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Royal Bills as the Source of the History of Taste and Food in Poland of the Last Jagiellons. Basic Sources and Research Possibilities

Within the last years people in Poland seem to be more and more interested in the history of food, history of taste, preferences and eating practices. The issue has already been categorized as a huge research area. Although the realm seems to be still under construction it has already become the subject of scientific research of many historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, literary scholars etc. The history of food became a meaningful research spectrum embracing eating practices, preferences, imagined tastes and functions connected with food. The issues had been earlier associated with biological and economic spheres exclusively. Nowadays, they are discussed mostly from social and cultural perspective. The creation of the Research Centre of History and Culture of Food under the control of prof. Jarosław Dumanowski from the Nicolaus Copernicus University became an important scientific event. It is valuable for the further professional development of the research of culinary culture in general. The organization is one of the scientific centers of the Polish Historical Society. One of the undertakings of the institution was the conference in Toruń organized in September 2010 entitled *Taste and history. Methodology, sources, perspectives*¹. The meeting of the experts allowed for the discussion on research perspectives, the passage from conceptualization phase to

¹ The major theses from his texts were presented during the mentioned conference.

the moment of reflections on the research area, research methods, formulating the concepts and finally, sources. It is truism to claim that a historian has a number of source categories at his disposal which can be used to conduct a research on the history of food. It seems, however, that the meaning of institutionalized sources is frequently ignored. Taking into consideration various kinds of categories allows to conduct both quality and quantity research, which facilitates the complex analysis of all dimensions of culture of food. The aim of the article is to draw attention to the royal bills and their meaning as the sources facilitating the research of the history of food and taste. The article is also supposed to emphasize research aspects which are important for the discussed research area.

The Royal Bills Department (AGAD, ASK, O1) is placed in the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in Warsaw in the collection of the Archives of the Crown Treasury. There are almost four hundred press marks (books) of royal bills from different historical periods in the collection. Nevertheless, the majority of the sources date back to the 16th century, that is the time when the last Jagiellons ruled the country, namely the kings Alexander, Sigismund I the Old and duke Sigismund Jagiellon. Moreover, the same collection (Department III) contains the court royal bills creating 10 books representing different historical periods. The most valuable, also due to its size, is the first of the mentioned groups². Some fragments of the quoted groups have already been published which partially facilitates the inquiry³. Using various bills in the research con-

² *Archiwa państwowe w Polsce. Przewodnik po zasobach*, ed. A. Biernat, A. Łaszuk, Warszawa 1998, p. 6.

³ *Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586 w dwóch częściach*, ed. A. Pawiński, [in:] *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1881; A. Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warszawa 1893; *Rachunki dworu króla Władysława Jagielly i królowej Jadwigi z lat 1388 do 1420*, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1896; *Liber quitantiarum Aleksandri regis ab a. 1502 ad 1506 (Księga skarbowa króla Aleksandra Jag.)*, ed. A. J(abłonowski), [in:] *Teki A. Pawińskiego*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1897; *Liber quitantiarum regis Casimiri ab a. 1484 ad 1484 (Księga skarbowa Kazimierza Jag.)*, ed. A. J(abłonowski), [in:] *Teki A. Pawińskiego*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1897; *Rachunki wielkorządowe krakowskie z lat 1461–1462 i 1471*, ed. S. Krzyżanowski, Kraków 1909–1913; *Rachunki dworu królewskiego 1544–1567*, ed. A. Chmiel, Kraków 1911; *Zsigmond lengyel herceg Budai szamasasai (1500–1502, 1505)*, ed. A. Diveky, Budapest 1914; *Rachunki generalne Seweryna Bonera 1545*, ed. O. Łaszczyńska, Kraków 1955; J. Senkowski, *Księga skarbowa Janusza II księcia mazowieckiego z lat 1477–1490*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”

ducted on food, including royal bills, allows to compare the information with the information from other sources (for instance, literature, iconographic sources), and finally it allows to compare the image and reality of cooking culture in particular historical realities. Therefore, it becomes possible to learn more about cooking practices of a given social group. Obviously, except for eating habits, the bills also depict prices of purchased products. The juxtaposition of economic value of the products and frequency of buying them can be valuable for the research of preferences, likings and fluctuating tastes and the impact of various factor on the choice of the purchased products. The information about purchased products, goods, things necessary for preparing meals can help to describe the tastes through the esthetics. It allows the historians to search for the rules of constructing Polish eating habits. In this way it helps to complete the research based on the analysis of literary sources. The analysis of the bills makes it possible to examine critically created in popular culture and scientific literature stereotypes connected with culinary past of the Poles. And so the popular opinion that the kings in Renaissance bought oranges occasionally is not at all reflected in the bills. In the 16th century the fruits were bought regularly. In the court environment they became slowly popular becoming the part of regular menu of the elites. The examination of the bills allows to follow the process.

