

Anthimus, Vinidarius and the Issue of *Romanitas*

Cooking and Identity In the Sixth-Century West

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ABSTRACT

As Theoderic established himself as ruler of the Italian peninsula in 493, he would usher in a period of great renewal of Roman culture within his kingdom, a theme which would emerge across western Europe as new Germanic leaders came to rule Roman populations. Within this wave of cultural renewal there emerged several works paying homage to Roman culture and prestige. Amongst these publications came two brief cookbooks from the authors Anthimus and Vinidarius. This raises the question: why were these authors producing such works of culinary content, and were they related to issues concerning the renewal of Roman culture in western Europe?

This thesis aims to answer the above questions through the evaluation of Anthimus and Vinidarius' participation in Roman cultural renewal. To investigate this issue, my study first examines the recognition and renewal of *romanitas* in western Europe and the Mediterranean, and through which media it took place. This is followed by an examination of cuisine to determine a model for Roman dietary preferences, against which the works of Anthimus and Vinidarius may be contrasted. Finally, in an examination of Anthimus and Vinidarius, the study seeks to establish connections between the two individuals and Ostrogothic Italy, as well as connections between their culinary preferences and those supported by the model established in Chapter 2.

On the basis of the investigations of this thesis, conclusions may be drawn about Anthimus and Vinidarius and efforts to renew Roman culture in fifth and sixth-century western Europe. The geographic connections of the two authors, along with their relatively high social status, suggest a connection to Theoderic and his court in Italy. The culinary preparations

described in their texts also represents a strong connection with earlier elite Roman cooking.

This thesis therefore concludes that the authors Anthimus and Vinidarius used food as a medium for cultural promotion, and in doing so, participated in the ongoing revival of interest in Roman cultural identity.

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This thesis represents the culmination of two of my life's great passions: history and food. It is a representation of academic difficulties during a global pandemic. It fundamentally represents a piece of work made only possible by several people who have acted as my support up to this point in my academic career.

First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without the incredible help of my supervisor Dr. Geoffrey Greatrex. I am forever grateful for your many hours of help and willingness to support my research in this new and strange field of food history.

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I am eternally grateful to my family, all of whom have given me immense love, encouragement and support, especially to my mom, Lori. More than anyone, you have steered me to where I am now with your support and encouraged me every inch of my academic journey.

Finally, to my partner, Michelle, without whom none of this would have been possible: Guren 'glassui.

ABBREVIATIONS

- COI* Arnold, Jonathan, Bjornlie, M. Shane, and Sessa, Kristina (editors). *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- CFAW* John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (editors). *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.
- Cass. Var.* Cassiodorus. “Variae.” In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Edited by Theodore Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1894.
- Translated in:
- Cassiodorus. *The Variae*. Translated by Shane Bjornlie. Oakland, USA: University of California Press, 2019.
- DAC* Cato, Varro. *On Agriculture*. Edited and translated by W.D. Hooper, Harrison Boyd Ash. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- DLL* Varro. *On the Latin Language*. Volume 1. Edited and translated by Roland G. Kent. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938.
- DOC* Anthimus. *De Observatione Ciborum: Epistula ad Theudericum Regem Francorum*. Edited by Valentin Rose. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1877.
- Translated in:
- Anthimus. *On the Observance of Foods*. Edited and translated by Mark Grant. Devon: Prospect Books, 1996.
- DRC* Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*. In Grainger, Sally, and Grocock, C. W. *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of Apicius*. Totnes: Prospect, 2006.
- Exc.* Vinidarius, *Excerpta Apicii*. In “Apicius”. *Apicii Librorum X Qui Dicuntur De Re Coquinaria Quae Extant*. Edited by Cesare Giarratano and Friedrich Vollmer. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1922.

Translated (with Latin edition) in:

Grainger, Sally, and Grocock, C. W. *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of Apicius*. Totnes: Prospect, 2006.

LHD

Gregory of Tours. “Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum: Libri Historiarum Decem.” In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Edited by Bruno Krusch, Wilhelm Levison. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1937.

Translated in:

Gregory of Tours. *The History of the Franks*. Translated by Lewis Thorpe. London: Penguin Books, 1974.

ODLA

Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity. Edited by Oliver Nicholson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

OLD

Oxford Latin Dictionary. Edited by Glare, P. G. W. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

OTM

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Origin of Table Manners*. Translated by John Weightman and Doreen Weightman. London: Jonathon Cape, 1978.

PLRE (I & II)

Martindale, J.R., Jones, A.H.M., and Morris, J (editors). *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Volumes 1-2*. London, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971-1980.

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INTRODUCTION

“Medical writers pay attention to those parts which are most important among the different sorts of food available to people living a luxurious life and tasting of a variety of foodstuffs. It is on behalf of these people that this scheme of diet has been written,”¹ writes the sixth-century author Anthimus in a letter of recipes composed for King Theuderic of the Franks. This period, specifically the sixth century, is remarkable in that it offers us two culinary authors, who are roughly contemporary of one another and had strong geographical ties to the newly-established Germanic kingdoms of western Europe. These two authors, namely Anthimus and Vinidarius, composed two very brief works of culinary literature, now referred to as *De Observatione Ciborum* (On the Observance of Foods) and *Excerpta Apicii* (Excerpts of Apicius), respectively.

Vinidarius’ *Excerpta* are often studied in tandem with the greater Apician corpus, which is referred to by the title *De Re Coquinaria* (Concerning Culinary Matters). As a consequence of this, few have produced any work which furthers our knowledge of this sixth-century excerptor. In the late 90s, Hugh Lindsay provides one of the first substantial modern remarks on Vinidarius, noting the similarity of the *Excerpta* with its parent text of the Apician corpus.² Following soon after in 2006, the edition of Sally Grainger and Christopher Grocock comprises one of the most thorough modern examinations of Vinidarius, where they suggest that the excerptor was most likely an Italian Goth, composing his text in the fifth or sixth centuries.³ Finally, the work of Andrew Donnelly, completed in 2016, comments on how the cuisine depicted in Vinidarius’

¹ Anthimus, *DOC*, § 23, translated in *On the observance of foods*, ed. and trans. Mark Grant (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1996), 59.

² Hugh Lindsay, “Who was Apicius?” *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997), 145-46.

³ Sally Grainger and C. W. Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of Apicius* (Totnes: Prospect, 2006), 32-33.

Excerpta could be considered consistent with a Romano-Gothic diet, as opposed to the pan-Mediterranean diet represented in the greater Apician corpus.⁴ Regrettably, very little work has been published concerning the *Excerpta* of Vinidarius, leaving unanswered the question of why this author composed this culinary text.

Anthimus' letter to King Theuderic has received greater recognition in modern scholarship, with interests typically converging on three major themes: Anthimus' history, Anthimus' latinity, and Anthimus' dietetic approach to medicine. Concerning his history, there has been some contention in recent scholarship. In the late 90s, Mark Grant published a series of works arguing that Anthimus was an exile of Byzantine Greece, and while writing his letter, an emissary on behalf of King Theoderic the Amal.⁵ This stance is based on a fragment of Malchus, in which we are given reference to a doctor, Anthimus, who had betrayed Emperor Zeno while in the service of the Gothic leader, Theodoric Strabo.⁶ This same version is supported by Bonnie Effros in 2002, who contributes to this narrative by suggesting that the letter of Anthimus is symptomatic of the relations between the Goths and their northern Frankish neighbors.⁷ Most recently in 2006, Yitzhak Hen took a more critical approach to the story of Anthimus, urging

⁴ Andrew Donnelly, "Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation in Imperial and Late Antique Italy," PhD diss. (Loyola University Chicago, 2016), 160.

⁵ Anthimus, *On the Observance of Foods*, trans. and ed. Mark Grant (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1996), 20; Mark Grant, "Of Dates and Anthimus: Food and Medicine in Merovingian Gaul," in *Environment and Subsistence in Medieval Europe – Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference*, Vol. 9. (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), 151-52.

⁶ Malchus, *Fragmenta*, ed. and trans. R.C. Blockley (Liverpool: F. Carins, 1981), 15.30-36 (422-23).

⁷ Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 64-65.

caution in accepting Anthimus, the author of the *DOC*, as being the same Anthimus mentioned in the fragment of Malchus.⁸

Anthimus' latinity has also been a topic of interest among scholars, dating back to at least the 40s with Gordon Messing, who called attention to Anthimus' letter as a fine example of vulgar Latin. His article synthesizes the little work on Anthimus which had been done up to 1942. The list he draws up mostly comprises early editions of the text.⁹ The interest in Anthimus' latinity was rekindled in the last couple of decades with James Noel Adams commenting on the regionalized nature of Anthimus' diction in his 2007 publication concerning the regional diversification of Latin in late antiquity.¹⁰ His findings, that Anthimus employs a vocabulary common to Southern Gaul, was reiterated in the findings of Veerle Pauline Verhagen in 2016, who went on to exhibit the variety of influences in Anthimus' Latin.¹¹

Finally, both published in 2002, the French works of Carl Deroux and Liliane Plouvier examine Anthimus' particular attention to dietetics through his practice as a physician.¹² They both draw attention to the peculiarity of this situation and how it becomes more common into the medieval period as cooking and health become nearly inseparable.

⁸ Yitzhak Hen, "Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul," in *Tätigkeitsfelder und Erfahrungshorizonte des Ländlichen Menschen in der Frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft*, ed. Brigitte Kasten (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 101-103.

⁹ Gordon Messing, "Remarks on Anthimus *De Observatione Ciborum*," *Classical Philology* 37 (1942), 150-58.

¹⁰ J.N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 330-34.

¹¹ Veerle Pauline Verhagen, "The Non-Latin Lexis in the Cooking Terminology of Anthimus' *De Observatione Ciborum*," M.A. thesis (University of Leiden, 2016), 43.

¹² Carl Deroux, "Anthime, un Médecin Gourmet du Début des Temps Mérovingiens," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 80, no. 4 (2002), 20; Liliane Plouvier, "L'Alimentation Carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d'après le *De Observatione Ciborum* d'Anthime et les *Excerpta* de Vinidarius," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 80, no. 4 (2002), 32-33.

As with Vinidarius, the scholarship concerning Anthimus does not approach the issue of intent behind his letter. While we see some explanations for the context of his letter, namely as a gift to King Theuderic, there still remains a gap in the explanation as to why Anthimus would have composed such a text concerning culinary matters. We might ask ourselves, then, why were Anthimus and Vinidarius writing these texts? What did they mean to their own authors or to their audiences?

In this thesis, I intend to demonstrate how the creation of these texts was a deliberate participation in a wave of renewal of Roman culture seen in western Europe and the Mediterranean during the fifth and sixth centuries. In this way, these culinary texts will be shown to be cultural tools, with food acting as a medium for culture and identity. As a result, this thesis will attempt to fill in the gaps left by modern scholarship surrounding these authors, namely, why Anthimus and Vinidarius composed these texts, and what significance they held to their authors and their audiences.

0.1 Primary Sources

The aim of this thesis is to discern the intentions and motivations behind two sixth-century culinary authors. Therefore, I will introduce the relevant editions used in this work below. The Latin Teubner editions of both Anthimus and Vinidarius can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

1. Anthimus

Translation and Commentary:

Anthimus. *On the Observance of Foods*. Edited and translated by Mark Grant.
Devon: Prospect Books, 1996.

Latin Edition:

Anthimus. *De Obseruatione Ciborum: Epistula ad Theudericum Regem
Francorum*. Edited by Valentin Rose. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1877.

2. Vinidarius

Translation and Commentary (with a Latin Edition):

Grainger, Sally, and Grocock, C. W. *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an
Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of
Apicius*. Totnes: Prospect, 2006.

Latin Edition:

“Apicius”. *Apicii Librorum X Qui Dicuntur De Re Coquinaria Quae Extant*.
Edited by Cesare Giarratano and Friedrich Vollmer. Leipzig: B.G.
Teubner, 1922.

0.2 Outline

In the first chapter, we will establish how the Ostrogoths in Italy and Franks in Gaul interacted with Roman identity and culture. This will broadly help in understanding the level of interest in Roman culture within these non-Roman kingdoms. More importantly, this chapter will help to situate the reasons for this interest. With these conclusions, we will have a context in

which we may understand the intentions behind Roman culinary texts, composed in a non-Roman milieu. To accomplish this, we will first examine the architectural programs and how they represented an attempt to renew cultural Roman-ness. Next, an examination of the Germanic legal codes produced in the fifth and sixth centuries will demonstrate to us how Roman identity was a persistent force, such that the surviving Roman inhabitants had to be addressed in the legal framework of these kingdoms. Finally, an examination of literature will situate these themes of Roman identity and culture in a more high-brow context. This will demonstrate to us that there was a habit among authors in the sixth century to use literature to promote traditional Roman ideas.

In the second chapter, we will examine how we might objectively identify a cuisine or style of cooking, and using this framework, identify a model for Roman cuisine; in particular, we will identify how our sixth-century authors may have perceived Roman cuisine. The issue of perception here is relevant, as we will be establishing the culinary tendencies as they are transmitted via text. Therefore, our model will represent only a certain socio-economic frame of Roman cuisine. To determine whether Anthimus and Vinidarius were attempting to reflect Roman dietary practices in their respective texts, it will be crucial for us to set up a model against which we may compare them. We will first establish a framework within which we may situate a relevant Roman cuisine. To accomplish this, we will approach the framework proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, which utilizes a “culinary triangle” to categorize cooking methods. We will pair this framework with that of Jack Goody, which stipulates that cuisine should be viewed as representing socio-economic status, more so than a cultural context. These two works will allow us to establish our own framework with which we may approach Roman cuisine. This will

be an approach dealing with the preparation of foods, rather than examine the ingredients.¹³ We will also investigate mentions of non-Roman food preparation, so that we may understand what the Romans thought of as being un-Roman, or “Barbarian”. By the end of our chapter, we will have a model against which we may contrast the cooking methods seen within the texts of Anthimus and Vinidarius.

Finally, in the third chapter, we will examine Anthimus and Vinidarius, as well as their culinary texts. This chapter will approach each author separately, first with a discussion about their historical character, followed by an examination of their texts. By the end of this chapter, it will be evident that Anthimus and Vinidarius were connected (geographically and culturally) with the wave of renewal of Roman culture examined in Chapter 1, while also displaying great similarities with the model of Roman cuisine we established in Chapter 2.

0.3 Terminology

1. *Romanitas*

In this thesis, I will use the term *Romanitas* to mean the quality of Roman culture and identity. This definition is partially developed from the suggestion of Johannes Kameron, as *römische Art* (Roman manner, style).¹⁴

¹³ It must be made clear that this study will concern itself *only* with instances of cooking. There is great merit in the study of ingredients, dining, or a mixed approach to cuisine (see Emily Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 5-6.); however, I will define parameters for this study which accurately reflect the opinions of the authors it deals with. Anthimus’ approach to dietetics is primarily involved in the preparation of foods. Consequently, this study’s scope will take an approach which is suitable to the primary source.

¹⁴ Johannes Kameron, *Die Sprachbezeichnungen Latinus und Romanus im Lateinischen und Romanischen* (Erich Schmidt Verlag: Berlin, 1998), 81.

2. *Endothermic*

This term will use a stipulative definition in this thesis to describe a cooking method which thoroughly cooks the food, rendering the interior of the food equally treated by heat as the exterior.¹⁵

3. *Exothermic*

As above, I will use a stipulative definition for this term to describe a cooking method which does not thoroughly cook the food. The result of an *exothermic* cook would therefore have a great disparity between the temperatures of the interior and exterior of the food.¹⁶

¹⁵ For this definition of *endothermic*, we might think of a slow roast, where the heat is ultimately distributed throughout the food, without considerable disparity between the temperature of the interior and exterior of the food item.

¹⁶ For this definition of *exothermic*, we might think of a medium-rare steak, where there is a great disparity between the heavily cooked exterior of the food item, while the interior receives far less heat, rendering it less cooked than its exterior.

CHAPTER I: THE ISSUE OF ROMAN IDENTITY

Written in the 540s, Book 7 of Cassiodorus' *Variae* records a letter sent to the new *comes* of the city Portus, in which it discusses the advantages of this new position, including the tasting of *Romanae deliciae* (Roman delicacies).¹ Similarly, later on in Book 8, we get a mention of a *calceus Romanus* (Roman boot), which was gifted from Greece as a donation of honour and distinction.² Both these letters suggest to us that *romanitas* carried not only superficial meaning, but significance to people of the fifth and sixth centuries. In fact, what would keep this idea relevant was the continued existence of a Roman identity well into the fifth and sixth centuries and beyond. In this chapter, we will identify the continued existence of and interest in Roman identity through the examination of architecture, law and literature. With these three factors, it will be made clear that the use of the adjective *Romanus* by the people of the fifth and sixth centuries was not merely a romanticized recognition of times past, but the sign of a prevailing cultural force which was still relevant within the old confines of the Roman empire. We will also examine how *romanitas* held great significance in its connection with this prevailing cultural force of the extant Roman identity.

Let us first situate ourselves in the context of the larger discussion of this thesis. In later chapters, we will discuss not only what constituted Roman cuisine, but also how specific authors, namely Anthimus and Vinidarius, both consciously used this cuisine in their post-Roman recipe texts. Such a study becomes meaningful when one considers what drove them both to do so. It is,

¹ Cass., *Var.* 7.9.1 (208.10-14)

² Cass., *Var.* 8.9.3 (238.10-13)

therefore, the task of this chapter to explain why there was interest among these authors in publishing texts highlighting this slice of Roman culture.

1.1 Ostrogothic Architecture

Theoderic, King of Italy, was largely regarded as a builder-king because of his great interest in the maintenance of old structures, as well as new construction projects.³ It is clear through much of his work that Theoderic greatly valued the city as a unit in Roman governance. This can be seen, for instance, through the continuation of the curial system of governance for individual urban centers.⁴ While he was interested in upholding the Roman status quo, Theoderic also made great strides in restoring Roman renown to these places, with a push for *renouatio urbium* (renewal of the cities). Although many of his architectural restorations were concentrated in Italy, primarily within Rome and Ravenna, this movement would ultimately extend beyond Italian borders to regions such as southern Gaul while he controlled these territories.⁵ In this section, we will therefore examine how Theoderic's interest in architecture may have been a symptom of his positive regard for Roman people and culture.

While Cassiodorus' work, the *Variae*, will provide us with ample evidence to explore Theoderic's building program, we may first examine some of the lower denominational coinage minted during Theoderic's reign.⁶ The first coin type, a *nummus*, was minted with the legend "FELIXR/AVENNA" ("Successful Ravenna") on the obverse, with a bust of the personified

³ Mark Johnson, "Art and Architecture," in *COI* 327.

⁴ Deborah Deliyannis, "Urban Life and Culture," in *COI*, 254.

⁵ Jonathan Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 198, 287-88.

⁶ Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 115.

Ravenna, facing right, adorned with a mural crown. This obverse has been found with two reverses, the first of which being a winged Victory, advancing, facing left, with a palm branch in her left hand. The second reverse features an eagle in the field, standing between two stars and atop a branch.⁷ The second obverse type, also a *nummus*, was minted with the legend “INVICT/AROMA” (“Unconquered Rome”), with a bust of the personified Roma, facing right, wearing a crested helmet. This obverse type typically appears with a reverse involving either eagles or the *lupa* (“she-wolf”) with the suckling twins, Romulus and Remus. On the eagle reverse type, the field features an eagle with wings spread, standing, facing left. Of the two reverse types featuring the *lupa*, the first depicts the she-wolf, facing left, with her head turned right, and the two suckling twins below. The second reverse type closely resembles the first, with the addition of two stars which flank the suckling wolf.⁸

These two obverse types featured on the lower (copper) denomination of Theoderic’s coinage suggest to us the importance of these two cities to his reign over Italy and to his architectural program. While the Goths primarily settled the north of Italy, with the northern city of Ravenna established as Theoderic’s capital, he still directed considerable interest towards the old imperial capital of Rome. He even held a special interest in restoring it to its “former glory,” suggested by the legend *inuicta Roma*: the unconquered Rome. In fact, Theoderic’s decision to use *inuicta* to describe Rome may have been done to intentionally divert attention away from him having conquered much of Italy and, therefore, the Roman people. In any case, we see the

⁷ Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards, and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London: Order of the Trustees, 1911), 106; On eagles, note that they represented both roman imperial authority, as well as gothic noble authority, Thomas Burns, “Theoderic the Great and the Concepts of Power in Late Antiquity,” *Acta Classica* 25 (1982), 117.

⁸ Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins*, 102-105.

use of this lower denominational coinage to spread the message of his building program.⁹ The message it carried was that under Theoderic, these great Roman cities flourished.

We see the extent of this building program fully developed within the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, which gives us individual instances of Theoderic's orders and decrees regarding the construction and renovation of urban spaces. The *Variae* seemingly presents to us a case for the *utilitas publica* (public utility) of this construction in an effort to emphasize that Theoderic was not only benefitting the people, but further was acting in such a way that was consistent with a Roman model for good governance.¹⁰ Often, this building program was spurred on by funding from the king's court. Such was the case in the construction of brick workshops along the Tiber, allowing for more building materials to be produced and used in the city of Rome.¹¹ In fact, we know that some larger projects, such as the renovation of city fortifications, were quite resource-intensive, to the extent that Theoderic released various statements (documented in the *Variae*) calling for an increase in stone collection and general spoliation to provide the necessary materials.¹² However, the building program also involved the encouragement of local elites to undertake construction projects themselves. One of the best examples comes to us in Book 4 of the *Variae* as Theoderic speaks to a patrician in Rome, concerning the restoration of the *forum romanum*:¹³

⁹ See Meier's short discussion of the importance of coinage in the dispersing of messages by early Germanic kings, Mischa Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung : Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2019), 630.

¹⁰ Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris and the idea of *civilitas*; Shane Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition Between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the "Variae"*, 527-554 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 242.

¹¹ Cass., *Var.* 1.25 (28.5-19).

