arithmetic in order either to oversee the work of the servants or to take care of the finances herself. Shanahan notes, with regard to the manuscript collection she examined, that educational material can be seen more regularly in nineteenth-century volumes; she connects this pattern to ‘increasing levels of female education within the home and ever improving levels of literacy’.56 MS 136 shows that the inclusion of educational material—at least a section on arithmetic—might not have been too uncommon over the course of the eighteenth century in German-speaking countries, and probably not in English-language countries either. The advice on arithmetic certainly served to develop skills which were necessary to run a household. It might also be proof that women were more interested in mathematics than commonly assumed,57 and perhaps also a sign of the developments in education for girls as well as in
reading and writing habits at the end of the eighteenth century, which is well documented for the German-speaking countries.⁵⁸

A manuscript that can be found under the entry ‘Recipes. Schoolboy’s aids to Arithmetic’ at the Blagg-Huey Library at the Texas Woman’s University provides another fascinating example. It is accompanied by a report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which identifies the manuscript as English,⁵⁹ but in the recipe section no information about possible owners can be found. The volume has been filled from both ends, one used for recipes and the other for arithmetic; several pages are missing. It contains culinary and medical recipes as well as an arithmetic book, claiming to be ‘Stephen Tabor His Book’, dated 1754 on page 69 (from the arithmetic end). The same ‘Stephen Tabor His Book’ can be found on the inside of the front cover (seen from the cookery book end), upside-down (therefore correct for the arithmetic end) and maybe by a less skilled hand than those responsible for the recipe and arithmetic entries. The volume is bound in vellum and contains 138 pages in total. On the first four pages, a calculation for the Epact⁶⁰ can be found, with presumably several pages missing, starting in the middle of the line: ‘and to Divide it by 19, &csoforth, as before, by all which | you will find the Golden Number of any year’.⁶¹ The Gregorian calendar had only been introduced to England in 1752,⁶² and it is possible that this book had been started as a notebook a couple of years later.
It is not clear if the hand that penned the calculation for the Epact is responsible for some of the entries in the arithmetic section at the other end of the book and/or the cookery book; it also remains unclear whether the two parts are connected with each other, or if the calculation of the Epact is meant to precede the recipes. Up to page 9, no page numbers are provided, and the arithmetic book is not numbered either. The cookery book however was clearly planned to a certain extent. It starts on page 5 with an index, filling only one page and probably meant to be extended, because it is followed by three empty pages. Page 9 is numbered as ‘page 1’ and marks the actual start of the recipe section, which is numbered through; pages 5–8 are missing (page 4 is opposite page 9, the recipe ‘To sous a Pig’ on page 4 is probably incomplete). The book is written by 2–4 hands, with two hands responsible for the majority of the more than 130 recipes, including cures for horse- and sheep-sickness as well as culinary and medical recipes. Between the last entry on page 69 and the end of the arithmetic book three pages are blank, possibly for the purpose of extending either the recipe or the arithmetic part. Several of the recipes are accompanied by names. Some may be individuals, such as Mrs. Mortlock, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Eldred, Mrs. Moody, Mrs. Crisp, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Croft, Mrs. Talbots, Mrs. Spinks and Mrs. Parsons, while others look more like ‘brand’ names. Some may be copies from other sources: ‘Mrs. Kerrich’s Patties’, ‘Lady Westmerlands Famous White Balsam’,

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‘The Duke of Buckinghams Pudding.’ The enclosed report from the Historical Manuscript Commission names ‘5 items of loose Recipes including some from Mrs Porter of Chelmsford, (Chelmsford Borough, Essex)’, which should be at the back of the book but seem to have gone missing by now. It is not possible to date the cookery book; the only dates included are the year 1754 and 1755 (page 73 from the arithmetic end), which could easily date later or earlier than the recipe section.