Since it is possible, on the basis of the bills, to estimate the period in which particular products appeared, it is also possible to comment on the stereotypes connected with culinary past, compare the reality and the imaginary. The issue is meaningful for creating the reliable picture of cultural heritage connected with the history of eating practices. Within the last years the cuisine of a given nation was seen as a part of national tradition. It is reflected in popularization of the history of food. Unfortunately, the knowledge is frequently simplified and full of mistakes. Because of commercial needs the term „old Polish cuisine” is misemployed and recipes and products

1959, 7, no 3 (additional issue); *Rachunki królewskie z lat 1471–1472 i 1476–1478*, ed. S. Gawęda, Z. Perzanowski, A. Strzelecka, Wrocław 1960; *Rachunki wielkorządowe Jana Bonera 1558*, ed. J. Garbacik, Kraków 1974; *Rachunki podskarbiego Andrzeja Kościeleckiego z lat 1510–1511*, ed. A. and H. Wajs, Kraków 1991; *Rachunki królewskie z lat 1393–1395 i 1412. Rachunki podrzectwa krakowskiego. Rachunki stacji nowosądeckiej*, ed. H. Wajs, Warszawa 1993.

which are called „traditional” or „old-Polish” do not always deserve the name. On the other hand, the information concerning the products eaten in the middle ages is not always precise. For instance, in a schoolbook for a third grade pupils of primary schools there is information on the sorts of vegetables brought to Poland by the queen Bona⁴. Among many vegetables the author enumerated cabbage which probably appeared in Poland as early as in the 10–11th centuries. Very soon it became one of the most popular sorts of vegetables in the country⁵. The example points to the need of scientific popularization of history of food also among the experts responsible for education of history. First of all, versatile research and comparative analysis of various source categories are necessary.

While emphasizing the value of the bills as the source of culinary past one must be aware of the limits resulting from their structure. Most of all, one needs to notice the fact that in the form of the bills only the products which became food after detailed preparation were described. They were prepared according to some recipes. Only when the food was served and eaten in agreement with culture of the epoch and of the society did it become the meal. Only after that process can we discuss „culture category”. In the reconstruction of culinary behaviour and attitudes the bills are obviously supplementary and not autonomic sources. Their verification and supplementary role cannot be overrated. The aim of the rest of the text is to point to particular areas in which the bills facilitate the research of what and how was eaten in various social groups.

Soldiers' food

During the research on history of armaments and widely understood material culture of the epoch and the history of the army and economy⁶ one can frequently discover the notes concerning the

⁴ J. Brzózka et al., *Razem w szkole. Edukacja wczesnoszkolna*, Warszawa 2013, p. 94.

⁵ *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*. Opracowanie zbiorowe, vol. 1, Od VII do XII wieku, ed. W. Hensel, J. Pazdur, Wrocław 1978, p. 293.

⁶ A. Bołdyrew, *Produkcja i koszty uzbrojenia w Polsce XVI w.*, Warszawa 2005; idem, *Hodowla i handel końmi w Polsce XVI w.*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 2009, vol. 69, p. 31–90; idem, *Huntsmen's Weapons on the Court of Prince Sigismund Jagiellonian (1500–1507)*, „Fasciculi Archaeologiae-Historicae” 2009, vol. 22, p. 109–112; idem, *Uzbrojenie wczesnonowoczesnego dworu książęcego w*

expenses on culinary products. Usually, though not always, they were placed under the heading *ad coquinam*. The treasure and army matters and the history of army activities are not the only interesting issues. Every day life of people connected with the army is also compelling. The soldiers are usually perceived in categories of combatants and we tend to forget about the time devoted to marching from one place to another, camp life or, finally, life after the end of a battle. It is a well-known fact that it is not a battle itself but rather the mentioned activities which are the most time consuming activities in the war. The issues were partially discussed at various conferences⁷. One of the aspects of army life was also cuisine, i.e. the meals they ate but also the whole „mechanism” responsible for gaining products, their processing and also the equipment facilitating this activity. The issue mentioned above had already been noticed by Jan Szymczak in his dissertation *Początki broni palnej w Polsce (1383–1533)*. The author shortly discusses in his dissertation the culinary issues of gunsmiths and coachmen during the campaign to Braclaw in 1552⁸. The source basis were the royal bills. Similar information can be found in the register of treasure wagons during the campaign of 1521 (M. Biskup places the document in 1520)⁹. The wagons with food supplies were sent from particular towns as the assurance for the army in hard war conditions. The wagons carried

świetle rachunków dworskich. Analiza porównawcza, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 2009, vol. 57, no 1, p. 3–18.

