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Salsamenta pictavensium: Gastronomy and Medicine in Twelfth Century England*

The study of food within medieval society is a subject that embraces a wide variety of fields. To explore debates from the thirteenth century onwards on the sensory aspects of food - appearance, smell, taste - is also to explore the wider societal impact of university debates.¹ To assess the impact, or lack thereof, of Arabic culinary traditions on western medieval recipes, ingredients (notably sugar-cane), and cooking techniques, is to engage with a wider debate on acculturation and cultural exchange between regions of Christian and Islamic hegemony.² To investigate

* The authors acknowledge the contribution of expert knowledge and scholarly insight to their research furnished by the participants in the workshop ‘Sauces from Poitou: Contextualising Medieval Taste in Light of 12th Century Culinary Recipes’ held at Durham University on 4-5 July 2014, notably Debby Banham (Cambridge), Nicholas Everett (Toronto), Sarah Gilbert (Durham), and Thomas Gloning (Giessen). This workshop was supported financially by Joanna Barker and the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies. We are also indebted to Bruno Lauriou (Université de Versailles) and Melitta Weiss Adamson (University of Western Ontario) for their guidance, to Greti Dinkova-Bruun (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) and Sigbjørn Sønnesyn (Durham) for advice on palaeography and translations and to Victoria Recio Muñiz for sharing a copy of her dissertation. We also thank the anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions.

¹ See for example Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) and C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

² A critical approach to the question of Arab models for western medieval cuisine is provided in Bruno Lauriou, *Une histoire culinaire du moyen âge* (Paris, 2005). On acculturation on the Iberian frontiers the classic study remains Thomas F. Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, ‘Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), pp. 136-154. See also Thomas. F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle, Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester, 1995).

dining habits and the context of food preparation and presentation necessarily involves consideration of material display, literary expression and the articulation of cultural norms.³

Essential evidence for the study of food in the medieval period comes from the recipe collections and cookbooks. Elliptical and challenging though medieval culinary recipes can be in their minimalist approach to quantities and instructions, often consisting of no more than a list of ingredients, they offer the primary indication of what constituted gastronomy, as opposed to simply what foodstuffs were eaten. A gaping lacuna in the historical record, then, is the lack of any collection of recipes in the medieval west between early sixth century Gaul, when the physician Anthimus inserted some rather general indications for food preparation into his *De obseruatione ciborum* [*On the Observance of Foods*], and the second half of the thirteenth century when Latin collections emerge such as the *Tractatus de modo praeparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria* [*Treatise on the Ways of Preparing and Seasoning All Kinds of Food*] and the *Liber de coquina* [*The Book of Cookery*] as well as vernacular collections.⁴

³ See for example C. M. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500* (Newhaven, 2016) and his earlier 'Food and the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 1-19; Bonnie Efros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York, 2002); Veronika E. Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin. Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity* (New York, 1996); Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987).

⁴ *Anthimi De obseruatione ciborum ad Theudericum regem Francorum epistula*, ed. Valentin Rose, 2nd ed., *Corpus medicorum latinorum* 8,1 (Berlin, 1963), trans. Mark Grant, *Anthimus on the Observation of Foods (De obseruatione ciborum)* (Totnes, 1996). Anthimus rarely includes detailed recipes with multiple ingredients and procedures; exceptions can be found in chs. 3, 34-5, 67. On the two Latin collections edited from Paris BNF lat 7131 and 9328 see Marianne Mulon, 'Deux traités inédits d'art culinaire médiéval', in *Les problèmes de l'alimentation. Actes du 93^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Tours, 1968*, (Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à

The discovery of a collection of culinary recipes within a manuscript made in England in the second half of the twelfth century, and which formed part of the medieval library of Durham Cathedral Priory, is in this context, of considerable interest. The present discussion introduces and analyses this suite of ten recipes for ‘Poitou sauces’ or ‘Poitou relishes’ (*salsamenta pictavensium* – literally ‘of the Poitevins’) to garnish various kinds of meat, fish and fowl. These are, to date, the oldest medieval recipes for such sauces, and in their role as gastronomic enhancements, the oldest surviving medieval culinary recipes.⁵ As such the collection makes

1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1968), v. 1, pp. 369-435. Both texts are available online in editions by Thomas Gloning, the *Tractatus* at <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/mul1-tra.htm>, the *Liber* at <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/mul2-lib.htm> (accessed 10/7/15).

⁵ As Constance Heiatt and Sharon Butler remark: ‘The only twelfth-century English recipes anyone has located to date are a few which occur rather casually in the *De Utensilibus* of Alexander Nequam, written in Latin with Anglo-Norman and (a few) English glosses....Our main sources of information about twelfth- and thirteenth- century English food are literary feast scenes, most of which are not very helpful...’ Heiatt and Butler (eds.) *Curie on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including the “Forme of Cury”)*, Early English Text Society (London, 1985), p. 1. The oldest culinary collection in manuscript is a roll in French copied 1250 x 1320 containing the text called Viandier which is ascribed in later copies to Taillevent, chief cook of Kings Charles V and Charles VI of France. It is now MS Sion, Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais, Supersaxo 108; see *The Viandier of Taillevent*, Terence Scully (ed.) (Ottawa, 1988). Laurioux dates the roll to ca. 1300 in his *Écrits et images de la gastronomie médiévale* (Paris, 2011), p. 26, ill. 18; see also his *Livres de cuisine médiévaux*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental fasc. 77 (Turnhout, 1997, p. 25). Constance Heiatt and Robin F. Jones argued that the earliest English culinary recipes occur in two Anglo-Norman manuscripts, British Library Additional 32085 (late 13th c.) and Royal 12.C.xii (ca. 1320-40): ‘Two Anglo-Norman Culinary Collections Edited from BL Manuscripts Additional 32085 and Royal 12 C XII’, *Speculum* 61 (1986), pp. 859-82 at p. 859. Another recipe collection dated to

possible a series of comparisons with later collections in terms of ingredients and the palate of taste. However, the significance of the collection goes far beyond this: the recipes provoke questions about the context of food culture in the twelfth century, the answers to which highlight the period as one of decisive change in attitudes towards food.

In particular, the recipes encourage a re-consideration of the relationship between food and medicine. Not only do the recipes occur in a manuscript compilation of medical materials, but they also had medical applications, one recipe especially so. This opens up the question of the function of gastronomy within the emerging rational medicine of the twelfth century. Medical literature of this period is marked not only by the influx of translations of Greek and Arabic treatises, but by a fundamental reorientation of medical thinking in the direction of theory, grounded in ancient physical and physiological concepts. In consequence, doctors reframed their professional vocation: competence, henceforth, would reside in their ability to explain as well as treat, and above all, in their role as advisers on health.⁶ Medicine's theoretical turn can be traced in a heightened awareness of the relationship between food and health in England's elites during the twelfth century. The description by William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1120s, of Robert

the thirteenth century is the Anglo-Norman *Coment l'en deit fere Viande e Claree*, a series of 29 recipes in BL Add. 46919 fols. 19r-24v and ed. printed in Heiatt and Butler, *Cury on Inglysch*, pp. 45-58.

⁶ See Jerome J. Bylebyl, 'The Medical Meaning of *Physica*', *Osiris*, 2nd ser. 6 (1990):16-41; Danielle Jacquart, 'Theoria' et 'practica' dans l'enseignement de la médecine à Salerne au XIIe siècle', in *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d'enseignement au Moyen Age. Actes du colloque Rome 21-22 octobre 1989*, ed. O. Weijers (Turnhout, 1992) pp. 102-10; Mark D. Jordan, 'Medicine as Science in the Early Commentaries on 'Johannitus'', *Traditio* 43 (1987), pp. 121-45, and 'The Construction of a Philosophical Medicine. Exegesis and Argument in Salernitan Teaching on the Soul', *Osiris* 2nd ser., 6 (1990), pp. 42-61.

de Beaumont, Count of Meulan is indicative of the changes afoot. A dominant force at the court of Henry I in the first two decades of the century, Robert wielded considerable power:

So great was his influence in England that his example could reverse traditional habits in dress or diet. For instance, the habit of dining once a day owes to him its universal adoption in the courts of the nobility. He himself had taken it over, for his health's sake, from Alexius emperor of Constantinople, by messengers, and passed it on to others, as I have said, by his example. He is blamed for having adopted and encouraged this practice more from reasons of economy than from fear of digestive disorders, but unfairly; for no one had a greater reputation for extravagant hospitality to others, combined with personal moderation.⁷

A major shift in dining behaviour, and a debate over the medical and gastronomic aspects of food production, as well as the economic costs involved, point towards the emergence of a culture of fine dining and gastronomy in the West in intimate if fluid relation to changes in medical knowledge and practice.

⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum*, 407 (2 vols, Oxford, 1998), pp. 737/738: ‘...ingentis in momenti, ut inueteratum uestiendi uel comedendi exemplo suo inuerteret morem. Denique consuetudo semel prandendi in omnium optimatum curiis per eum frequentatur, quam ipse causa bonae ualitudinis acceptam nuntiis a Constantinopolitano imperatore Alexio suo, ut dixi, ceteris refudit exemplo. Quod tamen magis parcitate dapsilitatis fecisse et docuisse quam timore cruditatis et indigeriei immerito culpatur, quia nemo eo, ut fertur, in dapibus aliis sumptuosior uel sibi moderatior fuit’. On Count Robert see David Crouch, ‘Robert de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Leicester : His Lands, his Acts, and his Self-Image’, in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, eds Donald F. Fleming and Janet M. Pope (Martlesham : Boydell and Brewer, 2007), pp. 91-116 and his ‘Beaumont, Robert de, count of Meulan and first earl of Leicester (d. 1118)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1881>, accessed 10 July 2015]

The manuscript containing the recipes belonged to the Benedictine priory at Durham Cathedral offers clues not only to its provenance but also to the social context of the recipes themselves. However, the Durham context raises issues, addressed in what follows, about the nature of the community for whom the recipes were written, its choices of library acquisition, its relationships with the bishopric, and attitudes within the community towards food and medicine in a monastic setting. Food culture at the Priory provides further insight into its establishment and identity from the later eleventh century, its powerful role in the north of England, and its links to cultural change across the kingdom. The Durham community was also connected to Robert de Beaumont, singled out by William of Malmesbury for his gastronomic interests, and to his brother Henry, earl of Warwick (d. 1119). Both were both involved in Durham political life, notably the prosecution of bishop William of St Calais in the 1080s and both were entered into the Priory's re-launched book of memory, the *Liber vitae* in the early twelfth century.⁸ Henry is also referred to in the medical collection in which the culinary recipes are located, the implications of which are significant for the provenance of the manuscript, as shall be discussed later. The place of culinary recipes, found within a medical context, in a thriving monastic house with considerable secular responsibilities exercised in close connection to the bishop, serves to

⁸ David Rollason and Lynda Rollason, eds., *Durham Liber vitae: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.VII: Edition and digital Facsimile with Introduction, Codicological, Prosopographical and Linguistic Commentary, and Indexes including the Biographical Register of Durham Cathedral Priory (1083-1539)* by A.J. Piper, 3 v. (London, 2007), v. 3, p. 456 (E.29.1). See also David Crouch 'Beaumont, Henry de, first earl of Warwick (d. 1119)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19984>, accessed 10 July 2015].

anchor the broader intellectual and cultural changes that the recipes point towards to the circumstances and interests of a particular community.

The manuscript containing the *salsamenta* recipes is now in the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, under the shelf-mark Δ 3 6. In Montague Rhodes James's catalogue, it is no. 51, and is referred to henceforth as Sidney Sussex 51.⁹ The volume belonged to Durham Cathedral Priory in the Middle Ages, and was registered in the 1391 catalogue of the 'Spendement' or storage-room.¹⁰ It was presumably still in the Priory Library at the time of the dissolution, but by 1591 it was owned by Archdeacon John Pilkington of Durham, brother of Bishop James Pilkington (1520-1576);¹¹ his name is recorded on the flyleaf, and again on fol. 47r. How it found its way thereafter to Sidney Sussex College is not yet clear.

The manuscript is made up of four distinct booklets, all roughly coeval. Examination of the script suggests that the third element of this collection, the one containing the recipes, is the oldest, dating to the second half of the twelfth century and probably to c. 1150-c. 1175. The four

⁹ Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 36-7.

¹⁰ *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm*, James Raine and Beriah Botfield (eds), Surtees Society Publications, 7 (1838), p. 24 (item 'P'). The entry reads: 'P. Versus hildeberti de expositione missae. Tractatus de corpore Christi. Regula de medicinalibus. Glosae in psalterium'.

¹¹ Pilkington was archdeacon from 1563 until sometime after 1602: William Hutchison, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, part II* (Newcastle and London, 1784-95), p. 221; Joyce M Horn, David M Smith and Patrick Mussett, 'Archdeacons: Durham', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 11, Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Manchester, Ripon, and Sodor and Man Dioceses* (London, 2004), pp. 82-3 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1847/vol11/pp82-83> [accessed 10 July 2015].

booklets were bound together in the later twelfth or perhaps the early thirteenth century, as there is a table of contents for the entire volume in a hand of this period on the flyleaf; such assemblages fit with the practices of Durham Cathedral librarians of this period.¹² The first two booklets concern the sacraments: they comprise poems on the Mass and on baptism ascribed to Hildebert of Le Mans (c.1055-1133) (fols. 1-15), and a tract defending the Real Presence composed of extracts from patristic and early medieval theologians, notably Paschasius Radbertus (785-865) (fols. 17r-26v). In between this part of the volume and the fourth and final section (a gloss on the Psalter and Canticles, fols. 47r-102r), is a collection of medical recipes (fols. 27r-45r),¹³ within which the *salsamenta* recipes are embedded (fols. 39r-v). Two scribes, working in relay, wrote this booklet.¹⁴ Both scribes wrote a plain yet fairly formal hand, but both occasionally experienced difficulty with medical terminology and symbols, and occasionally, with Latin grammar.¹⁵ The overall impression is that the booklet was not written by scribes well versed in medicine. This does not, however, mean that the manuscript was not destined to serve a medical practitioner of some kind.

¹² R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 59-60, based on James, *Catalogue*, as above n. 9.

¹³ A synopsis of the recipes, numbered and listed, appears as an appendix to the present discussion.

¹⁴ The first scribe, who is also the one who wrote the recipes, is distinguished by his Tironian *et* whose downstroke swings to the left; his consistent use of paragraph signs, and a majuscule A that looks like a thin triangle. The second scribe (who wrote, for example, fol. 31r) makes his Tironian *et* terminate in a tick to the right, never uses paragraph marks, and writes his majuscule As like large-scale minuscules.

¹⁵ For example, in recipe 43 (see appendix), the scribe mis-read the ÷ symbol for *uncia* as the abbreviation for *est*. The word *dissenteria* seems to have posed difficulties (no. 55, 92, 94); in recipe 86 *cataplasma* was transformed into *causa plaga*. In no. 130, *ictericis* becomes *Letericis* and in no. 147, *Iotericis*. Even simple words like *farina* (no. 72) and *lapidem* (no. 119) are often misspelled.