¹² Cass., *Var.* 1.28 (29.30-30.8), 2.7 (50.17-24).

¹³ Cass., *Var.* 4.30.1 (127.15-18), translated in *The Variae*, trans. Shane Bjornlie (Oakland, USA: University of California Press, 2019), 185.

Decet quidem cunctos patriae suae augmenta
cogitare. Sed eos maxime. Quos res publica sibi
summis honoribus obligavit. Quia ratio rerum est,
ut eum necesse sit plus debere, qui uisus est
maiora suscipere.

It is indeed fitting that each person consider the
increase of their own country, but especially those
whom the republic has obligated to itself with the
highest honors, since it is the nature of things that
one who is seen to undertake greater things
necessarily ought to accomplish more.

In this excerpt, we see Theoderic encouraging the patrician to take up construction of the forum, suggesting that the task may “increase” his country and that this patrician was one “whom the republic has obligated to itself with the highest honours.” This line is particularly important, as we see a reference to a republic, the *res publica* (i.e. the state). This reflects Theoderic’s treatment of the Roman senate, which continued to flourish under his rule. In fact, it would appear here that Theoderic is attempting to reinvigorate the soul of the republic, with him suggesting that the renown of this patrician ought to be intimately connected with the restoration of the Roman forum, as though it were an obligation. This section also begins to touch upon a greater theme present in the *Variae*, that architectural programs could be linked to the restoration of *romanitas*. Here we see the opinion that this architectural restoration may increase his own country and further, that the restoration of this old republican site would better the civic community. This theme of the restoration of Roman architecture for the greater good resurfaces and can be demonstrated in the following excerpt from Book 7 of the *Variae*:¹⁴

Romanae fabricate decus peritum conuenit habere
custodem, ut illa mirabilis silua moenium

It is fitting that the grace of Roman buildings has
a skilled guardian, so that this wondrous forest of

¹⁴ Cass., *Var.* 7.15.1 (211.20-23), trans. Shane Bjornlie, 292.

diligentia subueniente seruetur et moderna facies operis affabris dispositionibus construatur. Hoc enim studio largitas nostra non cedit, ut et facta ueterum exclusis defectibus innouemus et noua uetustatis gloria uestiamus.

structures may be conserved with relieving care and a modern appearance of work may be constructed with skilled arrangements. For our liberality does not fail this desire, that we should renew the accomplishments of the ancients by preventing their ruin, and that we should clothe new things with the glory of antiquity.

This excerpt further demonstrates Theoderic's restoration agenda through architecture, as he addresses the architects of Rome. His command is clear in this case that future construction should seek to preserve the memory of old Rome through style, so that all may see the 'glory of antiquity' on full display. It should be noted that his construction program extended beyond the city of Rome itself. An example of Theoderic's intention with architectural restoration can again be seen in a passage referring to the baths of Aponus in Northern Italy:¹⁵

Si audita ueterum miracula ad laudem elementiae nostrae uolumus continere. Quoniam augmenta regalis gloriae sunt. Cum sub nobis nulla decrescunt. Quo studio conuenit reparari quod etiam nostris oculis frequenter constat offerri? Delectat enim salutiferi Aponi meminisse potentiam. Vt intellegas. Quo desiderio cupimus reficere quod de memoria nostra nescit exire.

If we want to join the wonders heard of the ancients to praise for our clemency, with nothing diminished under our care, since fame is the prosperity of a king, with what zeal should that which often happens to come before our eyes seem fit to be restored? Indeed, it is a delight to recall the efficacy of health-bearing Aponus. For this reason, as you know, we desire to make new what has not been able escape our memory.

¹⁵ Cass., *Var.* 2.39.1 (67.22-26), trans. Bjornlie, 110-11.

In this excerpt we see a similar intention to previous instances. With this letter writing on the aim to join “the wonders heard of the ancients,” it displays an intent to join the power and prestige of the old Romans with that of this new project and its patron.

These multiple instances throughout Cassiodorus’ *Variae* give us a clear indication that Theoderic was interested in construction: specifically, construction which would promote a restoration of Roman culture in his kingdom. We should note, however, that the *Variae* also makes extensive references to general works as well, typically along the lines of the restoration of old public buildings. For instance, there are various mentions of the restoration of Roman waterworks primarily in the cities of Ravenna, Rome, and Parma.¹⁶ The mention of mural construction also comes up several times throughout the volume, primarily in reference to Rome and Dertona.¹⁷

In summary, Theoderic’s architectural program can be seen as one which sought to purposefully restore Roman culture and prestige, with a great tendency towards reconstruction within major urban centers across Italy. Cassiodorus’ *Variae* makes the intention behind this program clear through a variety of letters, with multiple instances making it plain that the end goal was a return to classical Roman architecture (primarily in Rome, although we have this thread extended to at least Aponus). Instances of specific obverse types found on lower denominational *nummi* also help to illustrate Theoderic’s intentions as this common coinage was

¹⁶ On the sewers of Parma, see Cass., *Var.* 8.29 (258.11-18), 8.30 (258.20-259.6); On the aqueducts of Rome, see Cass., *Var.* 3.31 (95.7-96.5), 7.6 (205.14-206.17); On the aqueducts of Ravenna, see Cass., *Var.* 5.38 (Bjornlie p. 233-234); On general sewer restoration, see Cass., *Var.* 3.30 (94.22-95.5); On an unnamed local aqueduct, see Cass., *Var.* 4.31 (127.31-128.9).

¹⁷ On the walls of Rome, see Cass., *Var.* 1.25 (28.5-19); On the funding of the walls of Rome, see Cass., *Var.* 2.34 (65.21-66.3); On the walls of Dertona, see Cass., *Var.* 1.17 (23.17-24.3).

meant to broadcast praise for these major restoration projects. Therefore, we might conclude that Theoderic's building program was established with the objective of renewing Roman culture in his kingdom. While true intention behind this program is unclear, it may be the case that Theoderic did so in an appeal to the popularity of the Roman majority.¹⁸ In any case, the accomplishments of Theoderic highlight a particular interest in *romanitas* for his kingdom.

1.2 Merovingian Architecture

Romanitas was dealt with by the Merovingian people in a fashion quite different from what we have seen in the Ostrogothic kingdom under Theoderic. For the Franks, the lasting memory of the Romans was primarily transmitted via Christianity, and we might, therefore, expect attempts concerning the renewal of Roman culture to be via religious media. In particular, religious architecture had become an important medium for Christians in Gaul by the fifth century. Following the baptism of King Clovis at the beginning of the fifth century, many Frankish elites quickly assimilated with the Gallo-Romans, who were in the habit of funding great religious architecture within their communities.¹⁹ On the one hand, this led to rampant spoliation and the gradual loss of interest in the funding of secular buildings. On the other hand, from this period on, we begin to see the development of early Frankish Christian architecture.

¹⁸ With the Romans making up much of the Italian population, it should be noted that their support was likely crucial to Theoderic's legitimacy. Much of Theoderic's image was constructed to be Roman. Seen across a number of inscriptions (*ILS* 827 and 828), as well as that found on the Senigallia Medallion, Theoderic is labelled as a conqueror of "barbarians" (lit. people or nations), with the titles *domitor* and *uictor gentium*; Jonathan Arnold, "Theoderic, The Goths, and the Restoration of the Roman Empire," PhD Diss. (University of Michigan, 2008), 74-75, 184.

¹⁹ Pascale Chevalier, "Merovingian Religious Architecture: Some New Reflections," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, eds. Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 663.

This style often follows closely previous Roman decorative styles, with extensive use of lime stucco and glass tesserae for interior decoration.²⁰ These churches also adopted the layout of earlier Roman basilica plans, with a “broad” basilica plan becoming commonplace in church construction.²¹ Therefore, as displays of piety became intimately connected with the funding of Christian buildings, Merovingian Gaul began to quickly shift away from secular architecture in favour of religious architecture.²²

While this is, in a way, a form of Roman renewal, we know from Gregory of Tour’s writings that the primary interest was in Christianity and there was no general interest among the Franks to relate their Christendom to *romanitas* or to the Romans. However, with Chilperic, King of Soissons, we do see some remnants of an interest in *romanitas*. While Chilperic broadly explored several aspects of *romanitas*, here we will discuss only architecture. The one (and only) source on the history of Chilperic’s reign is Gregory’s *History*, which displays a distinctly negative bias against the king. Gregory does mention, however, that Chilperic put considerable funds towards the reconstruction of amphitheaters in Paris and Soissons, a considerable break from the church-funding programs pursued by many others.²³ Gregory briefly recounts this building program:²⁴

²⁰ Chevalier, “Merovingian Religious Architecture,” 678.

²¹ J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Studies in Roman and Early Christian Architecture* (London: Pindar Press, 1994), 447.

²² S.T. Loseby, “The Role of the City in Merovingian Francia,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, eds. Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 587; Sheila Bonde, “The Afterlife of the Amphitheater: Cultural Biography and Social Memory at Tarragona,” in *Reuse and Renovation in Roman Material Culture*, eds. Diana Y. Ng, Molly Swetnam-Burland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 212.

²³ Bonde, “The Afterlife of the Amphitheater,” 212.

²⁴ Gregory of Tours, *LHD* 5.17 (216.11-14), trans. Lewis Thorpe, 275.

Ad Chilpericum regem legationem mittentis, ut redderet, quod de eorum regno minuerat; quod si differret, campum praepararet ad bellum. Quod ille dispiciens, apud Sessionas atque Parisius circus aedificare praecepit, eosque populis spectaculum praebens.

They sent an embassy to King Chilperic to demand that he should restore all the territory which he had taken from their realm; for, unless he did this quickly, he had better choose a spot for battle. Chilperic took no notice of what they said: he was busy building amphitheatres in Soissons and Paris, for he was keen to offer spectacles to the citizens.

From this short excerpt, when combined with other mentions by Gregory of Chilperic's interest in Latin composition and grammar,²⁵ we can begin to reconstruct Chilperic as a king similar to Theoderic in his general interest in the renewal of Roman culture. Of course, architecture was but one aspect of this interest; however, we have little else to suggest that this architecture was received by Chilperic's contemporaries as an attempt at restoring *romanitas*, aside from Gregory's general distaste towards this culture.

As we can see, there is little evidence which remains for us regarding Roman-inspired architecture in Merovingian Gaul. We can, however, come to a couple of conclusions which will help us in understanding the Frankish relationship with *romanitas*. First, it is important to recognize that a renewal of Roman culture was happening within Gaul through the medium of Christianization. This wave of Christianization that began following the baptism of Clovis was largely linked to several serious building programs which led to substantial religious architecture in many Frankish cities; however, this ultimately led to the downfall of secular architecture.

²⁵ Gregory, *LHD* 5.44 (252.19-254.6).

Second, we should consider that there was still interest in a secular, or civic, form of *romanitas*, similar to what we have discussed in relation to Theoderic. Chilperic acted as a champion for these ideas of Roman renewal, as he pushed for several changes that exhibited his interest in *romanitas*. Therefore, we might conclude that architecture demonstrates to us how Merovingian Gaul underwent various forms of Roman renewal, with religious interest forming the dominating strain.

1.3 Ostrogothic Law

We will now turn to a brief legal discussion, starting with law in Ostrogothic Italy. Legal codes can help us recognize the identity groups present, both in terms of the addressees of the law as well as how it is prescribed to individuals. While the latter may not be as relevant a topic in Ostrogothic law, we will see the former become relevant as we examine how the legal discourse under King Theoderic included both Goths (“Barbarians”)²⁶ and Romans as separate identities under the same code.

A key source when dealing with Ostrogothic law is the *Edictum Theoderici*, which is a compilation of earlier vulgar law.²⁷ While there is some debate as to under whom this law code was compiled,²⁸ Sean Lafferty presents compelling evidence that the edict was published under

²⁶ *Barbarus* is used in the *Edictum Theoderici* to describe the Goths, although Cassiodorus uses instead *Gothicus*, as he likely understands the negative connotations historically associated with the former.

²⁷ To this extent, the *Edictum Theoderici* may be considered an *imitatio imperii*; Mischa Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 631; The edict was derived primarily from late Roman law, namely the Theodosian code and the Sentences of the Jurist Paul. See: Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 22.

²⁸ See the discussion by Katherine Fischer Drew, who prescribes the law code to Theodoric II of the Visigoths: Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks*, 12-22.

Theoderic, citing especially the treatment of Jewish people,²⁹ as well as certain instances where the edict applies especially to the Italian peninsula.³⁰ Lafferty suggests that the general ideology of the edict mirrors the text of Cassiodorus, which we can see to be true especially in a letter from Book 8 within the *Variae*, which says:³¹

Ut Gothi Romanis praebeant iusiurandum et Romani Gothis sacramento conferment se unanimitè regno nostro esse devotos.	The desires of the Goths and Romans have coincided in this ordination, such that under the bond of oaths they have promised to preserve their fidelity to our kingdom with devoted hearts.
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This letter heavily reflects the ideology of the edict laid out in the introduction which indicates a clear interest in the identification of *Romanus*, *Barbarus*, and how both of these groups ought to equally devote themselves to the tenets of the edict.³²

The application of Ostrogothic law can be viewed across a few letters present in Cassiodorus' *Variae*, where two individuals, Agapita and Regina, undergo a near-identical legal situation.³³ The comparison of these two instances demonstrates to us how the legal code was intended to treat both identity groups, Gothic and Roman, as equals; however, we see through

²⁹ This treatment of Jewish people is also on display in Cass., *Var.*, 4.33 and 4.43; Sean Lafferty, "Law and Society in Ostrogothic Italy: Evidence from the *Edictum Theoderici*," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010), 431.

³⁰ Lafferty, "Law and Society in Ostrogothic Italy," 342.

³¹ Cass., *Var.* 8.7.3 (236.28-237.2), trans. Bjornlie, 319.

³² Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 79-80; *Edictum Theoderici Regis*, Friedrich Bluhme and Pierre Pithou, in *Tomus V: Legum* (MGH), ed. Heinrich Brunner (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1889) Incipit (152.10-15), translated in Sean Lafferty, *Law and Society in the Age of Theoderic the Great: A Study of the Edictum Theoderici* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 248.

³³ A complete discussion and comparison of these situations can be found in: Shane Bjornlie, "Law, Ethnicity and Taxes in Ostrogothic Italy: A Case for Continuity, Adaption and Departure," *Early Medieval Europe* 22 (2014), 139-147.

these situations that there are differences in how the legal cases are handled between Gothic and Roman courts. Furthermore, these cases demonstrate how the *deuotio* (“devotion”, “legal adherence”) to the edict was concerned with tribute and taxable devotion,³⁴ leading to an inequitable application of the law.

Briefly, the cases of Agapita and Regina both represent *raptio*, a legal charge concerning the theft (consensual or otherwise) of a man’s wife. Agapita, being of the senatorial class, largely escaped consequence in this situation, as well as her captor, the senator Probinus. This was not the case for Regina, who was charged with *raptio* along with her captor, Brandila.³⁵

It is also relevant to examine how the two cases were handled and through which legal powers they passed. The case of Agapita, undeniably a civil (or Roman) case, was directed to a civil official (a *comitiacus*). This was not the case with Regina who went through the military courts, resulting in a Gothic *dux* as the arbitrator of the law. This demonstrates to us that while law was supposed to be applied equally to people of different ethnicities, each group may have had its own distinct court of law in which to handle relevant cases.

We may, therefore, use the examples of Agapita and Regina to highlight how the *Edictum Theoderici* was meant to hold Goths and Romans equally accountable to a universal concept of *iura nostra* (“our law”).³⁶ These situations also demonstrate to us that there was some separation of the military (Gothic) and civil (Roman) courts in Italy, although each made use of the same code of law. As we shall see later in this chapter, Theoderic and his court were interested in assimilating with the local Roman population. This edict was likely meant to aid in this process,

³⁴ Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, 82

³⁵ For a thorough examination of these two cases and their implications, see: Bjornlie, “Law, Ethnicity and Taxes in Ostrogothic Italy,” 141-45.

³⁶ Bjornlie, “Law, Ethnicity and Taxes in Ostrogothic Italy,” 145

giving both Romans and Goths a similar legal footing in their state; however, the *Edictum Theoderici* still gives us an important look into the two primary identities living within Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries, with a distinct group of “Romans” being recognized by law. Consequently, the edict is important in helping us understand how the Romans were still viewed as a separate identity group under Theoderic.

1.4 Merovingian Law

With Ostrogothic law we primarily focused on issues concerning the addressees of the edict of Theoderic; however, with Frankish law we will be able to discuss the individual prescription of law, using the mosaic of legal codes established by the Merovingian kings to be applied on an individual basis. As a result of this complex legal network, we will be able to discern the variety of identities which made up the population of Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries.

We will begin by examining what comprised this legal mosaic. One of the primary law codes seen in Francia, the *Lex Salica*, was a distinctly Frankish codification and emendation of earlier Roman legal codes, likely compiled under Clovis, and acted as an *imitatio imperii*.³⁷ The *Lex Salica* effectively became the territorial law code in Northern Gaul and was applied to most residents of this region, whereas it was applied on an individual basis in the rest of Gaul.³⁸ For individuals legally recognized as Romans, earlier Roman laws were recognized and used,

³⁷ Cf. *Edictum Theoderici*; Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 631; There is evidence of Roman law influencing Frankish legislation until at least the late sixth century, under Childebert II, see: Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (New York: Longman Group UK Limited, 1994), 107.

³⁸ Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks*, 31.

especially in areas where the *Lex Salica* was not the standard territorial code.³⁹ The situation became more complex as the Franks expanded into Burgundian and Visigothic territories, where their own law codes were at first used.⁴⁰ Eventually, the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (“Roman Law of the Visigoths”) was applied to all Romans in the South, i.e. the old Burgundian and Visigothic territories (superseding the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*).⁴¹

For an individual to be subject to Roman law, they would first need to hold legal status as a Roman. Typically, this process was related to the birth of an individual within a Roman family, usually in Southern Gaul. However, it was also possible for a slave to be freed via manumission as a *ciuis Romanus* (“Roman citizen”).⁴² In fact, there were several options for manumission, including freedom via the Church or freedom via a coin toss to the king. In any of these cases, a person could assume the legal identity of a *ciuis romanus*, which, as we shall see, did not have many legal benefits, especially in the north of Gaul under the *Lex Salica*. This suggests to us the continued importance of a Roman identity, given its continuation despite non-preferential and even inequitable treatment in some circumstances.

In the *Lex Salica*, the issue of the *wergild* (monetary compensation for murder) heavily favoured Franks over Romans, as the former was given a higher monetary value than the latter. The value of the *wergild* depended on both status and identity, with the highest *wergild* belonging to the *ingenuus Francorum qui in truste dominica est* (“Frank who is in the king’s trust”) at 600 *solidi*, followed by the *homo Romanus conuiua* (“Roman regal companion”) at 300

³⁹ Stefan Esders, “Roman Law as an Identity Marker in Post-Roman Gaul (5th-9th Centuries),” in *Transformations of Romanness. Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, eds. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2018), 333.

⁴⁰ Esders, “Roman Law as an Identity Marker,” 333; Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks*, 22-23.

⁴¹ Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks*, 24.

⁴² Esders, “Roman Law as an Identity Marker,” 327-28.

solidi. Trailing behind these high-status individuals are the *liti* (general Frankish populace) at 100 *solidi*, the *possessores* (land-owning Romans) at 100 *solidi* and finally the *tributarii* (non-land-owning Romans) at around 45-75 *solidi*.⁴³ By the seventh century, this inequality seems to have encouraged a “forced” conversion of identity from Roman to Frank, although there is not sufficient evidence to suggest that this was the case as early as the fifth or sixth centuries.⁴⁴ Thus we can clearly see that in the laws of the Salian Franks (*Lex Salica*), the Romans, a clearly identified group under the legal code, held a position of subordination to the Franks.

Therefore, law in the Frankish kingdoms provides us with important evidence as to the distinction of identity in the fifth and sixth centuries. This begins with the separation of various identity groups by legal code and extends as far as subordinating certain individuals based on their legal identity. This legal differentiation reflected an intelligible distinction between identities in Merovingian society and indicates that perhaps a great number of people under the rule of these Merovingian kings would have continued to identify as Roman. As we continue into our discussion of literature, we will see more nuanced opinions regarding the Romans as a group, as well as the continued importance of the adjective *Romanus* as a virtue.

1.5 Literature

In our final section of this chapter we will examine the literature of the fifth and sixth centuries and how it deals with issues of *romanitas*. We will review four authors: Gregory of

⁴³ Lukas Bothe, “From Subordination to Integration: Romans in Frankish Law,” in *Transformations of Romanness. Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, eds. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2018), 350-51.

⁴⁴ Bothe, “From Subordination to Integration,” 356-57.

Tours and Sidonius Apollinaris, who will provide us with a Gallic view of Roman identity, as well as Ennodius and Cassiodorus, who will represent Italian and Ostrogothic viewpoints. In examining these authors' engagement with *romanitas*, this section will demonstrate a more nuanced approach to Roman identity, which may have been multi-faceted even to the authors' contemporaries.

We will begin with Ennodius. This author composed his panegyrics, most notably for King Theoderic, around the first decade of the sixth century.⁴⁵ Ennodius treats Theoderic as a Roman king and a champion for Roman culture. To this extent, Ennodius' engagement with *romanitas* and Roman identity is mainly involved with a connection to the past, similar to what we have seen in our discussion on architecture. In fact, Ennodius applauds Theoderic on his building programs, saying that Theoderic preserved that mother of cities by the "cutting back of her limbs, withered with old age," and that Theoderic was right in his decision to focus on "stopping the decay" of the city.⁴⁶ Ennodius goes on to make a grand comparison between Theoderic, whom he claims was brought forward through the "revival of Roman renown," and Alexander the Great, saying:⁴⁷

Cui famae opulentiam peperit dos loquentum, ut	For him (Alexander) the gift of eloquent
per adiutricem facundiam uideatur crescere rebus	historians brought a wealth of fame, so that his
mendica laudatio. regis nostri merita solacium non	praise, poor in substance, seemed to grow through
postulant adserentis: minora sunt eius ueris	fecundity. The merits of our king do not require

⁴⁵ Barbara S. Haase, "Ennodius' Panegyric to Theoderic the Great: A Translation and Commentary," Master's thesis, (University of Ottawa, 1991), 4.

