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Spanish Culinary History in Cervantes' "Bodas de Camacho"*

Adoptando una perspectiva gastronómica, en este artículo propongo dilucidar los cambios sociales que se manifiestan en la cultura cotidiana de los siglos XVI y XVII a través de una lectura del festín nupcial descrito en "Las bodas de Camacho" (capítulo XX de Don Quijote II*). Cervantes no sólo honra las tradiciones culinarias heredadas de la España medieval, sino que introduce también los incipientes gustos gastronómicos de la España moderna. El cambio de la cantidad a la calidad – con su referencia implícita al estatus social – la generación de un plato nacional o las enaltecedoras descripciones de los cocineros son ejemplos de los elementos que reflejan los cambios de costumbres de la España del siglo XVII. De la mano de historiadores como Stephen Mennell y Juan Cruz Cruz, rastreo cómo introduce Cervantes las delicadezas degustativas de los libros de Platino, Nola y Granado. Por tanto, este artículo analiza desde la comida los hábitos culturales, sociales y culinarios que representan los comensales del capítulo y que disfruta la España moderna temprana.*

When King Charles I of Spain celebrated his coronation as the Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V) in Bologna, the famous chef of Cardinal Campeggio, Bartolomeo Scappi, prepared a grand banquet. The German nobility was impressed with this magnificent display of culinary artistry:

> Siguieron tarteras doradas con las primeras viandas: salchichas, frituras y tortas. Luego los asados de vaca, carnero y cerdo, guisados de varias aves y caldos variados. También se presentaron pasteles de carne, mermeladas, frituras, puches o gachas, hojaldres rellenos y platos preparados con salsas y jugos. Cerraron el convite confituras y dulces. (González Sevilla 227)

* My thanks to both the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities and Illinois Wesleyan University for research funding that led to this publication.

A splendid feast like this one was, of course, a visible sign of the host's wealth and power and a convincing way to flatter invited guests. Yet, Scappi's culinary artistry, like Cervantes' description of the banquet preparations in the "Bodas de Camacho" episode, also exemplified food's changing role in early modern Europe.

In *Don Quixote II* the multitude of food episodes reveals a wide range of eating habits and social customs. Whether in a conversation with one of the cooks at Camacho's wedding feast, at "dinner" at the governor's palace, in a quick repast with Ricote and some German pilgrims on the crossroads of Spain, or discussing dinner selections with the inn keeper on the road to Barcelona, Sancho Panza tastes and talks about all aspects of the changes in Spain's gastronomy. This article returns to the "Bodas de Camacho" episode to examine how Cervantes honours Spain's past traditions and celebrates the nuances of an emerging modern culinary art form. While the wedding feast reveals traditional medieval elements, its true delicacy is its early modern sensitivity to the art form, as seen in the shift from quantity to quality as a status marker, in the preparation of an emerging national dish, and in the portrayal of those who prepare the food. In this episode the ingredients, the food's preparation and the cooks who prepare them are signs of an unfolding social and culinary history that offer a greater understanding of early seventeenth-century Spain.

The legacy of structuralists Claude Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas, who emphasize the importance of culture in food habits, has opened the door to a wide variety of approaches to food practices in western society.[1] In Spain several historians, among them Jacinto García, Gregorio Sánchez Meco, Juan Cruz Cruz, and Santiago Gómez Laguna, have contextualized gastronomic developments within the sociopolitical and historic trends of the day.[2] Comparing Cervantes' description of the wedding feast preparations with the early modern cookbooks of Platina, Ruperto de Nola, Diego Granado, and Francisco Martínez Montiño, I examine food's role in the changing social climate of early modern Spain.

Critics argue that during the sixteenth century, Spanish cooking, like that of other European countries, experienced a gastronomic revolution with dramatic changes in the foodstuffs and methods of preparation.[3] Implicit in this stance is an understanding that the diet previous to the sixteenth century was monotonous and boring. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Up until and throughout the sixteenth century and, indeed, until relatively recently, people ate a variety of greens, roots, herbs, fruits and nuts gathered from the fields and woods and harvested from their own gardens.[4] Breads were made from wheat, millet, rye and a variety of other grains. Nobility and peasants alike raised or hunted all different types of quadrupeds, birds and fish. Domesticated animals grazed on and were fed different grasses and foods that influenced their flavour, and people consumed all animal parts. In contrast to today's emphasis

on instant gratification and large-scale production, which minimize food diversity, in the early modern era food changed seasonally and people were sensitive to subtle flavour differences.