The Priory's surviving booklists from the twelfth century indicate that it accumulated a sizable and up-to-date medical collection, including many of the items identifiable as sources and analogues of the Sidney Sussex receptarium. Not a few of these medical or partially medical manuscripts made in or for, or donated to the Priory in the twelfth century have survived, including one which contains two substantial medical receptaria, and which was unquestionably made at Durham, Durham Cathedral Library Hunter 100.¹⁶ From a systematic search of the mid-twelfth century Durham codices, focussing particularly on those of a medical and scientific character, it can confidently stated that Sidney Sussex 51 was not created by the scriptorium of Durham Cathedral Priory. While Hunter 100 is a calligraphic masterpiece, Sidney Sussex 51 gives the impression of a modest, utilitarian and almost personal production, perhaps assembled for private study and reference by a physician like Master Herebertus (*fl.* second half of twelfth century) or Master Gervasius (*fl.* 1156 x 1174), both of whom donated medical books to the Priory. However, the list of books donated by Master Herebertus and recorded around 1170-1175 in a library catalogue in Durham Cathedral MS B.IV.24, fol. 2 does not contain anything which resembles Sidney Sussex 51; nor does the list of *Libri de phisica* also in this catalogue, unless the manuscript is the *liber Gervasii medici* added at the foot of the list.¹⁷ The, mostly medical, books donated by Herebertus are recorded in detail,

¹⁶ Others include Durham Cathedral Library, C.IV.4 (Hippocrates, *Aphorismi* and *Pronostica* etc.); C.IV. 11 (Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica*), C.IV.12 (Constantine the African, *Viaticum*) and C.IV 13 (Isaac Judaeus, *Diaetae universales et particulares*), and possibly Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates 18.5.6 part 2 (Constantine, *Liber graduum*, Alphabetum Galieni, Ps-Soranus, *Quaestiones medicinales*); the authors owe this valuable suggestion to Monica Green).

¹⁷ Raine and Botfield, *Catalogi*, p. 6.

whose life is the subject of differing interpretation.¹⁸ The evidence of at least some the books acquired, points to a date in the later twelfth century, for example the verses by Master Giles

¹⁸ These 24 books are listed in the catalogue of ca. 1163 (Durham Cathedral Library B.IV.24, fols. 1-2): Raine and Botfield, pp. iii-iv, 7-8. On the career of Herebertus, see Edward Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: a Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, 1981), pp. 44-7, and esp. 130-31: ‘Sometime between 1153 and 1195 a ‘Master H. medico’ attested a grant of a chaplain of Bishop Hugh of Durham [*Guisborough Cartulary*, Vol. 2 of 2, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, lxxxix (London, 1894), vol. 2, p. 303, no. 1128]. At an undetermined point in the century, a ‘Master Herbert medicus’ attested a charter of Alexander Fitz Ralph of Brankeston for Durham [John A. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, 7 vols (Newcastle, 1820-58), pt. 3, vol. 2, p. 148; J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852), p. 140. One of the other witnesses flourished about 1199.] Then, in 1196, an Alan of Aanetorp indicated that his toft in Beverley, Yorkshire, had previously belonged to a ‘Herbert medicus.’ [*Fees of Fines of the seventh and eight years of the reign of Richard I, A.D. 1196-A.D. 1197*, Pipe Roll Society, 20 (1896), 7 Richard I (1196), p. 137]. C.A. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners of Medieval England* (London, 1965)] thought this Herbert was a local leech in the village of Beverley (p. 88). However, Beverley was more substantial than they seem to suggest, and it was also an enclave of Durham's jurisdiction. In 1130 and 1150 King David associated with a ‘Master Herbert Scotto’. [for other Master Herberts see Raine, *North Durham* p. 26 (1146), p. 82 (1156), p. 83 (1173). Kealey (pp. 44-47) dates Herebert to before 1156, because the entry on his books in the B.IV.24 catalogue is in the same hand as the books of Prior Lawrence (d. 1154) and different from that of Prior Thomas (d. 1163). However, Herebert owned books which were undoubtedly written after 1156, notably Gilles de Corbeil's *De urinis*. The two attested surviving Herebert manuscripts, both identified by *ex libris*, are Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates 18.6.11 and the Dioscorides in Cambridge, Jesus College Q.D.2: Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College* (Cambridge, 18895). no. 44, pp. 67-9. The Edinburgh MS contains item 2 on Raine's list; the Cambridge MS contains items 11-14. *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral*, ed. Richard Gameson (London, 2010) p. 71 identifies the two surviving MSS of Herebertus as Glasgow, Hunter 85 and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ.3.6, but neither belonged to Herebert: see Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* n. 83; Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, p. 192, n. 35. Master Herebertus also donated an *Antidotarium Alexandri*, which Monica Green

(that is, Giles of Corbeil, the first recorded teacher of academic medicine in Paris, and a close associate of Peter the Chanter and his circle). The *Chirurgia* of Roger of Salerno and the *consilia* of Master Reginald of Montpellier were very recent productions when the original Priory booklist was compiled in 1170-75. Taken as a whole, Herebertus's books suggest that his career spanned c. 1163-1196.¹⁹ What Herebertus's donation, and the other medical texts reveal, is a community at Durham acquiring a significant medical collection, including works by contemporary authors. The acquisition of the medieval recipes within Sidney Sussex 51 within this broader portfolio is wholly plausible.

It is also possible that one of the *medici* named in the later twelfth century section of the Durham *Liber vitae* may have been the donor.²⁰ The household of Bishop Hugh du Puiset also included a number of medical men, some with important regional connections. Bishop Hugh's personal physician, Stephanus *medicus*, witnessed charters by him from 1154 x 1157 to 1194, including a grant of Coatham Grange in Crosby (Yorks.) to Rievaulx Abbey, 1154 x 1157.²¹ Another

(private communication) identifies as the *Antidotarium magnum*, but which might also be a compilation from Alexander of Tralles's *Therapeutica* (no. 16 on Raine's list).

¹⁹ As noted by Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny in a review of Talbot and Hammond, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970), pp. 392-3. On Gilles, see Mireille Ausécache, 'Gilles de Corbeil ou le médecin pédagogue au tournant des XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Early Science and Medicine* 3 (1998), pp. 187-215; John H. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: the Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton, 1970), p. 41.

²⁰ *Durham Liber vitae*, vol. 3, pp. 616-17.

²¹ *Early Yorkshire Charters* ed. W. Ferrar and C. Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1914-64), v. 2, p. 292; *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV: 1153-1237*, ed. M.G. Snape (Oxford, 2002), p. xliii, nos.17, 27, 32, 36-7, 107, 137.

episcopal doctor was Robertus *medicus* who witnessed a license to appropriate, 1189 x 1195, and was a witness in a case involving Guisborough Priory, 1189 x 1197; he also witnessed Matilda de Grenville's grant of Ellingham to Durham Cathedral Priory, c. 1160.²² Other *medici*, master Hugo and master Nicholas, also witnessed charters of Hugh de Puiset.²³ As will be discussed later, the Sidney Sussex medical manuscript's compiler had connections with France, the Hospitaller order, and the Earl of Warwick: any of the *medici* listed here could have qualified in this respect.

To turn now to the *receptarium* itself. The third section of Sidney Sussex 51 contains a total of 244 recipes. The first 173 recipes (fols 27r-39r) target particular ailments in roughly head to toe order, beginning with headache and eye problems and ending with a block of whole-body conditions like paralysis and wounds. This is the format adopted by many encyclopedic works of medical practice, stretching from Alexander of Tralles *Therapeutica* (6th c.) to the twelfth century Salernitan *practica* ascribed to Copho, Archimatthaeus, Platearius and Bartholomaeus, and well beyond.²⁴ This section closes with three recipes for 'chemical' compounds with proper

²² *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmenses: a Record of the Beneficed Clergy of the Diocese of Durham Down to the Dissolution of the Monastic and Collegiate Churches*, ed. W. Greenwell (Surtees Society 139, 1872), p. 100; *The Priory of Finchale: The Charters of Endowment, Inventories and Account Rolls of the Priory of Finchale in the County of Durham* (Surtees Society 6, 1837) p. 19; G. V. Scammel, *Hugh du Puiset* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 238 and 255; *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, no. 41.

²³ *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, no. 44.

²⁴ Head-to-toe order is also reflected in some early medieval receptaria, for example the eleventh century collection in Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, *Studien und Texte zur frühmittelalterlichen Rezeptliteratur*, ed. Henry Sigerist, *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin* 13 (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 160-7; cf. Julius Jörimann, *Frühmittelalterliche Rezeptarien*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Medizin* 1 (Zürich and Leipzig, 1925). For an illuminating overview of

names (nos. 171-173), some of which are replicated in the *Circa instans* and the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the popular twelfth century abbreviation of the Salernitan *Antidotarium Magnum*. That a twelfth-century text from England should exhibit parallels to Salernitan medicine is by no means anomalous: many of the oldest manuscripts of the Salernitan corpus are from England or northern France, and the precocious reception of the new medical teaching in these places has been extensively documented.²⁵ These ‘chemical’ compounds are positioned directly before the recipes for *salsamenta*, and perhaps deliberately so. *Sal sacerdotale* (no. 171) is a mixture of common salt and herbs, billed as a recipe used by the Israelite priests in the time of Elijah for headache, dimness of vision, stomach trouble, toothache, and bad breath; it also is a general preservative. But it is interesting to note that it is administered ‘in omni cibo [in every dish]’ as a sort of condiment.²⁶ The *salsamenta* recipes which follow the ‘chemical’ remedies on fol. 39r-v (nos. 171-186) are also for condiments. Following the *salsamenta*, medical recipes *stricto sensu* pick up again on fols. 39v-45r, but they are of a more miscellaneous character than the first group. Tellingly, however, they begin with a section on the medical properties of herbs (nos. 189-191) and a generic ‘sick dish’ (no. 190), to which one would add ‘whatever condiments one

practica as a genre of medieval medical writing, see Luke Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine. The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, 2013), esp. ch. 1.

²⁵ G. Gasper and F. Wallis, ‘Anselm and the *Articella*,’ *Traditio* 59 (2004), pp. 129-74, and Monica Green, ‘Salerno on the Thames: The Genesis of Anglo-Norman Medical Literature,’ in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: the French of England, c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, with Carolyn Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, Linne Mooney, Ad Putter, and David Trotter (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 220-31.

²⁶ *Antidotarium Nicolai* (Venice: N. Jenson, 1491), reference under: ‘sal sacerdotale’, facsimile reproduction in Dietlinde Goltz, *Mittelalterliche Pharmazie und Medizin dargestellt an Geschichte und Inhalt des Antidotarium Nicolai* (Stuttgart, 1976).

desires' (*condimentis quibus uolueris*). On the whole, however, they comprise unguents and soporifics, emetics and purgatives, wound treatments, and remedies for stomach problems, sciatica, 'redness due to salt phlegm, commonly called grain of leprosy' (n. 216), excessive menstruation, and so on. There is no discernible order. A number of the named compounds match those in the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, and there is an explicit quotation (no. 220) from the *Liber graduum* of Constantine the African concerning the properties of myrrh.²⁷ This block ends half way down fol. 44v. A different, but contemporary scribe seems to have intended to start a new collection of recipes on fol. 45r, with a recipe 'ad uocem clarificandam (for clearing the voice)'.

Almost all the medical recipes are introduced by or terminate in an indication of the target condition (e.g. 'For purging the head' [no. 1]), the type of medication (for example, 'A good eye-salve' [no. 13]), or the conventional pharmaceutical name of the compound (for example, 'the Poplar Ointment' [*unguentum popoleon*, no. 187]), but there is no general rubric, even at the beginning of the collection. The *salsamenta* recipes are the only items in the collection demarcated by a rubric. It reads 'Incipiunt diuersa genera pictauensium salsamentorum (Here begin different kinds of sauces/relishes from Poitou [literally: of the Poitevins])'.²⁸ These recipes are all for condiments, to accompany a different kind of meat, fowl or fish. Following the sauces, without a line break, is a recipe for *zinziber conditum*, or preserved ginger (no. 186). This could be considered the first item in the second block of medical recipes, because preserved ginger is widely found in medieval antidotaria such as the Salernitan *Antidotarium magnum*; however, like the *salsamenta*, the *zinziber conditum* is not identified as a remedy for a particular condition. After the *zinziber conditum* the

²⁷ See n. 87 below.

²⁸ See transcription and translation of the recipes in the appendix of this article.

recipes, beginning with *unguentum popoleon* (no. 187) are unambiguously medical, in the sense that a medical condition is targeted, and modes of application or dosage are explicit.

An English origin for the manuscript itself, and some if not all of the texts it contains, is borne out by three English words for herbs in the medical recipes. In no. 156, two of the ingredients are *st[ur]ancrope* (stonecrop) and *singrene* (probably house-leek). In no. 204, one ingredient is a herb ‘que dicitur in romana lingua aire in anglica uero houe’ that is, alehoof or ground ivy.²⁹ Other vernacular plant names are all French. Recipe 83 for haemorrhoids, for example, calls for ‘Radix herbe botracion. que uulgo dicitur freidella’. The word *freidele* or *freydele* appears in Anglo-Norman texts as a gloss on *spigurnella*, that is, English ‘spignel’ or baldmoney.³⁰ Other French plant names include *waida* (woad, modern French *guède*), *warentia* (madder, moyen Fr. *Garence*, nos. 159, 160, 170, 225), and *wantelea* (fox-glove, moyen Fr *ganteele*, no. 30).³¹ There is a single Arabic word, *alchana* (henna) in no. 136, but this term is found in the Salernitan

²⁹ See J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford 1882-98), under ‘houe,’ who note that in Ælfric’s glossary, ‘houe’ glosses ‘uiola’. What ‘aire’ is, remains uncertain; it could be a deformation of ‘edera’ (ivy).

³⁰ *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (University of Aberystwth) <http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/freidele> = spignel or baldmoney. See also Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 280, no. 116. English manuscripts of the Salernitan dictionary of medical plants called *Alphita* include ‘spignurnella, gallice et anglice spigurnelle vel freydele. Mirabiliter valet contra squinanciam... anglice spinagre’: ed. J.L.G. Mowat (Oxford, 1887), p. 174; note that this gloss does not appear the main continental recension of *Alphita*, ed. Alejandro García González, Edizione nazionale ‘La Scuola Medica Salernitana’ (Florence, 2007). However none of the cures listed in these sources seem to be for haemorrhoids.

³¹ J. Richard Stracke, *The Laud Herbal Glossary* (Amsterdam, 1974), p. 208.

dictionary of materia medica *Circa instans*, so is, for all practical purposes, Latin.³² Other terms which have yet to be identified may nuance this picture, but, provisionally, it can be concluded that the collection was made in England, from at least some English materials, since it is more probable that French terms would appear in an English text than English terms in a French text.³³

Some of the medical recipes are ascribed to named individuals: one Pons of Rigaud is credited with a recipe for black hair dye (no. 53) and for a preparation for pain in the bowel (no. 96); Walter the Hospitaller ('Walterius miles de sancto iohannis') is the source of a topical remedy for fistula (no. 27). Moreover, there is a recipe said to have been used to treat the jaundice of Henry, earl of Warwick ('De ictericia H. comitis de \u/uareuic': no. 128). While Pons was definitely French, and Walter possibly French, the reference to Henry de Beaumont, first earl of Warwick (d. 1119), confirms the essentially English orientation of the collection.³⁴

³² H. Wölfel, *Das Arzneidrogebuch Circa instans in einer Fassung des 13. Jahrhunderts aus der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Text und Kommentar als Beitrag zur Pflanzen- und Drogenkunde des Mittelalters*, diss. Berlin, 1939, p. 16. It is also found in Constantine the African, *Pantegni practica* 2.36 and 2.71: *Omnia opera Ysaac* (Lyon, 1515), v. 2, fols. 69r and 77r (see below, n. 53); cf. Ps.-Bartholomaeus Mini de Senis, *Tractatus de herbis* (Ms London, British Library, Egerton 747), ed. Iolanda Ventura (Florence, 2009), pp. 251-2.