⁴⁶ Ennodius, *Opera Omnia Panegyricus Dictus Regi Theoderici*, ed. Wilhelm Hartel. (Vienna: Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1882) XI (276.20-23), translated in "Ennodius' Panegyric to Theoderic the Great: A Translation and Commentary," trans. Barbara Haase. Master's thesis. (University of Ottawa, 1991), 31.

⁴⁷ Ennodius, *Opera Omnia, Panegyricus Dictus Regi Theoderici* XVII (276.20-23), trans. Haase, 37.

actibus, quamuis aucta sint ueterum gesta
mendaciis. simulastis, poetae, grandia, sed fateri
uos conuenit praesentem dominum gessisse
patiora.

the solace of a publicist! The accomplishments of
the old ones, no matter how embellished with lies,
are minor compared to his genuine achievements.
Poets, you fabricate great deeds but it is proper for
you to admit that our present lord accomplished
greater feats.

This quotation provides us with a striking example of Ennodius' laudation of Theoderic as a champion of Roman prestige, suggesting that his accomplishments surpassed even those of Alexander the Great.

Ennodius' panegyric demonstrates to us an interest in Roman identity as it relates to antiquity. His focus on Theoderic's restoration of Roman cities, not unlike what we have examined in the previous section on Ostrogothic architecture, suggests to us that Roman identity may have extended to the preservation of an abstract quality of *antiquitas*.

Cassiodorus' *Variae* gives us even more material to examine, containing several different types of engagement with *romanitas* or Roman identity. As we have seen already in the section about architecture, the *Variae* had much discussion around the Roman nature of Theoderic's building program. However, the general opinions held towards the Roman people in the *Variae* may be summarized via a comment in Book 10, saying, "What elevated the Roman name ought to be the desire of all."⁴⁸ That is, so long as the Roman people are kept happy, the nation will be happy. We may view this opinion in other instances throughout the *Variae* with the first

⁴⁸ Cass., *Var.* 10.12.4 (306.2), trans. Bjornlie, 402.

appearing in the first letter of the collection attributed to Theoderic (to the Eastern Emperor, Anastasius):⁴⁹

Quia in uobis singulare, aliquid inesse	Since they recognize something special to dwell
cognoscunt, nos maxime, qui diuino auxilio in re	in you, we especially know this, who by divine
publica uestra didicimus, quemadmodum	providence have learned in your republic by what
Romanis aequabiliter imperare possimus. Regnum	manner we are able to govern Romans equitably.
nostrum imitatio uestra est, forma boni propositi.	Our government is an imitation of yours, the
unici exemplar imperii.	exemplary form of the only good imperium set on display.

In this quotation, we have Theoderic reportedly stating that he based his kingdom upon that of Anastasius, so as to treat the Romans under his rule equitably. This theme is carried on in book 6 of the *Variae* in a letter concerning the continued funding of the *annona* in Rome:⁵⁰

unde a Quiritibus uiuitur, quia gratior nobis est	That by which the Quirites live is weighed more
laetitia fauentis populi Romani quam copia	carefully than gold, because the happiness of the
pretiosissimi metalli.	Roman people is more agreeable to us than an abundance of the most precious metals.

In this quotation, the wellbeing of Romans (referred to by the traditional name *Quirites*) are described as being of the utmost importance among the concerns of the state. This is in line with

⁴⁹ Cass., *Var.* 1.1.2-3 (10.8-14), trans. Bjornlie, 35.

⁵⁰ Cass., *Var.* 6.18.7 (191.10-11), trans. Bjornlie, 269.

the previous few instances from the *Variae* which suggest that the happiness of the Roman people is crucial to the wellbeing of the state itself.

This aspect of Roman renewal is also seen in letters from the *Variae*, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, in which the adjective *Romanus* is used to describe the quality of something. In the *Variae*, the quality described by *Romanus* is perceptible, as it is used to describe the quality of food (*deliciae Romanae*),⁵¹ or clothing style (*calceus Romanus*),⁵² rather than some imperceptible, intangible ideal state of being or action.

Finally, several letters within the *Variae* discuss the societal roles of each of the identities, Goth and Roman, as far as civic and military matters are concerned. The best example of this can be seen in Book 7:⁵³

Audiat uterque populus quod amamus. Romani	Let both peoples pay heed to what we cherish.
uobis sicut sunt possessionibus uicini. ita sint et	Just as the Romans are neighbours to your
earitate coniuncti. uos autem, Romani. magno	properties, so should they also be conjoined to
studio Gothos diligere debetis, qui et in pace	you in affection. You, however, O Romans, ought
numerosos uobis populos faciunt et universam	to cherish with great enthusiasm the Goths, who
rem publicam per bella defendant.	in peace make you a populous people and who
	defend the entire republic in wars.

⁵¹ Cass., *Var.* 7.9.1 (208.10-14), trans. Bjornlie, 287.

⁵² Cass., *Var.* 8.9.3, Latin (238.10-13), trans. Bjornlie, 322.

⁵³ Cass., *Var.* 7.3.3, Latin (203.13-17), trans. Bjornlie, 281.

This quotation demonstrates not only how each of these identity groups (i.e. Roman and Gothic) occupied a different role in society, but also how there was an interest in cooperation and assimilation of both major identity groups.

Cassiodorus' *Variae* gives us important details as to how Theoderic and his court viewed Roman identity, namely as an identity which was distinct from the Gothic people and worthy of great attention and respect. It should be noted as well how several letters use the adjective *Romanus* to describe something as being distinctly Roman (be it food or clothing). Therefore, we see through the *Variae* that "Roman" was not only thought of as a group of people, but as an abstract quality which certain things may possess.

We will now move on to the writing of Gregory of Tours, which will give us an idea as to how Roman identity was viewed among the Franks mostly as a group or a collective descriptor. Gregory's writing is fairly biased in its position against the Romans, likely the consequence of political factionalism as well as religious biases.⁵⁴ It is out of his interest in the religious scene that a disdain of Roman identity develops, which is made evident through his focus away from Roman history and Roman peoples in his text in favour of developing a (somewhat imagined) history and culture for the Franks.⁵⁵ In fact, this becomes clear as Gregory hardly mentions the *Romani* past a few introductory sections, with the attention being quickly diverted to the *Franci*.⁵⁶ This disdain for Roman culture and identity may be seen to culminate in his scathing

⁵⁴ Gregory Halfond, "Sis Quoque Catholicis Religionis Apex: The Ecclesiastical Patronage of Chilperic I and Fredegund," *Church History* 81 (2012), 75.

⁵⁵ Helmut Reimitz, "Histories of Romanness in the Merovingian Kingdoms," in *Transformations of Romanness. Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, eds. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2018), 293.

⁵⁶ Helmut Reimitz, "The Politics of Identity in the Merovingian Kingdoms of the Sixth Century," in *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 115-121

rebuke of King Chilperic, apparently written following the leader's death.⁵⁷ Regardless of this bias, Gregory still includes some instances which identify Roman populations within Francia, the most notable of which show a concern for the Romans and their legal equitability in Book 2:⁵⁸

Ipse uero regionem omnem, quod nunc Burgundia dicitur, in quo dominio restaurauit. Burgundionibus leges mitiores instituit, ne Romanos obpraemerent.	This whole region, which is now called Burgundy, he (Gundobad) took under his own rule. He instituted milder laws among the Burgundes, to stop them treating the Romans unjustly.
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This passage presents a similar situation as in the first letter of Cassiodorus' *Variae* in which there is a concern surrounding the treatment of Roman people. This can be compounded with the legal evidence we have observed earlier in this chapter to suggest that there were groups within Gaul who were identified with the label of "Roman."

Finally, Sidonius Apollinaris provides us with an important instance of a Roman quality; while unnamed, this quality is important given its context. This instance of a Roman quality can be identified here with *ciuilitas* ("civility", in the sense of politics and statecraft). This appears in the second letter of his collection, which acts as a laudation to his newly-chosen king, Theodoric II, king of the Visigoths. It is likely that he placed this laudation so near to the beginning of his letter collection as a form of justification to his acquaintances among the Gallo-Roman elite,⁵⁹ as

⁵⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum: Libri Historiarum Decem*, eds. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1937), 6.46 (319.13-320.1-9); translated in Gregory, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1974), 379-80.

⁵⁸ Gregory, *LHD* 2.33 (81.11-13), trans. Thorpe, 148.

⁵⁹ Note here that Sidonius Apollinaris defected to the Gothic king, Theodoric II. A move which would have been unpopular among his Gallo-Roman peers. J.D. Harries, "Sidonius Apollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?" in *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* Eds. John Drinkwater and Hugh Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 299; H.S. Sivan, "Sidonius Apollinaris, Theodoric II, and Gothic-Roman Politics from Avitus to Anthemius," *Hermes* 117 (1989), 86.

the letter is meant to portray him as a Roman-style leader.⁶⁰ This is perfectly summarized in the first few lines of that letter, where Sidonius describes the civility of his new king:⁶¹

Saepenumero postulauisti ut, quia Theodoric
regis Gothorum commendat populis fama
ciuitatem, litteris tibi formae suae quantitas,
uitae qualitas significaretur.

Since the reputation of Theodoric, king of the
Goths, has brought attention to civility before the
people, you have repeatedly asked that the
magnitude of his manner and the nature of his life
be expressed to you in writing.

The use of *ciuitas* should be noted here as it is viewed as a starkly Roman quality, without the mention of an adjective *Romanus*. This letter acknowledges that Theodoric rules in such a way that would be compatible with Roman statecraft, and this is what is being suggested using *ciuitas*. Consequently, Sidonius gives us another instance of “Roman” being used as a quality to describe something, which gives us further evidence of this cultural identity being used and applied more abstractly.

Having viewed several literary instances that dealt with issues of *romanitas* and Roman identity, we may conclude that across all of our authors, the idea of *romanitas* still held significant meaning. Often this was as simple as identifying a group of people as being Roman, while other times these authors use “Roman” to describe a quality. In both cases, we see a continued relevance of *romanitas*, suggesting that it was not uncommon in literature to deal with themes of this extant culture.

⁶⁰ Harries, “Sidonius Apollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians,” 302; Sivan, “Sidonius Apollinaris, Theodoric II, and Gothic-Roman Politics,” 86.

⁶¹ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula*, ed. W.B. Anderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936) 1.2.1 (334.5-7), my translation.

1.6 Conclusions

To conclude this chapter, let us reintroduce our culinary authors, Anthimus and Vinidarius, who remain to us as the only extant examples of culinary literature from the fifth and sixth centuries in the West. In both cases, as we shall see, they have written culinary treatises which describe Roman cuisine. What does this mean, however, and how is it important that what they are describing is Roman? In this chapter, we have examined through architecture, law and literature, the relevance of *romanitas* in the societies contemporary to our two authors. We found that not only was there felt to be a reason to preserve Roman culture among these people, but that this preservation could take the form of perceiving and valuing *romanitas* as a quality.⁶² As there was still a considerable population of Romans across western Europe, a number of Germanic kings grappled with how best to manage them and manage their identity. Theoderic stands as our best example of a king who sought to renew Roman culture in his kingdom, and, as a result, conform it to the Romans he had conquered. Anthimus and Vinidarius both had extensive contact with Ostrogothic Italy, suggesting a connection to this culture renewal. As a result, we may conclude that any attempts to amplify Roman culture through a medium, such as food, may relate to this general interest in the acknowledgement and preservation of Roman identity.

⁶² We should note the comment in the text of the Anonymous Valesianus, which posited that the ‘rich Goth acted the Roman,’ while ‘the poor Roman played the Goth,’ suggesting the importance of these Roman virtues among the post-Roman elite; *Anonymous Valesianus* 12. 61, in Swain, “Goths and Gothic Identity in the Ostrogothic Kingdom,” in *COI*, 219.

CHAPTER II: DEFINING ROMAN CUISINE

When discussing the evolution of Roman cuisine, often we are faced with the narrative of the small nation of “porridge-eaters” and “turnip-fanciers” blossoming into the empire where “peacock, flamingo tongue, and tortoise” were on the menu.¹ What this does not recognize, however, is that cuisine goes beyond the ingredients presented to the cook. Surely the Romans were not the only people to come across these diverse ingredients, nor would they have been the first to make use of them at the dinner table. Moreover, could we not approach modern cuisine from the same angle, with the same pitfalls before us? We similarly cannot define any modern cuisine by their ingredients alone. For instance: if one were to present to someone a spice tray with a collection of chili, garlic and ginger, would they not be able to make the food of Myanmar just as easily as that of Pacific South America? What of cinnamon and its liberal use in both Chinese *and* Scandinavian cooking? This chapter will provide us with a solid framework with which to approach cuisine, and ultimately define not only *what* comprised Roman cuisine, but what our key authors, Anthimus and Vinidarius, may have *perceived* Roman cuisine to be in the sixth century CE. To accomplish this, three questions must be answered here: How can we define cuisine? Why is it important that we define Roman cuisine? Finally, how do we define the *perceived* Roman cuisine? With these questions answered, we will have a clear approach to Roman cooking as well as a sound control variable with which to compare the texts of Anthimus and Vinidarius, with the ultimate goal of indicating whether Anthimus and Vinidarius did emulate their perception of Roman cuisine.

¹ Matthew Leigh, “Food in Latin Literature,” in *CFAW*, 48.

2.1 How can we define cuisine?

Attempts to define cuisine have dotted the recent field of culinary history, seeking to provide helpful frameworks with which one may objectively approach and ultimately understand “cuisine.”² In this study, I will formulate an approach which draws heavily on the schemata established by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jack Goody, as exhibited in their works *The Origin of Table Manners* and *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, respectively.

The Lévi-Straussian approach to cuisine is based around the preparation of foods, rather than around the ingredients of any given dish. To accomplish this schema for the categorization of cooking, Lévi-Strauss suggests a triangular model, which introduces the axes of *raw*, *cooked*, and *rotten*, where the *raw* state acts as the base from which other forms of cooking branch.³ The transformation from *raw* to *cooked* is a cultural transformation, whereas that from *raw* to *rotten* is natural, suggesting an underlying axis between the cultural and the natural (in addition to the initial axis differentiating *raw*, and *cooked/rotten*, which can be seen as an axis between the unprocessed and the processed). Lévi-Strauss sought to use this model to describe different forms of food preparation (cooking), with even the *raw* state representing certain forms of preparation, rather than simply a completely unprocessed dish.

The *raw* state of preparation is one which, on the one hand, does not provide a thorough cooking of the food, and, on the other, does not use significant cultural mediation between the food and the fire (in this case, “cultural mediation” refers to a cultural object with which the food

² A discussion around the recent historiography of culinary history can be found in: Sarah R. Graff, “Archaeology of Cuisine and Cooking,” *Annual Review of Archaeology* 49 (2020): 337-54.

³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *OTM*, 478.

is cooked).⁴ Therefore, Lévi-Strauss would describe preparation methods such as grilling or roasting as raw forms of food preparation. Neither form of cooking requires significant cultural mediation, with both relying heavily on an open flame, as well as the food's direct exposure to this flame. As a result, these styles of cooking can be considered as exothermic forms of preparation, where typically the outside of the food is brought up to temperature during the cooking process, leaving the interior in a more raw state.⁵

The *rotten* state of preparation is one which undergoes endothermic cooking, resulting in the interior of the food becoming thoroughly cooked, notably via the medium of water. Therefore, Lévi-Strauss would have described boiling as the purest form of the *rotten*. While this preparation method was far more processed than the uneven, exothermic style of the *raw*, it still relied on basic cultural mediation. Ultimately, the natural element of water would act as the medium for cooking, which diffused the energy of the fire evenly throughout the food.

The *cooked* form of preparation resembles greatly the *rotten*, except in its use of cultural objects. Lévi-Strauss notes that the *raw* becomes the *cooked* once air is harnessed and used to cook a food thoroughly (via endothermic preparation).⁶ Our best example of this concept of a *cooked* form of preparation is smoking, where the smoke of a fire is harnessed and subsequently used to thoroughly cook the food. This method is described by Lévi-Strauss as leaning towards the cultural region of the axis, since advanced cultural objects are required to harness the smoke in a consistent manner, with the result being a thoroughly processed food; this is in comparison

⁴ Lévi-Strauss, *OTM*, 481-82.

⁵ Lévi-Strauss, *OTM*, 483.

⁶ Lévi-Strauss, *OTM*, 483.

to the otherwise crude method of collecting water in a pot and simply boiling it, although both methods result in an endothermic form of preparation.

For the purposes of this examination of Roman cuisine through the selected texts, it will be useful to use the Lévi-Straussian model of methods of preparation as a guide. His so-called “culinary triangle” provides us with a helpful framework to follow when examining the forms of food preparation described by the Roman writers. The Lévi-Straussian model, when combined with the schema of Goody, will help us understand the *perceived* Roman cuisine of the sixth century CE in a fuller sense than if one were to simply examine the dish as a sum of ingredients.

Jack Goody’s schema lacks the depth of Lévi-Strauss’ culinary triangle when discussing the details of the dishes and their preparation; however, it provides a crucial angle as to the socio-economic nature of cuisine. The crux of Goody’s approach to cuisine lies with the separation of high cuisine and low cuisine. This separation stems from a variety of factors, all of which derive from the difference in lifestyles of the wealthy and the poor. The first of these factors is in the unequal access to various ingredients.⁷ The wealth possessed by the elite allowed them to access a greater range of resources, many of which were the result of long-range trade, hence our stereotype of the “peacock, flamingo-tongue, and tortoise” dishes of the Roman empire. On the other hand, the class which Goody refers to as the peasantry would not have had the means to access these same resources, and, as a result, would have largely based their diet around locally sourced ingredients. Goody expands on this notion of access to resources with his second, and greater, point for the class-distinction in cuisine, literacy.⁸ In periods of what Goody describes as “restricted literacy,” written texts were the restricted property of the elite. While

⁷ Jack Goody, “Cooking and the Domestic Economy,” in *Cooking, Cuisine and Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 191.

⁸ Goody, “Cooking and the Domestic Economy,” 193.

Goody highlights this with the example of barring the peasantry from legal land ownership through the requirement of several written forms, claims and pledges, we can infer that a similar case arose where collected and published recipes would have been accessible only to those with the means and access to read them. Given this limited literacy, it stands to reason that recipes were not only consumed by the wealthiest individuals of society but were written with the assumption that this class would be their primary consumers as well.

Goody's assertion that cuisine is innately associated with class implies that any culinary tradition discerned from written recipes (at the very least in our period of the sixth century) is representative of elite or high cuisine, since these recipes would have been written with upper-class readers as the intended audience. Surely this would have been in the minority of diets for this period (assuming that these recipes were at all practical in nature); however, this plays into the concept of the *perceived* Roman diet, rather than the *actual* Roman diet. When we examine whose cuisine Anthimus and Vinidarius, themselves wealthy, are seeking to replicate in their own recipe texts, we must bear in mind that they are attempting to connect themselves with what they *perceived* the Roman cuisine to have been, rather than to emulate the local cuisines of those whom Goody would refer to as the peasantry.⁹

The schemata of both Lévi-Strauss and Goody provide us with two separate accounts of cuisine and how cuisine may be defined. However, the two schemata can be used in conjunction in order to establish a comprehensive view of the *perceived* Roman cuisine as it would have appeared to non-Roman elites in the sixth century. With Lévi-Strauss' culinary triangle, we know to focus on methods of preparation, rather than simply examining the ingredients presented

⁹ It is imperative to bear in mind that these texts were communicating *ideas* of food to others within the literate world. To this extent, it is important not only that we remember that we are establishing a *perceived* cuisine, but also that this cuisine was intended to be perceived by other elites.

by each author. In doing so, it will be imperative to take note of any patterns in the diction throughout these texts, with a careful focus on verbs of cooking. Goody's socio-economic approach to cuisine reminds us that the texts we are dealing with represent a small, yet elite portion of the Roman diet. It is therefore the case that this diet does not reflect the general Roman cuisine or diet, given that many of these texts would have existed in the limited world of the literate. Of course, our authors Anthimus and Vinidarius would have been well accustomed to this limited body of works, and as we shall see relate themselves to this wealthy, literate cuisine of the Romans.¹⁰

2.2 Why is it important to define Roman cuisine?

Simply put, a strong sense for the character of Roman cuisine will be invaluable when examining the texts of Anthimus and Vinidarius, allowing for a clear contrast between the cooking techniques presented in early medieval texts and those which belong to the *perceived* Roman cuisine.

Anthimus and Vinidarius, whom we will discuss in more depth in the following chapter, were both men of high status in the sixth century of western Europe. Both identify themselves with the title *uir illustris* ("illustrious man"),¹¹ likely a designation of their situation in

¹⁰ It is key for us to note that we are looking at the literary depictions of food. Emily Gowers, in her approach to Roman cuisine, makes a clear case for food in (fictional) literature as a trope used differently across various literary genres. To this end, we should bear in mind that food in literature may not truthfully reflect the diet of these people, but instead may be used as a literary device by the author; see Gowers, *The Loaded Table*, 32-33, 40-46.

¹¹ Note that Anthimus uses the form *inlustris*, rather than *illustris*, which Vinidarius retains.

Ostrogothic Italy, under King Theoderic.¹² Beyond these similarities, it would seem that each has his own motivations for emulating Roman culinary practices. Anthimus, who, we shall see in the following chapter, may have himself been a Roman from the East, intended to present a text introducing Roman culinary and dietetic practices to a Frankish king, Theuderic, while serving as an ambassador for King Theoderic. Vinidarius, on the other hand, had a completely different motive, likely either personal interest or ambition. While he still presents us with his own title at the beginning of his excerpt, we are given no more context. While it lacks the political drive of Anthimus' letter, it still indicates to us that Vinidarius was not interested in hiding himself as a *pseudo-Apician* author, but instead designated himself as the compiler of this section.