That said, we can contextualize subtle shifts in Spain's gastronomic history within its already rich heritage. Among these changes are an increased number of culinary references in the Spanish literature on health and medicine.[5] In addition, the Italians were fundamental in advancing and refining culinary developments throughout Europe. Specifically, the Italian movement, *la nuova cucina*, was concerned with the art of good living that influenced not only what people ate but also how they ate, how they set the table, how they served food, what they talked about, in short, how they acted before, during, and after eating. *La nuova cucina* emphasized regional and international cooking and in doing so, aided in developing a distinct national style.[6]

Two culinary pioneers, the Italian Martino da Como and the Catalan Ruperto de Nola, were cooking and writing books in the fifteenth century that would influence their respective national *cuisines* for over a century. Martino's recipes are found in the very first book published on food, Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* that came out in 1474 and contains modern touches in the culinary vision presented. Nola's *Libro de coch* first published in Catalan in 1520 and five years later, translated into the Castilian, *Libro de guisados*, also reveals modern culinary nuances although the book is heavily grounded in certain medieval formulas. Juan Cruz Cruz writes that the two recipe books are

> organizados en grupos homogéneos y con un orden lógico, indicando también correctamente el modo técnico de preparar cada una de las viandas: carnes, pescados, salsas, verduras, etc. Lo agridulce medieval se modera con la presencia de almendras y azúcar. El sabor de las especias fuertes – como jengibre, clavo, azafrán y canela – se equilibra con las perfumadas hierbas mediterráneas como perejil, menta, mejorana e hinojo. Se racionalizan los métodos. Se cuenta los tiempos. (10)

These cookbooks are important to culinary history both because they serve as models for later food writers and because they mark when national cooking in Europe began to shed its exclusive late medieval flavour and reveal an early modern sensibility.

In chapter XX of *Don Quixote II* knight and squire partake in the nuptial celebrations of Camacho and Quiteria, respectively the richest farmer and most beautiful woman of the region.[7] The ceremony is interrupted by Quiteria's true love, Basilio, who feigns suicide and requests marriage to his true love with his dying breath. When the truth is revealed that Basilio is not dying, Camacho forgives the newlyweds, allows them to leave, and, in a noble and generous gesture, continues the festivities in order not to spoil what has already been a magnificent celebration.[8] The banquet preparations of this episode in *Don Quixote* have inspired more cooks than any other episode or even any other

literary work of the Spanish Golden Age. Dozens of restaurants in various provinces in Spain boast their culinary recreations of this wedding feast. In fact, some cooks claim the copyright to the authentic "Camacho's Wedding" dish (Diaz 50). In Madrid alone, one can eat "Camacho bread," "roast beef Quiteria-style," "roasted pancetta" and other dishes that were inspired by this gastronomic feast. But Camacho's banquet is more than just an ostentatious display of wealth or the occasion to fill Sancho's belly. It reflects the gastronomic changes that were occurring in early modern Spain.

As Sancho awakens on the wedding day he smells aromas that persuade him to investigate what he suspects must be a lavish banquet in the making:

> Lo primero que se le ofreció a la vista de Sancho fue, espetado en un asador de un olmo entero, un entero novillo; y en el fuego donde se había de asar ardía un mediano monte de leña, y seis ollas que alrededor de la hoguera estaban no se habían hecho en la común turquesa de las demás ollas; porque eran seis medias tinajas, que cada una cabía un rastro de carne: así embebían y encerraban en sí carneros enteros, sin echarse de ver, como si fueran palominos; las liebres ya sin pellejo y las gallinas sin pluma que estaban colgadas por los árboles para sepultarlas en las ollas no tenian número; los pájaros y caza de diversos géneros eran infinitos, colgados de los árboles para que el aire los enfriase. (187-88)

This passage reveals a medieval sense of prestige defined in quantitative terms: un novillo *entero*, un *rastro* de carne, liebres y gallinas *sin número*, pájaros y caza *infinitos*. Yet the description of the ingredients – whole sheep, hare, hens, geese, rabbits and other fowl and game – being prepared to simmer slowly in six different cauldrons pays homage to Spain's first and most well-known national dish, *la olla podrida*.