³³ The other terms include: (no. 25) 'petra que dicitur hana'; (no. 69) trud (?) meridie; (no. 79) 'anbleta'; (no. 90) Bouoalemannus; (no. 103) 'semen zizanie que uulgabiter dicitur gargarie siluatica'; (no. 115) 'vermem qui dicitur clodporta'; (no. 158) merreiz; (no. 168) Seneurt; (no. 172) Caleuce caumeum (a chemical preparation, perhaps connected to calx or lime); (no. 223) 'cucumera que dicitur loueies'; (no. 228) 'uertiginem capitis que dicitur esuertim'.

³⁴ Henry is the only name of an earl of Warwick in the twelfth century which begins with H. The only Henry of Warwick other than the first early was the 5th earl, who held the title from 1204-1229; these dates put him outside the period when the manuscript was produced.

The particular interest of the *salsamenta pictauensium* in Sidney Sussex 51 is that they are presented as culinary recipes. At the same time, they are conveyed within a medical compilation, and they have significant links to the medical literature in circulation in the latter part of the twelfth century, where culinary *salsamenta*, including a *salsamentum pictauensium* (singular), doubled as cures, notably for patients suffering from an aversion to food (*fastidium*). The *salsamenta pictavensium* straddle the frontier between food and medicine in a very particular fashion, for it is not only the ingredients of the *salsamentum* that give it medical value, but its capacity to enhance taste and impart relish. The *gastronomic* role of a sauce was to make a dish more appetizing; that is precisely why *salsamenta* could be used *medically* to stimulate appetite, but that is not their only or even their primary use. To put it another way, the *salsamenta pictauensium* are medical as well as gastronomic, but they are medical *because* they are gastronomic.

Salsamentum is a term which in classical Latin referred to foods preserved by salting, particularly salt fish, and the ubiquitous salt-fish condiment made from them. Isidore of Seville, describing the *allec* (sardine), says that it is good for making *liquorem salsamentorum* and says that the fish ‘takes its name from this’ – that is, from ἅλς ‘salt’: moreover, in his chapter on salt Isidore comments that it is ‘necessary for all food’ because it give ‘savour (*saporem*) to all dishes, it excites hunger and it arouses an appetite (*appetitum*) for all foods. Indeed, all enjoyment of food and the greatest cheerfulness comes from salt. Hence health (*salus*) is thought

to take its name...'.³⁵ Isidore cemented a tight conceptual bond between salt, savour, *salsamentum*, appetite and health that would exert an important influence on the evolution of medieval sauces.

By the twelfth century, *salsamenta* denoted sauces to accompany or garnish a principal ingredient, or occasionally flavoured liquids in which the dish was cooked.³⁶ Moreover, it was now used interchangeably with *sapores*: Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), in his *De nominibus utensilium* speaks of cooking fish in a *salsa* of water and wine, and garnishing it *cum viridi sapore* – the ubiquitous medieval ‘green sauce’ of mixed fresh herbs, garlic, pepper and salt.³⁷

³⁵ *allec*: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 12.6.39, ed. Jacques André, *Étymologies livre XII: Des animaux* (Paris, 1986), 204-5 and n. 384; *sal*: *Etymologiae* 17.2.6, ed. José Feáns Landeira, *Etimologías libro XVI: De las piedras y de los metales* (Paris, 2011), p. 21. The translation is by Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 318. On Roman *salsamenta* see Emmanuel Botte and Victoria Leitch (eds.), *Fish & Ships: Production and Commerce of 'salsamenta' during Antiquity. Production et commerce des 'salsamenta' durant l'Antiquité. Actes de l'atelier doctoral, Rome 18-22 juin 2012* (Arles, 2014).

³⁶ *Salsamenta* could apparently also be used for basting: Terence Scully, ‘Tempering Medieval Food,’ in *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, Melitta Weiss Adamson (ed.) (London and New York, 1995), pp. 3-23 at 19, n. 1.

³⁷ ‘Pisces exenterati cum salsa coquentur ex aqua et vino composita. Postmodum sumantur cum viridi sapore, materia cuius sit salgea, petrocillum, costus, ditamnum, serpillum, alea cum pipere’: Alexander Neckam, *De nominibus utensilium*, ed. Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, v. 1 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 183. Henry of Huntingdon's *Anglicanus Ortus* (ante ca. 1156-64) details the ingredients of *sapores* to accompany mutton (pennyroyal, cress, parsley, costmary, and pepper mixed with pan juices) and cold pork (parsley, savory, basil, cress, pepper and cumin): *Anglicanus ortus. A Verse Herbal of the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Winston Black, *British Writers of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period 3*. (Toronto and Oxford, 2012), 1.21, lines 26 and 31-32, p. 120. The terms *sapor* and *salsa(mentum)* remained interchangeable throughout

The Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* seem to be largely of the garnishing kind. The first recipe is one of two designed to accompany sausage (*carnem sulcitam*), and consists of parsley, sage, vinegar, pepper and garlic. The recipe ends ‘et cum his carnem sulcitam comede’ (‘and eat sausage with these’), so evidently it was a sauce. The remaining recipes are intended for ‘tiny little fish’ (*minutos pisculos*), lamb (*agnos*), rams (*arietes*), beef (*carnem uaccinam* – two recipes), chicken (*pullos*), and duck (*anseris*). They are all based on vinegar, except for the second beef sauce, where the liquid medium is the juice of raisins (*sucum racemorum*), that is, verjus – a close cousin to vinegar made from pressed unripe grapes. On the other hand, the recipe for ‘hen in winter’ (*gallinam in hieme*) calls for garlic, pepper and sage ‘in warm water’ (*cum aqua tepefacta*); in this case, the *salsamentum* was likely the broth in which the hen was stewed. The recipes end with two general directives. First, ‘whenever you want pork or beef with mustard, use it mixed with vinegar’ (*In quocumque tempore uolueris carne porcina. atque bouina cum sinapi. distempera acete utere*); secondly, ‘In all the above, pepper should prevail over garlic’ (*In omnibus supradictis. piper allio perualeat*). The sauce ingredients are for the most part commonly available in transalpine Europe, not exotic (with the exception of pepper), and limited in number. Pepper appears in nine recipes, garlic in seven, parsley and sage in three, coriander and savory in two, and costmary, laurel, creeping thyme, hyssop, and southernwood, in one each. The number of ingredients per sauce ranges from two (lamb and chicken), to three (the second beef recipe, the second sausage recipe and the duck recipe), four (tiny little fish,³⁸ the first beef recipe, hen in winter) or five (sausages 1); the outlier is the recipe for sauce for ram, with twelve

the Middle Ages; Maino de’ Maineris (see below, nn. 92 and 93) refers to *sapores* in his *Opuscula de saporibus* and *salsamenta* in the parent text, his *Regimen sanitatis*.

³⁸ This recipe calls for both garlic juice and garlic; we have counted these as two ingredients.

ingredients, including five not found in any of the other recipes (thyme, costmary, southernwood, hyssop and bay).

While a collection of medical recipes makes an eminently suitable donation to a monastic library, questions might remain about the *salsamenta pictavensium* as an expression of the gustatory experience of a Benedictine community. However, a case can be made, although more generally, that the culinary recipes would not have been out of place in such a milieu. Food could be enjoyed in stricter monastic circles stricter than the Benedictines, provided pleasure was not taken too far – a question of degree that was always open to interpretation.³⁹ When entertained by the monks of Christ Church Canterbury, in 1179 Gerald of Wales, noted, disapprovingly, the quality of the beer provided (the best in the whole of England), and the number of dishes put before him (sixteen he counted), and their ‘*sapores et salsamenta* [flavourings and condiments]’:

³⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury recorded that Anselm of Canterbury encouraged monks to appreciate the connection between enjoyment of food and good health, and to cultivate both: But if he saw anybody eating hastily because he [Anselm] was waiting, or perhaps leaving his food, he used to reprove them and affectionately urge them to look after themselves without any hesitation. On the other hand, if he saw any of them enjoying their food, he would give them a friendly and cheerful look, and, full of pleasure, would raise his right hand a little, blessing them and saying ‘May it do you good’. Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi, The Life of Saint Anselm*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Edinburgh, 1962), Bk. II. c.11, p. 78: ‘Quod si aliquem cerneret aut pro sui expectatione celerius comedentem, aut forte cibum relinquentem, utrunque redarguebat, et quo suo commodo nichil haesitantes operam darent, affectuose admonebat. Ubi autem aliquos libenter edentes advertibat affabili vultus jocunditate super eos respiciebat; et aggaudens levata modicum dextra benedicebat eis dicens, ‘Bene vobis faciat’.

So many sorts of fish, roasted and boiled, stuffed and fried, so many eggs and peppery foods prepared with the art of cooks, so many flavourings and condiments to stimulate the stomach and excite appetite composed with the art of the same (*sc.* cooks).⁴⁰

While the monks of Durham were prohibited by the Rule from consuming meat, or might not have been encouraged to indulge a taste for piquant sauces, their guests and superiors were under no such restraints. During the second half of the twelfth-century Durham's monastic cathedral and bishopric held considerable importance as one of the major powers in northern England, politically and ecclesiastically. Both the bishop and the monks dealt with a significant volume of secular business. Hence, to find culinary recipes for meat in Durham Priory would not occasion great surprise given the number of secular visitors the Prior must needs have entertained.⁴¹ An instructive comparison is to the contemporary Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, Samson, who made excellent provision of venison for his guests, but was never seen to taste the meat himself.⁴² Certainly more austere orders like the Cistercians, and later even the Franciscans, had no qualms

⁴⁰ Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer (8 vols, London, 1861-1891), vol. 1, pp. 51-2: 'Tot enim videas piscium genera, assa quidem et elixa, farta et frixa, tot ovis et pipere cibaria cocorum arte confecta, tot sapes et salsamenta ad gulam irritandam et appetitum excitandum eorundem arte composite.' See Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 10-12.

⁴¹ *Benedict's Rule*, trans. T. Kardong (Collegeville, Minn., 1996), c. 39 on provision of food to monks; c. 53 on the reception of guests. Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England c. 1070-c.1250* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 121-161 sets out in great detail the ways in which monastic houses fulfilled their obligations to hospitality, including serving meat, p. 127.

⁴² *The Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 28.

about copying and even translating cookbooks, even if the former officially forbade meat to be served to guests until 1355.⁴³

The expansion of the Durham Priory community, the significance of the Priory as a powerbroker in the north of England, as well as the interests of the Bishop and his household, also offer some circumstantial possibility for the culinary recipes. Following the turmoil of the late 1130s and 1140s, and guided by a series of able Priors (Lawrence (1149-1154), Absalon (1154-1158), Thomas (1162/3-1163/4), and especially Germanus (c.1162-c.1189) and Bertram (1189-1212/13)) the Priory both increased in numbers, and defended itself against the claims of the bishop, retaining a high degree of control within the chapter and within the lands of St Cuthbert.⁴⁴ This expansion occurred at an institutional level and during the second half of the twelfth century ‘the infirmary, almonry and hostelry were all well established with separate endowments and considerable control of their own affairs by the end of episcopate’.⁴⁵ In the period 1155-1190 Robert the Hostiller witnesses charters for the Priory, as does Roger the Cellarer. Reference is made, relating to a period some time before 1180, to Alan, clerk of the

⁴³ The Franciscan origins of the Munich cookbook discussed above are documents in Adamson, ‘Vom Arzneibuch zum Kochbuch’: she compares it to a cookbook from the Cistercian monastery of Seligenthal (bishopric Regensburg), Codex III 1, 20 fol. 43 in the Öttingen-Wallersteinschen Schlossbibliothek in Harburg, and now in the University Library of Augsburg (p. 60). For the Cistercian prohibition see Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, p. 127.

⁴⁴ A.J. Piper, ‘The names of the Durham monks’ in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* ed. David Rollason et al (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 117; A.J. Piper, ‘The Size and Shape of Durham’s Monastic Community 1274-1539’ in *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnall (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 159. The numbers of monks increased during the period from about 70 in 1100 to about 100 in Durham (excluding dependent priories such as Finchale) by 1235.

⁴⁵ Scammel, *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 94.

cellar, accompanied by Robert the cook. From about the same time Hugh the cellarer was party to an agreement whereby the episcopal forester was offered salmon in return for timber for repairing one the monastic kidells.⁴⁶ When the recipes were being compiled, the growing community had a sophisticated and supportive infrastructure for food production and preparation. Although relations with the bishop were not always warm, connections between the two communities were maintained. Lawrence, Prior at the time of Hugh du Puiset's elevation, had held positions in the bishop's court as well as the monastery, and this was a tradition carried on by others. Richard de Coldingham, one of Hugh's most trusted advisors from the 1160s until 1195, also held benefices from the Priory and had close links with the monks, especially under Prior Germanus.⁴⁷

That the Priory and episcopal household shared a culture of food, and in particular seasoning and condiments, is supported by the writings of Prior Lawrence. Lawrence's *Dialogues* slightly pre-date the Poitou sauces, and were based on the events of 1143 and 1144, during which years David I of Scotland attempted to impose William Cumin as bishop of Durham. Cumin, the grandson of Robert Comyn, who had been killed in the Durham uprising of 1069, was ultimately unsuccessful in his bid for the episcopal throne. Lawrence explores in the *Dialogues* the theme of movement from degradation and despair to optimism.⁴⁸ In so doing, he mocks, and inveighs against Cumin and his Scottish supporters, using the vocabulary of spice and palate in word-play

⁴⁶ Scammel, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 94.

⁴⁷ *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, p. xlii.

⁴⁸ A. G. Rigg, 'Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues and Easter Poem: A Verse Translation', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 7 (1997), pp. 42-126. Mia Münster-Swendson, 'Setting Things Straight: Law, Justice and Ethics in the *Orationes* of Lawrence of Durham', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 27 (2005), pp. 151-168, emphasises Lawrence's role as teacher

and to evoke the characterisation of Scots as barbaric.⁴⁹ The poem is in dialogue form, with there interlocutors.

Peter I didn't know that cumin was so strong.

Is it from nature, Lawrence, or from art?

If art's the cause, the spicer is superb;

If nature, then your pepper must be strong.

If they find cumin strong, then pepper – wow!

And what of garlic? What will mustard do?

Those savages that live in huts nearby

Have passed their rustic tastebuds onto you!

For Scottish palates pepper's strange enough –

That savage crowd flees at the very thought.

Though Aesculapius should mix the herbs,

Their boorish tongues would think them poisonous.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ On Cumin see Richard Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070-1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 97-99, and A. Young, 'The bishopric of Durham in Stephen's reign', *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (1994), pp. 353–68.

⁵⁰ Rigg, 'Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues', pp. 47-48, ll.113-124; *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis monachi et prioris* ed. J. Raine (Durham, 1880), ll. 113-124: 'Haec mihi, Laurenti, vis est ignota Cumini / Num tamen hoc genio constat an ingenio ? / Si subit ingenio, conditor in arte superstat / Si genio, vestrum quale putabo piper ? / Forte quid his piper est quibus est ita forte Cuminuni / Allia die quid eis, quidve sinapis erunt ? / Sed prope vos vacuis gens bruta mapalibus errans / Vos, puto, respersit rusticitate sui. / Res piper Albano satis est peregrina palato, / Tale quid exhorrens turba ferina fugit. / Temperet ipse sacras licet huic Epidaurius herbas, / Res condita rudi sseva venena sapit'.

Peter goes on to stress his discomfort over the events of the 1140s.