Both relevant texts at hand were created with purpose, with both authors crediting themselves in their own works clearly for readers to identify. If we recall Goody's discussion around the relevance of literature in a period of restricted literacy, we may begin to read further into the importance of these texts. Clearly, they were written for those who co-existed in what I have described as the limited world of the literate, likely presupposing that what they were writing would have been received in a particular fashion. This is especially evident given that the two authors describe recipe preparation in a fairly consistent and similar manner. While Anthimus may himself be preserving a Roman style of food preparation from the East, his work attempts to disseminate this information for a Frankish audience, perhaps with the purpose of bringing "Roman culture" (or in this situation, Roman dietetics) to the Frankish king, Theuderic. With Vinidarius, we see a presentation of recipes which are prepared in a fashion not unlike

¹² Anthimus, *On the Observance of Foods*, ed. and trans. Mark Grant (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1996), 20; Sally Grainger and C. W. Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of Apicius* (Totnes: Prospect, 2006), 32-33.

those described by the Romans before him; yet unlike with Anthimus' text, we are not explicitly told who the intended audience of the text is.

The works of Anthimus and Vinidarius, therefore, ought to be taken as texts with a clear aim to connect their content with their included names. However, we must first determine what these individuals, or learned individuals of this period in general, may have perceived Roman cuisine to be; only through this control variable will we be able to adequately establish a link between the works of Anthimus and Vinidarius and the earlier Roman cuisine. We have already determined via the work of Goody that our primary focus ought to be through an examination of the extant literature, given that the *perceived* Roman cuisine would have been an elite and literate slice of this culture. With this in mind, it is now imperative that we examine the selected texts for their diction, as it relates to the preparation of food. In following the Lévi-Straussian model, the selection of verbs used by Roman authors will help illuminate the methods of cooking which these authors thought to be proper. Similarly, we will also explore a few instances of Roman authors describing food preparation methods which were deemed uncivilized, or ultimately un-Roman.

2.3 How do we define the *perceived* Roman cuisine?

To define the *perceived* Roman cuisine, it is important to identify themes in food preparation throughout Roman literature. Following the Lévi-Straussian model, our main concern here will be strictly the methods of food preparation; therefore, the choice of verbs used in the preparation process by the selected authors will be instrumental to our understanding of the perceived Roman cuisine. To aid us in our examination of Roman food preparation practices, there exists an

incredibly detailed study on the use of cooking pots in imperial Rome by Andrew Donnelly.¹³ In his examination of cooking pots, Donnelly explores the Roman literature that describes the methods of food preparation used in conjunction with different types of pots. Our discussion of Roman sources will follow the path created by Donnelly,¹⁴ beginning with some republican Roman authors, Cato and Varro. We will then examine imperial authors, namely Pliny, Juvenal and Petronius. However, most of our information will come from the landmark Apician text of late Antiquity, which will provide us ultimately with a clear image of what the elite, literary cuisine of the Romans had become.

Before we delve into passages on Roman cooking, I will first discuss some of the key diction which will appear across these texts. Since many of the verbs we will examine are usually translated similarly in English (for instance, the many verbs related to “to boil” or “to heat”), it will be important for us to have a more thorough grasp of their meanings in Latin.

The first set of verbs we will examine are those concerned with the action of boiling: *bullire*, *decoquere*, *elixare* and *feruere*. These verbs would describe an endothermic, natural style of food preparation, according to Lévi-Strauss, and would represent a *rotten* state of preparation.

Bullire

The relation to the noun *bulla*, or bubble, can help to clarify the meaning of this verb. While *bullire* can be roughly translated as “to boil”, it can also have the additional meanings of “to

¹³ Andrew Donnelly, “Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation in Imperial and Late Antique Italy,” PhD diss. (Loyola University Chicago, 2016), 118-169.

¹⁴ This method is first explored in Andrew Donnelly, “Cooking Pots in Ancient and Late Antique Cookbooks,” in *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture: The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. Michela Spataro and Alexandra Villing (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 141-47.

effervesce” or “to bubble”.¹⁵ It is unclear what type of boil this is; however, due to the interest in the bubbling aspect of the action, it may refer to a simmer, as the bubbles begin to rise to the surface of the water.

Decoquere

This verb is a derivative of *coquere*, “to cook”. By adding on the prefix *de-*, the Romans have intensified the meaning of the initial verb, perhaps giving it a notion of thoroughness or completeness in its action.¹⁶ So, we get not only “to boil” for *decoquere*, but a more intensive “to diminish the volume (of a liquid) by boiling” or “to boil down”.¹⁷ This verb is clear in its meaning of reduction and would likely be used to make such things as sauces.

Elixare

One of our earlier authors, Varro, associates this verb’s meaning to *e liquore*, and held the notion that *elixum* meant boiled “of a liquid”. He even goes on to discuss the potential connection of *elixum* with *ex iure (coquo)* (“cooked in [its own] juice”), suggesting the cooking of the food in a broth.¹⁸ The Oxford Latin Dictionary takes a slightly different approach, relating *elixus* to the noun *elix* (which itself then relates to water or liquid).¹⁹ *Elixare* is therefore less about the temperature of boiling, but instead is more concerned that one is boiling the food within a liquid, which Varro indicates is often its broth.

¹⁵ OLD. s.v. “bullio”.

¹⁶ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “de-”.

¹⁷ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “decoquo”.

¹⁸ Varro, *DLL* 5.109 (101-103).

¹⁹ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “elix”; OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “elixus”.

Feruere

While broadly translating to “to boil”, *ferueo* also carries the meaning of making something “intensely hot”, “seethe”, or even “burn” and “be in agitated or swift movement”.²⁰ This clearly demonstrates a high-energy cooking method and, therefore, likely refers to a high-temperature rolling boil. While this verb could carry the meaning of cooking without water, often its usage can be inferred from the type of cooking vessel mentioned alongside it.

I will now move to verbs which describe roasting, which are not particularly common in Roman cooking literature: *assare*, *frigere* and *torrere*. While these verbs can be tricky to relate to Lévi-Strauss’ culinary triangle, their meanings exhibit an endothermic style of preparation without the use of water as a medium, and, therefore, would lean towards the *cooked*; however, since these verbs are not associated with any complex cultural objects, we cannot place them fully on the axis of the *cooked*.

Assare

This verb corresponds to the noun *assus*, which can mean “baked” or “roasted”, but also “without moisture” or “dry”.²¹ Therefore, this can be understood as a very thorough cooking of the food, to the point where the moisture has largely been drawn out of the object (typically meat, when speaking of roasting or baking).

²⁰ *OLD*. 2nd ed, s.v. “ferveo”.

²¹ *OLD*. 2nd ed, s.v. “asso”; *OLD*. 2nd ed, s.v. “assus”.

Frigere

Similar to *assare*, the meaning here is “to roast”; however, the perfect participle form of the verb, *frictum*, can mean either “roasted” or “parched”,²² suggesting that this verb indicates a thorough roast, resulting in a dried-out product.

Torrere

Our final example of a roasting verb, *torrere*, takes the meaning of “to dry up” or even “to burn”, with the crux of its meaning based around the dehydration of the food, although the verb can also be translated more simply as “to bake”, “roast” or “parch”.²³

The last few verbs that I will examine discuss heating and cooking in a more general sense and appear infrequently throughout Roman cooking texts. These verbs are *calere*, *calefacere*, *fumare*, *percoquere* and *tepescere*. Given the general nature of most of these verbs, it is often near impossible to situation their meanings on Lévi-Strauss’ schema of food preparation.

Calere

This verb typically translates as either “to be hot” or “warm” but can also take the meaning of “to be kept hot” or “warm”.²⁴ This bears strong relation to a compound form, *calefacere*, meaning “to make hot” or “warm” (cf. *calefactio*, meaning “the heating a bath”).²⁵

²² OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “frigo”.

²³ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “torreo”.

²⁴ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “caleo”.

²⁵ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “calefacio”.

Fumare

Depending on what object is doing the action of *fumare*, this verb can either suggest the meaning of “to smoke” or “to steam”.²⁶ The action is based on the noun, *fumus*, which generally refers to some form of gas or cloud, typically of smoke.²⁷ As a result, this is the only verb which we may relate to the “cooked” axis of the culinary triangle (although the verb does not indicate the thoroughness of the cooking).

Percoquere

As a compound of *coquere*, the significance of this verb comes to us from the preposition *per-*, often meaning “through”, although in this case it seems to denote intensity.²⁸ Therefore, the meaning of *percoquere* becomes “to cook thoroughly” or “to bake”; The Oxford Latin Dictionary also gives a secondary definition, “to cook carefully” or “with proper attention to detail”.²⁹ This verb’s usage is so rare in our sources that it is difficult to extrapolate the exact meaning.³⁰

Tepescere

Unlike many of the other verbs for food preparation, *tepescere* does not describe a thorough cooking of the food, but instead means “to grow warm” or even “to become tepid” or “lukewarm”.³¹ Based on the context of its usage in *Apicius*, accompanied by “ad ignem lentem”

²⁶ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “fumo”.

²⁷ OLD. 2nd ed., s.v. “fumus”.

²⁸ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “per-”.

²⁹ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “percoquo”.

³⁰ It is possible that this verb was used for dishes which had to be cooked carefully to a certain point, but due to its limited usage, it is hard to discern the reason for its use.

³¹ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. “tepesco”.

(on a slow fire),³² we may infer that *tepescere* is used to describe a slower form of cooking, in order to more carefully bring the food up to the desired temperature.

These verbs make up the majority of the cooking terminology which we will come across in Roman literature. A verb we will not focus on as much, given its broad, open-ended meaning, is *coquere* (with the general sense of “to cook”). Before we approach the texts at all, it is important to note the great diversity of terms to describe various ways of cooking, of which an impressive four different verbs exist to describe different styles of boiling. This alone should speak to the Roman interest in the preparation of foods. Let us now analyze our texts in order to form a clear image of what methods of food preparation were favoured within the literary and elite cuisine of the Romans.

The oldest text we will examine is the *De Agri Cultura* by Cato – a treatise on farming, which also concerns itself with some matters of food preparation. This second-century work is the basis for much of our understanding of Rome as a nation of “porridge eaters”, as Cato gives us plenty of recipes for the preparation of porridge, as well as other bready dishes. What will be key in Cato’s recipes is the usage of the *olla* vessel, or in his earlier Latin, an *aula*. This large pot was instrumental to early Roman food preparation, in which it would be used for boiling foods (although Cato does not make much distinction in his diction).³³

Graneam triticeam sic facito. Selibram tritici puri	Recipe for wheat pap: Pour 1/2 pound of clean
in mortarium purum indat, lauet bene corticemque	wheat into a clean bowl, wash well, remove the
deterat bene eluatque bene. Postea in aulam indat	husk thoroughly, and clean well. Pour into a pot
et aquam puram cocatque . Vbi coctum erit, lacte	

³² Apicius, *DRC* 6.8.13 (234.1-8).

³³ Cato, *DAC* § 86 (88-89).

addat paulatim usque adeo, donec cremor crassus erit factus.	with pure water and boil . When done, add milk slowly until it makes a thick cream.
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In this recipe for a porridge-style dish, referred to as *granea triticea*, we see Cato's usage of the aforementioned *aula* (*olla*), unfortunately simply paired with the generic verb *cocere* (with Hooper's translation using "boiled" as its meaning). While there are plenty of other examples in this text of the *aula* being used in conjunction with a liquid during cooking,³⁴ Cato regrettably remains with the verb *coquere*, or some variant thereof (i.e. *cocere*), leaving us with little information besides his vessel of choice. Donnelly, in his study of Roman cooking vessels, would agree with the translation of "boiling" for these verbs, due to the very nature of the *olla* as a stewing pot.³⁵ While we see further and similar uses of the *olla* in medicinal preparation throughout Cato's work,³⁶ I will only examine culinary recipes in this study.

Soon after Cato, Varro would release *De Lingua Latina* during the first century BCE, of which a limited number of books are extant. In this work, Varro seeks to provide an explanation for the Latin language, full of definitions, etymologies and the like. We are fortunate that of the extant material, there remain a few passages on the preparation of food in Varro's day. The following is an important excerpt regarding Varro's understanding of the *olla*:³⁷

Quod edebant cum pulte, ab eo pulmentum, ut Plautus; hinc pulmentarium dictum: hoc primum defuit pastoribus. Caseus a coacto lacte ut	That which they ate with their puls 'porridge,' was from that fact called pulmentum 'side-dish,' as Plautus says; from this was
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³⁴ Cato, *DAC* §§ 81 (86-87), 85 (88-89), 87 (88-89).

³⁵ Donnelly, "Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation," 81-157.

³⁶ Cato, *DAC* §§ 156 (140-143), 157 (142-151), 158 (151-153).

³⁷ Varro, *DLL* 5.108 (101-103).

coaxeus dictus. Dein posteaquam desierunt esse contenti his quae suapte natura ferebat sine igne, in quo erant poma, quae minus cruda esse poterant **decoquebant** in **olla**. Ab **olla** holera dicta, quod earum <m>**acerare** cruda holera.

said pulmentarium ‘relish’: this the shepherds lacked in the early times. Caseus^s ‘cheese’ was named from coactum ‘coagulated’ milk, as though coaxeus. Then after they ceased to be satisfied with those foods which nature supplied of her own accord without the use of fire, among which were apples and like fruits, they **boiled down** in a **pot** those which they could less easily eat raw. From **olla** ‘**pot**’ the holera ‘vegetables’ were named, because it is the task of ollae ‘pots’ to **soften** the raw holera ‘vegetables’.

From Varro’s own definition of the *olla* (note, he uses *olla*, rather than Cato’s *aula*), we get a clearer sense of its use as a boiling pot, especially with the inclusion of the verb *decoquere*, meaning “to boil down” or “to reduce”. Varro’s (likely incorrect) association of *olla* with *holera* (vegetables) leaves us with another clue as to how this pot was used, as the verb *macerare* denotes the softening of the vegetables by a boiling technique. While this etymology is likely fanciful, it does allow us into the mind of a first-century Roman, who himself perceived the *olla* to be integrally linked with the action of boiling vegetables.

Varro’s text also gives us a look forward at what is to come in Roman cooking, with his mention of the *caccabus* pot:³⁸

Vas ubi **coquebant** cibum, ab eo **caccabum** appellarunt.

The vessel in which they **coquebant** ‘cooked’ their food, from that they called a **caccabus**.

³⁸ Varro, *DLL* 5.127 (120), trans. Roland G. Kent, 121

While again we see Varro falsely deriving the etymology of a verb, it nevertheless gives us crucial insight into the perception of the vessel he is describing. While he is not as clear with the verb choice here, we will see this vessel in later works as a replacement for the *olla* in popularity, taking its place as the typical dish for boiling.

Following Varro's work, we have only sparse examples of the preparation of Roman food in the high imperial period. The first example we shall look at is a recipe from Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, written in the late first century CE. The recipe he presents to us is for a small cake and it uses a dish entirely new to us, named the *patina*:³⁹

Graeci in binos semodios farinae satis esse bessem fermenti constituere. et haec quidem genera uindemiis tantum fiunt, quo libeat uero tempore ex aqua hordeoque bilibres offae feruenti foco uel fictili patina torrentur cinere et carbone usque dum rubeant; postea operiuntur in uasis donec acescant.	The Greeks have decided that two-thirds of an ounce of leaven is enough for every two half-pecks of flour. Moreover though these kinds of leaven can only be made in the vintage season, it is possible at any time one chooses to make leaven from water and barley, making two-pound cakes and baking them in ashes and charcoal on a hot hearth or an earthenware dish till they turn brown, and afterwards keeping them shut up in vessels till they go sour.
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With this use of the newer earthenware vessel, the *patina*, we see the appearance of the verb *torrere*, which we have defined as “to bake”, with a strong emphasis on the dehydration of the

³⁹ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, ed. and trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 18.26 (220-21)

food. The method of heating, too, provides us a sense that the *torrere* in this instance is meant as an intensely hot bake with the use of embers and charcoal.

Roughly contemporary with the publication of the *Historia Naturalis*, Petronius finishes his work the *Satyricon*. The work mentions the use of a *caccabus* in a high-class culinary setting, in reference to the boiling of a rooster:⁴⁰

quem Trimalchio iussit occidi ut aeno coctus	And Trimalchio ordered it [the rooster] to be killed,
fieret . laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco, qui	so that it could be cooked in a pot . Therefore it
paulo ante de porco aues piscesque fecerat, in	was cut up by that learned cook, who shortly before
caccabum est coniectus.	had made birds and fish from pork, and thrown into
	a pot .

While this excerpt tells us little of how the rooster (along with its garnishes) was cooked in the *caccabus*, it does provide us with an interesting view of the elite kitchen and how the *caccabus* makes an appearance here. This becomes notable when compared with an excerpt from Juvenal's *Saturae*, where a family cooking in a rural cottage setting makes use of the older *olla* style of pot:⁴¹

sed magnis fratribus horum a scrobe uel sulco	[At a cottage] But when their big brothers got back
redeuntibus altera cenaamplior et grandes	from the ditch or the furrow, a second, larger
fumabant pultibus ollae .	dinner was waiting for them and huge pots
	steaming with porridge.

⁴⁰ Petronius, *Satyricon*, eds. trans. Michael Heseltine, W.H.D. Rouse, rev. ed. E.H. Warmington (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 74.4-5 (220-21); Note the use of *doctissimo coco*, denoting the potential professionalization of cooking, especially here by men.

⁴¹ Juvenal, *Saturae*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 14.169-171 (470-71).

In stark contrast to the elite kitchen of Trimalchio, Juvenal's *Satire* gives us a look at what humble, lower-class cooking had become by the early second century CE. It is unclear if the *olla* had been a lower-class vessel up to this point, but at the same time as these passages, the *olla* and the *caccabus* had separate uses, distinguished by class. This reinforces Goody's initial schema which defined cuisine as divided by class, with separate vessels now being used for both high-cuisine and low-cuisine.

Up to this point, we have had scarce yet nonetheless helpful excerpts from larger works which aid us in understanding the development of Roman cuisine in the late republican and imperial periods of Roman cooking. However, this can all be capped off with the monumental work *De Re Coquinaria*, often incorrectly associated with Marcus Gavius Apicius. Despite this incorrect association, the text has still come to be known as *Apicius*, and I will refer to it as such. Indeed, the Apician text was likely a compilation of other works and recipes, although we do not know the names of the cooks behind the recipes, nor the authors behind any original texts from which it may have borrowed.⁴² Consequently, it is nearly impossible to give a date to the Apician text. However, in examining the spices used in some of the recipes, we can grasp that not only were these recipes intended for a high-class kitchen,⁴³ but that they must have been conceived of after many of these spices became more available to the Roman empire via eastern trade routes in later Antiquity.⁴⁴

⁴² Sally Grainger, "The Myth of Apicius," *Gastronomica* 7, no. 2 (2007): 76-77.

⁴³ Robin Nadeau, "Cookery Books," in *CFAW*, 54-55; Arce warns us that due to Apicius' elitist and exotic character, it must only be taken to represent the diet of the rich and elite of Roman society; Javier Arce, "Les Textes sur L'Alimentation à L'Époque Tardive et à L'Époque Wisigothique (IV^e – VI^e Siècles)," *AnTard* 27 (2019), 95.

⁴⁴ Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: Spices in World History*. (Barkley: University of California Press, 2000), 92-127; James Howard-Johnston, "The India Trade in Late Antiquity," in *Sasanian Persia*:

The references to cooking vessels and verbs of cooking are abundant throughout *Apicius* and, therefore, give us a clear image of the cuisine this compilation sought to represent. The most common of the vessels in this text is the *caccabus*, which, according to Donnelly, appears sixty-six times throughout the compilation.⁴⁵ Of this, the *caccabus* is mentioned along with a verb forty-five times. *Feruere* is by far the most common method of cooking with the *caccabus*, according to *Apicius*, with its thirty-two mentions alongside the vessel.⁴⁶ The first instance of a *caccabus* being used in an Apician recipe gives us a concrete sense of its usage:⁴⁷

adicies in mortarium piper ligusticum origanum;	Put in a mortar pepper, lovage, oregano; grind it.
fricabis; subfundes liquamen; adicies cerebella	Pour on liquamen, add cooked brains, pound
cocta; teres diligenter ne astulas habeat; adicies	carefully so it has no lumps, add 5 eggs, mix
oua quinque et dissolues diligenter utu num	carefully to make a smooth emulsion. Flavour
corpus efficias. liquamine temperas et in patella	with liquamen and pour into a bronze pan
aenea exinanies. quoques. cum coctum fuerit,	[patella]. Cook it. When it is cooked, turn it out on
uersas in tabula munda, tessellas concides. adicies	to a clean board. Cut into squares. Put in a mortar
in mortarium piper ligusticum origanum; fricabis;	pepper, lovage, oregano; grind them together. Add
<liquamen et uinum addes>; in se commisce in	liquamen and wine. Put all together in a pan
caccabum ; facies ut ferueat . cum ferbuerit tracta	[caccabus] . Bring to the boil . When it has boiled ,
confringes, oblige; coagitabis et exinanies in	crumble tracta, stir it so that it thickens, pour out
uoletari. piper asperges et appones.	

Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia, ed. Eberhard W. Sauer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 286.

⁴⁵ Donnelly, “Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation,” 144.