What Calderón would later dub "la princesa de los guisados," the *olla podrida* was a fashionable dish during the Hapsburg monarchy. In the seventeenth century it represented the culinary taste of nobles both for its ostentation and its opulence. Yet everyone from kings to canons, to rectors and peasants enjoyed it. Although its beginning as a simpler stew with humbler ingredients is generally agreed upon, no one really knows its point of origin. Some postulate that it is Gallic, or perhaps even Visigothic, in origin; while others theorize that the *olla podrida* comes from the Jewish *adafina*, a stew prepared on Fridays to avoid cooking on the Sabbath.[9] At each table ingredients for the stew would invariably change depending on the area, season, and economic level of those cooking. But in the sixteenth century, the *olla podrida* becomes the fashion among the aristocracy and for three centuries is served from the richest tables to the poorest. Recipes would vary from one cook to the next but all agreed that the ingredients must be many and varied. Diego Granado, the first to record the *olla podrida* in Spain, uses

the very ingredients Sancho ogles at Camacho's feast: mutton, fowl and game:[10]

> 6 libras de carnero y 6 libras de riñonada de ternera y 6 libras de vaca gorda y 2 capones y 2 gallinas y 4 pichones caseros gordos ... y en otro tarro de barro o de cobre con el caldo de la sobredicha carne, cuézcanse dos cuartos de liebre trasera cortados a pedazos, tres perdices, dos faisanes, dos ánades gruesas, salvajes y frescas, veinte tordos, veinte codornices y tres francolines. (82)

The recipe contains other instructions for pork, vegetables, legumes, seasoning and presenting the stew but this citation demonstrates the excessiveness of the *olla podrida* that appeared both in the king's kitchen and at Camacho's feast.

The *olla podrida* is one of Spain's rich gastronomic contributions to Europe. Culinary giants like Carême in his work, *L'art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle*, and Escoffier in *Le Guide culinaire*, mention that the *olla podrida* is Spain's first national dish to influence other European cooking. In an era when nationalism was on the rise, cooking began to shed its paneuropean identity and take on national characteristics. The *olla podrida* that the cooks are simmering at Camacho's wedding and that Sancho later discusses in more detail as governor of Barataria exemplifies a national culinary expression much like those found in Granado's cookbook.

Turning to other delectable delights, Sancho is thrilled with the wine, bread and cheese that accompany the meats: "*más de sesenta* zaques de más de a dos arrobas cada uno, y todos llenos, según después pareció, de generosos vinos; asi había *rimeros* de pan blanquisimo, como los suele haber de *montones* de trigo en las eras, los quesos, puestos como ladrillos enrejados, formaban *una muralla*" (188; my emphasis). Since Antiquity offering food has been a sign of hospitality and respect. In the feasting/fasting lifestyle of the Middle Ages, social status and prestige were based on quantity, such as the narrator describes at Camacho's wedding feast. However, at the dawn of the modern age, the sign of prestige shifted from quantity to quality. This change evolved in part as food supplies became more regularized. Division of labor, expansion of commerce, and competition intensified.[11] These social and economic changes clearly affected both cooking in the kitchen and eating at the table. Nobility no longer ate bigger amounts to distinguish themselves from others of a lower social class; rather, they ate *better* and thus, an elitist diet emerged. Montanari explains that, "the consumption of certain foods (and of foods prepared in a particular way) was not simply a function of habit or choice, but rather a sign of social identity and so to be correctly observed in the interest of maintaining the proper social equilibria and hierarchies" (85).