The arithmetic book starts with an oversized ‘A’ (if this was meant as a method to structure the sections, it was the only attempt and was not continued), followed by the headline ‘teacheth to Add several sums or Numbers together | And shewes the Amount of Them’. Further included are (probably by various hands) the addition of avoirdupois weight, troy weight, cloth measures, dry and liquid measures, subtraction, multiplication, division, reduction, long measures and time. Frequently one page (usually the verso-page) is left blank, maybe to add more exercises. On page 73 (from the arithmetic end), the single line on top says ‘I desire to Know how many Days Hours & Minutes are there since the Birth of our Saviour to this Present Year 1755’, followed by blank pages until page 75, which only contain the headline ‘The Rule of Three Direct’. The headlines are calligraphic and structured with red lines which underline or separate; except for the blank pages, the writing space is defined with a double red line on the left side of the recto-page.
There are no indications that Stephen Tabor was a schoolboy; only the report of the Historical Commission describes the arithmetic book as ‘a Schoolboy’s aids to Arithmetic’ without further explanation. It can be said, though, that the manuscript represents a specific body of knowledge which was written by several hands and treated with great care. There are no further additions or marks, which would show the use or expansion of the book (except the date 1755, which might point towards the creation of the arithmetic book over the course of one or two years, but there are no further indicators for this), and also no family-related entries such as children’s names, birthdays or death dates. The reason for the cookery book to be set in between the calculation of the Epact and the arithmetic book might be that the book was started as a notebook and was later used for the culinary and medical recipes, with the arithmetic book having been started independently on the opposite side. Whatever the reason, this particular manuscript shows that the inclusion of scientific material had already started in the eighteenth century and may have been more common than previous studies suggest. Both the manuscript cookery books discussed in this section show that the inclusion of material other than culinary and medical can not be seen as particularly English, but seems to have been practised at least in German-speaking countries too.
Conclusion

It was the aim of this short study to explore the ‘chameleonesque’ character of the manuscript cookery book by discussing its various functions based on the insights provided by the material itself. It could serve as an educational tool and a space to practise writing skills, an economically structured memory aid, probably influenced by the style of printed books, a gift or prestige object or a literary medium in its own right. The manuscripts considered here show that a single book could have a number of different uses, and this points towards the manifold needs it had to serve in the household (very different kinds of which are represented here). In the course of this chapter, I wanted to challenge the existing approach towards manuscript recipe books which very often focuses on women’s life-writing (without much consideration of male contribution) and culinary history, without taking the functional whole of the material into account. Recent studies have begun to reconsider the significance of the manuscript book, and this chapter shows that manuscript recipe books have something important to contribute to that project. They not only display structural elements of printed books, but might also have been used to circulate knowledge between the private sphere (family members, friends) and and the public. Consideration of the skills which were transmitted to the members of the household through manuscript recipe books, visible in the educational
and scientific material they incorporate, promises insights into
the history of education—of both women and men. It is time to
acknowledge the richness of this material, and although access to
the objects very often proves challenging, it is worthwhile mak-
ing the effort.

NOTES

1 The main focus of this study is manuscript books containing mainly
culinary recipes; therefore the term ‘manuscript cookery book’ will be
used, bearing in mind that other scholars speak of ‘manuscript recipe
books’ or ‘manuscript recipe collections’. The term ‘manuscript recipe
book’ will be used if referring to the particularities/functions of the
manuscripts in general.

2 Cf. Thomas Gloning, ‘Handschriftliche Rezeptnachträge in einem
“Göppinger Kochbuch” von 1790’, in Raum, Zeit, Medium – Sprache
und ihre Determinanten. Festschrift für Hans Ramge zum 60. Geburts-
tag, ed. by Gerd Richter, Jörg Riecke and Britt-Marie Schuster
(Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 2000), pp. 353–72
(p. 360).

3 For example Madeline Shanahan, Manuscript Recipe Books as Archae-
ological Objects. Text and Food in the Early Modern World (Lanham:
Lexington, 2014), although it has to be made clear that Shanahan

4 For example, see Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, Ken Albala, ‘Toward a historical dialectic of culinary styles’, in *Historical Research,*

5 For a discussion of this aspect, see for example Leong, ‘Collecting Knowledge’, p. 83 or Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, pp. 125–44.


7 The manuscripts held by the National Library of Ireland seem to represent a homogenous collection, which is rather unusual for Austrian or German holdings. For more information about the Irish collection, see Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, pp. 31–32; 85–86; 153–64 (Appendix).


9 For example, see Claflin, ‘Cookbooks as Historical Sources’, p. 118 and note Christopher Driver’s comment on John Evelyn’s manuscript cookery book: ‘A book of cookery is hardly the point from which to


11 For example, see Claflin, ‘Representation of Food Production and Consumption’, p. 111. Claflin argues that from the fifteenth century onwards the printed book made texts ‘more accessible to readers as they cost less to produce and were more plentiful than labor–intensive handwritten manuscripts’, although during the sixteenth century they were still intended for royal and upper-class households. In the following centuries, manuscript recipe collections still circulated, despite the printed book becoming increasingly common. Cf. Gloning, ‘Handschriftliche Rezeptnachträge’, pp. 358–62 or Gloning, ‘Textgebrauch’, p. 523.