⁴⁶ *Apicius*, DRC 2.1.5 (146.17-22), 3.2.4 (160.4-9), 3.4.2 (160.17-19), 4.2.5 (178.16-22), 4.2.31 (190.20-192.2), 4.3.1 (194.2-7), 4.3.2 (194.8-13), 4.3.5 (196.5-11), 4.3.6 (196.12-18), 4.3.7b (196.20-24), 4.4.1 (198.2-11), 4.5.1 (198.19-200.11), 4.5.3 (200.17-25), 5.1.1 (206.6-12), 5.1.3 (206.16-20), 5.1.4 (208.1-6), 5.2.1 (208.8-12), 5.2.2 (208.13-19), 5.3.3 (210.20-212.5), 5.3.5 (212.10-14), 5.3.9 (212.24-28), 5.4.1 (214.2-4), 5.5.1 (216.9-18), 7.14.1 (254.19-21), 8.7.7 (274.20-23), 8.7.8 (274.24-29), 8.7.9 (276.1-6), 8.7.11 (276.10-15), 8.8.5 (280.7-14), 8.8.6 (280.15-21), 8.8.7 (280.22-27), 10.1.1 (300.5-9).

⁴⁷ *Apicius*, DRC 2.1.5 (146.17-148.2), trans. Sally Grainger and Christopher Grocock, 147-149.

on to the serving dish. Sprinkle with pepper and
set it forth.

The usage of the *caccabus* in this recipe clearly exhibits its handling as not only a boiling vessel, but one that is used to prepare sauces as well (which feature heavily in Apician recipes). The *caccabus* is used with a handful of other verbs as well, namely *bullire*,⁴⁸ *elixare*,⁴⁹ *calere*,⁵⁰ *telescere*,⁵¹ and *assere*,⁵² but less often than with *feruere*. The appearance of *assere* here may be an error in the manuscript tradition, since, as Grainger and Grocock suggest, the action of dry roasting would likely not have taken place in a vessel intended for cooking in liquids.⁵³

Departing from the *caccabus*, *Apicius* also makes heavy use of the *patina* vessel in thirty recipes. Of these thirty recipes, twenty-one times it is used with the verb *feruere*.⁵⁴ Otherwise, the *patina* is simply mentioned with the general-use verb, *coquere*. However, some instances of the *patina* in *Apicius* give us important insight into how the vessel was heated (often in addition to *feruere*). There are four instances of the *patina* being cooked in the *thermospodium* (reminiscent of a modern barbecue),⁵⁵ of these instances the following passage gives us a clear sense of its usage with the *patina*:⁵⁶

⁴⁸ Apicius, *DRC* 4.2.14 (184.3-14), 6.1.1 (222.7-10), 6.8.13 (234.1-8).

⁴⁹ Apicius, *DRC* 3.2.4 (160.4-9).

⁵⁰ Apicius, *DRC* 2.2.2 (148.15-18).

⁵¹ Apicius, *DRC* 6.8.13 (234.1-8).

⁵² Apicius, *DRC* 6.2.6 (224.23-25).

⁵³ Grainger and Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*, 225.

⁵⁴ Apicius, *DRC* 3.2.1 (158.10-14), 3.2.2 (158.15-19), 3.2.3 (160.1-3), 3.4.1 (160.12-16), 3.4.3 (162.2-6), 3.4.6 (162.9-10), 4.2.4 (178.9-15), 4.2.5 (178.16-22), 4.2.8 (180.8-14), 4.2.9 (180.15-21), 4.2.10 (182.1-2), 4.2.21 (188.3-7), 4.2.22 (188.8-10), 4.2.23 (180.11-13), 4.2.31 (190.20-192.2), 4.2.33 (192.5-11), 4.2.36 (192.17-22), 4.5.1 (198.19-200.11), 4.5.4 (202.1-5), 8.7.11 (276.10-15), 10.1.4 (300.15-18).

⁵⁵ Apicius, *DRC* 4.2.4 (178.9-15), 4.2.8 (180.8-14), 4.2.9 (180.15-21), 4.2.33 (192.5-11).

⁵⁶ Apicius, *DRC* 4.2.8 (180.8-14), trans. Sally Grainger and Christopher Grocock, 181.

accipies semen de sabuco, purgabis ex aqua
dequoques; super colum exsiccabis; **patina**
perunges et in patina conpones ad surcellum.
adicies piperis scripulos VI, suffunde liquamen.
postea adicies liquaminis ciatum I uini ciatum
passi ciatum. teres. tum in **patina** mittes olei
uncias IIII, pones in **thermospodio** et facies ut
ferueat. cum **ferbuerit** franges postea oua VI,
agitabis et **patina** sic obligabis; cum obligaberis
piper asperges et inferes.

Take elderberries, wash them in some boiled
water, strain them through a colander and shake
them dry. Grease a **dish**, and arrange the
elderberries in the dish in a circle. Put (in a
mortar) 6 scruples of pepper, pour on liquamen;
next add 1 cyanthus of liquamen, a cyanthus of
wine and a cyanthus of passum, pound; then pour
into the **dish** 4 oz. of oil. Put **in the hot ashes**
[thermospodium] and allow it to **come to heat**;
when it is **simmering** break 6 eggs into it, stir it
and thus you thicken the **patina**. When you have
thickened it, sprinkle with pepper and serve.

While this text gives us a representation of the *thermospodium*, what it also demonstrates (with the final instance of the *patina*) is that *patina* had become not only the noun for the cooking vessel, but also for the dish which was cooked within the vessel itself. The popularity of both the vessel and the dish was indeed great, given that the former became synonymous with the latter.⁵⁷

To continue to the last couple of vessels, the *patella* sees secondary usage in *Apicius*, often being used in place of a *patina* in a *patina*-style dish. The *patella* appears only 9 times throughout the text, in one instance with *frigere* (“to bake”),⁵⁸ *calefacere* (“to heat up”),⁵⁹ *bullire* (“to boil”),⁶⁰ and *percoquere* (“to cook carefully”).⁶¹

⁵⁷ Donnelly, “Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation,” 147.

⁵⁸ Apicius, *DRC* 7.4.4 (242.3-5).

⁵⁹ Apicius, *DRC* 4.2.17 (186.6-11).

⁶⁰ Apicius, *DRC* 7.11.8 (252.17-20).

⁶¹ Apicius, *DRC* 8.6.9 (270.19-23).

Similarly, the *olla* falls to the margins, with only 8 mentions in the text: thrice with *bullire*,⁶² twice with *feruere*,⁶³ and once with *elixare*,⁶⁴ and *decoquere*.⁶⁵ It remains that the *olla* is used exclusively for various boiled dishes, with all verbal explanations demonstrating some form or another of boiling (the meanings of which we have discussed previously).

If we examine the data from *Apicius*, of the seventy-one descriptions of food preparation methods, fifty-five used the verb *feruere*, seven used the verb *bullire*, two used *elixare*, and one used *decoquere*, making for sixty-five descriptions of boiling foods. The other relevant verbs – *calere*, *calefacere*, *frigere*, *percoquere* and *tepscere* – appear only once. We also potentially encounter the verb *assere*, but its use is called into question in the critical edition of Grainger and Grocock. We can see that the cuisine represented by *Apicius* is dominated by boiled foods, with a minority of dishes explicitly being prepared via alternative methods. This is in line with the preparation methods displayed in texts from as early as the second century BCE, such as Cato's *De Agri Cultura*. However, prior to concluding our definition of what the *perceived* (elite and literary) diet of the Romans consisted of, I will discuss some further evidence via a handful of sources which demonstrate what was considered non-Roman food.

Ancient peoples have used food as a culturally isolating factor dating back to at least the Classical Greeks, with the instance of Herodotus' accounts of the Scythians.⁶⁶ One of the earliest

⁶² Apicius, *DRC* 6.8.10 (232.12-15), 7.7.1 (246.22-248.4), 9.4.2 (290.15-17).

⁶³ Apicius, *DRC* 8.7.3 (274.1-5), 8.7.4 (274.6-10).

⁶⁴ Apicius, *DRC* 6.2.3 (224.7-14).

⁶⁵ Apicius, *DRC* 6.2.1 (222.15-21).

⁶⁶ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.3, 4.24; François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 166-68. Herodotus depicts the Scythians as “other” by their diet heavy on dairy products, as well as their habit of drinking products which to the Greeks may have been considered unsavoury (i.e. blood). The same trope of drinking milk is used to alienate the cultures of the Ethiopians and the Libyans; According to the work of Gowers, ancient rhetoric was often interested in antitheses, and, consequently, this approach

accounts we have of a Roman defining what food (and food preparation methods) could be deemed as civilized comes to us from Varro in his *De Lingua Latina*. While this excerpt was mentioned above in the context of the *olla*'s apparent connection with *holera*, what precedes it is important for us to understand how Varro viewed cooking. As Varro states (in translation), “Then after they ceased to be satisfied with those foods which nature supplied of her own accord without the use of fire, among which were apples and like fruits, they boiled down in a pot those which they could less easily eat raw.”⁶⁷ It is clear through this passage that Varro's concept of a cooked meal was one which was boiled (in this case, using the verb *decoquere*). This approach to civilized food as being thoroughly cooked, or more specifically boiled, does not end with Varro. In the third century, Athenaeus of Naucratis assembled his work the *Deipnosophistae* (“the scholarly dinner-table”), which acted as a compilation of relevant sources of culinary practices. In this work, Athenaeus refers to a quotation from Eubulus, to which he gives some contextualizing commentary for:⁶⁸

καίτοι Εὐβουλος κατὰ τὴν κωμικὴν χάριν φησὶ	Eubulus, with typical comic wit, nonetheless
παίζων· ἰχθὺν δ' Ὅμηρος ἐσθίοντ' εἶρηκε ποῦτίνα	jokingly says: “Where does Homer refer to any
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; κρέα δὲ μόνον ὥπτων, ἐπεὶ ἔψοντά	Achaean as eating fish? And all they did with their
γ' οὐ πεπόηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μικρόν...	meat was roast it; he never has any of them stew
ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐφθοῖς ἐχρῶντο κρέασιν ἐμφανίζει ἐν οἷς	something, not even a little...” But he makes it
λέγει· ὥς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ <...> κνίσσῃ μελδόμενος	clear that they also ate stewed meat in the passage
ἀπαλοτρεφέος σιάλοιο.	

serves as a useful (if not sometimes simple) method for understanding ancient perspectives; see Gowers, *The Loaded Table*, 12.

⁶⁷ Varro, *DLL* 5.108 (102, 104), trans. Roland G. Kent, 103, 105.

⁶⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, ed. trans. Charles B. Gulick (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 1.25c-e (142-43).

where he says “as a **cauldron boils** <...> **melting**
down the lard of a fatted hog.”

It would seem the purpose of Athenaeus drawing attention to this excerpt of Eubulus was as a connection with the preparation methods used by the Greeks. He mentions an excerpt from the Iliad in defense of the Greeks, reassuring the reader that what Eubulus has said was false, and that the Greeks did eat stewed dishes as well. It is curious that this excerpt seemingly demonstrates a distaste for the roasting of meat in favour of a stewed dish.

Ammianus Marcellinus gives us a far more drastic example in the fourth century CE of what he considered to be a barbaric culinary custom, when he speaks of the Huns:⁶⁹

In hominum autem figura, licet insuaui, ita	But although they have the form of men, however
uictu sunt asperi, ut neque igni neque saporatis	ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that
indigeant cibus, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium,	they have no need of fire nor of savory food, but
et semicruda cuiusuis pecoris carne uescantur,	eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of
quam inter femora sua equorumque terga	any kind of animal whatever, which they put
subsertam, fotu calefaciunt breui.	between their thighs and the backs of their horses,
	and thus warm it a little.

This excerpt of Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* gives us the sense that the Romans believed that the Huns were in the habit of eating barely-cooked meat. Whether or not this was factual, it gives us the opportunity to examine how the Roman perception of “barbarian” or “other” was not

⁶⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. and trans. J.C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 31.2.3 (380-383).

only accompanied by ideas of culinary practices, but also included the idea that certain culinary practices were innately Roman (or, innately non-Roman). A similar depiction may be found in the sixth century CE, with Corippus' work the *Iohannis* (sometimes referred to as *De Bellis Libycis*). In his description of a North African "Moor", Corippus plays on a similar note of the "barbarian" individual eating meat cooked in such a way that would not be considered Roman:⁷⁰

Corruit ante pedes aries prostratus anheli, laniferi	Then the ram, the one hope of the fleecy herd,
spes una gregis, tunc ense reclauso deripit	would fall prostrate at his feet as he panted. With
astrectam magno cum pondere pellem. uiscera	unsheathed blade he would tear away the tight skin
nuda patent, frustis conciditur altis omne pecus,	with all its great weight until the flesh lay open and
ueribusque trementes conserit artus, uritur	exposed. The entire animal would be cut up into
horrendum flamma torrente cadauer. ignibus in	small 12 pieces so that he could twine the
mediis semiustum sorbet anhelans intrepidus	trembling limbs on spits and burn the ugly carcass
totumque fero consumpsit hiatu.	over a scorching flame. Even as the fire burned he
	would attack the half-cooked meat, panting and
	fearless, and consume it all with savage jaws.

In this scene, not only are we given a depiction of an individual eating in a savage manner, but we see that his cooking style is also considered to be savage, as it contains a clear hyperbole of the individual ingesting "raw" meat.⁷¹ It is not unlike the previous depictions of the savage Hun

⁷⁰ Corippus, *Iohannidos Seu De Bellis Libycis Libri VIII*, ed. Jacob Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 3.164-170 (53.16-23); translated in Corippus, *Iohannis*, trans. George Shea (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 101.

⁷¹ OLD. 2nd ed, s.v. "sorbeo". This verb typically takes the meaning of "drinking" or "sucking" a liquid, giving us the sense here of the individual "slurping" the half-burnt meat.

eating half-cooked meat or the archaic Greeks eating only roasted food, where none of these cooking techniques were viewed by their authors as being “civilized” or “Roman”.

2.4 Conclusions

I will return now to the Lévi-Straussian model discussed at the beginning of this chapter and attempt to superimpose the information from our Roman authors over the proposed culinary triangle schema. It is clear that the Romans held their own notion of what constituted “correct”, or “civilized” food preparation – an endothermic style of preparation, which most often took the form of boiling; however, in the instances we get of roasting in Roman cooking, the emphasis lies on how thoroughly cooked and dry the food ought to become through the action of roasting. This indicates that the Romans employed an endothermic method in which the entire food was brought up to temperature, rather than an exothermic method in which only the exterior was heated, and the interior remained less processed. This can be measured against the handful of examples that display the Roman attitude towards non-Roman cooking, which typically denigrate the exothermic style of preparation of these other peoples. Therefore, if we were to situate Roman cuisine within Lévi-Strauss’ culinary triangle model, it would likely sit closer to the *rotten* axis of the triangle, although leaning slightly towards the *cooked*. The Lévi-Straussian model has therefore given us a solid foundation with which to critically analyze Roman cuisine, with the result being a Roman focus on endothermic food preparation, typically via the medium of water.

Goody’s model also becomes relevant when we consider *what* Roman cuisine we are examining. Indeed, many of these texts describe to us a literate and elite cuisine and represent

only a very small portion of the population's diet. We do see that in keeping with Goody's model of the differentiation between high and low cuisine, the excerpts from the Satires of Juvenal and from Petronius demonstrate a differentiation between the lower-class, rural kitchen, versus the high-class kitchen, not only with cooking vessels, but with cooks as well.

Therefore, having answered our three initial questions of "How can we define cuisine?", "Why is it important that we define Roman cuisine?" and "How do we define the *perceived* Roman cuisine?", it is possible for us to determine that the Roman cuisine, as it is perceived through the lens of a literate and elite individual of the sixth century CE, must have been one of endothermic food preparation, typically via boiling. This sets an excellent example as a control variable, against which we shall compare the cuisines described by the works of Anthimus and Vinidarius.

CHAPTER III: THE SIXTH-CENTURY CULINARY AUTHORS

Within the span of a hundred years, two brief cookery texts emerge which offer us a window into potential late antique culinary practices,¹ as written by Anthimus and Vinidarius. These two sixth-century authors provide us with vastly different approaches to cuisine, as Anthimus carried a medical interest in dietetics, and Vinidarius was more concerned with the recipes themselves. While little is known of either author, it is key that we establish why they were putting together these texts so that we gain a full understanding of not only whether their cookery resembles that of the earlier textual Roman cuisine, but also why they would have been interested in emulating that cuisine. To answer these questions, this chapter will explore both the authors, as well as their works, so as to discern the potential motivations behind these texts and how that may speak to the use of food texts to emulate cultural *romanitas* in the sixth century.

3.1 Anthimus the Dietitian

Anthimus introduces himself in his letter to the Frankish King Theuderic as a *uir inlustris* (“illustrious man”), *comes* (“count”) and *legatarius* (“legate”).² These titles indicate how distinguished an individual Anthimus had become by the time he was writing this letter post 511

¹ While this thesis is not primarily concerned with how practical these texts would have been or if they were rather a theoretical diet, Donnelly’s study of cooking pots in late antique Italy suggests that the culinary texts of Anthimus and Vinidarius did, to some extent, represent a true and practiced diet; Andrew Donnelly, “Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation in Imperial and Late Antique Italy,” PhD diss. (Loyola University Chicago, 2016), 169-170.

² The manuscript tradition for Anthimus’ letter is limited; the earliest extant edition was copied during the ninth century in the manuscript titled *Codex Sangallensis* 762. The relatively late age of this earliest extant edition makes it impossible for us to gauge the impact or reception of the letter in Anthimus’ own day. See Grant, *On the Observance of Foods*, 43-44.

CE,³ especially with the title *uir inlustris*. By late antiquity, the title of *illustis* was established as a high-class designation, above the rank of senator, or *clarissimus*, and was therefore reserved for a select few who held high ministries in the Roman government.⁴ This designation became more widely available to the senatorial body by the reign of Justinian I, but remained notable in the kingdoms of Francia, where it was used to designate aristocrats who were held close to the king (but with devaluation from its original stance in late antiquity).⁵ *Comes* too held specific interest, especially in the post-Roman West amongst the new Germanic kingdoms, with the title being passed onto any royal courtiers who may have acted upon a wide array of matters in the place of the king.⁶ In this way, Anthimus reveals much of his situation in society and even what society he may have been situated within,⁷ given the great interest surrounding these honorary titles in the post-Roman western kingdoms. In fact, an instance of a certain high-rank physician named Anthimus appears in a fragment of Malchus, who discussed the betrayal of the Emperor Zeno by a number of men loyal to Theodoric Strabo:⁸

Οὐ μέντοι τοῖς πρέσβεσι ταύτην εὐθὺς ἔδωκεν	Zeno did not give this reply to the envoys
ἀπόκρισιν ὁ Ζήνων, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖχεν, ἕως τι πλεόν	straightaway but waited until he should hear more
ἀκούσει τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γράφοντες τὰ	of what was happening outside the city.
ἔνδον γινόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὲς τῶ	Meanwhile, certain persons in the city (the doctor
Θευδερίχῳ ἐάλωσαν, Ἄνθιμος τε ἰατρὸς καὶ	Anthimus , Marcellinus and Stephanus), who

³ Anthimus, *On the Observance of Foods*, trans. And ed. Mark Grant (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1996), 20; this letter must have been written after 511 CE, as Theuderic was only crowned in that year, following the death of his father, Clovis.

⁴ ODLA, s.v. Titles of Honour.

⁵ ODLA, s.v. Post-Roman Titles of Honour.

⁶ ODLA, s.v. “Post-Roman *Comes*”; for Ostrogothic use of the title, see Jonathan Arnold, M. Shane Bjornlie, and Kristina Sessa, *COI*. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 61-66.

⁷ Velázquez suggests that the cuisine found within Anthimus’ work is representative of an elite environment; Isabel Velázquez, “El Vocabulario Latino Sobre La Alimentación En La Antiquedad Tardía: De Anthimus A Isidoro De Sevilla,” *AnTard* 27 (2019), 27.

⁸. Malchus, *Fragmenta*, ed. and trans. R.C. Blockley (Liverpool: F. Carins, 1981), 15.30-36 (422-23).

Μαρκελλῖνος καὶ Στέφανος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶν	were writing to Theodoric about what was
ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει	happening within, were arrested. They were not
πλαττόμενοι γράμματα ἐκείνῳ ἐπέστελλον	only sending letters in their own names but were
θαρσύνειν βουλόμενοι, ὡς ἱκανοὺς ἔχοντα τοὺς	also dispatching to him forged letters from high
συμπράττοντας.	officials, since they wished to encourage
	Theodoric to think that he had sufficient
	supporters within the city.

While some have cautioned readers not to assume this is the same Anthimus who wrote the *DOC* (given the lack of information),⁹ others believe that this Anthimus and the author of the *DOC* are the same individual.¹⁰ As Mark Grant defends the identification of Malchus' Anthimus with the dietetic author, he argues that Anthimus betrays his own history in section 64 of his *Epistula*, saying:¹¹

de leguminibus uero tisanas quae de hordeo fiunt	We shall now discuss pulses. Barley soup is, as
qui scit facere, bonae sunt et sanis et	anyone knows who can make it, good both for
fabricitantibus. fit etiam in hordeo opus bonum,	healthy people and for those suffering from a
quod nos graece dicimus 'alfita', latine uero	fever. Also from barley is made a good recipe that
'polentam', Gothi uero barbarice 'fenea'...	I call <i>alfita</i> in Greek, but which in Latin is called

⁹ Yitzhak Hen, "Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul," in *Tätigkeitsfelder und Erfahrungshorizonte des Ländlichen Menschen in der Frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft*, ed. Brigitte Kasten. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 100-101.

¹⁰ Mark Grant, "Of Dates and Anthimus: Food and Medicine in Merovingian Gaul," in *Environment and Subsistence in Medieval Europe – Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference*, Vol. 9. (Zellik: Institut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), 151. An entry in the *PLRE* suggests that Anthimus, the author of the *DOC*, may be the same as the individual described by Malchus: *PLRE II*, 100.

¹¹ Anthimus, *DOC* § 64 (18.5-9); trans. Mark Grant, 70-71.

polenta, and which the Goths in their foreign tongue call *fenea*.