Although quantity is the defining measure of Camacho's banquet, the descriptions of bread and wine combine superlatives of both quantity and quality. As Sancho eyes the preparations the narrator includes descriptors such

as, *generosos* vinos and pan *blanquísimo*. In fact, in Sancho's earlier discussion with Tomé Cecial, the supposed squire of the Knight of the Forest, we find out that Sancho has a nose for excellent wines:

> ¿No será bueno, señor escudero, que tenga yo un instinto tan grande y tan natural en esto de conocer vinos, que en dándome a oler cualquiera, acierto la patria, el linaje, el sabor, y la dura, y las vueltas que ha de dar, con todas las circunstancias al vino atañederas? (133)

The appellation "*generosos* vinos" of Camacho's feast refers to their excellent quality.

Without a doubt, bread is the most important basic element of Spanish food during the seventeenth century, an honour that has endured up through to the present.[12] Dealing in grain was a high-powered business. As urban centres grew, bread production was transformed into an important industry. In Madrid, for example, the government instituted a price ceiling for grains, regulated prices, controlled bread shipments and imposed bread delivery obligations on local villages (Vassberg 33). Fortunately, for the average worker, bread was both nutritious and affordable. Wheat bread was reserved for the upper classes while millet, rye and other supposedly "inferior" grains were used to make bread for the lower classes. Felipe III's doctor wrote that the best bread was one that was "más fácil de partir con los dientes, y partido se mostrare por dentro más blanco que rubio" (Sánchez Meco 131). So, "pan *blanquísimo*" implies both class and category.

Not only is the quantity of food and drink that the cooks prepare emphasized, but also that of the spices used to season dishes. "Las especias de diversas suertes no parecia haberlas comprado por libras, sino por arrobas, y todas estaban de manifiesto en una grande arca" (188). Again, this focus on quantity – "comprado por arrobas" – reveals a medieval conception of prestige. In the early modern period, because social competition demands a greater variety of dishes, the number of spices in each dish is reduced and used in smaller quantity. Seasoning is simplified and the natural and unique flavor of the dish's main ingredient becomes more important (Mennell 54). Yet, one cannot help but wonder how much the pressures of an emerging middle class that wanted to experience the pleasures of the nobility, contributed to this shift. Both the decreased amount of "exotic" spices and the increased use of aromatic herbs – which Montanari terms "poor man's spices" because they grew abundantly in everyone's garden – also influenced this change. The Italians are the first to control the amount of spices used in cooking. In part this change stems from the loss of the spice trade routes to the Portuguese but the fashion of "simplifying" flavours that defines the sixteenth-century *nuova cucina* also contributed to using spices more selectively.

In Nola's *Libro de guisados* (1525) there is still an excessive use of spices in the dishes. Among others, pepper, cinnamon, saffron, clove, nutmeg, anisette, and ginger are mixed together in many of the recipes. However, at the end of the century, Diego Granado writes *Libro del arte de cozina* (1599) in which he reproduces Nola's recipes, approximately 75, and 587 translations of recipes from the famous Italian cookbook *L'Opera dell'arte del cucinare* by Bartolomeo Scappi. Granado's work is significant because it both carries on Spanish cooking traditions established by Nola earlier in the century and it also introduces to Spain the modern influences of Scappi. It is through Granado's work that a more moderate use of spice is recorded. His work also draws on the scientific aspects of cooking, more sophisticated forms of preparation, and both regional and international influences such as "el potaje de pedazos de la embrina a la Veneciana" (178) or "trucha a la tudesca" (209).[13] While Granado includes many international dishes from Germany, Italy, Hungary, he also records recipes used by the great chefs of Spanish nobility and monarchy including Sardinas, chef to Álvaro de Luna, Lopera, chef to Juana la Loca, Joaquín, chef to Fernando el Católico, among others (Bennassar 142). Granado's role in Spanish culinary history is arguable.[14] To his credit he brings international recipes and modern techniques to Spain. But his fame was short lived. Twelve years and two editions after his work was published, Francisco Martinez Montiño writes what is now considered the most famous cookbook from early modern Spain, *Arte de cocina: pastelería, vizcochería y conservería* (1611). In his opening words, Martínez Montiño severely criticizes Granado's work, implies that it is too foreign, and speaks disrespectfully of Granado himself:

> El intento que he tenido en escribir este Librito ha sido no haber libros por donde se puedan guiar los que sirven el Oficio de la Cocina, y que todo se encarga a la memoria: sólo uno he visto, y tan errado que basta para echar a perder a quien usare de él, y compuesto por un Oficial que casi no es conocido en esta Corte: y así las cosas del Libro no están puestas de manera que ningún Aprendiz se pueda aprovechar, a lo menos los Españoles, antes si se siguieren por él, lo errarán, y echarán a perder la hacienda. (n.p.)