See Thomas Gloning, ‘Textgebrauch und sprachliche Gestalt älterer deutscher Kochrezepte (1350–1800). Ergebnisse und Aufgaben’, in Franz Simmler (ed.), *Textsorten deutscher Prosa vom 12./13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Merkmale* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002), pp. 517–50 (pp. 521–22). Gloning differentiates between three types of usage: The manuscript recipe book as text collection without any intention for practical use, created out of encyclopaedical interest (for example the ‘Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch’); as manual or ‘starter’ collection for young women, often made by family members as present for a wedding or such; and the manuscript as memory aid. He emphasises particularly that there are no types of manuscript recipe books, but types of usage, which means that a ‘starter’ collection could easily become a memory aid or be used for documentation of one’s personal practice.

Begbrook MS, AC 1420, in the following cited as Begbrook MS. At this point I want to thank Dr Tim Hopkinson-Ball, Alyson Leeds and Louise Anderson for their invaluable comments, support and help by examining the manuscript.

Cod. Ser. n. 12174 and Cod. Ser. n. 12175. The digitised manuscripts can be found at the Austrian National Library; see Cod. Ser. n. 12174, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00066466 and Cod. Ser. n. 12175, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00066467 [both accessed 22 December 2015]. In the following, Cod. Ser. n. 12174 will be cited
as *Die Kunst zu kochen I* and Cod. Ser. n. 12175 as *Die Kunst zu kochen II*. The term ‘author’ in connection with manuscript recipe books (prescriptive or instructional literature) in this study has to be understood as set of linked activities which are often carried out by more than one person (and in succession) rather than a sole creator of a text, as defined by Michelle DiMeo, ‘Authorship and medical networks: reading attributions in early modern manuscript recipe books’, in *Reading and writing recipe books 1550–1800*, ed. by Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 25–46 (pp. 26–27) or Margaret Ezell, ‘Cooking the books, or, the three faces of Hannah Woolley’, in *Reading and writing recipe books 1550–1800*, ed. by Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 159–78. Manuscript number 121, in the following MS 121. See the digitised manuscript at the homepage *Altes Kochbuch* (Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum): www.alteskochbuch.at/kochbuchhandschriften.php [accessed 19 December 2015].

The manuscript can be found under the entry ‘Recipes. Schoolboy’s aids to Arithmetic.’ See more information on the Cookbook Collection at TWU here: www.twu.edu/library/cookbook-collection.asp [accessed 25 December 2015]. I want to thank the team of the Woman’s Collection for their precious help, especially Bethany Ross, Kimberly Johnson and Megan Haase. Manuscript number 136, in the following MS 136. See the digitised manuscript at the library homepage: www.alteskochbuch.at/kochbuchhandschriften.php [accessed 24 December 2015].
Clafﬁn, ‘Cookbooks as Historical Sources’, p. 122. See also p. 120, where Clafﬁn points out (referring to printed books, though) that the study of a book as physical object or commodity can provide more insights into its intended use, because the particular qualities of materiality contains notions of how the book should be read.

Downside Abbey is a Roman Catholic monastery, home of a community of Benedictine monks; the Abbey Archives and Library hold one of the largest (private) collections of research material in the South West of England. See www.downside.co.uk [accessed 1 October 2015]. An edition (including facsimiles) of the manuscript has been published as Downside Abbey Discovers: Bristol Georgian Cookbook. Over 100 original everyday recipes, written c. 1793, ed. by Leo Maidlow Davis (Stratton-on-the-Fosse: Downside Abbey Press, 2017).

No watermarks could be found during the ﬁrst (rough) examination. The sewing shows six quires.

Latin for ‘The end crowns the work’. I want to thank Marie-Christine Skuncke for her highly appreciated help by deciphering the handwriting. This habit of marking the end of a text, paragraph, section or book can also be found in Austrian manuscript cookery books, for example manuscript number 119 of the Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, dated 1738), fol. 181r (here actually almost at the end, followed by a single recipe on the last page, penned by the same hand); see the digitised manuscript at the library homepage: www.alteskochbuch.at/kochbuchhandschriften.php [accessed 19 December 2015].
Cf. Elaine Leong, ‘Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household’, *Centaurus* 55 (2013), 81–103 (pp. 91–92). The Begbrook MS however does not seem to be a typical ‘starter’ collection which was meant to be expanded, tried and tested afterwards, unlike the manuscripts discussed in Leong’s analysis.