This section makes clear that Anthimus is Greek-speaking by birth, as he discusses how he would refer to this dish in his language (*quod nos graece dicamus*, “that I/we call in Greek”). Grant goes on to argue that the next two languages for which Anthimus provides vocabulary demonstrate his own experiences: with the Goths, following his exile from Constantinople in 478 (with the Gothic *fenea*), and later his settlement with Theoderic the Amal in Italy some time after 493 (with the Latin *polenta*).¹²

Anthimus’ Latin may also give us a clue as to his relationship with western peoples, as he uses a distinct form of early Latin which incorporates vocabulary from early Medieval Romance. James Adams provides an in-depth examination of the vocabulary used by Anthimus when describing various fish species, which can often serve as a good indicator of the locality of the vernacular being used. Anthimus discusses a number of fish: *cracatius* (sturgeon), *tecco* (young salmon), *trucantus* (gudgeon), *nauprida* (lamprey) and *platensis* (sole), all of which appear in Gallo-Romance alone, most often in Southern Gaul.¹³ A few other nouns of interest appear, notably *medus* (typically seen in Northern France, meaning “mead”) and *ceruisa* (a Celtic loan word, meaning “beer”), again displaying his familiarity with the Gallic variant of Latin.¹⁴ Veerle Pauline Verhagen comes to a similar conclusion on Anthimus’ Latin, with six instances of clear Germanic loan words, five instances of Celtic loan words, and another six instances of Greek

¹² Grant, “Of Dates and Anthimus,” 151.

¹³ J.N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 330-32; Anthimus, *DOC* 42, 44, 45, 46, 47.

¹⁴ Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin*, 333; Anthimus, *DOC* 15.

loan words.¹⁵ Therefore, Anthimus' late or vulgar Latin was evidently well suited to his intended audience, suggesting a certain familiarity with the region and its language.

It remains to be seen, however, what Anthimus was doing in Francia, and what reason he had for composing such a thorough text on dietetics for King Theuderic. According to Grant, Anthimus was sent as an ambassador to the court of King Theuderic, most likely from King Theuderic the Amal, whom he may have served soon after abandoning the court of the Emperor Zeno (according to Malchus' account regarding Theodoric Strabo).¹⁶ He even goes so far as to provide two potential dates for Anthimus' embassy to the Frankish king: in 516 CE, sent by Theodoric in order to prevent Theuderic from annexing the territory of Burgundy, or later in 523 CE, to try and petition for Theuderic's help as it related to Theodoric's ambition for Burgundy.¹⁷ Alternatively, Hen suggests that Anthimus may have in fact returned to Constantinople following Anastasius' accession as emperor, and subsequently sent as an emissary from the Byzantine court to that of Theuderic.¹⁸ While it is nearly impossible to determine which of these situations was the case for Anthimus, I will assume that he was sent by the Goths in Italy, given his clear history with this group of people. Additionally, there was likely an anxiety among the Goths of Italy in the period regarding King Theuderic's ambition, suggesting a certain likelihood for active diplomacy.¹⁹ This would also explain why Anthimus' text sought to flatter the Frankish king, with a clear amalgamation of Frankish and Roman culinary interests.

¹⁵ Veerle Pauline Verhagen, "The Non-Latin Lexis in the Cooking Terminology of Anthimus' *De Observatione Ciborum*," M.A. thesis (University of Leiden, 2016), 13-43.

¹⁶ Grant, "Of Dates and Anthimus," 151-152.

¹⁷ Grant, "Of Dates and Anthimus," 152.

¹⁸ Hen, "Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul," 101; Note that in Gregory of Tours *Libri Historiarum* 11.38, Anastasius sends a delegation to Francia in the early sixth century, suggesting a precedent for these political missions.

¹⁹ Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 65.

One question remains: why was a physician ever considered for the role of emissary to a rival faction? As it turns out, a handful of examples are attested from the sixth century of doctors being sent as diplomats by the Eastern Romans, notably to Khosro I, king of the Sassanians. Roger Blockley has provided a thorough examination of these instances of doctors as diplomats, with Uranius after 532,²⁰ Stephanus in 544,²¹ and Zacharias of Sura in 575,²² all of whom served as ambassadors to the Sassanian king.²³ While it is likely the case that these physicians were sent as ambassadors because of their education, they set an important precedent as to why Anthimus may have been sent on a similar embassy to King Theuderic.

Finally, I will now examine Anthimus' own interest in cuisine within the confines of his letter to Theuderic. Anthimus was unusual in his interest in diet as the only necessary medicine for one's health, which seemingly betrays the classical precedent of medicine practiced by Galen and others.²⁴ Unsurprisingly, Anthimus takes more interest in the preparation of food, than on the ingredients. This can be seen when he writes:²⁵

Id est, si bene adhibiti fuerint, bonam digestionem corporis faciunt, si autem non bene fuerint cocti, grauitatem stomacho et uentri faciunt.	By that I mean: if food has been prepared well, it helps towards good digestion, but if it has not been cooked properly, it causes a heaviness in the stomach and bowels.
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²⁰ Roger Blockley, "Doctors as Diplomats in the Sixth Century A.D." *Florilegium* 2 (1980): 91; Agathias *Histories*, 2.29.1-32.

²¹ Blockley, "Doctors as Diplomats," 90-91; Procopius, *Wars*, 2.26.31-37.

²² Blockley, "Doctors as Diplomats," 91-92; Menander, *History*, frags. 37, 38.

²³ Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, 90-93; The work of Nechaeva agrees that many of the ambassadors were likely sent because of their education as physicians, since Greek medicine was especially valued among the Sassanians; Ekaterina Nechaeva, *Embassies – Negotiations – Gifts: Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 126.

²⁴ Carl Deroux, "Anthime, un Médecin Gourmet du Début des Temps Mérovingiens," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 80, no. 4 (2002), 1360.

²⁵ Anthimus. *DOC* 7. 10-12, trans. Mark Grant, 46-47.

Further into the introduction to his letter, Anthimus continues:²⁶

etiam et uentris corruptela et ipsa indigerie fiet,	This type of indigestion can lead to diarrhea, or at
aut certe desursum per os uomitus fit, quando	the very least vomiting, because the stomach is
stomachus cibos crudos conficere non potuerit. si	unable to digest raw food. But if food has been
autem bene praeparati fuerint cibi, digestio bona	well prepared, the ensuing digestion is good and
et dulcis fiet, et humores boni nutriuntur.	agreeable, and useful humours will be nourished.

Finally, Anthimus' entire text is perfectly summarized when he states the following:²⁷

si quis uero delectatus fuerit cibum	If pleasure is taken from eating food of whatever
qualemcumque manducare, sed in primo bene	kind, then the food that is eaten first should have
factum cibum praesumat, et de aliis rebus parcius	been properly prepared, and anything else taken
ita ut lucretur hoc quod primum accepit et bene	more sparingly, in order that what is eaten first
digerat.	may not only be of benefit but also be digested
	well.

This final quotation stands as a fine microcosm for the larger work, as it describes his willingness to merge Frankish and classical diets together in the text he presents. Often, he will bend the cuisine with which he is clearly comfortable, in order for it to conform more closely to that of the Franks. In the end, what Anthimus attempts to explain is how to prepare the food in such a way that he would deem as proper but attempts to fuse this proper form of preparation

²⁶ Anthimus. *DOC* 7. 15-19; trans. Mark Grant, 46-47.

²⁷ Anthimus, *DOC* 8. 31-34, trans. Mark Grant, 50-51.

with the average Frankish diet.²⁸ In doing so, Anthimus gives us his own opinion quite often, as to how certain foods *ought* to be prepared.

Thus, Anthimus provides us with a unique view of his classical Roman culinary tradition, as well as the early Frankish culinary practices. After all, this text was ultimately produced to please the Frankish king and in doing so attempts to shift his Frankish diet into one that is comparable to that of the “civilized” Romans, from which Anthimus comes and which he must have been trained.²⁹ The text is clearly the result of a political embassy and is therefore diplomatic, seeking to show great respect to Theuderic’s position of power as a Frankish king, as we are reminded that the purpose was to flatter rather than insult.³⁰ Hence, Anthimus’ text cannot simply be taken as a medical treatise on dietetics, but also as one with underlying meaning for the Franks. Perhaps then we should ask ourselves as we analyze the text, what is Anthimus trying to convey to the Franks, and how would its message be beneficial to them?

3.2 Anthimus’ *De Observatione Ciborum*

The letter of Anthimus provides us with a subjective account of dietetics, with each section discussing multiple potential methods of preparation. This causes some difficulty in determining which methods of preparation were preferred by this document, as there is no singular method which stands above the rest, as was the case in the Apician text (also referred to

²⁸ No literary evidence exists beyond the letter of Anthimus that discusses elite food preparation in Merovingian Gaul. Similarly, no culinary literature survives from Italy that can establish an Ostrogothic style of cooking in this period.

²⁹ Nechaeva’s classification of diplomatic gifts would view Anthimus’ letter as a personal gift of the primary level, where the diplomat, on their own behalf, presented a gift to a ruler. It is also important to note that Roman gifts to the Franks, or to what Nechaeva refers to as “Barbaricum”, often represented symbols of status, or even insignia of power; Nechaeva, *Embassies – Negotiations – Gifts*, 169-70, 191.

³⁰ Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink*, 65.

as *De Re Coquinaria*). Instead, we will examine a number of examples from Anthimus' letter which demonstrate his attitudes towards preparation and how these attitudes align with the earlier textual Roman cuisine.

I will first briefly address Anthimus' word choice as it relates to food preparation. Most of Anthimus' vocabulary will be familiar from Apicius' text,³¹ with the exception of notable verbs such as *feruere* and *decoquere*, which do not make an appearance. *Elixus* becomes the most common way to prepare food in Anthimus' text, with twenty mentions with no modifying adverbs,³² six instances of it appearing with *bene* (i.e. that the food be boiled *well*),³³ and once where the method of *elixus* is not recommended at all (with cheese).³⁴ The verb *bullire* appears once in the *epistula*.³⁵ *Assere* is mentioned by Anthimus in fifteen instances;³⁶ however, Anthimus explicitly states that this roasting method (*assere*) should not be used, but instead a boiling method should be applied, in four separate sections.³⁷ *Assere*, like *elixus*, appears with

³¹ Unlike the Apician corpus, the letter of Anthimus is relatively aceramic. This is not to say that ceramics were not used in the cooking of this food; however, it does suggest that the cooking dish was less important to Anthimus in his preparation of foods.

³² Note that Anthimus most often uses the adjectival form *elixus*, but on occasion uses the passive verb *elixari*; Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 5 (10.1-3), 6 (10.4-5), 8 (10.9-10), 9 (10.12), 10 (10.19-22), 11 (10.26-27), 17 (12.5-6), 18 (12.7), 19 (12.10), 20 (12.10), 42 (15.33-34), 43 (16.2-4), 45 (16.8-9), 48 (16.18-19), 51 (16.34-36), 52 (17.1-3), 53 (17.4), 54 (17.10-11), 56 (17.18-20), 70 (19.9-10).

³³ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 14 (11.8-9), 28 (14.2-3), 53 (17.4), 67 (18.30-31), 83 (21.8-9), 88 (21.27-28).

³⁴ Anthimus, *DOC* § 81 (20.30-34).

³⁵ Anthimus, *DOC* § 75 (19.25).

³⁶ Note that Anthimus uses both the verb *assere*, as well as the adjectival forms of *assus* and *assaturus*; Additionally, note that in section 29, Anthimus states that the roasting method is the preferred form of preparation for this food (wild pigeons); Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 4 (9.31-36), 5 (10.6-7), 6 (10.5-6), 8 (10.10-11), 9 (10.12), 10 (10.20-22), 11 (10.27), 21 (12.15-17), 23 (13.2-3), 29 (14.9-10), 43 (16.2-4), 44 (16.6-7), 48 (16.18-20), 49 (16.22-25), 88 (21.27-28).

³⁷ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 14 (11.1-10), 17 (12.5-6), 28 (13.36, 14.1), 81 (20.30-33).

the adverb *bene*, although only once.³⁸ Finally, *frigere* appears in four instances,³⁹ with one additional appearance where this preparatory method is not recommended.⁴⁰

Anthimus' usage of the verb *coquere* becomes far more helpful than in Apicius; as in the *epistula*, it typically appears with contextual information around the method of preparation. It appears generally, with no contextual information, twice.⁴¹ Anthimus specifies *bene* with *coquere*, just as with his other forms of preparation, five times.⁴² He also indicates that some foods should be cooked *lente* ("slowly") in three instances.⁴³ Additionally, Anthimus uses *coquere* to explicitly refer to one form of boiling or another, with *coquere* being used in conjunction with the phrase *in iuscello* ("in a sauce" or "broth") five times,⁴⁴ *in aqua* ("in water") twice,⁴⁵ and twice in direct contrast with *assere*, where *assere* is not recommended (in favour of *coquere*).⁴⁶

Anthimus makes use of very few cooking vessels and is therefore considered aceramic, with only five mentions of vessels throughout his letter. The *olla* appears twice; in both cases it is the recommended dish.⁴⁷ A new vessel, the *bucularis*, is not recommended in place of the *olla*.⁴⁸ Similarly, the *aramen* is not recommended in place of the *olla*.⁴⁹ It is not known what the

³⁸ Anthimus, *DOC* § 83 (21.10-11).

³⁹ Note that section 2 appears only in Grant's edition of Anthimus, and is omitted in the edition of Rose; Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 2 (Grant, 50-51), 19 (12.8-9), 21 (12.12-13), 44 (16.6-7).

⁴⁰ Anthimus, *DOC* § 14 (11.12-14).

⁴¹ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 4 (9.30-32), 52 (17.1-3).

⁴² Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 23 (13.1-3), 65 (18.22), 66 (18.25), 69 (19.6), 70 (19.7).

⁴³ Note that Anthimus often combines *lente coquere* with *in carbonibus* (on/over coals); Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 67 (18.32-33), 71 (19.18-19), 75 (19.27).

⁴⁴ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 3 (9.10-11), 23 (13.1), 24 (13.8-9), 34 (14.27-28), 65 (18.22-24).

⁴⁵ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 2 (Grant, 50-51), 71 (19.17-19).

⁴⁶ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 28 (13.36), 29 (14.1).

⁴⁷ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 3 (9.19, 28-29), 75 (19.27-28).

⁴⁸ Anthimus, *DOC* § 3 (9.28-29).

⁴⁹ Anthimus, *DOC* § 75 (19.27-28).

bucularis or the *aramen* were other than being metal pots which were presumably popular among the Franks, given that Anthimus explicitly advises against their usage. A final pot, the *gauata*, appears once, where it is used to cook an egg dish in a sauce.⁵⁰

If we are to look now at the more descriptive elements of Anthimus' letter, we see certain phrases re-appear throughout the text which describe in more detail how a food ought to be cooked. These phrases can roughly be broken into two groups: the first is one which describes how to heat the food, the second in which medium to cook the food. I will begin with the first, and smaller, group, which describes to the reader how they should go about heating up the food. The first phrase appears only once in the letter, which tells the reader to cook on a *lento foco* ("a slow fire", or "low flame"):

ita tamen fiant, ut in tepida aqua mittantur uel	Prepare [eggs] the following way: make sure that
maxime in frigida, et sic coquantur lento foco , aut	they are put in warm water, or preferably cold
in carbonibus paulatim calefiat illa aqua: sic	water, and then cook them over a low flame ; let
penetrat intus. ⁵¹	the water warm up gradually on the charcoal, for
	in this way the heat penetrates inside the eggs.

We can see the importance here of the phrase *lento foco*, as Anthimus takes an interest in the slow cooking of these eggs, so that the heat penetrates within, resulting in an endothermic form of preparation. The next phrase of interest, *delonge a foco* ("a ways from the fire") seeks to yield the same endothermic result and typically appears with vocabulary relating to roasting, namely

⁵⁰ Anthimus, *DOC* § 34 (14.25-26).

⁵¹ Anthimus, *DOC* § 35 (15.2-4), trans. Mark Grant, 64-65.

the adjective *assatura*,⁵² and the verb *assere*.⁵³ An example of Anthimus' concern with this technique can be seen in the following excerpt:

ueruecinae uero carnes et si frequenter utantur	Mutton is suitable even if eaten often, both
aptae sunt, et in iuscello simplici et in assatura, ut	braised in a plain sauce or when roasted, provided
delonge a foco coquantur. nam si proxima fuerit	that it is cooked some way from the fire . For if it
foco, ardet caro deforis et deintus deuenit cruda,	is cooked near the fire, the meat burns on the
et potius nocet quam iuuat. ⁵⁴	outside whilst the inside remains raw, and it
	becomes more harmful than beneficial.

Similar to his intention with the phrase *lento foco*, Anthimus' usage of *delonge a foco* has its aim at preventing an exothermic preparation in favour of an endothermic result. Anthimus repeatedly mentions these phrases, making it reasonable to assume that his target audience, the Franks, were in the habit of preparing their foods in an exothermic fashion, with a result not unlike our modern taste in steak; however, it is evident that Anthimus still values the classical form of food preparation, focused on an endothermic form of preparation, and in this letter intends to "civilize" the practices of the Franks under Theuderic.

The second group of phrases focuses on the use of liquid in cooking, as Anthimus makes a distinction between the various approaches to cooking with water and other water-based substances, such as sauces and broths. This group contains three different phrases, the simplest of which is *in nitida aqua*, or *in aqua pura* ("in pure" or "clean water"). Anthimus uses this

⁵² Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 4 (9.31-32), 8 (10.10-11).

⁵³ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 11 (10.38-39), 23 (13.2-3).

⁵⁴ Anthimus, *DOC* § 4 (9.30-34), trans. Mark Grant, 52-53.

phrase in three separate instances,⁵⁵ with the appearance in section 28 demonstrating what is meant with this phrase, and what specifically is meant by the adjective *pura*:

perdices bonae sunt, maxime pectora ipsarum,	Partridges are good, particularly their breasts,
coctae non assae. praeterea illis congruae sunt qui	boiled, not roasted. In addition they are suitable
fluxum uentris patiuntur uel disentericis, ut elixae	for those who suffer from diarrhea and dysentery,
bene sint in aqua pura sine ulla conditura, et, si	provided that the birds are boiled in fresh water
potest fieri, nec sale mittendum nec oleum... ⁵⁶	without any seasoning and, if it can be managed,
	without the addition of either salt or oil...

In this section, we see that Anthimus uses the phrase *aqua pura* to refer to unseasoned water, in contrast with *iuscellum* (a “sauce” or “broth”). Anthimus uses the phrase *in iuscello* (“in a sauce” or “broth”) more frequently with seven appearances.⁵⁷ The third and final entry of this group is *uaporata*, used to refer to the steaming of a food. *Vaporata* appears on its own in five sections,⁵⁸ although it is more useful when contextualized with a complementary phrase. It is used twice in conjunction with *iuscellum*,⁵⁹ suggesting that the dish be steamed in its sauce:

quod desuper iuscello facto et hyrogario in	It should be arranged in a mound on a shallow
gauata componatur quomodo monticulus, et sic	casserole with a previously prepared gravy and
gauata ponitur in carbones et sic uapore ipsius	diluted fish sauce underneath . Then the
iuscelli coquatur ipsud afrutum; ⁶⁰	casserole is set over the charcoal and the afrutum
	cooked in the steam of the sauce.

⁵⁵ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 3 (9.12), 28 (14.2-3), 67 (18.30-31).

⁵⁶ Anthimus, *DOC* § 28 (13.36-14.4), trans. Mark Grant, 60-61.

⁵⁷ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 3 (9.11), 4 (9.31), 5 (10.2), 10 (10.20), 23 (13.1), 24 (13.7), 65 (18.22).

⁵⁸ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 3 (9.10-11), 4 (9.34-36), 6 (10.4-5), 11 (10.26-27), 23 (13.1-3).

⁵⁹ Anthimus, *DOC* §§ 5 (10.1-2), 34 (14.25-28).

⁶⁰ Anthimus, *DOC* § 34 (14.25-28), trans. Mark Grant, 62-63.

The other specific use of *uaporata* curiously appears with *assus*, and is rather a comparison for how the roasted meat is meant to turn out (as though it were *uaporata*):

lactantes uero satis apti et congrui elixir, uel in iuscello et assi in furno ut non grandis sit uapor et ne satis ustulentur, sed magis ut deueniant quasi uaporati... ⁶¹	Sucking-pig is extremely good and agreeable when boiled, or cooked in a sauce, as well as roasted in an oven, provided that the heat is not too great and that it is not burnt too much, but instead prepared so that it becomes like steamed meat.
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This quotation will remind us of the first group of phrases, which was most concerned with ensuring an endothermic preparation of food. In this case, we see roasting (notably in an oven) being compared to steaming, as Anthimus intends for the roasting process to result in a product similar to a boiled or steamed dish.

Anthimus' letter to King Theuderic demonstrates the physician's own preferences of food and food preparation. What we see is a dietetic manual that seeks to blend his own interest in cuisine with that of the Frankish nobility in the hope that the Franks use his newly suggested methods of food preparation, as he rarely dissuades the king from the consumption of any given food item, even bacon. If this is indeed meant to flatter the king, then perhaps Anthimus has sought to provide him with a manual of cooking fit for the royal court, and what could be more royal than a manual of high-class Roman culinary practices? Indeed, the techniques emphasized

⁶¹ Anthimus, *DOC* § 10 (10.19-22), trans. Mark Grant, 54-55.

by Anthimus relate to those in the Apician corpus; however, these similarities penetrate beyond the surface, with Anthimus taking genuine concern in the result of the cooking. In fact, his interest primarily lies in ensuring an endothermic form of preparation, often resulting in what we have previously established as a *cooked* or a *rotten* form of preparation in the Lévi-Straussian model. Whether Anthimus is acting on what he has learned as an Eastern Roman through his education as a physician, or whether he is knowingly basing this text upon earlier Roman examples, he ultimately is providing King Theuderic with a manual on how to *Romanize* his Frankish diet.