⁷ A. Böldyrew, *Tedy na garle ma być karan. Kara śmierci w polskich ustawach i artykułach wojskowych za ostatnich Jagiellonów*, [in:] *Zabijać i umierać. Aspekty społeczno-kulturowe*, ed. B. Płonka-Syroka, A. Szlagowska, Wrocław 2010, p. 43–53; idem, *Krieg ohne Medizin. Die Verletzten auf den Kampfeldern Mitteleuropas im 16. Jh.*, [in:] *Medizin und Krieg in historischer Perspektive. Medycyna i wojna w perspektywie historycznej*, ed. U. Caumanns, F. Dross, A. Magowska, Frankfurt am Main 2012, p. 49–52 at international conference „Medizin und Krieg in historischer Perspektive/Medycyna i wojna w perspektywie historycznej” organized by Die Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Medizin/Polско-Niemeckie Towarzystwo Historii Medycyny in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Historischen Seminar V-Geschichte und Kulturen Osteuropas dem Institut für Geschichte der Medizin der Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf.

⁸ J. Szymczak, *Początki broni palnej w Polsce (1383–1533)*, Łódź 2004, p. 224.

⁹ M. Biskup, „Wojna pruska” czyli wojna Polski z zakonem krzyżackim z lat 1519–1521 u źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich, part 2, Olsztyn 1991, p. 337, footnote 143; J. Szymczak, *Żywność na miejskich wozach wojennych w późnym średniowieczu i na początku epoki nowożytnej*, „Przegląd Nauk Humanistycznych” 2006, vol. 5, no 1, p. 69–74.

mostly pork which had been previously smoked. The same was done with beef. Only once the salted meat appeared. Another group of products were various kinds of fish, for instance sturgeons, pikes, herrings, salmons, eels, ides and zartes. A meaningful sort of food were definitely the products derivative of corn. Flour and its products, mostly bread, were a necessary supplement to smoked and rarely salted or dried (for instance fish) meat. As popular as bread or flour were peas or various sorts of groat. The necessary fat was provided in the form of butter, called *buturum* transported in wooden or ceramic utensils. Among the mentioned products there also appeared various kinds of cheese, salt and the seeds of hemp and poppy¹⁰.

Food at royal and duke's court

There are numerous notes in the royal bills connected with culinary expenditures made not only for the needs of the people passing through the court but most of all the king and his environment (more about it further). Another aspect of this issue is gaining the products to prepare meals. The menu was frequently completed with the „fruit” of hunting so popular at royal or dukes' courts in the times of the Jagiellons who were famous for their fondness of this sport¹¹. It is enough to say that the king Sigismund II Augustus in 1546 hunted for 223 days. Accompanied by five enthusiastic hunters: chamberlain Grzegorz Chodkiewicz, equerry Jarosz, Lord High Steward Joachim Lubomirski and Wiesiołowski, Węgorzewski and other people – the young king and the Grand Duke of Lithuania hunted in Białowieża forest, Birsztany, Olita, Wigry, Orkany, Olkienniki, Rudniki forests. They hunted mostly big game, including bears¹².

¹⁰ J. Szymczak, *Żywność...*, p. 73.

¹¹ A. Samsonowicz, *Łowiectwo w Polsce Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Wrocław 1991, passim; R. Jaworski, *Łowy Władysława Jagiełły*, [in:] idem, P. Chojnacki, *Z biografistyki Polski późnego średniowiecza. Studia*, ed. M. Koczerska, Warszawa 2001, p. 7–86; A. Bołdyrew, *Huntsmen's Weapons...* and other materials from XI International Colloquium on Arms and Armour entitled: „*Łowy i broń łowiecka w starożytności i średniowieczu*” organized by the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Science (PAN). Łódź Department on November 27–29, 2008.

¹² L. Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August. Wielki książę Litwy do roku 1548*, Lwów 1913, p. 325.