See for example the digitised manuscript (dated 1818) at the Graz University Library (Sondersammlungen/Digitalisierte Bestände): http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.1800–1999/Ms.1963/index.html and one (dated 1718–1724) at the Library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum (Kochbuchhandschriften): www.alteskochbuch.at/kochbuchhandschriften.php [both accessed 19 December 2015].

A very quick research showed that all three names can be found on the homepage of the *Bristol and Avon Family History Society* (www.bafhs.org.uk, Research Room, Family Trees Index). Two boxes are listed for a family called ‘Broderick’ and one box for a family called ‘Broughton’, while for the family name ‘Harris’ even 70 entries can be found. However, it has to be noted that names of individuals should be treated with care; it is possible that the recipes have not been received by a family member or friend, but taken out of other cookery books. See for example DiMeo, ‘Authorship and medical networks’, pp. 25–46; Joan Alcock, ‘The Ambiguity of Authenticity’, in *Authenticity in the Kitchen. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2005*, ed. by Richard Hosking (Totnes: Prospect
Books, 2006), pp. 33–43 (p. 36) and (showing very well the various reasons which lead to mistakenly attributing recipes copied out of printed books to individual persons of the community and family network, as well as not giving credit to the source at all) Alice Ross, ‘Ella Smith’s Unfinished Community Cookbook: A Social History of Women and Work in Smithtown, New York, 1884–1922’, in Recipes for Reading. Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories, ed. by Anne Bower (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), p. 163.

26 Women’s letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth century discuss the necessity of a neat handwriting frequently, even giving advice, such as suggesting to write in a large hand for a while rather than to start scrawling. See Stacey Sloboda, ‘Between the Mind and the Hand: Gender, Art and Skill in Eighteenth-Century Copybooks’, Women’s Writing 21/2 (2014), 337–56 (p. 341).


28 Cf Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, ‘Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern “Medical Marketplace”’, in Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1456–c. 1850, ed. by Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis (Basingstroke: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 133–52 (p. 135). In their study, which focuses on medical recipes and knowledge, Leong and Pennell address the selective awareness which occurs among scholars working with early modern recipe books (printed or handwritten). Usually they are referred to as ‘cookery books’ without acknowledging the medical recipes included.


32 Cf. ibid., p. 63.


34 Jean Paul, *Leben Fibels*, p. 118. The use of the various coloured inks is considered as being remarkable, if not bold. See ibid., p. 116. See also Uwe Wirth, ‘Die Schreib-Szene als Editions-Szene. Handschrift


36 Cf. Jean Paul, *Life of Jean Paul F. Richter, Compiled From Various Sources; TogetherWith His Autobiography*, transl. by Eliza Buckminster Lee, 2nd edn (London: John Chapman, 1849), p. 149. In the eighteenth century it was not unusual in either English or German speaking countries to produce manuscript books, i.e. blank books, and writing materials including paper and ink at home; more comprehensive writing manuals included information on how to prepare the material. See Sloboda, ‘Between the Mind and the Hand’, p. 342 and Gladt, *Deutsche Schriftform*, pp. 15–16.


werden, indem nicht leicht ein Frauenzimmer ohne ein geschriebenes Kochbuch seyn will.


40 The line (plus reference) reads: Sebt, sprach der Herr, den klugen Schluß, Das mir sagen kann, was gut, und übel schmecket, folgt es, daß ich ein Koch seyn muß? M. G. Lichtwers 12te Fabel IIItes Buch. It concludes the fable Der Koch und der Herr (third book, fable nr. 12) in Magnus Gottfried Lichtwer, Fabeln, vol 30 (Hildburghausen: Bibliographisches Institut, 1842), first published in 1748 (Vier Bücher Äsopischer Fabeln, in gebundener Schreib-Art), online: gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/fabeln-5689/67 [accessed 22 December 2015]. Etzlstorfer describes the illustration in detail and quotes the lines as 'Echt, sprach der Herr, den klugen Schluß, Das mir sagen kann, was gut und übel schmecket, Folgt es, daß ich ein Koch seyn muß., obviously misreading the initial word, and the question mark as a full stop. He also does not mention the source of the fable, which was clearly given by Zelena. Etzlstorfer interprets the lines as a counterpoint to the hard work shown by the illustration. See Küchenkunst und Tafelkultur. Kulinarische Zeugnisse aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, ed. by Hannes Etzlstorfer (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2006), p. 148.