This Scottish “garlicking” and “cumining”
 Of pallid Englishmen – I find it strange.
 If Northern cumin were not such a joke,
 It would have been a cure for you and yours.⁵¹

Lawrence’s allusion to the medical properties of pepper and garlic, as well as cumin is intriguing; the opportunity to play on Cumin’s name revealing, perhaps, a more common awareness of the interplay of gastronomy and medicine. Elsewhere within the *Dialogues* Lawrence poses the question: ‘But can the blind, the sick, the coarse, delight / In art, in haute cuisine, in maiden’s charms’. The question reinforces a notion that the sick are unable to enjoy food, a point which (as will be shown later) has particular significance for the *salsamenta*, and hints at a community in which allusions to the joys of the table were not out of place.⁵²

⁵¹ Rigg, ‘Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues’, pp. 49, ll. 159-162; ed. Raine, ll. 159-162: ‘Sed quod inops flavos Albanus inalliat Anglos, / Sive Cuminat; opus miror, amice, novum. / Iret et in risum si non boreale Cuminum / Isset in helleboruin. Cui ? Tibi, sive tuis.’

⁵² Rigg, ‘Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues’, p. 47, ll. 105-106; Raine, ll. 105-106: ‘Sed quidnam lippum pictura decora, quid aegrum / Cultior esca, rudem virgo faceta juvet’. The relaxation of dietary injunctions for Benedictine monks in the infirmary can be held against this observation.

That the date-range for the production of the Sidney Sussex medical and culinary recipes coincides with the long episcopal reign of Hugh du Puiset, whose style and ambition were that of a prince-bishop, even if more circumscribed in practice, adds a further dimension to the context in which the sauces may have been consumed.⁵³ Eager for power and wealth, as befitted a scion of the house of Blois, and nephew to Bishop Henry of Winchester (c.1096-1171), Hugh's career began at the end of Stephen's reign, and was played out in the period of Angevin domination, under Henry II and then Richard I. By the beginning of Richard's reign in 1189 the contemporary chronicler William of Newburgh made Hugh a byword for episcopal excess. A northern writer and Augustinian Canon, William seems to have had strong links to, and sympathies with Cistercians, especially the monks of Rievaulx, with whom Hugh de Puiset, and Durham Cathedral Priory also retained warm relations.⁵⁴ In his obituary notice of Hugh, William notes that the bishop was:

⁵³ The standard study of the reign remains Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*.

⁵⁴ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, 5.1, ed. Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (3 vols, London: Longman & Co., 1885), vol. 2, pp. 416-17. For English translation see William of Newburgh, *History of English Affairs*, Book 5, chapter 1.2, trans. Joseph Stevenson in *The Church Historians of England*, volume IV, part II (London, 1861), using the rendered version of Scott Mclethie, Internet Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/williamofnewburgh-five.asp#1> viewed 10th April 2014. On William, see John Taylor, 'Newburgh, William of (b. 1135/6, d. in or after 1198)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29470>, accessed 10 April 2014]. On Durham's links with Rievaulx, and the attendance of the then abbot, Ernald, at Hugh's deathbed, see Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 109 and pp. 258-9. Durham Priory held early copies of Ailred of Rievaulx's works, see Giles E. M. Gasper, 'A northern monastic sermon collection', in *Treasures of Durham University Library*, ed. R. Gameson, (London, 2007), pp. 42-3.

...a man most prudent in the disposal of earthly affairs; and most eloquent, though without much knowledge of literature. He thirsted after money and was full of knowledge of the means how to acquire it. As a bishop, he was not content with spiritual power or excellence, but he went about seeking secular influence; and with great loss of money that belonged to the church, and which ought rather to have been applied to religious uses, he sought for himself a great name, like that of the lofty ones of the earth. He delighted in the construction of castles and the erection of noble buildings in many places; but the more he studied to build upon the earth, the more remiss was he to build in heaven.⁵⁵

William remarks on Hugh's enjoyment of food. Even on his deathbed Hugh's gastronomic instincts could not be curbed. Arriving at one of his properties before Ash Wednesday 1195, and the customary feast:

...he gorged himself beyond the strength of his aged body, while his miserable stomach, which could enjoy nothing, was compelled, by the enticement of savours [*per saporum*

⁵⁵ William of Newburgh, *History*, 5. 10.(2), [vol. 2, p. 437]: 'Homo in terrenis disponendis prudentissimus, et sine multis literis eloquentissimus; pecuniarum sitientissimus; earumque scientissimus exquirendarum. Spirituali potentia sive excellentia episcopus non contentus, secularem ambivit; et multa ecclesiasticae pecuniae, religiosis potius usibus applicandae, jactura, quaesivit sibi nomen grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra. Castellorum instructioni atque insignium in locis plurimis aedificiorum fabricate deditus, quo plus studuit aedificare in terra, eo remissius aedificare curavit in ceolo.'

illecebram] from the number of dishes, to take them in until it was overloaded. When he wished to be relieved of the excess of surfeit by an emetic, he was made much worse by it.⁵⁶

Hugh died shortly afterwards. As befitted the regard in which he held his role and status, Hugh would seem to have kept a good, even indulgent, table, in which dishes with sauces featured. Fragmentary evidence from his household points in a similar direction. A late charter of Bishop Hugh, confirms land near to Bishop Auckland, the Bishop's residence, to the curiously named 'Monk the Cook [Monachus coco]', and his heirs.⁵⁷ An earlier charter, from 1183/84 confirms landholdings of Thomas of the Buttery [Thome de la butellerie].⁵⁸ The same Thomas received confirmation of additional lands towards the end of the episcopate.⁵⁹

In short, a collection of recipes for sauces would not have been out of place at Durham Cathedral in the later twelfth century, even if its presence there is not documented before the 1391 catalogue. It seems very likely that the collection was not created by the Priory scriptorium but was assembled for private study and reference, possibly by a physician like Master Herebertus or Master Gervasius. Whoever donated it thought that the Priory would be a suitable home, and the Priory evidently agreed. Not only had it accumulated a sizable and up-to-date medical collection,

⁵⁶ William of Newburgh, *History*, 5, 10.(5) [vol. 2, p. 439]: '...ibidem supra virtutem corporis senilis ingurgitavit se epulis, dum miser, cui nil sapit ventrem per saporum illecebram de numerositate ferculorum usque ad gravamen proprium suscipere cogeretur. Cumque per vomitum vitio crapulae mederi voluisset, eo ipso afflictus est magis'.

⁵⁷ *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, no. 99. As Snape notes this is not recorded in Boldon Book, the survey made in 1183 or 1184, but the text was altered at a later date to indicate Monk's tenure of the land.

⁵⁸ *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, no. 151. Recorded in Boldon Book as noted by Snape.

⁵⁹ *English Episcopal Acta Durham XXIV*, no. 52.

but the ecclesiastical establishments at Durham, monastic and episcopal, could appreciate the *salsamenta pictavensium* for both their gastronomic and their medical value.

The question remains whether the compiler, or the monks of Durham, thought of the *salsamenta* recipes as culinary. Were it not for the fact that these recipes are embedded in a medical collection, their status as the oldest culinary recipe collection to survive from the medieval period, antedating previous candidates for that title by at least a century, would be accepted without demur.⁶⁰ It could be objected, however, that these are functionally and even essentially medical, not culinary recipes. The aim here is to demonstrate that this is a false dichotomy, particularly when dealing with *salsamenta*. To begin with, there are four features which confirm the recipes' culinary character. First, the indications in the recipes are for the kind of dish the sauce accompanies, and not a medical condition. Second, these recipes are not connected to dietetic or regimen advice, like the famous chapter on sauces, *Opusculum de saporibus*, in the *Regimen sanitatis* of the fourteenth century Italian physician Maino de' Maineris; nor are they part of a medicalized dissertation on foodstuffs, like Anthimus' *De observatione ciborum*. This is an important point, because one of the hallmarks of the new theory-based medicine of the twelfth century, and notably of Salernitan medical literature, was its interest in dietetics (notably conveyed through Isaac Judaeus's *Diaetae universales et particulares*), and their application within regimens of health.⁶¹ The absence of any theoretical or prescriptive context for the recipes

⁶⁰ See above n. 5.

⁶¹ The issue of dietetics in relation to cuisine is discussed further below. For a general overview of dietetics, see Melitta Adamson, *Medieval Dietetics. Food and Drink in Regimen Sanitatis Literature from 800 to 1400* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1995); the definitive work on *regimina* is Marilyn Nicoud, *Les régimes de santé au moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Rome, 2007); on Isaac Judaeus, see Raphaela Veit, 'Les

is therefore noteworthy. Third, there is no indication that these are recipes for remedy-foods (what one might term ‘culinary prescriptions’) for patients suffering from a particular illness, like the recipes embedded, for example, in *Bald’s Leechbook*⁶² or in Petrus Musandinus’s *Summula de preparatione ciborum et potuum infirmorum*,⁶³ or indeed, in the medical receptarium in the early twelfth century compilation in Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100.⁶⁴ The *salsamenta* are meant to accompany meat of all kinds, and generally speaking meat (particularly red meat) was not considered suitable as a sick-dish. Fourth, the recipes exhibit traits which are specific to culinary recipes, and which distinguish them from medical recipes, notably the absence of precise quantities.⁶⁵ The only quantity specified in the Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* is the two bay leaves in the recipe for the sauce to accompany ram. The medical recipes in Sidney Sussex 51 very often (though not inevitably) specify the quantities of ingredients. The fact that the *salsamenta* are qualified by a local origin, Poitou, is also a prominent feature of later culinary

Diètes universelles et particulière d’Isaac Israëli: Traduction et réception dans le monde latin, *Revue d’histoire des textes* n.s. 10 (2015), pp. 229-49.

⁶² The *Leechbook* frequently conveys instructions for preparing foods to target specific illnesses, many of them conditions of the belly: see 1.36, II 2.2, 7.3, 16, 26-27, 30, 32-33, 49, 51.1, 56.4. Similar recipes, again flagged for specific pathological conditions, can be found in *Leechbook III* and the *Lacnunga*. The authors are grateful to Debby Banham for these references.

⁶³ See below, n. 80.

⁶⁴ The first of the two receptaria in Durham Cathedral Library Hunter 100 (Durham, c. 1100) contains (fols. 109r-v) a block of entries on the properties and preparation of foodstuffs, but the indications ‘danda sunt’ (‘which are to be given’) or ‘prohibenda sunt’ (‘which are to be prohibited’), and their variants, point to ‘culinary prescriptions’ for therapy foods. Though containing no recipes as such, these are nonetheless of considerable interest in view of their Durham provenance. The authors are preparing an edition of the contents of Hunter 100, including these recipes.

⁶⁵ Laurioux, *Les livres de cuisine médiévaux*, p. 18.

recipes, but not of medical preparations.⁶⁶ Finally, only one of the recipes – the very first one, consisting of parsley, sage, vinegar, pepper and garlic – appears in the medical literature as *salsamentum* (singular) *pictavensium*. The other sauces are never mentioned in medical writings, but as will be argued, this does not mean that they did not have a medical application.

The term *salsamentum pictauensium* occurs in two Salernitan medical texts roughly contemporary with Sidney Sussex 51, and which furnish interesting comparanda and points of reference: the handbook of *materia medica* known as *Circa instans* (compiled ca. 1160-70) and the *Practica* of the mid-twelfth century physician Johannes Platearius. *Circa instans* is a catalogue of medicinal simples – that is, the primary ingredients (largely plant, but in some cases animal and mineral) used as drugs, either singly or incorporated into compounds. The text is structured alphabetically. Within each chapter, the simple is categorized according to its elemental qualities (hot, cold, wet and dry) and degree (on a scale of one to four), its principal actions, and its therapeutic applications. *Circa instans* itself drew on prior Salernitan literature, such as the *Diaetae universales* of Isaac Judaeus (in the Latin translation of Constantine the African) mentioned above, and it was constantly elaborated and amplified, notably in the *Secreta salernitana* or *Tractatus de herbis*, part of a family from which many French and Latin herbals of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries descend.⁶⁷ It is, however, the earliest medical treatise to

⁶⁶ Pertinent examples are found in the *Liber de Coquina* notably cabbage ‘ad usum Romanorum’ (p. 396), regional styles of ‘brodium’ (‘De brodio prouinialico, theutonico, gallico, sarracenio, yspancio...’ p. 401), as well as ‘torta pamesana’ (p. 417) and ‘compositum lombardicum’ and ‘compositum theutonicum’ (p. 419).

⁶⁷ Iolanda Ventura, ‘Per una storia del Circa instans. I Secreta Salernitana ed il testo del manoscritto London, British Library, Egerton 747: Note a margine di un’edizione’, *Schola Salernitana*, 7-8 (2002-3), pp. 39-109.

mention *salsamentum pictauensium*. The recipe for *salsamentum pictauensium* appears in the chapter on vinegar, and this context, as it transpires, is significant. It reads:

<p>Acetum confortat appetitum. Accipe salviam petroselinum piper mentam et contere et distempera cum aceto tale salsamentum dicitur pictamentum.⁶⁸</p>	<p>Vinegar strengthens the appetite. Take sage, parsley, pepper, and mint; grind them and mix with vinegar. This is called ‘Poitou sauce’.</p>
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This *salsamentum* is very close to the first one in the Sidney Sussex collection.

<p>Petrosilini et saluie succum cum aceto distemperatum cum pipere et allio fortiter trito commisce. et cum his carnem sulcitam comede.</p>	<p>Mix juice of parsley and sage which has been mixed with vinegar with finely ground pepper and garlic; and eat sausage with this.</p>
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⁶⁸ Hans Wölfel ‘Das Arzneidrogenbuch Circa Instans in einer Fassung des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Text und Kommentar als Beitrag zur Pflanzen- und Drogenkunde des Mittelalters’ (Diss., Berlin, 1939), p. 15, based on Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 674. On the term ‘pictamentum’ at the end of the recipe, Wölfel’s apparatus on p. 124, n. 155 notes that other codices read ‘pictacensium’, ‘pictavensium’ or ‘pictamense’. The *Tractatus de herbis* in Egerton 747 reads ‘pictamentum’: ed. Ventura, p. 249. See also n. 70, and the discussion of the ‘Sals pictamensium’ in Munich Cgm 415 below. However, ‘pictauensium’ is clearly correct: the alternatives are meaningless, and can readily be explained as a misreading of minims, particularly by a scribe unfamiliar with the regional name.

Turning to the *Practica* of Platearius, we find a recipe for *salsamentum pictauensium* which is even closer to the first Sidney Sussex one. As a *practica* or manual of therapeutics, this work is structured by diseases and disorders in head-to-toe order. The context is the chapter on *fastidium* – loss of appetite or aversion to food.

<p>Si fuerit in ore stomachi ... detur salsamentum Pictauensium quod fit ex petrosilino, modica saluia, piper et modico allio modico aceto distemperatis. Detur etiam salsamentum factum ex semine sinapis trito cum mica panis. et distemperato cum aceto.⁶⁹</p>	<p>If it is in the mouth of the stomach... let there be given Poitou sauce, which is made from parsley, a bit of sage, pepper and garlic mixed with a bit of vinegar. Let there also be given a sauce made from mustard seed ground with bread crumbs, and mixed with vinegar.</p>
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Note, however, that while Platearius describes two sauces that can be given for *fastidium*, only one is called *salsamentum pictauensium*. By contrast, the rubric of Sidney Sussex 51 announces not one *salsamentum pictauensium* but *diuersa genera pictauensium salsamentorum*. This furnishes a further clue to the culinary vocation of the Sidney Sussex recipes, namely their identification with the foodways of Poitou.

⁶⁹ *Practica Platearii*, ed. Victoria Recio Muñiz, ‘La *Practica* de Plateario: Edición crítica, traducción y estudio’ (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Valladolid, 2012), pp. 550-52. De Munòz’s apparatus indicates that the reading ‘pictauensium’ is dominant (see n. 68 above).