The duke Sigismund Jagiellon purchased and repaired regularly his arbalests therefore I assume that he used them for entertainment and game hunting. Except for shooting arms, personal firearms was used for which frequently was purchased *pulveribus ad machinam et (...) culki*¹³. The mystery of the machine is explained by the note from 1502 where it was written that it was *machina alias rusznycza*¹⁴ (machine which was harquebus). In Buda, Głogów, Wrocław, Świdnica and Lubień ammunition, gunpowder and so called *knoth* i.e. slow match, were bought for the king Sigismund's harquebus (*machine domini principis*) and for the hunter Peter (*Petrus Sagittarius, Strzelijecz*)¹⁵. As it was mentioned the hunting was usually a kind of entertainment during a journey. It was usually short and, in the meantime, the supplies were completed. We also know that they usually hunted birds¹⁶. Information from later period describes also big game. This entertainment, however, involved a big battue and sometimes game had to be brought to forest in which the king was hunting.

Kitchen „production” – detailed source basis (survey)

Another aspect is the possibility of showing not only kitchen „production” but also its costs. The bills, contrary to other sources, allow to conduct such a research. The basic method is counting all expenditures and kitchen expenditures and the comparison of the results. Except for the simplest comparison, it is possible to compare the expenditures within the year's scale, intensity and regularity of expenditure. It is also possible to search for the connection between the place of settlement of the court, the season and food composition or use other statistics methods. It is also meaningful to focus on taste, nutrition content of the served dishes and finally the dangers resulting from wrong diet. The mentioned sources, after

¹³ The Central Archives of Historical Records, the Archives of the Crown Treasury, Department 1, Royal bills, sign. 29 (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's bills from income and expenditures of the duke Sigismund, 1. 1500–1504, further quote AGAD 29), charter 71, 79; Zsigmond, p. 88, 101.

¹⁴ AGAD 29, charter 106; Zsigmond, p. 197.

¹⁵ As A. Samsonowicz writes (*op. cit.*, p. 201–202) the term „*sagittarius*” means the hunter (from „*sagitta*” – arrow). This term was probably used for longer although the hunter's tool was changed.

¹⁶ A. Samsonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 117–146. Peter used his harquebus for bigger animals weighing more than a few kilos.

a detailed inquiry, would probably allow to create food pyramid with quantity components of the court members and the royal family diet. Proportional juxtaposition of the expenditure, in a different rate however, was conducted for the two lists of bills. It showed the possibilities of the royal courts which were active more or less at the same time (these are the bills of Mazovia duke Janusz II and already mentioned Sigismund Jagiellon)¹⁷. Because of technical limits of the article one also has to limit the inquiry to the notes from one year and one court only.

In order to present the methods the author used kitchen expenditures in the court of Sigismund Jagiellon in 1502. The king's income was diminished for 13608 florins and 22 grosh. I assume therefore that such huge sums of money were spent on food and other kitchen expenditures connected with technological process of preparation of particular meals. The characteristic feature of this source (in this case royal bills) is that food expenditures were placed among others, without making them visible among other bills. It is therefore necessary to read all notes and choose the ones which were connected with *ad coquinam*. Another interesting aspect of the notes from the two books of bills is a detailed description of food expenditures when Sigismund Jagiellon was in Kraków. It was not done in such a detailed way when Sigismund was traveling on the borderline of the Lesser Poland (Małopolska) and Silesia (Śląsk). It was hardly done during the stay in Buda. The limited notes during the journey from one place to another are obvious. It is difficult however to understand this fact when Sigismund stayed in the capital of Hungary, close to the royal court. The notes, however, were not done in detail, only the general sums spent on groceries were given.

The collected material in the form of almost 300 notes (at least 289) was divided into particular categories: corn (grain, flour and groats), breadstuff, meat and fish and their products, dairy products, vegetables, fruits, herbs, spices and finally drinks. Unfortunately, not always the mentioning of the purchase of roast, lettuce or beer equals the mentioning of quantity (measurement, weight or the number or size of the products). Therefore, it would be complicated,

¹⁷ A. Bołdyrew, *Uzbrojenie...*, p. 3–18; idem, *Konie, rząd koński i oporządzenie jeździeckie wczesnonowożytnego dworu książęcego w świetle rachunków dworskich. Analiza porównawcza*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 2009, vol. 57, no 3–4, p. 369–378.

on the basis of the collected source basis, to create food pyramid of the royal court. It is possible, however, to compare the costs of the purchased goods. Counting together all costs of food could be referred to total year expenditures. It would allow to check what was the position of food products among the bills.