Martinez's criticism reveals a certain consciousness of the culinary changes that were occurring including an increasing emphasis on national *cuisine* and national cooks. The fact that Diego Granado's *Libro del arte de cozina* was published only once after Martinez Montiño's attack in his prologue while the work of the latter was published twenty times over, speaks to Martinez Montiño's authoritative voice within Spain's culinary heritage.[15]

Another culinary wonder that typifies the social changes from Middle Ages to modernity is dessert. Sweets were very important to Spanish society, and like bread, still remain so today. In fact neither noble banquet nor popular town feast was celebrated without sweet desserts (Garcia 55-56). "Camacho's

Wedding" is no exception. After eyeing all the main dishes, wine, bread and cheese, in a hierarchical way, Sancho turns his attention to the preparation of desserts: "dos calderas de aceite mayores que las de un tinte servían de freír cosas de masa que con dos valientes palas las sacaban fritas y las zabullian en otra caldera de preparada miel que alli junto estaba" (188). Spanish desserts have a long and rich history that is heavily influenced by Muslims who introduced sugar cane in the peninsula centuries before it was commonly used by the rest of Europe. By the fifteenth century sugar began to replace honey as a sweetener in Spain and sugar cane production proliferated along the coast of Valencia and Granada but it was not until scientists discovered how to extract sugar from beets in the nineteenth century that most Europeans used sugar on a daily basis.[16]

The "frutas de sartén" that so excite Sancho are fried pieces of sweet dough and are, according to García, "las confituras más populares y consumidas de entonces" (59). La *flaona*, one of the best known fritters is a small pie filled with hard and soft cheeses, eggs whipped with sugar, mint and rosewater. They were first fried then, as Sancho correctly notes, dipped in honey (Cruz Cruz 16-17). Ruperto de Nola has several recipes for fried desserts in *El libro de guisados*. The one that bears the title "frutas de sartén" reads as follows: "Queso añejo rallado tomarás y harina, y echarlo en un cazo; y moler azúcar; y batirlo muy bien con sus huevos, y después tomar buena manteca y echarla en una sartén; y después ir echando la *fruta*" (139). Another of Nola's fritter recipes calls for frying the dough in oil and then dipping it in honey or a sugar-based syrup, similar to the method described at the wedding feast.

While the desserts being prepared signal the richness of Spain's cultural heritage, the spotlight on the cooks themselves, like the *olla podrida* they are preparing, reveals another modern development in Spanish cooking: an awareness of and sensitivity to the cooks themselves. The narrator describes them: "Los cocineros y cocineras pasaban de cincuenta, todos limpios, todos diligentes y todos contentos" (188). Of all those involved in the preparations, one can suppose only one chef; the others are assistant cooks and abide by a certain hierarchy within this culinary world. Chapter 9 of Granado's *Libro del arte de cozina* explains how a person working in the kitchen should behave: "Del cocinero ya se dijo en los capitulos pasados que es oficio de grandisima confianza y que debe ser muy bien tratado ... Ha de ser muy limpio y pacifico y esto basta con lo que de él se dijo arriba" (21).