It is in this context that evidence from the contemporary historian Ralph of Diceto (Dean of St Paul's from 1180, d. 1202) is telling.⁷⁰ In his *Ymagines historiarum* Ralph comments on the gastronomic pleasures enjoyed by the men of Poitou, which include sauces very close to those from Sidney Sussex 51. Poitou in the twelfth century was a wealthy, assertive but diverse regional principality. The counts of Poitou had from the mid-tenth century provided leadership within former Carolingian sub-kingdom of Aquitaine, William IV taking the title Duke of the Aquitainians in 965.⁷¹ The county itself was centred around Poitiers, with ducal power exercised forcibly or diplomatically with other the other lordships of the duchy. During the second half of eleventh century, the Poitevin dukes absorbed the duchy of Gascony, shifting southwards their political gravity to an axis comprising Poitiers, Saintes and Bordeaux. At the same time Angevin influence increased over northern Poitou, including linguistically in the form of a move to the use of *langue d'oeil*.

⁷⁰ J. F. A. Mason, 'Diceto, Ralph de (d. 1199/1200)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7591>, accessed 7 April 2014]. Diceto may have been born in Diss, Norfolk, in the 1120s, and probably belonged to the Blomeis family (not Maine as put forward by Bishop Stubbs in his edition of the *Ymagines*). See also A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (London, 1974), pp. 196-212. While the earlier sections of Diceto's history draw on Robert of Torigni he made wide use of other documentary sources, as well as, presumably, oral sources as he comes to events within his own writing lifetime. Ralph appears well informed of events outside England, especially within the Angevin territories in France, including Poitou.

⁷¹ On the transition of Carolingian Aquitaine, and the extent of royal authority in particular see J. Martindale, 'The Kingdom of Aquitaine and the Dissolution of the Carolingian fisc', *Francia*, 11 (1984), pp. 131-191. For the details of what follows see J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 58-63, 173-9 and 340-46.

The inheritance Eleanor of Aquitaine brought to first Louis VII of France and then to Henry II of England was rich, powerful but fractious.⁷² Henry spent a great deal of time in the Duchy before 1169 after which point he entrusted power to Prince Richard. Richard and Eleanor were in constant residence until her imprisonment in 1174, after which Richard ruled for Henry alone. Close economic links with England developed along the Atlantic seaboard, increasing after the foundation of La Rochelle in 1130, with Gascon wine and Aquitainian dyes traded in exchange for English grain, cloth and silver. Within Poitou itself Angevin influence was strong, manifested in the spread of Angevin coinage and legal custom. Aquitaine, with Poitou to the fore, also generated a significant number of crusader families in the twelfth century, and was home to important Hospitaller establishments. .⁷³

It is in this context of economic vigour and aristocratic ambition that Ralph Diceto's comments on Poitevin gastronomy take on their full significance. General observations are made on the methods used by the men of Poitou to cook duck and to trap sturgeon and lamprey.

When a more temperate day has arrived, they do not despise the things of the field, nor do they seek them with too much affection. But they devotedly search for a duck caught in a

⁷² On Eleanor see R. V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (New Haven, 2011).

⁷³ M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) takes the charters of the Limousin as one of its major source bases. On Poitevin involvement in crusades, see general comments in J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (Cambridge, 1997); H. Michaud, 'Le Poitou et les croisades,' in *Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la Promotion de 1944* (Paris, 1944), pp. 111–20. Some of Michaud's identifications are amended in J. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization and Personnel 1099/1120 - 1310* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 618 and 680.

snare or wrapped in a net, which, studiously placed on a fire of green wood, they prepare deliciously enough. If chance should offer wetter [conditions] for the catching of fish with expanded nets, as indeed often happens, now is drawn out sturgeon to be reserved for the food of kings, now the lampreys glide into submerged traps hidden in the river.⁷⁴

Although Ralph does not tell us whether this duck was eaten with a sauce of pepper, garlic, vinegar and wine such as that included within the recipe collection from Sidney Sussex 51, he does describe other pepper and garlic sauces characteristic of this region's gastronomy. Commenting on their warlike qualities and pride, he states that the men of Aquitaine, when they have finished waging war, like to relax and take their pleasure, 'so devoting themselves to the service of the palate that in the discrimination, confection and connoisseurship of sauces [*saporibus*], they shine with the privilege of a particular grace...'.⁷⁵

Ralph goes on to give an example of one of these *sapores*:

⁷⁴ 'Cum dies venerit indulgentior, campestris nec fastidiunt, nec nimis appetunt affectuose. Sed anthem vel laqueolo comprehensam vel obvolutam reticulo devote requirunt; quam ad ignem lignorum viridum appositam studiose satis tractant delitiose. Laxatis retibus piscium in capturam si lautiora casus obtulerit, quod quidem raro non evenit, nunc extrahitur sturgio regium reservandus in cibum, nunc flumini latenter immerses muraena labitur insidias.' *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 68 (London, 1976), vol. 1, p. 294, s.a. 1151.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 294: 'sic palato deserviens ut in saporibus distinguendis, conficiendis et discernendis privilegio gratiae singularis effulgeat, sic linguae satisfaciens, ut in salibus condiendis licet mordacibus plurimum civilitatis annexum.'

<p>Pictavienses in vulgariu[m] esu carniu[m] bovinam avidius amplectuntur. Cum vero piper et allium mixtim in mortarium detruduntur, ad condimentum utriusque caro recens nunc succum exigit pomorum silvestriu[m], nunc a viminibus pampino coetaneis jus deponit extortum, nunc uvarum liquorem desiderat primitivarum.⁷⁶</p>	<p>When it comes to eating popular meat [dishes], the men of Poitou embrace beef with enthusiasm. For when pepper and garlic, mixed together are pounded down in a mortar to make a sauce of both, fresh meat either demands the juice of crab apples, or it calls for juice pressed from vine-shoots, or it needs the juice of young grapes [that is verjus].</p>
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This compares very closely to the second recipe from Sidney Sussex 51 for beef sauce:

<p>Item ad id[d]em sucum racemorum colatum. cum allio \ <et> pipere/ misce.</p>	<p>Again, for the same: mix strained juice of raisins with garlic and pepper.</p>
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While the risk of circularity in an argument of mutual support between Ralph's historical writing and the recipe collection must be acknowledged, it seems reasonable to suggest that the *salsamenta* had a gastronomic identity distinct from any medical use, and genuinely grounded in Poitevin tastes and dining habits. In the twelfth century, sauces were recognized as a feature of Poitou cuisine, and one in particular, made of vinegar, parsley and sage with (depending on the source) garlic and/or pepper, was singled out as the *salsamentum pictauensium*. Furthermore, it acquired a reputation as a medically beneficial appetite stimulant. The basic recipe, without the designation as 'Poitou sauce' would be enshrined in the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*:

⁷⁶ Ibid. vol. 1, p. 294. See also Bruno Lauriou, *Le Moyen Âge à table* (Paris, 1989), p. 71.

Sage, thyme, pepper, garlic, salt, parsley,

If well mixed and imbued with vinegar,

The result is a sauce (*salsa*), if the rule be not false.⁷⁷

Nonetheless, it is important not to lose sight of the primary association of Poitou and its sauces with pure gastronomy and the pleasures of the table. Indeed it is only if the *salsamenta* are appreciated as food, even ‘gourmet’ food, that the full import of the recipes within a medical setting comes into focus.

The *Regimen*, the *Circa instans* and the *Practica* of Platearius provide the keys to the puzzle of why culinary recipes would appear in a medical manuscript: the role of the sauce in stimulating appetite. It will be recalled that *salsamentum pictauensium* appears in the *Circa instans* in the chapter on vinegar, and vinegar’s principal effect is to arouse appetite. In the *Practica*, *salsamentum* is presented as a remedy for *fastidium*, or loss of appetite. The prescription of sauces for *fastidium* seems to be a Western innovation: the principal classical and Arabic sources available at the time either do not treat *fastidium* at all, or if they do, fail to mention any dietary

⁷⁷ ‘Salvia, serpillum, piper, allia, sal, petrosillum, / Si bene condantur et aceto confiteantur, / Ex his fit salsa, si non sit regula falsa.’ ed. Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana* v. 1 (Naples, 1852), p. 454, lines 295-7. These three terse lines were expanded in later medieval versions with additional spices and comments on how sauces stimulate appetite, for example, *Regimen sanitatis: Flos medicine scholae Salerni*, ed. Andrea Sinno (Milan, 1987), p. 94.

prescription, let alone a sauce.⁷⁸ Moreover, *salsamentum* as cure appears to be a new therapy in the twelfth century.

Platearius explains that *fastidium* has a number of causes including deficient appetite brought on by anorexia (*ex ieiunio uel consumptione corporis* ‘fasting and consumption of the body’). Whatever the cause, *salsamenta* based on vinegar play a crucial role in the work of repair: hard-boiled eggs are to be given in a vinegar and mint sauce to calm indigestion and increase appetite; a poultice of toasted bread soaked in the same sauce is to be applied to the stomach; and a second sauce made of breadcrumbs, rosemary, cinnamon, nutmeg and vinegar is to be served *cum carnibus* and even rubbed on the nostrils – the smell of the sauce coaxing the patient to eat.

Deficiente appetitu propter defectum spirituum attendenda est causa ex qua spiritus deficient et contra ipsam operandus est. Si ex	When appetite is deficient because of a deficiency of spirits, one must attend to the reason why the spirits are deficient and work
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⁷⁸ *Fastidium* is discussed in Constantine the African's *Viaticum* (book 4, ch. 9) along with related ailments such as loss of appetite (4.2) and revulsion (‘abhominatio’) (4.10), but the remedies are all for drugs. *Fastidium* does not appear in the *practica* of Oribasius, Alexander of Tralles, or Gariopontus, nor does it appear in Constantine's *Pantegni Practica* book 7 where disorders of the stomach are treated; loss of appetite (‘ablatio appetitus’) is covered in 7.10, but the remedies are largely emetics. Far from being an Arabic import into Europe, vinegar-based sauces were unquestionably a western speciality. In a remarkable instance of reverse cultural influence, the western European ‘green sauce’ described by Alexander Neckam (see above) actually entered medieval Arabic cookery books, though some authors criticised its ‘barbaric’ sharpness: see Rudolf Grewe and Constance B. Heiatt, *Libellus de arte coquinaria: and Early Northern Cookery Book* (Tempe, 2001), p. 91. Even the Latin term *salsa* was carried over into Arabic as *sals*: see Charles Perry, ‘The Sals of the Infidels’, *Petits propos culinaires*, 26 (1989), pp. 25-28.

<p> febre, contra febrem, si ex ieiunio et consumptione corporis, perdita cibis et electuariis confortantibus sunt reperanda et sic de ceteris. Fiant etiam dec remedia: oua elixa dura ab aqua recente extracta in IIII partes fissa aliquantulum dimittantur in salsamento facto ex menta et aceto et dentur. Mirabiliter reperant spiritus et maxime quando ex fluxu uentris fit fastidium, conferunt et excitant appetitum. Aliud: panis triticeus assus ita quod aliquantulum sit exustus, in predicto salsamento infusus detur et etiam ori stomachi cathaplasmetur. Aliter panis predictus aceto infusus cum rore marino uel cum eius flore, si potest haberi, conteratur et addito puluere cinnamomi et modico nucis muscate, cum aceto distemperetur. Bulliant et cum carnibus detur. Per X uel XV dies seruatur. Ex hoc etiam salsamento nares </p>	<p> against this. If due to fever, [work] against the fever; if from fasting and wasting of the body, the losses are to be repaired by foods and by strengthening electuaries, and so on. Make these remedies: let hard boiled eggs, freshly taken from the water and cut in quarters, be stirred into a sauce made from mint and vinegar and given [to the patient] – they wondrously restore the spirits and strengthen them, especially in cases of aversion to food due to diarrhea, and they stimulate appetite. Again: wheat bread toasted until slightly burnt and steeped in the aforementioned sauce should be given, and even placed on the mouth of the stomach as a poultice. Again, the abovementioned bread, steeped in vinegar, should be pounded up with rosemary (or with its flowers, if they can be obtained) and after adding powdered cinnamon and a small </p>
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confricentur... ⁷⁹	amount of nutmeg, it should be mixed with vinegar, boiled, and given with meats. It can be kept for ten or fifteen days. The nostrils can even be rubbed with the sauce...
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That vinegar is the crucial ingredient in these treatments is confirmed by Platearius' younger contemporary Petrus Musandinus, student of the renowned teacher and practitioner Bartholomaeus of Salerno, in a remarkable treatise entitled *A Summary Work on the Preparation of Food and Drink for the Sick* (*Summula de preparatione ciborum et potuum infirmorum*). This work lays out dietary therapies for various medical conditions, accompanied by instructions which constitute genuine culinary recipes, though presented as therapies.⁸⁰ In his chapter on *fastidium* and provoking appetite, Petrus includes a recipe for a dipping sauce for meat or fish composed of cloves, pepper, fresh mint, and toast crumbs steeped in vinegar. He then observes that everything that rouses appetite is either acidic (literally, 'vinegary') or sharp. Acidic and sharp are two of the eight primal flavours catalogued in ch. 10 of Isaac Judaeus's *Diaetae*

⁷⁹ ed. Munõz, pp. 546-548. Smelling sauces is also a technique used by Petrus Musandinus (see below). What is a doctor to do whose patient has a craving for foods he ought not to have, say, beef? Musandinus recommends a ploy he ascribes to Galen for tricking the patient into eating chicken instead. Mince chicken fine, and bring it to the patient on the same tray as a strong garlic sauce ('*alliaca*') 'which the patient relishes'. Offer to wipe the patient's face before feeding him, and before doing so, surreptitiously dip your finger into the *alliaca*, so that he smells it, he can tell him the chicken is beef, and he will eat it readily, even if you don't let him actually eat the *alliaca* (*Summula de preparatione ciborum et potuum infirmorum*, S. De Renzi (ed.), *Collectio salernitana* vol. 5 (Naples, 1859), p. 262.

⁸⁰ Bruno Laurioux, 'Petrus Musandinus et son traité sur l'alimentation des malades,' *La Scuola medica salernitana: gli autori et i testi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2007), pp. 235-60.

universales, and in book 2, ch. 6 of Constantine the African's *Pantegni practica* (on evaluating medicines by taste); these primal flavours were the subject of intense discussion in twelfth century medical and scientific circles.⁸¹ Vinegary and sharp flavours are particularly significant for digestion because they cut through food and render humours subtle.⁸² If a patient has a fever, the medium should be something vinegary (vinegar being considered cold and dry); if a chill, something sharp. But one vinegar sauce will not suffice: 'Again, note that we should not use one sauce to excess, or one dish or anything else which provokes appetite, because excessive use produces aversion, and so we use now one, and now the other.'⁸³

Platearius agrees that the best cure for *fastidium* is to set before the patient a variety of dishes 'for uniformity is the mother of disgust'. Patients should be granted some indulgence in their diets, because the pleasure of eating foods which one enjoys is itself therapeutic. Moreover, so is being in the company of gourmets, whose conspicuous pleasure in food is apparently supposed

⁸¹ Charles Burnett, 'Sapores sunt octo: the Medieval Latin Terminology for the Eight Flavours', in *I cinque sensi/The Five Senses*, *Micrologus* 10 (2002), pp. 99-112.

⁸² Isaac Judaeus explains that the flavours are distributed into hot, medium and cold along one axis, coarse and subtle along another. Both vinegary and sharp have the property of rendering coarse humours subtle, but sharp things are hot, and vinegary things cold (*Omnia opera Ysaac*, Lyon, 1515, v. 1, fol 27ra). Vinegary substances are 'incisiui sine calefactione.' (fol. 26va). The other six flavours are: sweet, unctuous, salty, bitter, styptic (ponticus) and insipid.