The first group of expenditures are those under the name of *ad coquinam*. There are 22 notes on this topic¹⁸. They inform generally about *Item Francisco dispensatori per administranda rebus pro coquina ad viam dedi X flor*¹⁹. The notes, except for the sums intended for the kitchen (mainly the purchase of the products necessary to prepare meals and dishes), provide information about the people responsible for the money and, in five cases, and addition *ad viam*²⁰. The general expenditure for the kitchen was connected with a more limited information on particular purchase. A bigger part of 1502 Sigismund Jagiellon spent in Kraków and later he moved on through Olkusz, Częstochowa and Wrocław to Głogów. After spending some time in one of his duchy, Sigismund moved to court to Opava, then again to Kraków and finally went to Buda. From the capital of Hungary through Cieszyn and Opava, by the end of the year, he came back to Kraków. During the journey the money was spent on culinary products without detailed enumeration. The discussed notes mention that 4230 Polish groschen was spent (141 florins), out of which 1200 groschen (40 florins) are connected with the journey which makes about 30% of all mentioned expenditures (28,37%).

Before we discuss the expenditure „technological” purchases are worth mentioning. Due to them the production line was preserved and the right products were provided *ad mensam Domini Principis*. There were 13 notes in this group²¹. They can be divided into 3 groups. The first group is represented by three notes devoted to the employees of the duke’s kitchen. Franciszek, the manager of the kitchen was paid (1 florin), moreover two cooks (*duobus kuchczijkom*) (3 florins and 3 groschen) and 6 florins were paid to the manager of the royal kitchen *ad mandata Domini Principis* who supported the du-

¹⁸ AGAD 29, charter 176, 183, 194, 195v (twice), 223, 224, 226v, 234, 237, 239v, 244v, 248v, 251, 163, 257v, 259, 263v, 269v, 270, 270v, 275 (twice), 276.

¹⁹ AGAD 29, charter 257v.

²⁰ AGAD 29, charter 194, 195v (twice), 257v, 259.

²¹ AGAD 29, charter 139, 176, 178 (twice), 179, 187, 193 (twice), 194v, 214, 220, 276, 277v.

ke's court staying in Kraków. Together it was 309 groschen (10 florins and 9 groschen). The second group were the transport fees, among them 22 florins and 18 groschen for 4 horses for Pustota, another manager of the royal kitchen, and then 20 florins for the maintenance of the horses²². At other times 10 groschen was spent on a peasant who provided beer²³. The third and the biggest group is represented by the expenditure on new pots, kettles and amphora²⁴, five wagons of the wood needed for the kitchen²⁵, finally money paid for the repair of old kettles²⁶ and candles necessary to lighten workplace in the evening²⁷. Altogether technological expenditures were 101 florins and 14 groschen.

The first group of food purchased for the royal kitchen were various sorts of meat and fish. Meat was usually noted under this name so it is impossible to discover what kind of meat was exactly bought. In fact 23 notes out of 41 are made in this form²⁸. Sometimes however the notes were precise so we know, for instance, that veal was purchased (mostly in the form of roast meat²⁹), poultry (*gallis, caponibus*)³⁰, and once a hare was purchased (*pro lepore*)³¹. In 1502 at least 500 groschen (16 florins and 20 groschen) was spent on meat. Similarly frequent are the notes connected with the purchase of fish. There are 47 of them³². In case of 13 notes the species of fish was not specified, it was only written that they were small. In other cases the sort of fish was specified in detail. Perches were bought five times, crucians four times and trouts once. The duke was also served roaches, gudgeons and, as we can assume, herrings. Nevertheless, salmon was mentioned most frequently. It was a luxurious

²² AGAD 29, charter 187, 214.

²³ AGAD 29, charter 178v.

²⁴ AGAD 29, charter 139, 193.

²⁵ AGAD 29, charter 178v.

²⁶ AGAD 29, charter 193.

²⁷ AGAD 29, charter 176, 179.

²⁸ AGAD 29, charter 141v, 152- 153v, 155, 156, 156v, 158v, 159, 160v-161v, 173, 174v, 184, 278.

²⁹ AGAD 29, charter 164v, 166v, 170v, 171, 171v, 178, 179, 182v, 184v.

³⁰ AGAD 29, charter 164v, 170v, 173, 178, 179v, 193.

³¹ AGAD 29, charter 179.