3.3 Vinidarius The Gourmet

Vinidarius is the name given to an excerptor of the Apician text who provided an additional thirty-one recipes to the core text often referred to as *De Re Coquinaria*. This *excerpta*, or excerpts, of thirty-one recipes is the text which we shall discuss here in relation to Vinidarius. There is little evidence of who this Vinidarius was or what his motivation was for creating his excerpts of the *De Re Coquinaria*. Sally Grainger and Christopher Grocock suggest that Vinidarius was an Ostrogoth, likely living within Italy, given his understanding of Latin as well as his familiarity with Roman culture.⁶² The name Vinidarius is attested as an Ostrogothic name elsewhere in the *Getica* of Jordanes, where the name Vinitharius appears to an Ostrogothic

⁶² Sally Grainger and C. W. Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text of Apicius*. (Totnes: Prospect, 2006), 32-33.

chief.⁶³ Vinidarius was also a member of the upper-class, considering that the title of his excerpt calls him a *uir inlustris* (“illustrious man”), just as Anthimus styled himself in his *epistula*.⁶⁴

The cuisine presented by Vinidarius’ excerpt has been described as representing a post-Roman or Ostrogothic style.⁶⁵ Liliane Plouvier indicates that the excerpt contains a tradition most interested in meat dishes, with eighteen of the thirty-one recipes being meat dishes and the remainder seafood dishes.⁶⁶ Otherwise, Vinidarius’ excerpts closely resemble the Apician corpus, following a similar linguistic morphology;⁶⁷ however, there is no known connection between the Vinidarian excerpts and the Apician corpus. A helpful stemma of the manuscript tradition can be found in Grainger and Grocock’s critical addition of Apicius, which exhibits how the only surviving manuscript of Vinidarius, ms. Parisinus Latinus 10318 (*Codex Salmasianus*), has been copied from an unknown source β , which does not have a known link to the unknown source α , the source of all other manuscripts of the Apician corpus.⁶⁸ The sole extant manuscript that contains Vinidarius’ excerpts, ms. Parisinus Latinus 10318, was composed c. 800 CE in Northern Italy, although the rest of its provenance remains unknown.⁶⁹ The known manuscript tradition of the Vinidarian excerpt raises a few questions, namely from what text this excerpt was created and whether that initial text was somehow related to manuscript α . Alternatively, could manuscript β have been written by Vinidarius on the basis of manuscript α ? In this sense, the excerpt is less of an abridgment of an earlier addition, but rather

⁶³ *PLRE I*, 968; Jordanes, *Getica* 7, 246.

⁶⁴ Grainger and Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*, 312.

⁶⁵ Andrew Donnelly, “Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation,” 160; Donnelly describes the cuisine of Vinidarius as a “nascent Italian tradition”.

⁶⁶ Liliane Plouvier, “L’Alimentation Carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d’après le *De Observatione Ciborum* d’Anthime et les *Excerpta* de Vinidarius,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 80, no. 4 (2002), 1361.

⁶⁷ Hugh Lindsay, “Who was Apicius?” *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997), 145-46.

⁶⁸ Grainger and Grocock, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*, 32, 117.

⁶⁹ Magnus Snædal, “The ‘Vandal’ Epigram,” *Filologia Germanica* 1 (2009), 182.

a new addition based upon the Apician corpus which survives through manuscript α . In either case, the excerpt created by Vinidarius was written with the intention of representing what Andrew Donnelly described as a “nascent Italian tradition,” resulting in dishes suited to the tastes of the Ostrogoths while retaining the preparative methods of the earlier Romans.

Thus, Vinidarius provides us a collection which represents a sixth-century Ostrogothic taste in cuisine. Whether it was a novel piece of work by Vinidarius or a compilation prepared by him, we are, nevertheless, given a list of recipes relevant to the author and perhaps to his readers as well. The linguistic connection between the excerpt and the Apician corpus suggests a deliberate emulation not only of the older corpus, but also of the culinary tradition that it sought to represent. This leaves us with the questions, why did Vinidarius attach his own name and title to this excerpt and how did he intend for his readers to perceive this?

3.4 Vinidarius' *Excerpta Apicii*

This collection of thirty-one recipes, compiled by Vinidarius, closely follows the Apician text examined in the previous chapter. Therefore, we have a similar distribution of relevant vocabulary with the majority carrying interest in boiling. The straightforward nature of this text regrettably makes it difficult to determine its intent, as was possible with Anthimus and his subjective narrative of dietetics. Therefore, here I will examine first the relevant vocabulary and its distribution within Vinidarius' excerpts and then the inclusion of vessels and their role in the culinary preparation of relevant recipes.

The diction of Vinidarius' excerpts follows that of the Apician corpus, and we will therefore find familiar vocabulary for preparatory techniques. Verbs for boiling appear

commonly throughout the text with *bullire* appearing in four recipes,⁷⁰ *feruere* appearing in four,⁷¹ and *decoquere* in three.⁷² The adjective *elixus* appears in seven recipes, but often appears in conjunction with other verbs of boiling.⁷³ This gives us fourteen dishes which contained boiled elements. Verbs of roasting appear with less frequency with four uses of *frigere*,⁷⁴ and two uses of *assere*.⁷⁵ It is therefore clear that Vinidarius' excerpt displays a similar preference for boiling rather than roasting as was seen in the Apician text, with fourteen of the thirty-one recipes being explicitly boiled and only six roasted.

The vessels follow a similar pattern to the Apician text with the two major appearances being of the *caccabus* and the *patina* with a single mention of the *patina aenea* (bronze patina),⁷⁶ and two of the *sartago* (a frying or sauteing pan).⁷⁷ The *caccabus* appears three times,⁷⁸ with an additional two mentions in a diminutive form, as *caccabulus* (perhaps referring to a smaller version of the *caccabus* vessel).⁷⁹ The *caccabus*, just as with the *patina* in the Apician corpus, had also become synonymous with certain dishes, such that we get two dishes titled after the *caccabus*: *caccabina minor* ("a simple *caccabina*") and *caccabina fusilis* ("a *caccabina* pudding").⁸⁰ The *patina* does not appear in the title of any recipe in this *excerpta*, though it is used in five recipes.⁸¹ We therefore have the *caccabus* and *patina* remain as the primary vessels

⁷⁰ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 1 (78.1-9), 7 (78.30-79.7), 24 (81.25-82.2), 27 (82.13-16).

⁷¹ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 2 (78.10-18), 8 (79.8-13), 14 (80.1-7), 15 (80.8-14).

⁷² Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 19 (80.29-81.4), 28 (82.17-22), 29 (82.23-27).

⁷³ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 1 (78.1-4), 1a (78.4-9), 2 (78.10-18), 7 (78.30-79.7), 13 (79.28-33), 18 (80.25-28), 23 (81.18-24).

⁷⁴ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 3 (78.19-21), 4 (78.22-24), 5 (78.25-26), 11 (79.22-24).

⁷⁵ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 20 (81.5-10), 30 (82.28-30).

⁷⁶ Vinidarius *Exc.* § 21 (81.11-15).

⁷⁷ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 3 (78.19-21), 4 (78.22-24).

⁷⁸ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 14 (80.1-7), 15 (80.8-14), 27 (82.13-16).

⁷⁹ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 8 (79.8-13), 24 (81.25-82.2).

⁸⁰ Vinidarius *Exc.* §§ 1 (78.1-9), 2 (78.10-18).

⁸¹ Vinidarius *Exc.*, §§ 2 (78.10-18), 13 (79.28-33), 14 (80.1-7), 15 (80.8-14), 19 (80.29-81.4).

in Vinidarius' excerpts with five mentions of each; however, we must note that the *caccabus* may have had more influence on the cuisine this excerpt represents, given that a couple of recipes are given a name after this dish, *caccabina*.

While there is little information to discuss from Vinidarius' excerpt, it nevertheless provides us with an Apician-style collection of recipes despite there being no evidence of the two having ever coexisted. It is clear that Vinidarius, as he either created or compiled this volume, took great inspiration from the Apician text, down to the formatting of the recipes, and as Hugh Lindsay points out, the morphology of the language as well.⁸² Whether this text was composed in the fourth century along with the Apician corpus or in the sixth century by Vinidarius is difficult to determine; however, we can deem this text to be relevant to Vinidarius, regardless of the date these recipes were first written. We may also conclude that Vinidarius was interested in identifying himself with this collection of recipes, which themselves act as near carbon-copies of those to be found in the Apician corpus.

3.5 Conclusions

Ultimately the culinary texts of both Anthimus and Vinidarius provide us with a clear example of the deliberate survival of the upper-class, textual Roman cuisine through to the early medieval period. In both cases, these texts were presented in such a way to highlight their author, as well as present a cuisine that practiced the preparative methods of the Romans before them. In this way, we see both texts displaying a preference for *cooked* and *rotten* forms of preparation, according to the Lévi-Straussian model. In the text of Anthimus, we are given some crucial

⁸² Lindsay, "Who was Apicius?" 145-46.

insight into what culinary practices were common among the Franks, as Anthimus attempted to re-orient their preparatory methods. While the Vinidarian text gives us no such context, it does suggest to us that the Italian diet was shifting, with an increased interest in meat dishes presented within the collection.

Both of our early medieval texts are written by men who held high status among the post-Roman western elite,⁸³ suggesting to us that whatever texts they put out in their name would inevitably reflect upon themselves and their situation. This is especially the case with Anthimus' letter to King Theuderic, where this text served as a potentially important diplomatic document meant to flatter the king as a civilized leader.⁸⁴ We therefore must consider that these texts were created with an agenda beyond simply that of a passing interest in diet and cuisine. As both texts present a culinary practice which is highly comparable to that literate cuisine put on display ultimately by the Apician corpus, we must suppose that this was done on purpose, so that the intended audience might regard these texts with value as they relate to Roman identity.

I will therefore conclude that both authors on display in this chapter, Anthimus and Vinidarius, were aware of the cultural implications of their culinary texts and how this would have ultimately been perceived by their audiences. They give us a sense that food was an important cultural tool and could be effectively used to link oneself culturally to another group, in this case, to the Romans.

⁸³ Both individuals likely held influential roles in Theodoric's kingdom in Italy.

⁸⁴ Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistula* 1.2.1, where in his laudation of king Theodoric II he signals the civility of the Germanic king.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we sought to explain why two sixth-century authors, namely Anthimus and Vinidarius, wrote their culinary texts, *De Observatione Ciborum* and *Excerpta Apicii*, respectively. To answer this question, we had to establish links to Roman cuisine specifically, and Roman identity generally. I will therefore conclude with a synthesis of these discussions and the inferences they suggest. Ultimately, our discussions have demonstrated that Anthimus and Vinidarius were products of a culture that struggled with numerous identities, one of which being that of the Romans. This struggle often resulted in the new Germanic leaders displaying preferential attention to the native Roman populations. In providing this attention, ideas of the renewal of *romanitas* became prevalent under several leaders, most of all Theoderic the Amal. All the while, Anthimus and Vinidarius were writing cookbooks which drew heavily on extant examples of Roman culinary traditions, such as the fourth-century compilation often associated with Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*. It is here that we might draw our ultimate inference, that the use of Roman cuisine by Anthimus and Vinidarius was a deliberate participation in the wave of renewal of Roman culture seen in western Europe during the fifth and sixth centuries, as Germanic kings came to rule over predominantly Roman populations.

In the first chapter, we examined how both the Ostrogoths and Franks interacted with *romanitas* and Roman identity. First, in our discussion of architecture, we saw how a theme of revival was especially present under King Theoderic, as he sought to renew certain sites in urban centers across Italy. Further, we examined through law how we may view the varying treatments of identity in Francia and Italy in our timeframe. This presented Theoderic again as a leader who sought to treat the Romans fairly, in conjunction with the Ostrogoths who accompanied him to

Italy. In Francia, we were presented with a complex legal mosaic, which demonstrated to us that equitable treatment across identities was not as great a concern among the Frankish kings. Finally, in examining literature, we were faced with various authors who presented a number of ways in which *romanitas* and Roman identity were handled. The most important of these were those of Cassiodorus and Sidonius Apollinaris, who demonstrated that the use of the adjective *romanus* carried an abstract meaning. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrated to us how the lingering Roman identity remained a powerful force in western Europe, which encouraged leaders to uphold *romanitas*. Sometimes this was done through tangible media, such as public architecture or legal identification, while other times it was through abstract associations with *romanitas*.

The second chapter of this thesis moved on to our topic of food where we sought to establish a precedent for how upper-class individuals in the sixth century might have perceived Roman cuisine. Against this model of perceived Roman cuisine, we may compare the works of Anthimus and Vinidarius. To provide a dependable method of identifying cuisine, we first examined the framework proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, which categorized dishes by their preparation, rather than by ingredients. We also consulted the schema presented by Jack Goody, who suggested written recipes were as much a reflection of the socio-economic status of the individual as a regional or cultural identity, since these recipes were written for an upper-class audience. This becomes important to our overall discussion as it allows us to identify our perceived cuisine as one of the Roman elites specifically. With these schemata in mind, we were able to examine the depictions of food preparation across Roman literature, bearing in mind that our interest focused on the culinary tendencies of the elite. Drawing from several works, we were able to establish that elite Roman cuisine had a tendency towards food preparation which

occupied the “Cooked” and “Rotten” aspects of Lévi-Strauss’ culinary model. According to our stipulative definition, this meant that the Roman elite tended towards an endothermic preparation of foods. This preference could even be seen across non-culinary literary works where a non-Roman is identified by a raw, or exothermic, preparation of food. Through this chapter, we therefore established a model against which we might compare the works of Anthimus and Vinidarius.

In our third and final chapter, we examined Anthimus and Vinidarius. It was first crucial to make note of the histories surrounding these individuals, which suggest that both would have found themselves interacting with the court of Theoderic the Amal, who we have established to have been in favour of the renewal of Roman culture through a variety of media. Then, through the analysis of the texts, it was found that the preparation favoured in both works mirrored the model we had established in Chapter 2. While our two authors must have been subject to separate influences, they both reach a similar destination: a preference towards endothermically-prepared food. This chapter, therefore, proved that the culinary works of Anthimus and Vinidarius were not only Roman in nature, but were produced within the sphere of influence of Theoderic the Amal.

From these discussions, we might conclude that the texts of Anthimus and Vinidarius reflect a deliberate participation by their authors in the revitalization of *romanitas* present in western Europe in the early medieval period. What is more, this proves to us that food acted as a medium for this prevailing cultural force of *romanitas*.

My thesis consists of discussions concerning solely literature and deal only with the upper echelons of society, and as a result does not reflect the attitudes surrounding the food of lower-status individuals. Further expansion on this topic ought to be carried out using

archaeological evidence for the preparation methods of lower-status, common people. Such a study would enrich this thesis, providing a more complete picture of how all people in the fifth and sixth centuries interacted with culture and identity, especially through the medium of food. Additionally, to keep the scope of the investigation within bounds, this thesis was concerned only with the preparation of foods. Further work on other topics, such as ingredient selection and dining, could expand this field of knowledge greatly and would help us to further understand how people engaged with their food culturally.

The *De Observatione Ciborum* and *Excerpta Apicii* represent but a sliver of the media existing in the fifth and sixth centuries that were used to promote ideas of *romanitas*. This study goes so far as to link food to this complex web of cultural forces and interactions and should act as a reminder of the importance of food in the general context of culture. As the Romans two thousand years ago composed these texts, they used food to portray these notions of “Roman versus Barbarian,” “Civility versus Brutality” and even “Us versus Them;” notions that still prevail. I hope for this study to inspire further work on the link between cuisine and identity and even how food may have been wielded as a tool to stimulate the development of culture.

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDICES

Appendix A provides the Latin text to Anthimus' *De Obseruatione Ciborum*, which has been cited throughout this thesis. This edition was edited by Valentin Rose and published through Teubner in 1877. The apparatus criticus can be found in the edition but will not be included in this appendix.

Appendix B provides the Latin text to Vinidarius' *Excerpta Apicii*, which has been cited throughout this thesis. This edition was edited by Cesare Giarratano and Friedrich Vollmer and published through Teubner in 1922. The edition contains the complete collection of the *De Re Coquinaria* often attributed to Apicius. The apparatus criticus can be found in the edition but will not be included in this appendix. A more recent critical edition of Apicius, edited and translated by Sally Grainger and Christopher Grocock in 2006 is cited in this thesis in regard to the Apician recipes, but will not be included in this appendix.

Appendix C provides a visualization of Claude Lévi-Strauss's culinary triangle, with the three axes being Raw, Cooked and Rotten. This, therefore, does not contain his further axis concerned with oil.

APPENDIX A

ANTHIMI DE OBSERVATIONE CIBORUM EPISTULA AD THEUDERICUM REGEM FRANCORUM (p. 7)¹

Epistula Anthimi viri inlustris comitis et legatarii ad gloriosissimum Theudericum regem Francorum de observatione ciborum.

Incipit

Qualiter omnes cibi comedantur ut bene digerantur
5 et sanitatem praestare debeant, nam non infirmitatem stomachi nec anxietatem humani cordis, rationem observationis vestrae pietati, secundum praecepta auctorum medicinalium, ut potui vobis exponere profuturam generaliter procuravi: quoniam prima sanitas hominum in cibis congruis constat, id est si bene adhibiti fuerint, bonam digestionem corporis faciunt, si autem non bene fuerint cocti, gravitatem stomacho et ventri faciunt, etiam et crudos humores generant et acedias carbunculos et ructus graves faciunt. exinde etiam fumus in capite ascendit, unde scotomaticis et caligines graves fieri solent. etiam et ventris corruptela ex ipsa indigerie fiet, aut certe desursum per os vomitus fit, quando stomachus cibos crudos conficere non potuerit. si autem bene praeparati fuerint cibi, digestio bona et dulcis fiet et humores boni nutriuntur. in
10 hoc enim prima sanitas constat. ita et qui se taliter voverint observare, aliis medicaminibus non indigebunt.

similiter et de potu tantum oportet adhibere quantum cum cibis concordat. ceterum si plus praesumptum fuerit et maxime frigidum, stomachus ipse infrigidatus nihil prae-
25 valet. unde etiam corruptela nascitur et illa quae superius diximus. unum tamen exemplum suggerimus: quomodo in

¹ The Apparatus Criticus can be found in the original publication: Anthimus, *De Observatione Ciborum: Epistula ad Theudericum Regem Francorum*, ed. Valentin Rose (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1877).

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fabrica domus parietis si calcem et aquam quis tantum
temperaverit quantum ratio poscit ut spissa sit ipsa mixtio,
proficit in fabrica, et tenet, si autem satis aqua missa
fuerit, nihil proficit, sic et in cibis vel potu ratio debet
5 agnosci. ergo et sicut supra diximus prima sanitas ex cibis
bene coctis et bene digestis constat.

nam si quis dicat: homo in expeditione positus vel
iter agens longum quomodo potest se taliter observare?
et ego suggero: ubi focus est vel vacat quae praedicta
10 sunt fieri debent. nam si necessitas exegerit carnes vel
alia crudiora manducare, non ad nimietatem sed parcius.
sed quid plus, quoniam ab antiquis dictum est, ‘omnia
nimia nocent.’ nam et de potu, si quis caballicando et in
labore festinando amplius potum praesumpserit, commo-
15 vendo se in equo vexabitur, et in ventre peiora nascuntur
quam de cibis.

sed forte dicitur mihi: quare gentes aliae crudiores
carnes manducant et sanguinolentas, et sani sunt? et licet
nec illi omnino sani sint, quia ipsi sibi medicinas faciunt
20 cum male sibi senserint, ustulant se foco in stomacho
et ventre et per alia loca, quomodo caballi furiosi ustul-
lantur tamen et inde reddo rationem. illi unum cibum
manducant, sicut lupi. nam non multos, quia non habent
nisi carnes et lactes et ipsud quod habuerint manducant.
25 et videntur esse sani de paucitate ciborum. nec non de
potu est quando habent, est quando longo tempore non
habent. et paucitas ipsa videtur ipsis sanitatem praestare.
nam nos qui diversis cibis et diversis deliciis et diversis
poculis nos angimus, necesse habemus nos gubernare taliter
30 ut non pro nimietate adgravemur, sed magis parcius agentes
sanitatem obtineamus. si quis vero delectatus fuerit cibum
qualemcumque manducare, sed in primo bene factum cibum
praesumat, et de aliis rebus parcius ita ut lucretur hoc
quod primum accepit et bene digerat. propterea diligenter
35 constat observare quae a nobis suggesta sunt auxilio
divinae maiestatis et domini nostri Jesu Christi, a

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cuius . . . longiorem vitam et praecipuam sanitatem.

Rationem ergo diversorum ciborum quemadmodum uti debeant secundum praecepta diversorum auctorum, ut potest intellectus noster habere, suggerimus. in primis panem nitidum bene fermentatum et non azimum sed bene coctum comedendum et ubi locus fuerit cottidie calentem, quia tales panes melius digeruntur. nam si non bene levatus fuerit, satis gravat stomachum.

1

De carnibus vero vaccinis vaporatis factis et in sodinga coctis utendum. etiam et in iuscello, ut prius exbromatas una unda mittas, et sic in nitida aqua quantum ratio postulat coquantur ut non addatur aqua, et cum cocta fuerit caro, in vaso mittis acetum acerrimum quantum mediam buculam, et mittis capita porrorum et puleii modicum, apii radices vel feniculi, et coquatur in una hora, et sic addis mel quantum medietatem de aceto vel quam quis dulcedinem habere voluerit. et sic coquas lento foco agitando ipsam ollam frequenter manibus, ut bene ius cum carne ipsa temperetur. et sic teris piperis grana L, costum et spicam nardi per singula quantum medietatem solidi, et cariofili quantum pensat tremissis I. ista omnia simul trita bene in mortario fictili, addito vino modico et cum bene tribulatum fuerit, mittis in ollam et agitas bene, ita ut antequam tollatur de foco, modicum sentiat et remittat in ius virtutem suam. ubi tamen fuerit mel aut sapa vel caroenum, unum de ipsis sicut superius continetur mittatur, et in buculari non coquatur, sed in olla fictili: meliorem saporem facit.