⁸³ 'Sciendum autem quod omne quod provocat appetitum aut est acetosum aut acutum. Unde notandum quod si distemperatus fuerit et sit ex caliditate debemus provocare appetitum cum acetosis, si fuerit ex frigiditate cum acutis. Item notandum quod non debemus nimis uti uno salsamento sive uno cibo provocante appetitum vel alia re, quia nimius usus facit fastidium, unde modo uno modo alio utimur': ed. De Renzi, pp. 261-2.

to be infectious.⁸⁴ The goal is healing, but the means is gastronomy. Seen in this light, the fact that the Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* are almost all based on vinegar, and that they are, moreover, explicitly *diversa salsamenta*, suggests that they reflect this particular medical outlook on cuisine.

This medical approach to the pleasures of the table also sheds light on the recipe for *zinziber conditum*, which follows immediately after the *salsamenta* (see appendix, part 2). By the later Middle Ages, *zinziber conditum* was entrenched in culinary collections as a confection ('gingembrat'),⁸⁵ but even in 12th century medical literature, its identity is ambiguous. In the *Circa instans*, the recipe for *zinziber conditum* is not found in the chapter devoted to ginger, but rather in the chapter on parsnips ('De baucia'). The author notes that parsnips are 'better as food than as medicine', but that they are a useful sick-dish for convalescents and melancholics.

⁸⁴ 'Notandum quod patientibus fastidium diuersa cibaria sunt aponenda cex quorum uarietate incitatur appetitus, nam identitas mater est satietatis. Sint etiam coram eis aliqui cum maximo affectu comedentes, ut sic eis excitetur appetitus. Item notandum quod fastidiosis quandoque etiam contraria et nociva danda sunt cibaria, si ea summo desiderio affectent, iuxta illud Ypocratis: parum deterior cibus et potus, detestabilior quidem melioribus delectabilis vero magis appetendus est [*Aphorismi* 2.38]': ed. Muñoz, p. 552.

⁸⁵ The permeable membrane between pharmaceutical preparations and sweetmeats is discussed by L. Plouvier, 'La confiserie au moyen âge', *Medium aevum quotidianum* 13 (1988), pp. 28-47; for 'zinziber conditum' see p. 44. For a Latin recipe from the early fifteenth century MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 314/376, see Debby Banham and Laura Mason, 'Confectionary Recipes from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, 29 (2002), pp. 45-69 at 54-57. A similar recipe is found in the English collection published as 'Goud Kokery' in *Cury on Inglysch*, pp. 147-156 at p. 154. For translations of both, see Constance B. Heatt, *The Culinary Recipes of Medieval England: an Epitome of Recipes from Extant Medieval English Culinary Manuscripts* (Totnes, 2011), pp. 191-192.

Parsnips are also an aphrodisiac, and it is this latter property which cues the recipe for *zinziber conditum*:

<p>Fit etiam zinziber conditum ad coitum excitandum et ad digestionem confortandam. Accipe radices et decoque bene et decoctas minutim incide et exprime aqua(m), informa magdaliones quibus aditiatur mel dispumatum et coquatur ad mellis consumptionem et continuo moveatur ne adhereat cacabo. In medio decoctionis pone amigdalas si habes et in fine pineas mundatas postea species aromaticas zinziber, galanga, piper, nux muscat. et alias species aromaticas.⁸⁶</p>	<p>Preserved ginger is made in order to stimulate the urge for sexual intercourse, and to strengthen digestion. Take the roots and cook them well, and chop up the cooked roots very finely and squeeze out the water. Form into small balls, add skimmed honey and cook until the honey is reduced, and stir continuously so that it does not stick to the pot. Midway through the cooking, add almonds (if you have them) and at the end, hulled pine-nuts, and afterwards aromatic spices: ginger, galingale, pepper, nutmeg and other aromatic spices.</p>
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Zinziber conditum's aphrodisiac qualities are likewise mentioned in the *Liber graduum* or 'Book of Degrees', ascribed to Constantine the African, a widely disseminated and influential pharmacy text in the 12th century. As mentioned earlier, the *Liber graduum* was known to the compiler of

⁸⁶ ed. Wölfel, p. 22.

the medical recipes in Sidney Sussex 51. However, here it is the effect on the stomach and digestion that is most prominent.⁸⁷

De zinzibere condito	On preserved ginger.
Zinziber conditum libidinem augmentat: stomachum calefacit: cibum digerit: superfluum stomachum humiditatem de piscibus et fructibus desiccant: pro quo piper album vel longum potest poni. ⁸⁸	Preserved ginger increases sexual desire, warms the stomach, digests food, and dries out excess moisture in the stomach from [eating] fish and fruit. White pepper or long pepper can be substituted.

⁸⁷ Bartholomaeus of Salerno in his *Practica* also recommends *zinziber conditum* along with some of the ‘warm electuaries’ mentioned by Platearius (De Renzi, *Collectio salernitana* vol. 4, p. 387; cf. the excerpt from the *Practica* in the Salernitan anthology *De aegritudinum curatione* De Renzi vol. 2, p. 245). Oddly, though the *De aegritudinum curatione* puts this information under *fastidium*, De Renzi’s text of the *Practica* presents it in the chapter immediately following, on ‘coldness of the stomach’, whose presenting symptom is *excessive* appetite. However, De Renzi’s text is something of an anomaly in the transmission history of Bartholomaeus’s *Practica*, as Faith Wallis will demonstrate in her forthcoming edition.

⁸⁸ *Omnia Opera Ysaac* (Lyons, 1515), v. 2, fol. 85ra. Book 2 of the *Pantegni practica* formed part of the ‘Ur-Practica’, that is, the torso of part 2 of ‘Ali ibn al’ Abbas al Majūsi’s *Whole Book of Medicine* which Constantine himself translated. Most of the *Pantegni practica* apart from books 1-2 and the first part of book 9 was confected from other sources after Constantine’s death. This means that its information on preserved ginger was available in western Europe at the latest by c. 1085. For a discussion of this text, and of the twelfth century debates concerning degrees, see Faith Wallis, ‘The Ghost in the Articella: a Twelfth-Century Commentary on the Constantinian Liber Graduum’, in *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean through the Medieval West: Essays in Honor of John M. Riddle*, ed. Anne Van Arsdall and Timothy Graham (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 207-269. The most comprehensive discussion of degrees remains Michael R. McVaugh, ‘The Medieval Theory of Compound

The *Antidotarium Nicolai* also remarks on the digestive virtues of this confection, and provides a recipe which differs from the Sidney Sussex and *Circa instans* versions mainly by specifying precise quantities.⁸⁹

Medicine' (PhD diss. Princeton University, 1965), and his "Apud antiquos": and Mediaeval Pharmacology', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 1 (1966), pp. 16-23.

⁸⁹ 'Zinziber conditum sic fit. Recipe yringorum [*sic*] que habent folia ad modum cretani marini: quod saracei secacul uocant. bene radantur cum cultello. postea conquantur in aqua donec dimittant se strigi manibus. postea abstrahantur ab aqua. et a lignis qui sunt interius mundentur. et cum cultello frustatim incidantur. et in mortario marmoreo bene pistentur. et cum manibus exprimantur: ut aqua inde exeat. ponderentur libras III et ponantur in libris X mellis dispumati. et albissimi. et coquantur donec incipiant rubere. et addatur libram semis zinziberis. frustatim incisi. et dimitte bullite tam diu quam adhereat digito in marmore supposito. postea tolle ab igne. in impone puluerem istarum specierum. Recipe zinziberis uncias III galange gariofili cinamomi nucis muscate cardamomi ana unciam semis. pinearum mundatarum uncias III et pistacearum uncias III. zedoarie unciam I et semis. dactilorum uncias III. et cum omnibus istis condiatur. stomachum confortat. digestiuam uirtutem adiuuat. uitio pectoris ex frigiditate ualet. renes confortat. libidinem incitat' (Preserved ginger is made like this. Take ginger which has leaves that look like samphire, and which the Saracens call *secacul*. Peel them well with a knife. Afterwards, cook them in water until they fall apart in strips in your hands. Then take them out of the water, and clean away the woody parts that are inside. Mince them with a knife, and pound them well in a marble mortar, and squeeze them to get the water out. Weigh out three pounds, and put it into ten pounds of skimmed and very white honey, and cook until it starts to turn red, and add a pound and a half of minced ginger, and boil until it sticks to the finger when dropped onto a marble surface. After that, take it off the fire and add a power of these spices: take three ounces of ginger, an ounce and a half each of galingale, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg and cardamom, three ounces of cleaned pine-nuts, three ounces of pistachios, an ounce and a half of zedoary, three ounces of dates, and season with all of these. It strengthens the stomach, aids the powers of digestion, helps chest ailments due to cold, strengthens the kidneys, and excites libido.) *Antidotarium Nicolai*, s.v. *zinziber conditum*.

In sum, if the *salsamenta* are culinary recipes adopted into the family of medicine, *zinziber conditum* is a medical recipe with dual citizenship as a confection. What permits this boundary crossing is appetite: at once the *raison d'être* of cuisine and the foundation of health and the healing of digestive disorders.

To assert that Sidney Sussex 51 takes a medical perspective on food is not, however, to claim that the recipes themselves were deliberately created as medicine, or that their composition was dictated by medical doctrine. On this point, the present authors would argue against the position articulated by Ria Jansen-Sieben and Jean-Louis Flandrin that medieval cuisine is, in its origins and essence, applied dietetics.⁹⁰ Sauces have played a not inconsiderable role in the evolution of this argument, especially since the 1934 publication by Lynn Thorndike of the *Opusculum de saporibus* by the fourteenth century Italian doctor Maino de' Maineris.⁹¹ Terence Scully, in his analysis of Maino's work, and elsewhere, has made the case that medieval sauces were essentially medical compounds. He notes the particularly close resemblance between a sauce recipe and a drug recipe, where multiple ingredients are ground or pounded up fine, and then suspended in a liquid medium for preservation or administration. Scully argues that when late medieval cooks, particularly those employed in elite households, made sauces, they were

⁹⁰ Ria Jansen-Sieben, 'From Food Therapy to Cookery-Book', in *Medieval Dutch Literature in the European Context*, ed. Erik Kooper, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 21 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 261-79; Jean-Louis Flandrin, 'Assaisonnement, cuisine et diététique aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles', *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (Paris, 1966), pp. 491-509, and in the same volume, 'De la diététique à la gastronomie, ou la libération de la gourmandise', (pp. 683-703), where he argues that only in the early modern period was cuisine uncoupled from medicalized dietetics.

⁹¹ L. Thorndike, 'A Mediaeval Sauce-Book', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), pp. 183-90.

consciously producing compounds from ingredients with known qualities of heat or cold, moisture or dryness, along a scale of degrees of intensity, as defined in the literature of learned Galenic medicine. They were choosing these ingredients in order to counteract the potentially harmful qualities of the principal dish, and moreover, were doing so under medical supervision. The sauce, in short, rectified the qualitative ‘complexion’ of the meat.⁹²

Bruno Laurioux has advanced some cogent criticisms of this theory.⁹³ For the present purpose, his most pertinent observation is that despite the fact that culinary texts frequently survive in manuscripts that are predominantly medical in character or that were owned by medical practitioners, and despite the fact that culinary texts were often composed by medical practitioners, there is no evidence that recipes were deliberately constructed or selected on the basis of a calculus of qualities and degrees.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the therapeutic role of appetite

⁹² Terence Scully, ‘The Opusculum de saporibus of Magninus Mediolanensis’, *Medium Aevum* 54 (1985), pp. 178-207; ‘Mixing it up in the Medieval Kitchen’, in *Medieval Food and Drink*, ed. Mary Jo Arn, ACTA 21 (Binghamton, 1995), pp. 1-26; *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1995), esp. ch. 4, and p. 110; ‘A Cook’s Therapeutic Use of Garden Herbs’, in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 60-71.

⁹³ ‘Cuisine et médecine au moyen âge’, *passim*.

⁹⁴ Examples of the composition of culinary texts by later medical practitioners include: an anonymous physician of Assisi in 1430 who composed a collection of purely culinary recipes, now MS Châlons-sur-Marne Bibl. mun. 319 (copied in 1481) (Laurioux, *Livres de cuisine* p. 32). A MS dating from the beginning of the 14th c. and apparently belonging to Henri de Mondeville contains an Italian *Liber de coquina* as well as the brief French *Enseignemenz qui enseignent a apareillier toutes manieres de viandes* (ed. Carole Lambert, ‘Trois réceptaires culinaires médiévaux: Les Enseignemenz, les Doctrine, et le Modus. Édition critique et glossaire détaillé’ (PhD diss. Université de Montréal, 1989) and a *Tractatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria of unknown origin* (Paris BNF lat

and gustatory pleasure in medieval medicine is frequently mentioned in the textual record. Moreover, the *salsamenta* recipes run counter to the logic of qualities and degrees. *Circa instans*, for example, classifies vinegar as cold and dry, and all herbs and spices without exception are warm and dry; the sauces would therefore all have the same ‘complexion’ – neutral in relation to heat/cold, but drying overall. Yet they are served with meats that are cold and moist (fish, pork), cold and dry (beef), and warm and moist (chicken). If they were designed or chosen to ‘rectify’ the principal ingredient, this would make no sense. But *Circa instans* identifies another feature of these ingredients that justifies their presence in the sauces: they almost all promote digestion and appetite:

•**Garlic** together with pepper and parsley, mint juice and vinegar, makes a *salsamentum* which the patient can add to his food and eat.⁹⁵ The implication that one ‘self-medicates’ with *salsamentum* further blurs the line between gastronomy and therapy.

•**Parsley**: ‘An agreeable sauce is made from domestic parsley. The herb itself, introduced into a dish, strengthens digestion and expels windiness.’⁹⁶

•**Sage** ‘is added agreeably to sauces’.⁹⁷

7131): Laurieux, *Livres de cuisine*, p. 26). The German physician Reimbotus de Castro, while studying in Paris, translated (or commissioned the translation of) the *Enseignement qui enseigne a apareillier toutes manieres de viandes* as *Doctrina preparationis ciborum* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 1179).

⁹⁵ ‘Item accipe allia piper parum petrosel. et succum mente et acetum et facto inde salsamento intingat paciens cibum et comedat’: ed. Wölfel, p. 18.

⁹⁶ ‘Competens etiam fit salsamentum ex petrosilino domestico. Herba etiam ipsa in cibo posita digestionem confortat, ventositatem excludit’: Wölfel, p. 99.

⁹⁷ ‘... in salsamentis competenter ponitur’: Wölfel, p. 112.

•**Coriander** strengthens digestion and helps stomach ache caused by windiness when its seed is introduced into food or decocted in wine. Moreover ‘its powdered seed dusted over meat makes it tasty’.⁹⁸

•**Pepper** when ground ‘strengthens digestion’ particularly when added to apples.⁹⁹

•**Savory** ground up is good for the ‘spiritual members’ (heart and lungs).¹⁰⁰

The nexus of sauce/digestion bypasses the issue of qualitative complexion, so that a cold ingredient (vinegar) and warm ingredients (herbs) reinforce, rather than cancel one another. The medical ‘equilibrium’ of a culinary recipe is gustatory and sensorial, not (in the strict sense) complexional.

Salsamentum pictavensium was destined to persist within the liminal zone between cuisine and medicine to the end of the medieval period, and for precisely the reason adumbrated in the 12th century sources: the promotion of appetite. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm 415, a

⁹⁸ ‘Ad digestionem confortandam et dolorem stomachi ex ventositate detur semen eius in cibo et vinum decoct. eius. Pulvis seminis eius super carnes aspersus eas saporatas reddit’: Wölfel p. 42.