³² AGAD 29, charter 137v, 138v, 139 (twice), 140, 142, 145, 146, 149, 150 (twice), 152, 153, 157v, 158v-159v (twice), 161, 162, 165v (twice), 167v, 170 (twice), 171v (twice), 173, 174v (twice), 176, 176v (twice), 179, 179v (twice), 179, 182v, 184v, 193, 272 (four times).

and therefore expensive meal. It is enough to say that for a big salmon one had to pay about 1 florin, i.e. 30 groschen³³. There were also the species which have not been identified so far: *klijesczije* and *lepijenije*, which appeared together with small fishes like crucians or trouts³⁴. The fishes cost the duke's treasury 902 groschen that is 30 florins and 2 groschen.

A comparatively a small group, represented by only 12 notes, were dairy products. Eight times butter was bought (twice in a pot)³⁵, three times eggs³⁶, twice cream and milk³⁷. They spent about 64 groschen on the products, a bit more than 2 florins.

Among the plant products it is possible to trace the notes on grain and bakery (breadstuff), vegetables, fruits and spices. The basic form in which the grain was purchased was described by J. Szymczak *pulcium*, that is (...) *pulverized to flour dried grain* (...), which covered with boiling water or warm milk created thick gruel (it seems that it was an equivalent of today's polenta)³⁸. The products for this dish were purchased seven times for 1 florin and 15 groschen³⁹. More often was purchased bread, it was mentioned 31 times. It was usually traditional bread (23 times)⁴⁰ and once it was wheaten bread⁴¹. The bread rolls were purchased several times (8 times), twice wheaten rolls⁴² which cost 11 florins and almost 20 groschen.

Fruits and vegetables were bought rarely. In 1502 the managers of Sigismund Jagiellon's kitchen spent on it 14 groschen (vegetables) and once they bought 4 pounds of oranges for 4 groschen⁴³. Among the vegetables lettuce⁴⁴ appeared most frequently and once the peas⁴⁵ were bought. The essential addition to dishes were herbs and

³³ AGAD 29, charter 159v, 161, 176v (dried – pro salmone sicco).

³⁴ AGAD 29, charter 170, 179v, 182v.

³⁵ AGAD 29, charter 156v, 174v, 175, 178v, 179v, 183, 193.

³⁶ AGAD 29, charter 152, 154v, 179.

³⁷ AGAD 29, charter 179, 183.

³⁸ J. Szymczak, *Produkcja...*, p. 61.

³⁹ AGAD 29, charter 178–179, 182c, 183.

⁴⁰ AGAD 29, charter 138v, 154, 164v, 171v, 176, 176v (twice), 178v, 179, 179v, 183, 248v (twice), 249 (three times), 249v, 250 (four times), 250v.

⁴¹ AGAD 29, charter 154.

⁴² AGAD 29, charter 178v (twice), 179 (twice), 179v, 184, 184v, 193v.

⁴³ AGAD 29, charter 177.

⁴⁴ AGAD 29, charter 172v (twice), 176, 179.

⁴⁵ AGAD 29, charter 178v.

spices. The most common among the cooks was vinegar (one note says that it was grape vinegar)⁴⁶, but also salt was frequently bought⁴⁷. Once almonds were purchased for 25 groschen⁴⁸ and there are two notes from Kraków and Buda which mention that the whole set of herbs and spices was purchased. In Kraków these were cumin, parsley and cress⁴⁹, and in Buda these were almonds, sugar, cinnamon, poppy and oil⁵⁰. Except for the mentioned products, there was also *zingiber*, which is translated as cinnamon or ginger. Since cinnamon was mentioned separately, I assume that it was ginger. It is impossible, however to understand what *cariosot* was, whereas the word *copari* probably means caper.

The last category of food are drinks. If we trust the bills, the people at the court drank alcoholic drinks exclusively. Most frequently it was beer drunk in two sorts as it was simultaneously described as *cervisia* and *cervisia proshewana*⁵¹. Except for beer, wine was widely used but the notes do not describe precisely what kind of wine it was⁵². There was also malvasia which was written down in this way⁵³. Malvasia (previously called małwazja) is luxurious sweet wine produced in the island of the Mediterranean Sea and in the southern Europe. What is interesting, however, it was bought in Kraków and once in Głogów. It is not mentioned in Buda. Instead of this, a jug of must was purchased for more than 11,5 groschen⁵⁴. It might have been fruit juice, or, what is more probable, shortly mellowed in storage low-alcohol grape or fruit wine. Once for 10 groschen they bought *liquis ad roszenki*. It might have been alcohol used for raisins as a part of production of sweet, thick syrup – liquor⁵⁵. The drinks were measured by old Polish gallons, once the information about a jug appeared and once, in case of beer, they mentioned 10 quarts

⁴⁶ AGAD 29, charter 175 (twice), 175v–176v, 179, 179v, 183.