Furthermore, when Sancho talks with one of the cooks, the narrator presents him as an affable and generous person. Sancho asks to taste whatever is simmering in the cauldron and the cook gladly responds: "apeaos y mirad si hay por ahi un cucharón, y espumad una gallina o dos, y buen provecho os hagan" (189). The cook gives him three hens, two geese and a ladle with which he can eat them. This favourable portrait with an emphasis on cleanliness and respect corresponds to a new awareness of food preparers that forms part of the

culinary transformations occurring in Spain and the rest of Europe at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

The first to express this sensitivity is the Humanist Platina who wrote the already mentioned, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Consisting of 10 books and 417 chapters, it deals with such diverse topics as the science of cooking, diet, exercise, the nature of food and the best ways to prepare and season it. The importance of this work has much to do with its defense of the pleasure of eating as an honest virtue. In his introduction Platina writes:

> Who is so stolid ... that he is not suffused by some pleasure of body or mind if he has held to temperance in eating, from which comes good health, and to integrity and consistency in action, from which happiness arises? ... I have written to help any citizen seeking health, moderation and elegance of food rather than debauchery. (101-03)

The recipes themselves – written by his friend Martino da Como – also reveal a new responsiveness to cooking where the food's natural flavour, careful seasoning and moderate cooking dominate (Willan 23-27). For the first time, Platina, as author of the work, and Martino da Como, as author of the recipes, defend what Néstor Luján calls, "la honestidad de un placer discreto y deleitoso como es el del paladar" (96).

Although literary critics have often characterized Sancho as a glutton and a carnivalesque figure seeking physical overindulgence, I would argue that Sancho embodies Platina's ideal reader.[17] Previously critics have drawn conclusions from a comparative perspective that contrast the squire and the penitent knight who uses self negation as a source of meditation on his spellbound damsel. Who would not, in comparison, appear excessive in manner? Yet, when comparing Sancho to others he meets in the text or evaluating him within a given context, for example the abundant wedding banquet, then his eating practices are indeed moderate. When speaking with the banquet cook, Sancho asks for meager portions, "le rogó le dejase mojar un mendrugo de pan en una de aquellas ollas" (188); the cook, in turn, generously offers him more. In fact, throughout *Don Quijote II*, Sancho often exercises moderation in his decisions, particularly with regard to food. Sancho, like Platina suggests, holds to "temperance in eating," maintains "integrity and consistency in action," and enjoys the "elegance of food." He takes pleasure in consuming it, discussing it, and admiring its preparation. Before and after Camacho's feast – with Tomé Cecial, with Ricote and the German pilgrims, and with the innkeeper on route to Barcelona – Sancho accepts invitations to share a meal, partakes no more or less than the others in his company, and always appreciates the experience: "Quedóse Sancho con la olla con mero mixto im-perio; sentóse en cabecera de mesa, y con él el ventero, que no menos que Sancho estaba de sus manos y de sus uñas aficionado" (488). When faced with accusations of "comilón" and "borracho," Sancho emphatically defends his eating habits to those who have

read the false *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Multiple times in the novel he readily seeks out and savours the pleasure of eating as seen at Camacho's grand wedding banquet and in the modest roadside snacks he shares with other travelers. But he does not observe the excesses of a glutton, rather chooses the path of moderation.

While critics have often framed the story of Don Quixote and Sancho as a paradigm of extreme contrasts, the spiritual, intuitive dreamer vs. the practical, physical realist, in this wedding episode moderation defines their relationship. When Sancho is sitting next to Don Quixote, each enjoying his own pleasurable moment – Don Quixote contemplating the music, dance and theatre and Sancho savouring the skimmings from the pot – the two characters become equals and share a rare "moderate" moment in the novel. They discuss the value of love and wealth in a relationship, each one giving his unique perspective. Sancho continues about the equalizing role of death while Don Quixote listens attentively and finally agrees with him. Camacho's wedding feast is one of the rare times in the novel in which knight and squire, without inventions or exaggerations, enjoy a satisfying moment together.

Italians taught the rest of Europe that the path to perfection was one of simplicity and refinement; gastronomy was no exception. The Humanist Marcilio Ficino once said that "Only the meal [convivium] embraces all parts of man, for ... it restores the limbs, renews the humours, revives the mind, refreshes the senses and sustains and sharpens reason" (739). But profound changes, especially those that lead to perfection, occur slowly. What we have in Camacho's wedding feast, as we have in the cookbooks by Platina, Nola, Scappi, Granado and Martinez Montiño, are small steps that point to a new direction for modern cooking. Large amounts of meat, big quantities of spices, specific ingredients like those found in the "frutas de sartén" remind us of the long established Medieval traditions that form part of Spain's culinary heritage. Yet Cervantes reveals modern elements as well: emphasis on the quality, and not just the quantity, of the food served; the rise of national dishes in the description of ingredients for the *olla podrida;* and finally, an appreciation not only for the food but for those who prepare the food. When the narrator digresses from the description of this feast to focus on the cooks themselves, the readers can meditate on the process of artistic creation and on the cooks whose work will physically, spiritually and emotionally change those who consume it.