⁹⁹ ‘Pulv. eius in cibo datus digestionem confortat. Poma preparata cum pulv. eius et precipue cum pulvere piperis longo digestionem confortant’: Wölfel, p. 92.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Pulv. etiam eius comestus ad idem [spiritualia] valet: Wölfel, p. 113. cf. caraway, which ‘in salsamentis positus appetitum provocat’ (p. 36; repeated in *Tractatus de Herbis* ch. 105, ed. Ventura p. 343). On cinnamon: ‘Contra debilitatem stomachi et indigestionem ex frigiditate detur pulv. sumpti cinamomi cum pulv. carui in cibo competenter etiam ponitur in salsamentis. Ad appetitum provocandum ex superfluitatibus impeditum fiat salsamentum’: (Wölfel, p. 34). On mint: ‘Ad appetitum confortandum cum impeditur ex frigidis humoribus existentibus in ore stomachi fiat salsamentum ex aceto modico et menta, cinamomo vel cimino et pipere’: (Wölfel, p. 74)

German compilation from the early fifteenth century, contains translations of Jamboninus of Cremona's *Liber de ferculis et condimentis* (itself a translation of a section of the pharmacopoeia of the eleventh century Baghdad physician Ibn Gazla, *Minhag al-bayan*), of a composite text on vineyards and wine production, of a Latin cookbook of Italian provenance, and finally, of a Latin pharmacopoeia. About a third of the cookbook's recipes include a comment on therapeutic or dietetic uses, and the compiler of the original text was likely an Italian university-trained physician, perhaps Jamboninus himself. One of these recipes is for 'a green sauce pictamensium to incite the hunger or the desire which a man has lost because of too much cold which come [sic] from excess moisture in the stomach'.

Take fresh parsley leaves which is better or a handful of dried ones, two or three leaves of sage, and of pepper half an ounce, and a little serpillum which is wild thyme, and three cloves of garlic or two, nicely peeled, and add enough salt. Pound the said herbs well together with the other things and two ounces of pounded (wal)nuts, or pistachios, or almonds. Pound all this together and mix it and knead it until it becomes a medulla or dough. Then add spices, and salt, and then mix together. Take enough vinegar and mix it through with all the aforementioned things and eat it if you like.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ 'Ain grün sals pictamenium czu rayczen den hunger oder den gelust den ain mensch verloren had von übringer chelt di do chomen von des magen überflüssige fewchtaid di macht man also Nim peterczymel pletter frichew daz do pezzet ist oder ain handuoll getrückchenter czway oder drey pletter Saluay vnd pfeffers ain halb vncz vnd Serpillum daz ist quendel ain wenig vnd drey keyl knoblauch oder czwo schon geschelt vnd salcz darczu daz es genüg ist diselben chräuter mitsampt dem andern ding schol man stozzen wol mit enander vnd czwo vncz von nüz gestozzen oder cyrmalen oder mandeln dasselb schol man allez mit ainander stozzen vnd mischen vnd durch enander knetten vncz daz es wirt als ain march oder taig darnach so schol man stupp darczu tün vnd salcz vnd das mit enander

The recipe ends with a transcription and translation of the distich from the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum* referred to above.¹⁰² Moreover, directly before the ‘green sauce pictamensium’ is a recipe for that staple of the medieval kitchen, *sauce camelina*.

Camelina sauce you prepare thus from green herbs as you prepare the sauce pictamensium. And in place of the seasoning or spice powder which you add to Sauce pictamensium you only add enough cinnamon bark and it is prepared the same way and

mischen darnach So nym esseich daz des genug ist vnd misch den mit den vogenatten dingen allen mitenander vnd nucz daz wenn du wilt.’ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm 415 fol. 52r. The manuscript can be viewed at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00062818/image_108_ Transcription adapted from Natacha Guggi, ‘ain weizz gemuess oder ain weizz chost macht so: ‘Dynamischen Edition des Kochbuchs der Handschrift Cgm. 415. Mit Glossar und Hauptregister’ (MA thesis, University of Graz, 2013), p. 119. The translation into English was generously furnished by Dr Melitta Weiss Adamson, University of Western Ontario, to whom the authors are grateful and to both her and Dr Thomas Gloning, University of Giessen, for bringing this material to their attention. On the fluid boundaries between culinary and medical recipes in the later medieval period, as evidenced by the Munich manuscript, see Melitta Weiss Adamson, ‘Vom Arzneibuch zum Kochbuch, vom Kochbuch zum Arzneibuch: eine diätetische Reise von der arabishen Welt und Byzanz über Italien ins spätmittelalterliche Bayern’, in *Der Koch is der besserer Artz*, ed. Andrea Hofmeister-Winter, Helmut W. Klug and Karin Kranich (Frankfurt, 2014), pp. 39-62.

¹⁰² ‘Versus. Saluia serpillum piper alea sal petrosillum Ex hiis fit salsa si non est sententia falsa Saluay vnd quendell. pfeffer knoblauch salcz petertzymel darawz ain güte sal wirt ob der spruch nicht falsh ist’: fol. 53v, ed. Guggi, p. 120; cf. Weiss Adamson, ‘‘Mich dunkcht ez sein knölle’’: von den Mühen eines bayerischen Übersetzers mittelalterlicher Fachliteratur’, in *Fachtexte des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* ed. Lenka Vankova (Berlin, 2014), p. 12, n. 23.

(is) good for the same although it does not heat as much but it strengthens more because of its good taste and is more pleasant.¹⁰³

Sauce cameline is without question an article of cuisine, yet not only does this recipe use *salsamentum pictavensium* as a reference point, but it explicitly ascribes therapeutic benefit to the *sauce cameline*'s 'good taste'. It seems that in principle *any* tasty sauce could be enrolled as a medicinal. The Munich 'green sauce *pictamensium*' closely resembles Sidney Sussex's sauce for the meat of rams more than the 'classic' *salsamentum pictavensium*, which suggests that any or all the *diversa salsamenta* of the Sidney Sussex suite may have qualified as medicines.

Nonetheless, it is important to take into consideration the exceptionally early date of the Sidney Sussex recipes, and the fact that they specify which *dish* the sauce should accompany, and not which *condition* to be rectified. This suggests that in the twelfth century, *salsamenta* belonged in the first instance to gastronomy, but were in the process of being appropriated as medicines by the authors of the new literature of therapeutics. Together with the evidence furnished by Ralph de Diceto, Henry of Huntingdon and Alexander Neckam, the Sidney Sussex recipes support Bruno Laurioux's hypothesis that medieval medicine *rationalized* gastronomic fashions: in this case the predilection for tangy sauces with herbs, pepper and garlic to garnish meat.¹⁰⁴ Henry of Huntingdon plays on this by treating parsley – a major ingredient in *salsamentum pictavensium* twice in his *Anglicanus ortus*. In 1.21, Apollo, god of medicine, interrupts a disquisition on the

¹⁰³ 'Camelina Sals macht man also aus grünen chrauttern als man di Sals pictamensium macht und für die specie oder stupp dy man tut in di Sals pictamensium legt man allain cymmerilen genüg und wirt gleich also gemacht vnd czu demselben güt wie wol ez nicht als vast hitczt aber es sterkecht mer von seines wolmakchs wegen und is lüstiger': adapted from Guggi p. 119; trans. Weiss Adamson.

¹⁰⁴ Laurioux, 'Cuisine et médecine', p. 230.

medicinal properties of parsley to dismiss the doctors and summon the cooks; Henry then proceeds to describe sauces for mutton and pork. In 5.2.5, it is the comic Cook who discusses parsley, but entirely in terms of its medical virtues.¹⁰⁵

In the world of Sidney Sussex 51 as well, the doctor and the cook are not rivals, nor was one subordinate to the other. Instead, they were occupants of the same material, technical, and even physical space. If the herbs and other ingredients in the *salsamenta* are found in medical treatises like *Circa instans*, it is also the case that many of the ingredients in the medical recipes in Sidney Sussex 51 are foodstuffs: bread, butter, cheese, lard and other animal fats, milk, eggs, flour (wheat, bean, rye), oil and honey. The techniques of drug preparation are interchangeable with those of food preparation – chopping, grinding, straining and cooking. And in one noteworthy case, a Sidney Sussex medical recipe (no. 13, for an eye ointment or *collirium*) envisages the preparation of medicines and the preparation of food taking place in the same location and time. After mixing the dry ingredients *ad modum succorum* (‘after the manner of purées’) and adding vinegar, one is to put the mixture into a brass pot with some ginger. ‘Then the pot, well covered with clay, should be put into an oven after the bread has been removed, and it should stay there overnight.’¹⁰⁶ The *salsamenta* in this manuscript also speak of a world where the relationship of medicine and cuisine was open-ended and horizontal, and the horizon was appetite.

¹⁰⁵ ed. Black, pp. 118-21, 292-95.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Collirium ualidum. Recipe feniculi. Veruene. Calidonie. Rute. Caprifici absinthii. fellis ursi. fellis tauri. ana equaliter. ad modum suecorum. addatur tantundem aceti. Simulque omnia ponantur in uase eneo. et cum radice zinziberis. cummisceatur [corr. a cummisceatur] bene in uase cum puluere zinziberis ad modum unius aliorum. Tunc uas bene coopertum argilla. in furno postquam panis extractus inde fuerit. uas ponatur et per noctem ibi morietur; utere sicut ceteris (fol. 28r)’.

The discovery of the Durham *salsamenta* recipes opens a significant window onto monastic and aristocratic conceptions of lifestyle in Angevin England, and onto the broader appreciation of culinary and medical history in the period. The new rational medicine, and the ‘Salernitan’ literature of pharmacy, dietetics and therapeutics, was exerting a transformative influence on how elites displayed their status. The table conveyed not only the material resources of the host, but also his good taste (in every sense), refined notions of pleasure, cosmopolitan connections, and ability to command the latest in medical learning and advice. Conversely, purveyors of medical learning and advice adapted their practices to appeal to this clientele. One means of doing this was to medicalize elite gastronomy, including the well-documented western French predilection for flavoursome sauces to serve with meat. If sauces were designed to entice the palate, they could be justified in medical conditions where the palate needed enticing, and as Platearius observed, the greater the variety of sauces, the more medically effective they would be. If the medical rationale owed much to Arabic culture, the gastronomy which it rationalized was nonetheless resolutely European. The bishops and priors of Durham, and the medical men who orbited their world – one of whom acquired and then donated Sidney Sussex 51 – evidently participated in these changes. They looked to men like count Robert of Meulan, just as Robert looked to the Emperor Alexius in Constantinople, for models of how to combine healthy eating with conspicuous culinary refinement, as part of a modern and self-conscious art of living.

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Abstract: This article presents a collection of culinary recipes from a manuscript produced in England from the later twelfth century. The suite of ten recipes for ‘Poitou sauces’ or ‘Poitou relishes’ (*salsamenta pictavensium* – literally ‘of the Poitevins’) to garnish various kinds of meat, fish and fowl are introduced and analysed, with an appended edition and translation. These are, to date, the oldest medieval recipes for such sauces, and in their role as gastronomic enhancements, the oldest surviving medieval culinary recipes. The historical and cultural contexts for the recipes at Durham Cathedral Priory are explored: the nature of the community for whom the recipes were written, its choices of library acquisition, its relationships with the bishopric, and attitudes within the community towards food and medicine in a monastic setting. The Poitevin designation of the sauces is also considered. Above all the article opens up the

question of the relationship between gastronomy and medicine in the twelfth century, and seeks to demonstrate that a distinction between medical and culinary recipes is a false dichotomy, particularly when dealing with *salsamenta*. The authors argue against the position that medieval cuisine is, in its origins and essence, applied dietetics, and suggest that in the twelfth century, *salsamenta* belonged in the first instance to gastronomy, but were in the process of being appropriated as medicines by the authors of the new literature of therapeutics.

Appendix

A. Synopsis of Contents of Cambridge. Sidney Sussex College Δ. 3.6 pt 3 fols. 27r-46v

fol.	no.	Recipe indication
		[Head, throat and ears]
27r	1	[A]d caput purgandum uel uocem exclarandam uel uuam exsiccandam uel glandulas...
	2	Quibus uox intercluditur. dabis diptanum. cum uino et aqua.
	3	Ad uuam tollendam...
	4	Ad dolorem aurium.... ¹⁰⁷
		[Miscellaneous]
	5	Ad tibias inflatas....
	6	Vt scias quid mulier paritura sit. pone aquam in uase uitrino et de qualibet papilla eius exprime lac. in aqua. et si ad fundum descenderit. masculum. si non: feminam. ¹⁰⁸
	7	Ad uenas incisas. appone telas araneorum.
	8	Ad ficum foras euntem...
	9	ad lac coagulatum in mamillis....
	10	Ad mammas dolentes. et tumentes.
		[Eyes (with intrusive recipes to provoke menstruation and treat sunburn)]
	11	Collirium ualens optine rubori et caligini oculorum eosque clarificat...
27v	12	Collirium alium ualens Rubori oculorum exterius prurigini palpebrarum....
28r	13	Collirium ualidum....
	14	Ad oculos fel perdicis cum zinzibere fricetur in uase eneo quo unguantur oculi sero.
	15	Saliua ad oculos rubeos...
	16	Ad manstruum [<i>sic</i>] prouocandum....
	17	Ad albulam oculi....
	18	Ad oculorum caliginem....
	19	Ad oculorum coopertos...
	20	Ad oculos. Pialuis [=Puluis] ualens multum...
28v	21	Ad oculos.... [near doublet of no. 28]
	22	Item idem ad oculos...
	23	Item ad oculos....
	24	Ad lacrimas stringendas...
	25	Vnguentum ad rubeos oculos...
29r	26	Caligantibus oculis fel leporis cum melle mixtum et inunctum oculis ualet. ¹⁰⁹
	27	Ad oculos...

¹⁰⁷ Recipes 1-4 are closely paralleled by four continuous recipes in the first *receptarium* in Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100, fol. 109v.

¹⁰⁸ This recipe closely resembles *The Trotula (Conditions of Women)* 113, ed. M Green, *The Trotula: a Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia, 2001), 102-4.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Durham Cathedral Library MS Hunter 100, fol. 111v.

	28	Ad oculos... [near doublet of no. 21]
	29	De floribus caprifici fit aqua quasi rosata. Valens multum ad oculos uel sustinendos claros.
	30	De floribus wantelee fit aqua quasi rosata. ualens ad ebullitionem et uestionem solis in uisu factam. uel ad colorem informandum rubrum. et ad cutem extenuandam et dealbandam perfecte.
	31	Ad albulam oculorum...
	32	Collirium ualidissimum. ad albugines...
29v	33	Ad suriones de oculis tollendos...
	34	Ad oculos sanguinolentos. uel liuidos...
	35	Item ad caliginem...
	36	Curatio ad oculos...
	37	Ad maculas oculorum...
	38	Ad percussum oculum...
	39	Ad lacrimosos oculos...
30r	40	ut pili qui oculis nocent euulsi [MS: enulsi] ne renascantur...
	41	Ad maculas oculorum...
	42	Item ad lacrimas...
	43	Collirium albugini oculorum et pannis rupendis. et maculis...
	44	Collirium ad albulas et pannos oculorum...
	45	Aloe diste<m>perant<um> et oculis immissum cum uino suriones aufert.
30v	46	Collirium...
	47	Collirium. ualens ad clarificandos oculos...
	48	... ad caliginem oculorum.
	49	Oculis prodest...
		[Hair dyes]
	50	Ad nigros capillis tingendos...
	51	...Vt nigri capilli efficiantur...
	52	Ad copillos [=capillos] nigros tingendos.
31r	53	Poncius rigaldius ad capillos tingenos nigros.
		[Miscellaneous]
	54	Ad uerticem capitis...
	55	Ad di\s/cent<? = <i>dissenteria</i> >.
		[Teeth and mouth]
	56	Pulis. Valens uiciis dencium et oris et omnium canceromatum...
	57	Ad dolorem dencium...
	58	Ad dolorem dencium...
	59	Item ad dolorem capitis. caseus fronti impositus cito sanat.
	60	Vt os bene oleat...
	61	Item aliud ad idem...
		[Epilepsy, leprosy, heart palpitations, erisypelas]
	62	Caducis res probatissima...
31v	63	Ad caducam passionem...
	64	Cum lepre indicium aliquid apparuerit. quan<do> primum cognoscetur...
	65	Ad cordis pulsum...