⁴⁷ AGAD 29, charter 176v, 179, 179v, 182v, 184.

⁴⁸ AGAD 29, charter 233v.

⁴⁹ AGAD 29, charter 179.

⁵⁰ AGAD 29, charter 256v.

⁵¹ AGAD 29, charter 154, 173, 175-176 (twice), 176v (twice), 178v-179v, 183, 184, 193, 197, 198.

⁵² AGAD 29, charter 157, 175, 177v, 182v, 248.

⁵³ AGAD 29, charter 175, 177v, 179, 202, 272.

⁵⁴ AGAD 29, charter 245.

⁵⁵ AGAD 29, charter 139.

(1 quart = 0, 1368 litre). They spent on it 400,2 groschen (13 florins and 10,2 groschen).

During the entertainment at feast time not only food and drinks were the attraction. There were also other forms of entertainment which have nothing to do with eating. The notes about them can, however, be categorized as a part of relax. The musicians who accompanied the process of consumption were paid twice as *fistulatoribus qui fistulabant ad mensam domini pronicipis*⁵⁶. Except for flutes, there were other instruments entertaining the guests. One florin, for instance, was paid to a German called Gotard for playing zither⁵⁷. The court also paid to some *Skrzypczowij* who played during dinner⁵⁸. At other time the singing students were paid for entertaining the people during a meal⁵⁹. Generally, the court paid for food and entertainment 4 florins and 12,6 groschen. Table 1 sums up the first part.

One can see in the table 1 that the most expensive were the products and meals which were not described in detail. One can also observe other regularities. The biggest amount of money was spent on various sorts of meat. Less expensive were the plant products. One must subtract from the total amount (1004,5 groschen) the bill for herbs and spices which is surprisingly high. There will be 400 groschen left which was mostly spent on bread. A similar amount of money was spent on drinks. The total amount of kitchen expenditures, i.e. 10288,3 groschen (343 florins and 28,3 groschen) composed a bit more than 2,5% of total year expenditures so it was a small sum of money.

Kitchen „production” – interpretation method

On the basis of the above specification it is possible to create the ladder of the costs of particular dishes appearing in the court (see tab. 2). Another research which can be based on the collected material is the trial to assess food energy which could have been achieved after spending particular sums of money. We already know that at duke Sigismund Jagiellon's court in 1502 the sum of 10288,3 groschen was spent on food. One needs to subtract from this sum 591,5

⁵⁶ AGAD 29, charter 156, 176.

⁵⁷ AGAD 29, charter 195v.

⁵⁸ AGAD 29, charter 195v.

⁵⁹ AGAD 29, charter 161.

Table 1.
The list of food expenditures at duke
Sigismund Jagiellon's court in 1502.

	Sort of product	Year's expenditure (in groschen)	Total:
Animal products	Meat	500	1466
	Fish	902	
	Dairy products	64	
Plant products	Corn	45	1004,5
	Bread	350	
	Vegetables	14	
	Fruit	4	
	Herbs and spices	591,5	
Drinks	Wine	50,6	411,2
	Malvasia	91	
	Must	11,6	
	Liquor	10	
	Beer	248	
Other	ad coquinam	4230	7406,6
	Technological expenditures	3044	
	Accompanying expenditures	132,6	
Total :			10288,3

Based on: author's calculations

Table 2.
The ladder of the costs of particular feedstock and dishes.

Sort	Cost (in groschen)
Fish	902
Herbs and spices	591,5
Meat	500
Bread	350
Beer	248
Total:	2591,5

Based on: author's calculations

groschen which was paid for herbs and spices as they served a different purpose instead of providing energy.

Additionally, one needs to subtract the sum of 132,6 groschen paid to the artists who entertained the guests. What is left is the sum of 9564,2 groschen. In order to count the calories on the basis of a given sum of money we use trophy. Trophy is a feeding day rate appropriate for a person who works on an average level of effort⁶⁰. According to the system of counting used in the subject literature between 1501 and 1510 one trophy cost 0,32 groschen, and for 1 groschen it was possible to buy 3,17 trophy. It means that for the mentioned sum of 9564,2 groschen one could purchase 30318,51 trophy. The money spent at Sigismund's court for food would be sufficient to buy feeding rates for one person for more than 30 thousand days, so more than 83 years. The money was spent within 365 days which allows to assume that the provided food energy (generally) was enough to feed at least one hundred people. Of course, it is general data as the duke ate in a different way than two cooks mentioned before.