43 See also Ken Albala, ‘Cookbooks as Historical Documents’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. by Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 227–40 (p. 229). According to Albala, many cookbooks in the past as today were meant for ‘armchair chefs’ who read them primarily for entertainment value rather than as practical guides, and especially the early cookbooks were kept in libraries to be consulted by a literary elite instead of ‘lowly cooks’. It might also be possible that *Die Kunst zu kochen I* and *II* represent *immobiles*, i.e. manuscripts which were meant to remain in libraries (in opposite to *mobiles*, which were intended for circulation). McKitterick, referring to the works of François Moureau, mentions newsletters and newspapers being distinguished by Moureau in this way. See McKitterick, ‘Paper, Pen and Print’, p. 15.


45 Etzlstorfer only notes that Ferenc (Franz) Zelena might have been a close relative to Mathias Zelena. See Etzlstorfer, *Küchenkunst und Tafelkultur*, pp. 148–49.


The introduction on the homepage suggests that several of the manuscripts might have been recipe collections compiled by housewives and given to skilled/professional scribes, who created fair copies, neatly written and well laid out. See also Waltraud Faißner, *Linzerische Torten auf andere Art. Historische Rezepte zur “Linzer Torte” aus der Kochbuchsammlung der Bibliothek des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums und anderen Quellen*, 2nd rev and ext edn (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2010), p. 16. The paper manuscript has a carton cover, back and edges are made of green parchment paper; the pages measure 21.7 x 17 cm. It was bought by the library from Maria Seyrl from Bad Hall, probably in the early 1950s; there is no information about the place it was originally made, or owners/makers, provided. See ibid., p. 146.

For collecting, inscribing and collating domestic information as a form of self-identification of the early modern woman, see Pennell, ‘Making livings, lives and archives’, p. 233.


See Faßner, *Linzerische Torten*, p. 148. The manuscript was commissioned by the library, probably in the 1940s. No further bibliographical material has been provided.

On fol. 1r, following entry (pencil) can be found: “Herr Georg Brodinger / Offizial der k. k. Tabakfabrik / in Linz.” The k. k. Tabakfabrik in Linz (imperial-royal tobacco factory) was founded in 1850; Brodinger’s entry must have been made after this date; it is unclear if he purchased the manuscript or inherited it. For the history of the tobacco factory, see Helmut Lackner and Gerhard A. Stadler, *Fabriken in der Stadt. Eine Industriegeschichte der Stadt Linz* (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 1990), p. 241.


See Kurt Wesoly, “Rechenunterricht und Rechenbücher bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Herzogtums Berg (Books in Primary Education. The Example of the Dutchy of Berg),” in *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 2012, vol. 15/2, pp. 79–90 (p. 87). Wesoly discusses a 1779 edition of the *Neu=eröffnete Vollständige, wohl=gezirte Rechen=Stube* by Servatius Schlyper (first edition 1734), which belonged to a woman called Agnes am Hessenbleck (probably from the area around Velbert, Germany), and expresses his surprise that a woman took interest in arithmetic.

59 For more information on the HMC, see www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/hmc.htm [accessed 19 December 2015].

60 Epacts are used to determine the age of the moon every year (to calculate Easter, for example), to bring the lunar calendar into harmony with the solar calendar. The difference in time between the lunar and the solar year is about 11 days. For more comprehensive information, see A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, vol. II (London: Owen, 1763), p. 1095 (s.v. ‘Epact’) and Olaf Pedersen, ‘The Ecclesiastical Calendar and the Life of the Church’, in Gregorian Reform of the Calendar, ed. by George Coyne, Michael Hoskin and Olaf Pedersen (Vatican City: Specola Vaticana, 1983) pp. 17–74.

61 The Golden Number can be calculated by dividing the year by 19, taking the remainder, and adding 1. See New and Complete Dictionary, pp. 1477–78 (s.v. ‘Golden-Number’).


63 It is possible that these recipes show the high social status of the writer and their connections (see Shanahan, Manuscript Recipe Books,
p. 138), but it seems more likely that the recipes are copies, probably from printed sources.

64 In some of the manuscript books of the National Library of Ireland’s collection, some evidence was found that blank pages were actually used for practising arithmetic or geography. See ibid., pp. 113–14. It is at least equally likely though that practising the exercises was not carried out directly in the book, but on a wax or slate tablet or a sheet of paper, so that the book would be of use for a longer amount of time. Because of the high price of printed arithmetic books even the teachers often copied their material rather than purchasing a book. See Wesoly, ‘Rechenunterricht’, p. 86.

65 See Shanahan, Manuscript Recipe Books, p. 57. Once again it must be said that Shanahan examined a specific collection which gave her the results she presents in her study, and they should not be generalised.