	66	Item aliud ad ibidem...
	67	Caducis prima die martis martii. accipe .C. lumbricos terre...
	68	Ad erospas [=erisipelas] in collo uel cocumque [= quocumque] membro...
32r	69	Ad cordis pulsum...
		[Haemorrhoids, with remedy for paralysis]
	70	Ad ficum...
	71	Aliud ad idem...
	72	Firina [= Farina] tritica cum recenti sagimine porci mixta. ualet tumori cum dolore uerendorum.
	73	Viscus quercinus tritus uel cum uino temperatus. potatus. subuenit paraliticis...
	74	Ad ficum extra corpus ubicumque fuerit. uel apparuerit...
	75	Ad ficum inter corpus...
	76	Ad ficum...
	77	Item ad ficum. extra ubicumque fuerit...
	78	Ad ficum accipe... [near doublet of no. 85]
32v	79	Ad ficum ubicumque fuerit intus uel extra...
	80	Pulus ficosis utilissimus....
	81	Ad ficum intra corpus...
	82	Ad ficum quemcumque...
	83	Ad ficum interiore emorroidem facientem....
	84	Ad ficum. in naso uel manu. uel aliquo membro gilbum [= gibbum] facientem....
33r	85	Ad ficum... [near doublet of no. 78]
		[Swelling]
	86	Ad tumorem brachii per flebothomam uel ubicumque fuerit tumor causa
	87	Ad membrum inflatum...
	88	Ad tumorem brachii. uel alterius membri de flebothomia...
	89	Ad tumorem brachi<i> per flobothomen...
		[Chest and coughing]
	90	Bouoalemannus. ad pectus. et ad tussem probatum.
		[Gastroenteric problems]
	91	Ad solutionem uentris...
33v	92	Ad discentiam [<i>recte</i> dissenteriam] et lienteriam res probata...
	93	Ad miningium mirabile adeo secessum prouocans. ut squebalas constipatissimas in momento prouocet....
	94	Rarra discent<er>ie...
	95	Castantiori opus confectio contra dolorem ilii.
34r	96	Ad ylii dolorem poncius rigauld... [<i>cf.</i> no. 53]
	97	Item de eodem puluere. eodem modo. da ficosis interius. per IX dies.
	98	Item eandem radicem recentem tere. et super recentem plagam liga per diem uel noctem. postea sanatiua pone.
	99	Ad discent<er>iam...
	100	certum ad ficum...
	101	Item ad iddem...
		[Genito-urinary, with intrusive recipes for wound plaster, impetigo]
	102	Ad impedimentum matricis illius que non potest conubere...

	103	Ad menstrua prouocanda...
34v	104	Ad restringendum <menstruum>....
	105	Emplastra ad ulcus persanandum...
		[Genito-urinary]
	106	Ad idropicum curandum...
	107	Ad urinam prouocandam...
	108	Item ad idem...
	109	Ad dertam...
	110	Ad guttam renum uel alibi inossatam...
	111	Illi qui bene non continerit urinam...
	112	Item aliud...
	113	Item aliud...
	114	Aliud. Viro ad urinam expellendam...
	115	Ad urinam prouocandam...
35r	116	Ad lapidem frangendam...
	117	Quelibet urine si sanguis inundat habunde apparent...
	118	Vt homo eunuchus sine ferro fiat...
35v	119	lipidem [<i>recte</i> lapidem] habentibus in renibus uel uesica...
		[Cancer, ulcers and fistulae]
	120	Cancrelle puluis ualet cancro.
	121	Ouorum intellorum sagimen ualet cancro.
	122	Ad canc<r>um. et fistulam puluis...
	123	Vnguentum cancerosis ulceribus...
	124	Ad cancrum...
36r	125	Ad fistulis (<i>sic</i>) probatum.
	126	Item ... curatur fistula.
	127	Ad fistulam. Walterius miles de sancto iohanne...
		[Jaundice]
	128	De ictericia saeø. H. comitis de \u/uareuic...
	129	Item idem. ad apostema reumpendum....
	130	Letericis [<i>recte</i> Ictericis]...
	131	Ad iciricos. probatum...
36v	132	Ad icericos probatum...
		[Plasters]
	133	Ad raduldulum....
	134	Ad radulculum uulneris...
	135	Ad bonum malagnum. Castaneam manducet. uel bibat.
		[Constrictives and bandages]
	136	Ad sangui<nem> stagnandum inferius...
	137	Ad uomitum restringendum...
	138	Item aliud...
	139	Oximel ad uomitum prouocandum...
	140	Item ad stringendum uomitum...
	141	Item acetum. pulueri [<i>sic</i>] et oleum ter bibat terque ad nares ponat.
	142	Item storiacum cum oleo resoluere et in stomacho pone cum lini semine.

	143	Strictorium...
	144	Strictorium optimum mulierum...
37r	145	Item aliud...
	146	Item aliud strictorium....
		[Jaundice]
	147	Iotericis [<i>recte</i> Icteris]...
	148	Item pueris ad i[d]dem.
		[Miscellany]
	149	Ad os fractum ut serco [<i>recte</i> certo] solidetur...
	150	Super emorroides pone alleluia coctam sub cineribus....
	151	Ad podagram...
	152	Item aliud quod fictile uidetur...
37v	153	Ad paralism probatur...
	154	Pereti radicem pones in aquam. coques ad VI et dabis bibere. memoriam reddit...
	155	Ad idropisim curandum...
		[Sores and wounds, with some intrusions]
	156	Ad plagam curandam....
	157	Ad plagam sanandum...
	158	Ad guttam angeram [<i>recte</i> angoream?]...
38r	159	Potus ad plagam...
	160	Item aliter... [abbreviated version of no. 159]
	161	Item aliud ad plagam capitis uel tocius corporis...
	162	Item ad plagam cito sanandum...
	163	Pontamiron... Valet dolorum dentium et dolorum interiori et plagis et ulceribus.
	164	Apertorium uulneris...
	165	Cassius ad plagam sanandam puluis et stringendam et celeriter sanandam...
38v	166	Sicut uerutrum transire sperat et sic delatabitur uerutrum...
	167	Camomilla. Valet cum quassatis intra corpus....
	168	Vnguentum ad plagam...
	169	Epa<ti>ci cibos leues et sorbiles accipiant assidue...
	170	Cannabum.... et da uulnerato bibere.
		["Chemical" remedies]
39r	171	Sal sacerdotale...
	172	Caleuce caumeum sic fiat...
	173	Cerusa sic fit.... Sis memor oro mei. sit deus usque tui.
		[Salsamenta: see below]
	174	Incipiunt diuersa genera pictauensium salsamentorum. Petrosilini et saluie succum...
	175	Ad minutos pisciculos...
	176	Ad agnos...
	177	Ad arietes...
	178	Ad carnem uacciniam..
	179	Item ad id[d]em...
	180	Ad pullos...
	181	Item ad carnem sulciatam...
29v	182	Ad anseres...

	183	Ad gallinam in hieme....
	184	In quocumque tempore uolueris carne porcina. atque bouina cum sinapi. distempera acete utere.
	185	In omnibus supradictis. piper allio preualeat.
		[Preserved ginger; unguents]
	186	Zinziber conditum....
	187	Vnguentum popoleum ...
	188	Vnctio ualens omnibus frigidis passionibus in manibus siue in pedibus...
		[Medical properties of various herbs]
40r	189	Cinoglosse sucus potatus ualet morsum aranee.... Valet etiam non ualentibus loqui per paralism. si potui detur.
	190	Scorcia radice sambuci bene abluta tenatur [<i>recte</i> teratur]... Sicque conditum patiens uacuis aliis cibis quacumque hora uoluerit: comedat scutellatam unam.
	191	Torm<en>tilla ualere dicitur contra febrem...
		[Miscellany]
	192	Confricationi cutis carie \que cura/ sola nocte dat sanitatem perfectam...
	193	Coctura de cupra facta est utilis ubinamque fuerit necesse.
	194	Attritioni carni uel natium uel coxarum ualet glarea testudinis...
		[Soporifics, with an intrusive recipe for a sick falcon]
	195	Soporiferum...
	196	ad tescam [=phthisim] accipitris....
	197	Confectio soporis ad chyrurgiam....
40v	198	Ad eos qui dormire non possunt propter rabiem capitis uel dolorum...
		[Miscellany, mainly treatments for tumours, wounds and pains]
	199	Quicumque uult herbolatam facere in tempore uindemiarum perquirat has herbas...
	200	Ad matricem per uuluam exeuntem...
41r	201	Ad tumorem ex flobothomia. siue ex quacumque causa...
	202	Ad refrigerandum ardonem [<i>recte</i> ardorem] intestinorum uel stomachi...
	203	Ad solutionem uentris sine periculo...
	204	Ad fistulam in membro uirili...
	205	Ad plagam sanandam et conseruandam ne putrescat...
41v	206	Ad sciaticam passionem...
	207	Ad idem...
	208	Et Inquire inspecta urina utrum ex calore an ex frigore sit infirmitas. et si ex calore: accipe oleum factum ex semine iusquami et unge. et si ex frigore est: accipe petroleum. et laurinum et unge.
	209	Item ad plagam...
	210	Ad uomitum excitandum...
42r	211	Potus sufficiens ad plagam sanandam...
	212	Electuarium optimum...
	213	Ad tortionem uentris. et Stomachum calefacendum...
	214	Ad fistulam uel cancrum...
	215	Ad ficum qui apparet in uultu. et ad tubera lepre...
	216	Ad ruborem ex salso flegmate. qui uulgo dicitur granum lepre...
42v	217	Ad ignem...

	218	Ad infirmum pectore...
	219	Ad moriendum uentrem. propter guttam...
		[Quotation from <i>Liber graduum</i>]
	220	Constantinus in libro graduum. Mirra calida et m<?> [<i>recte hu<mida></i>] secundo gradu...
		[Purgatives and constrictives]
	221	Antidotum ad solutionem recipit hec....
	222	Ad lapidem....
42v	223	Ad restringendum menstruum. ponat mulier iacens puluerem factum de cucumera. que dicitur loueies in suum naturalem locum.
	224	Valet etiam potatus in aqua ematites.
	225	Ad prouocandum menstruum...
	226	Ad disiteriam restringendam...
	227	Ad menstruum restringendum...
	228	Ad uertiginem capitis que dicitur esuertim...
	229	Ad mouendum uentrem...
43r	230	Potest etiam itidem facere...
	231	Item ad idem....
	232	Ad glisterem faciendam...
	233	Ad mouendum uentrem. distempera titimallum quod uulgo dicitur anlileta...
		[Miscellany]
	234	Ad dertam....
	235	Prurigini oculorum...
	236	Emoroidibus...
	237	Ad ficum...
	238	Emordici....
	239	Vermibus uentris....
44v	240	Tineosis...
	241	Emplastrum neruis...
		[New collection]
45r	242	Ad uocem clarificandam...
	243	Purgatio pectoris....
	244	Fiat masticatio ex synapi et pireto. pipere. stauisagria. equaliter ad pondus quadrantis...

B. The *salsamenta* recipes (fols. 39r-v)

39r [Par. sign] Incipiunt diuersa genera pictauensium salsamentorum. Petrosilini et saluie succum cum aceto distemperatum cum pipere et allio // fortiter trito commisce. et cum his carnem sulcitam comede.	Here begin various kinds of Poitou condiments. Mix juice of parsley and sage which has been tempered with vinegar with finely ground pepper and garlic; and eat sausage with this.
Ad minutos pisciculos coriandri et allii sucum cum pipere et allio// temperatum.	For tiny little fish: juice of coriander and garlic tempered with pepper and garlic.
Ad agnos. piper cum ac<e>to temperatum.	For lambs: pepper tempered with vinegar.

Ad arietes. de suco serpili. coriandri. retrosilini [<i>recte</i> petrosilini] costi saluie. satuireie. abrotani. ysopi. et duobus foliis lauri. cum aceto distemperato. et bene colato. distempera piper et allium.	For rams: juice of creeping thyme, coriander, parsley, costmary, sage, savory, southernwood, hyssop, and two bay leaves, with vinegar that has been tempered and well strained. Mix pepper and garlic.
Ad carnem uacciniam succum satuireie cum aceto distemperato: cum pipere et allio misce.	For cow's meat: mix juice of savory, with tempered vinegar, with pepper and garlic.
Item ad id[d]em succum racemorum colatum. cum allio \ <et> pipere/ misce.	Again, for the same: mix strained juice of raisins with garlic and pepper.
Ad pullos satuireie succum colatum cum aceto distemperatum coniunge.	To chickens, add strained juice of savory to tempered vinegar.
Item ad carnem sulciatam. succum petrosilini et acidum colatum. cum pipere misce.	Again, for sausage: mix parsley juice and strained vinegar with pepper.
39v Ad anseres. piper et allium distempera cum acido <si acido> carueris. cum uina [<i>recte</i> uino]. [<i>alternative reading: recte carui agreste cumino.</i>]	For ducks: temper pepper and garlic with vinegar and [if you] lack [vinegar] with wine. [<i>alternative reading</i> with vinegar, caraway and cumin]
Ad gallinam in hieme. allium. piper saluiam. cum aqua tepefacta.	For hen in winter: heat garlic, pepper and sage with warmed water.
In quocumque tempore uolueris carne porcina. atque bouina cum sinapi. distempera acete utere. In omnibus supradictis. piper allio preualeat.	Whenever you want pork or beef with mustard, use it tempered with vinegar. In all the above, pepper should prevail over garlic
Zinziber conditum. Ponatur zinziber in aqua mundissima integrum et tamdiu dimittatur. [quo peracto] ¹¹⁰ ibi dinec (<i>i.e.</i> donec] quasi uiride sit. Tuncque perlongum findatur in sectiones subtilissimas et preparato melle decocto ad tenacem spissitudinem et dispumato permisceatur. manibusque bene in melle confritetur et sic integrum diem et noctem dimittatur. quo peracto. si qua humiditas uidetur inesse. abstracto zinzibere. interum quaquetur [<i>i.e.</i> coquetur] ad priorem spissitudinem. deinde iterum admisceatur ei iam tepefacto et in uasis condiatur. tunc addatur spice. Galenge. Gariofilorum. Cinnamomi zedoarii ana equaliter piperis dupplum.	Conserved ginger. Ginger should be placed whole into very pure water, and left there until it starts to look green (<i>or</i> fresh). And then it should be sliced lengthwise into very thin slices, and mixed thoroughly with prepared honey that has been cooked down to a sticky thickness and skimmed. It should be rubbed well in the honey with the hands, and left a whole day and night. When this is done, if any moisture is detected, take out the ginger and cook [the honey] again to its previous thickness, and then let it be mixed again and when heated, let it be stored in jars, and then add equal parts of <i>spica</i> [= spikenard?], galingale, clove, cinnamon and zedoary, and twice this quantity of pepper.

¹¹⁰ An intrusion, perhaps by attraction from *dimittatur. quo peracto* above.