A long note informs about the way the duke used to eat. There are different products enumerated which were supposed to be purchased *ad cenam*, that is for dinner. At the top of the list there is *pulcium*, then the wide choice of veal and roast, probably veal roast. Then lettuce, hare and poultry followed. The enumerated dishes were spiced with parsley, cress and salt and vinegar. There was also cream used for some purpose. Additionally, there were also wheat rolls, eggs, and frequently purchased for the due, salmon which was a favourite fish of the sovereign of Głógów and Opava, the deputy of Silesia and Łużyce. There were also candles and luxurious drinks for instance, malvasia. Some food was obviously served on bread as it was among the purchased products. The guests drank beer during the feast and butter was used to prepare it as it was also on the table⁶¹.

The presented material points to some research possibilities of source basis and allows to re-interpret already known material. The presented results of the research obviously are not complete.

⁶⁰ J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lwów 1936, p. 4, 5, table 2, p. 27; Z. Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1981, table 57, p. 102, table 145, p. 239; A. Böldyrew, *Produkcja...*, p. 258–259, table 36.

⁶¹ AGAD 29, charter 179–179v.

They serve as illustration of the methods applied and they are rather practical. They were based on the survey sample which allowed to check the usefulness of simple quantity data and food energy in the research. It can be treated as the opening of new research area placed on the verge of material culture and bill and numismatics history. It is also valuable that we were able to discover, due to the analysis of the bills, every day culture of the representatives of various social groups which helps to reconstruct Polish culinary tradition.

Streszczenie

Rachunki królewskie jako źródło do dziejów smaku i pożywienia w Polsce ostatnich Jagiellonów

W trakcie badań nad kulturą materialną oraz życiem codziennym wielokrotnie spotkać można w materiałach archiwalnych (głównie źródłach o charakterze gospodarczym) zapisy dotyczące wydatków na cele kulinarne. Analiza tych wzmianek początkowo skupiała się na poznaniu „kuchni” żołnierzy opłacanych ze skarbu władcy. Termin kuchnia jest tu rozumiany jako zespół potraw, które spożywali żołnierze, ale również cały „aparat” odpowiedzialny za pozyskanie surowców, ich przetwórstwo, jak również zestaw przedmiotów służących tej działalności. Z czasem jednak zaistniała możliwość rozszerzenia badań na te partie źródeł, które mogą służyć do sporządzenia opisu dziejów smaku i pożywienia w środowisku, które wytworzyło rachunki królewskie, a więc dworów królewskich i książęcych. Ponadto warto zwrócić uwagę, że nie tylko bezpośrednie zapisy o kupnie produktów żywnościowych dostarczają informacji na ten temat. Jadłospis często uzupełniano „owocami” polowań, częstymi na dworach książęcych i królewskich za Jagiellonów, którzy słynęli z wielkiego zamiłowania do tego sportu.

Osobną kwestią jest możliwość przedstawienia nie tylko „produkcji” kuchennej, ale także jej kosztów. Rachunki stwarzają doskonałą okazję do przeprowadzenia takiego badania. Podstawową metodą jest zliczenie odnotowanych całkowitych wydatków oraz wydatków kuchennych i porównanie otrzymanych wyników. Poza najprostszym zestawieniem można dokonywać porównań w skali roku, intensywności i regularności wydatków, szukać ich związków z miejscem po-

bytu dworu czy porą roku a składem pożywienia, a także sięgnąć po inne metody statystyczne (wskaźnik łańcuchowy, wskaźnik wzrostu). Warto wreszcie skupić uwagę na zestawieniach smakowych, pożytkach energetycznych serwowanych potraw i ewentualnie zagrożeniach płynących z niewłaściwej diety. Wykorzystanie w badaniach nad wyżywieniem różnego rodzaju rachunków, w tym rachunków królewskich, pozwala na konfrontację zawartych tam informacji z obrazem wyłaniającym się z innego typu źródeł (np. literatura piękna, źródła ikonograficzne), a w rezultacie komparację wyobrażeń i realiów kultury kulinarnej w określonej rzeczywistości historycznej. Celem artykułu jest wskazanie możliwości otwarcia nowego pola badawczego, mieszczącego się na pograniczu kultury materialnej i dziejów rachunkowo-pięiężnych, z elementami życia codziennego reprezentantów różnych stanów i grup społecznych.