Cervantes' treatment of food preparations at Camacho's wedding feast parallels his own initiatives as a modern writer. Respecting past traditions but looking toward new horizons, Cervantes sees in both the culinary and literary arts a turning of the tide. Moving forward almost 400 years the celebrated Catalán chef, Ferran Adrià, speaks of the strong gastronomic traditions that provide a cultural grounding to the new techniques and concepts he invents (Lubow). What Ferran and a handful of other chefs are doing with Spanish gastronomic heritage can be compared to Cervantes' presentation of the

wedding feast preparations: these artists draw from firmly established traditions yet look towards the future as they renovate and invent anew. In his description of Camacho's wedding feast, Cervantes shows us a path, if not toward perfection, at least toward modernity.

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NOTES

1 In Lévi-Strauss' seminal work, *The Raw and the Cooked*, he argues that food is culturally shaped and socially controlled. Douglas looks at the complex web of foodways and social relations. In her study on British food she argues that food and eating encode social boundaries that are revealed when one studies the daily, annual, and life-cycle patterns of eating. Roland Barthes' work on food as a sign of society encoded by a certain "grammar" was also highly influential. Jack Goody examines the political economy of food at both the micro (household) and macro (state) levels. In his study on sugar, Sidney Mintz demonstrates how this single food item acts as a metaphor for social relations between producers and consumers. In *All Manners of Food*, Stephen Mennell studies the changes of taste and innovative cooking as reflections of the development of the state. He shows how social relationships that are part offood transactions and changes in food habits are consistent with power relations in other social arenas.

2 Jacinto García and Gregorio Sánchez Meco focus on food history during the reign of Carlos V and Felipe II, respectively. Both study the novelties and trends of the time period as seen at the royal table and in nobles' houses. Both look at the popular culinary practices in modest homes and in the Church. Garcia also discusses the early influences of New World foodstuffs in Spain. Finally, both include recipes and, in this way, invite the reader to recreate historic dishes and menus. Juan Cruz Cruz focuses more on the scientific techniques and nutritional philosophy as seen through the early modern recipe manuals of Martino da Como and Ruperto de Nola. Santiago Gómez Laguna's work often contextualizes Spanish culinary developments in a larger European context.

3 For more on Spain's gastronomic revolution, see Luján (110) and for developments in England and France, see Mennell.

4 Joan Thirsk's impressive essay "Food in Shakespeare's England," compellingly argues in favour of the rich variety of foodstuffs and preparation techniques used in sixteenth-century England.

5 Alonso de Chirino, physician to King Juan II of Castilla y León, wrote "El menor daño de la medicina." Although written before 1429, it was not published until 1505 and is considered the first of many sixteenth-century "health manuals." The work includes advice on health, hygiene and diet. Later works that likewise address food's influence on health include: Fray Bernardino de Laredo's *Metaphora medicine* (1522); Nicolás Monardes's edition of Juan de Aviñón's *Sevillana medicina* (1545);

Pedro Jimeno's third part of *Dialogus de remedica* (1549), Luis Lobera de Ávila's *Banquete de nobles caballeros* (1530) and later adaptation *Vergel de sanidad* (1542), Francisco Núñez de Oria's *Aviso de sanidad* (1572) with at least three subsequent editions, and Doctor Mercado's *Diálogo de filosofía natural y moral* (1574, 1586).

6 *La nuova cucina* also emphasized scientific aspects of eating – how food affected one's health, digestion, and diets for the sick and convalescent – as seen in the sixteenth-century Spanish nutrition manuals. Later, in the seventeenth century, a greater sophistication of culinary technique developed, for example, clarifying consommé with egg whites or thickening sauces with a *roux* of butter and flour; these too are characteristics of Italy's new cooking trends which, in turn, influenced other national trends in Europe.

7 In recent years critics have done comparative studies of "Camacho's Wedding." Marion Freeman, for example, compares this episode with the "Cave of Montesinos." She argues that while Don Quijote is the central figure who pursues spiritual fulfillment and an intuitive truth through his dreams in the Cave episode, Sancho Panza is the central figure who pursues physical fulfillment and pragmatic truth at the wedding banquet. With these two episodes, Cervantes allows his reader to reflect on the multitude of truths of the human condition. John Sinnigen's classic article compares "Camacho's Wedding" with the intercalated tale of Cardenio and Luscinda in *Don Quijote I*. Using the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe, he concludes that "Camacho's Wedding" presents a new type of intercalated tale that is driven by action instead of by narration.

8 Bulgin writes that "Camacho's Wedding" is actually a tale of wealth in which Camacho is the hero: "it (the wedding) is undeniably a striking argument in favour of plenitude, of the proper husbanding of wealth and natural resources, and therefore of Camacho himself" (57). In contrast to Bulgin, Francisco Vivar writes on how Camacho uses the banquet to position himself as superior to his guests and to influence them. He argues that Camacho's ostentatious display of wealth is a reprehensible expression of vanity.

9 On the origins and history of the *olla podrida*, see Gómez Laguna ("Aclaraciones" 13), González Sevilla (147), Rodríguez Marín (424-29) and García (91).

10 Gómez Laguna explains that in 1570 Bartolomeo Scappi was the first ever to publish the recipe "Per fare una uiuanda di diverse materie detta in lingua spagnola oglia potrida." Gómez Laguna speculates that Scappi became aware of this stew when he provided a banquet for Carlos I in Rome in 1536. Granado's translation of Scappi's recipes in *Arte de cocina* included this one ("Aclaraciones" 10).

11 For changing economic trends in Europe, see Mennell (32-33) and for those in Spain, see Bennassar (128-41) and Yun Casalilla.

12 The Catholic Monarchs and the early Hapsburg kings did not foresee the need to increase Spain's grain production, and that lack of vision coupled with the loss of farmers to military demands, emigration to America, and the expulsion of the Moors, led to an agriculture crisis. Statistics show that from 1580 to well into the eighteenth century, the Spanish economy was stagnant. Furthermore, research

shows that grain prices in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were increasingly on the rise throughout the country (Anes 68). For more on grain production in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Llopís Agelán and Hiltpold. For further information on the importance of bread, see Sánchez Meco (130-31, 190-92, 272-74).

13 Today the word "embrina" does not exist in Spanish. However, in his *Manual de pescado* José Carlos Capel explains that the fish *corvina* is similar to the *umbrina nigra*, which was an abundant Mediterranean fish in earlier centuries. Today, *corvina* is still available and can be loosely translated as *sea bass* (Capel 180).

14 Differing from the Spanish gastronomic historians Martinez Llopís, Xavier Domingo and Néstor Luján who cite Granado as a pillar of culinary history, Gómez Laguna ("Sobre") believes that Granado's work does not directly influence Spain's culinary history except for the fact that it inspired Martínez Montiño to write the definitive cookbook that influenced Spanish cooking for centuries.

15 After two subsequent publications in the seventeenth century, once in 1609 and once in 1614, Granado's work was not published again until 1971 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles. Later, in 1990 and 1991 Pagés Editors released their own editions of Granado's 1614 work.

16 For further information on sugar production and use in Spain, see Bennassar (132-33).

17 The corpus of Sancho criticism is enormous. R.M. Flores traces critical trends including the commonplace of Sancho as a glutton or carnivalesque figure. He cites Avellaneda (1614), Henry Fielding (1742), Gustave Doré (1864), and Manuel Durán (1980), among others, as examples of this line of thinking. More recently, Antonio Barbagallo (54-58) challenges this vision. By looking specifically at Sancho's eating and drinking habits, he provides arguments against this accepted notion of gluttony.

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