(2) 3

vervecinae vero carnes et si frequenter utantur aptae sunt, et in iuscello simplici, et in assatura ut delonge a foco coquantur. nam si proxima fuerit foco, ardet caro deforis et deintus devenit cruda et potius nocet quam iuvat. sed ut dixi delonge et diutius. quomodo vaporata sic deveniat, et sales cum vino mixti quando assatur cum pinna diffundantur.

4

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	agnellinae vero carnes aut de haedis optimae sunt, qualiter volueris, aut vaporatas aut elixas in iuscello. etiam et assae bonae sunt.	5
5	cervinae vero carnes elixae et vaporatae accipiuntur, sed interdum utendae . assaturae vero si de novello fuerint cervo, bonae sunt. nam si de vetusto cervo, graviores sunt.	6
	carnes de hinnuleis vero et de capreolis et ipsae congruae sunt. quando novellae fuerint, meliores sunt.	7
10	aprunae vero quanto recentiores fuerint, leviores sunt, sed elixae utendae. et assaturae si fiunt, ut longe a foco et diutius, quomodo de vervecinis indicavimus.	8
15	de porco domestico et elixae et assatae. quanto tamen recentiores sunt, tanto leviores sunt, et aptae ad digestionem. praeterea de lumbis porcellinas expedit assas manducare, quia aptae sunt et bene conficiuntur, ita ut sale in aqua soluto um pinnis quando assantur tangantur. et si duriores quando manducantur fuerint, melius est, sic tamen ut in sale puro intingantur. nam liquamen ex omni parte prohibemus. lactantes vero satis apti et congrui elixi, vel in iuscello, et assi in forno ut non grandis sit vapor et ne satis ustulentur sed magis ut deveniant quasi vaporati. et inde intingendo in oximelle simplici ad horam facto ut duae partes de melle et una pars de aceto adhibeatur, et sic coquantur in vaso fictili, et sic intingantur carnes ipsae quando manducantur.	9 10
20		
25		
	de bubus vero qui teneriores sunt sic apti sunt. caro ipsa sumatur elixa vel vaporata. et si delectatus fuerit quis, assas comedere potest, ut longius a foco assentur. tamen non bene accipiuntur.	11
30	carnes vero vaccinae vel bubulinae insalatae non sunt congruae, nisi necessitas exegerit ut sumantur, quia pinguedo de ipsis carnibus de sale defluit, et deveniunt siccae ipsae carnes et non bene conficiuntur.	12
35	lepores vero si novelli fuerint et ipsi sumendi in dulci piper habente, parum cariofili et gingiber, costum et spicam nardi vel folium.	13

De larido vero, unde non est qualiter exire delicias Francorum, tamen qualiter melius comedatur ad horam expono. si assatum fuerit ad horam quomodo bradones, pinguamen ipsum defluit in foco et laridum devenit siccum
 5 et qui manducaverit laeditur, nam non iuvatur. etiam et malos humores generat et indigestionem facit. sed elixatum laridum et refrigeratum si manducatur melius iuvat et ventrem constrictum temperat, et bene digeritur. sed bene debet elixari. certe si de perna, plus debet coqui.
 10 de cute vero ipsa nihil praesumatur, quia non conficitur. frixum vero laridum penitus non praesumendum, quia satis nocet. pinguamen ipsius laridi quod in cibo aliquo supermissum fuerit vel super olera ubi oleum non fuerit, non nocet. nam illa frictura penitus non expedit.
 15 de crudo vero larido quod solent ut audio Franci comedere, miror satis quis illis ostendit talem medicinam ut non opus habeant alia medicina. qui sic crudum illud manducant, quia beneficium grande est et pro antidoto sanitatem illis praestat, beneficio ipsius quia ita omnia
 20 viscera quomodo medicamento bono et si qua vitia sunt in visceribus vel intestinis per ipsum sanantur, et si lumbrici vel tineae adnatae fuerint, expellit hoc. nam et ventrem temperat, et quod illis melius est, per istum cibum saniores aliis sunt. nam ut exemplum magnum dicatur,
 25 ut credatur quod diximus, tota vulnera quae foris aut in corpore nata fuerint vel de plaga facta, laridum crassum adpositum adsidue et purgat putredinem vulneris illius et sanat. sic enim et ad interiora viscera poterit prodesse, sicut superius diximus. ecce quale beneficium in larido crudo,
 30 et quod medici cum medicamentis vel potionibus temptant sanare vel emplastris curare, de larido crudo Franci sanant.

Cervisa bibendo et medus vel aloxinum quam maxime omnibus congruum est ex toto. quia cervisa quae bene facta fuerit rationem habet et beneficium praestat sicut
 35 tisana quam nos facimus alio genere. similiter et de medo bene facto ut mel bene habeat, multum iuvat.

p. 12

	Renes de porco penitus non expedit manducare, nisi latera ipsorum, quia ipsa sunt congrua et bene digeruntur. nam renes de nullo animale manducentur.	16
5	de ventre vero bovis vel vervecis auctores iubent manducare, praeter illa quae sunt spissa. sed elixa, nam non assa.	17
	vulva porcina et ipsa optima est, sed elixa.	18
	sumen porcinum et ipsud bonum est et frixum et elixum.	19
10	de vacca tenera venter elixus congruus est. laridum vero in fartalia missum interdum permittimus comedere.	20
	de ficato porcino frixo penitus non expedit nec sanis nec infirmis. sani tamen si voluerint, sic manducent. incisum bene in craticula ferrea quae habet latas virgas, un-	21
15	guatur aut de oleo aut de uncto, et sic in subtilibus carbonibus assetur ita ut crudastrum sit, et calens ipsum manducent cum oleo et sale et coriandro minutato desuper.	
	De avibus vero, hoc est fasianis pastis et anseribus,	22
20	quia pascuntur, pectus illorum congruum est tantum, quia carnem albam habet. ipsa magis expedit. nam posteriora ipsorum non praesumantur, quia gravant stomachum, quia non est illa sagina naturalis sed adiecta.	
	gallinae vel pulli pinguiore, qui non tamen saginantur, congrui sunt ita ut hiberno tempore ante biduum	23
25	occidantur, nam aestivis diebus ante seram tantum. qui capriati facti melius comeduntur, maxime pectora ipsorum et ascellae, quia ista meliores humores et sanguinem bonum nutriunt. nam posteriora omnium avium sanis quidem hominibus apta sunt, et ista et omnia. nam auctores	
30	ista <quaerunt> quae sunt praecipua membra inter diversa genera ad viros deliciose viventes et diversa ciborum sumentes: pro ipsis exposita est ista ratio, praeterea illis qui infirmiores sunt corpore. nam inter diversa bona commixta in prandio si unus cibus non congruus et crudior fuerit, illa alia bona dissipat et non bonam digestionem permittit ventrem habere. supra scriptae vero aves	
35		

p. 13

in iuscello bene coctae congruae sunt, et si vaporatae ad horam occisae, bene tamen coctae, aptae, etiam et assae ut delonge a foco cautius assentur.

24

5 de pavonibus vero si fuerint illi maxime qui sunt se-
niores, ante V aut VI dies occidantur, et caprientur bene
qui tales carnes habent, et in vino missi aut singulatim
in iuscello cocti sumantur, ita ut qui delectatur mel mo-
dicum et piper mittat in ipso iuscello, postea cum coctum
fuerit. minores vero pavones vel teneriores ante unam
10 diem aut biduum occidantur.

25

De agrestibus vero avibus turtures quidem qui sagi-
nantur in domo scitur ab omnibus graviore sunt, quia
miseras carnes habent et melancholicum humorem gene-
rant, nisi forte pro desiderio aliquis interdum sumat. in
15 campis vero qui nascuntur elleborum herbam quae latine
dicitur veratrum, ipsud manducant et persecuntur, sicut
auctores nostri dicunt. quod si quis adprehenderit agre-
stem turturem et de illa herba ipsum contigerit mandu-
casse et aliquis de ipso comederit, grande periculum pa-
20 titur, et usque proxime mortem hominem adducit ita ut
ignoscens aliquis putet venenum se ab aliquo accepisse,
in tantum ut et corruptela ventris nimia subsequatur, aut
certe vomitus ita ut partem faciei constringat. istud et
ego in tempore meo probavi in provincia mea. in villa
25 duo rustici sic ad horam captum comederunt, et ita illis
contigit, et unus illorum sanguinem deiusum produxit
nimium et periclitatus est usque ad mortem. remedium
ergo istius rei vinum vetus et oleum tepidum adsidue
dare illis bibendum, ut possit illud venenum temperari.
30 nam de sturnis adserunt auctores cicutam herbam plus
amare et comedere quam alias herbas. unde contigit illis
comestis ad gravitatem perducere.

26

35 carnes vero de gruibus interdum pro desiderio <prae-
sumantur> quia et ipsae nigras carnes habent et melan-
cholicum humorem generant.

27

perdices bonae sunt, maxime pectora ipsarum. coctae,

28

p. 14

nam <non> assae. praeterea illis congruae sunt qui fluxum ventris patiuntur vel disentericis, ut elixae bene sint in aqua pura sine ulla conditura. et si potest fieri, nec sale mittendum nec oleum, nisi unum fasciculum de coriandro, et coquantur cum ipso. pectus tantum comedatur, si potuerit sine sale, sin{e} vero, intingatur in sale.

columbi agrestes non sunt congrui. de domesticis vero
columbis pipiones ipsorum apti et boni et sanis et infirmis
et cocti et assati maxime. cum assantur, de salimuria
lene tangantur. de passeribus qui in parietibus nutriuntur,
pullos ipsorum bene assos aut elixos praesumere <bonum
est>. ficetulae et ipsae bonae et aptae sunt. vel alia genera
aucellarum quae albas carnes habent praesumantur. anates
et ipsae teneriores sunt. interdum praesumatur pectus
illarum. avis quae dicitur tarda bona est, sed puto hic
non haberi.

Isicium vero quod de gallinis vel pullis fit, tenerius
magis fiat quam durius, ut de ovo plus mittatur. nam si
durius fuerit, non digeritur, sed corruptelam ventris ge-
nerat. si autem tenerius fuerit, et bene conficitur et
bonos humores generat.

Afrutum graece quod latine dicitur spumeum, quod de
pullo fit et de albumine de ovo. sed multum albumen
ovorum mittatur, ita ut quomodo spuma sic deveniat opus
ipsud afruti, quod desuper iuscello facto et oenogaro in
gavata componatur quomodo monticulus. et sic gavata po-
nitur in carbones et sic vapore ipsius iuscelli coquatur
ipsud afrutum. et sic ponitur in medio missorio gavata
ipsa et superfunditur modicum merum et mel, et sic cum
cocleari vel novella tenera manducatur. tamen solemus et
de pisce bono in ipso opere admiscere aut certe de pecti-
nibus marinis, quia et ipsi optimi sunt et satis apud nos
abundant. et de ipsis puris pectinibus fient sphaerae niveae.

De ovis gallinarum quantum plus quis voluerit prae-
sumat, sorbilia tamen, et sale modicum mittendum. et si
ieiunus quis accipiat quanta potuerit, ad virtutem proficit

p. 15

corpori melius quam alter cibus et sanis hominibus et infirmis. ita tamen fant ut in tepida aqua mittantur, vel maxime in frigida, et sic coquantur lento foco, aut in carbonibus paulatim calefiant. illa aqua sic penetrat intus.

5 nam si in ferventi aqua missa fuerint, albumen coagulatur et mediolum illud tarde sentit et devenit intemperatum, et qui sic acceperit nocetur. nam sicut superius dixi si ita fuerint facta, bene conveniunt. et tamen semper cocus agitet cum spatula. tamen recentiora ova meliora sunt .

10 dura vero ova aut ex casu quomodo in inpressa ponuntur, mediolum tantum praesumatur. nam albumen durum factum non conficitur penitus, sed et corruptelam generat ventri, et non iuvat sed magis nocet. cavendum ergo omnino albumina ovorum dura facta: mediola ovorum
15 etiam sorbilia facta plus congrua sunt corpori, sicut auctores docent.

anserina vera ova sani homines comedent, tamen et ipsa plus sorbilia . nam et ipsa si dura fuerint, illud albumen graviter nocet. 37

20 fasianina ova bona sunt, sed meliora gallinacia. 38

Omne genus boliti grave est et indigestum. mussiriones vero et tuferae meliores ab aliis bolitis sunt.

De piscium ratione qui in his partibus sunt, tructa et perca aptiores sunt ab aliis piscibus. 39

25 lucius piscis et ipse bonus. operi vero quod de ipso fit spumeo albumen de ovo sic misceatur ut modice tenerum sit quam durum, et comestum non nocet. 40

de esoce vero quando recens fuerit comedatur. si de pluribus diebus fuerit, gravat stomachum. praeterea si salsi sunt, graves sunt et malos humores nutriunt. cutis vero esocis ipsius quomodo frixus fuerit, penitus non manducetur, quia graviter nocet. 41

30 platenses vero vel soleae unum genus est. quae bonae et congruae sunt elixae in sale et oleo. quae etiam et infirmis satis conveniunt. 42

anguillae vero quae in glarea aspera vel in saxosis 43

p. 16

nascuntur, meliores sunt quam illae quae in limosis locis
vel lutosi nascuntur. assae ita ut capellentur partes et
sic in brido assentur aptiores sunt quam elixae, ita ut
in salimuria tangantur dum assantur, ut magis durior fiat
5 caro ipsa.

trucanti illi minuti pisciunculi assi vel frixi apti sunt
pro fastidio. **44**

tecones dicuntur esse filii esocum, tamen ipsi boni
sunt et sanis et infirmis elixi in sale et oleo. **45**

10 de pisce cracatio caro fortior est. sani homines pos-
sunt manducare. **46**

naupridas uero nec nominare nec sanis nec infirmis
hominibus, quia malam carnem habent et melancholicam,
ita et graves et malos humores et sanguinem nigrum
15 nutriunt et causas malas generant. omne vero genus pi-
scium comedatur recens. nam si oluerint, satis graviter
possunt nocere. **47**

Pectinis optima caro elixi facti et assati in testa sua,
et opera inde fient. et congrui sunt et sanis et infirmis,
20 sed tamen et ipsi si recentes fuerint. **48**

ostrea uero necesse habetur pro desiderio permittere
interdum quia frigida sunt et flegmatica. tamen si assata
fuerint quomodo sunt clausa in testa sua, aptiora sunt.
cruda uero qui comedet, vel spondulum purum manducet,
25 quod est callosum et illo quod in gyro pendet sublato.
ostrea uero si olent et quis manducaverit, altero veneno
opus non habet. **49**

De oleribus malva beta porrus congrua sunt semper
et aestivo et hiberno, caules uero hiemis tempore. nam
30 aestivis diebus melancholici sunt. **50**

lactucae uno more sunt, praeterea si ad horam col-
lectae manducantur. si autem fuerint biduo aut triduo,
si forte, pro desiderio accipiantur. **51**

intuba uero bona sunt et cruda et elixa et sanis et
35 infirmis, cruda uero una die exsiccentur ad solem et sic
manducentur.

p. 17

napi boni sunt. elixi in sale et oleo manducentur, sive cum carnibus vel larido cocti, ita ut acetum pro sapore in coctura mittatur.

5 pastinacae bonae sunt bene elixae et comestae. etiam 53¹
urinas provocant. si enim frixae comeduntur, primum in calda praedurentur.

10 asparagi vero satis boni sunt et domestici et agrestes, 54
et urinas provocant, si in calda illorum apii radice admixta vel feniculi radice, coriandri modico ad horam misso vel mentae, cum vino ipsa calda bibatur. et asparagi vero non debent nimium elixari. nam perdent virtutem et saporem, nisi fortiores sint. et in sale et oleo comedantur.

15 apium vero coriandrum et anetum vel porriones in 55
omni ciborum coctura miscentur, ita ut porri modicum praedurentur.

20 cucurbitae vero rariter praesumendae, quia et ipsae 56
frigidae sunt, nisi sanis hominibus. tamen apud nos et febricitantibus iugiter sine frigore offerimus. delicatae cucurbitae elixae bene in sale et oleo comestae ad contemperandas febres faciunt.

25 cucumeres enim etsi hic non sunt, tamen quando fuerint, cum semine illorum quod intus est manducetur. congruum est praeterea ad renium vitia, sicut et semen de cucumere in aliquibus confectionibus pro renium vitiis iusserunt auctores mitti. 57

30 melones vero si bene maturi fuerint, et ipsorum ab 58
intus maxime cum semine quod est mixtum, melius est quam si purum manducetur. nam si pusca, ut alii faciunt, et puleio admixto sic comedantur, sanis convenit. nam qui vitia renium habent vel vessicae, non convenit pusca, quia inimicum est satis acetum crudum renibus et vessicae, et hepatico non expedit.

atriplices olera bona sunt et sanis et infirmis. 59

35 radices vero sanis vel flegmaticis aptae sunt, tamen ut 60
V aut amplius dies collectae maturent. nam si ad horam collectae fuerint, gravare solent.

¹ Note the absence of Section 52 in the Latin.

p. 18

aliud bonum est, et flegmaticis vel qui stomachum frigidum habent. et in via longa maxime bonum est. facit etiam ad aquas diversas. qui autem vitiosos renes habent, parcius utantur.

5 cepae humorosae sunt, ascaloniae vero meliores. 62¹

De leguminibus vero tisanas quae de hordeo fiunt qui
scit facere, bonae sunt et sanis et febricitantibus. fit 63
etiam de hordeo opus bonum, quod nos graece dicimus 64
alfita, latine vero polentam, Gothi vero barbarice fenea,
10 magnum remedium cum vino calido temperatum. et de
ipsa re coclear plenum et sic admixtum bene bibatur
paulatim, et iuvat satis stomachum defectum et pascit.
facit autem et ad disentericos mirifice cum vino puro ca-
lefacto, et sic admixtum coclear unum et bene mixtum
15 ieiunus accipiat vel nocte post pullorum cantus vel quando
delectatus fueri infirmus, ita ut cum hoc acceperit, aliud
cibum continuo non accipiat usque dum istud digerat.
solemus dare de hoc ipso febricitantibus cum aqua pura
tepidam, non spissum sed rarum factum. convenit ergo et
20 in tempore ieiuniorum in quadragesima accipere hoc pri-
mum cum calida, quia et confortat stomachum et pascit.

faba vero integra cocta bene, et in iuscello, et oleo 65
condita vel sale, melius congrua est quam illa faba fresa,
quia gravat stomachum.

25 cicer vero si bene coxeris ut omnino liquescat con-
ditum oleo et sale bonum est, etiam et renibus congruum.
si autem crudivum fuerit, penitus nec sanis suadeo com-
edere, quia facit inflationes gravissimas et indigeries
malas et corruptelam ventris.

30 lenticula vero et ipsa bona lavata et bene elixa in 67
aqua pura, ita ut illa prima calida fundatur, et alia calida
missa cum ratione, non satis, et sic coquatur lente in
carbonibus, ita ut cum cocta fuerit, acetum modicum mit-
tatur pro sapore. et addatur ibi species illa quae dicitur
35 rus syriacus, pulvere facto quantum coclear plenum, et
spargatur super lenticulam dum in foco est, et commiscea-

¹ Note the absence of Section 61 in the Latin.

p. 19.

tur bene. tollatur de foco et manducetur. tamen oportet
pro sapore oleum gremiale, dum coquitur in secunda
aqua, mitti, coclear bonum plenum, et coriandrum unum
aut duo cum radicibus suis, non minutatum sed integrum,
5 et modicum de sale pro sapore faciendo.

fasiolum bonum est, etiam siccum ut bene coquatur. 69

oriza enim et ipsa bene cocta facit: nam si crudior 70
fuerit nocet. facit enim oriza et ad disentericos, ut bene
coquatur et sic comedatur. etiam et elixa in pura aqua,
10 ita ut quando incipit bene coqui, aqua illa excoletur, et
sic mittantur lactes caprini, et ponatur olla in carbones,
et coquatur lente ut unum corpus deveniat: ita ut sine
sale et oleo comedatur calida, non frigida.

milium vero vel panicum ipsam rationem prope habent, 71
quomodo et de oriza dictavimus, maxime ad disentericos.
15 et milium in calda pura primo praeduretur, et quando
incipit frangere granum, coquatur in aqua et sic lactes
caprini mittantur, et sic coquantur lente, quomodo de
oriza diximus.

reliqua legumina si coctiva fuerint quando necesse est 74¹
comedes. nam si crudiva, satis gravissime nocent. nam
20 faba fracta, ut superius diximus, gravat satis.

De lactibus vero, si disentericis, caprinos. qui fiunt cum 75
petris rotundis candentibus in foco et sic missis in lacte, sine
25 foco. cum bullierit, illis cotulis sublatis, de pane cocto
candido et bene fermentato bucellas capulatas et minutas
in ipso lacte missas in carbonibus lente coquas, in olla
tamen, nam non aeramine. et sic cum bullierit, bucellas
istas post<ea cum> infuderint cum cocleari manducent. sic
30 melius expedit, quia cibus iste pascit. nam si puri lactes
ipsi bibiti fuerint, contra perexeunt et vix stant in corpore.

de lactibus vero sanis hominibus, si quis crudos lactes 76
vult bibere, mel habeant admixtum vel vinum aut medum.
et si non fuerit aliquid de istis poculis, sale mittatur mo-
35 dicum, et non coagulatur intus in hominibus. nam si
purum acceptum fuerit, aliquibus coagulatur intus in epate

¹ Note the absence of Sections 72 and 73 from the Latin.

p. 20

- et in stomacho et solet graviter laedere. si tamen quomodo mulgetur, contra calidum bibitum fuerit, sic taliter non nocet. tamen et ipsum, si admixtum fuerit mel modicum aut vinum, melius accipitur. et si cautius vult quis
- 5 facere, et in praesentia sua aut vacca aut capra aut ovis mulgeatur, ita ut vas illi fictile sit et bene excaldetur, ut quomodo mulgetur non refrigeretur sed calidum bibatur. praeterea et pthisicis sic expedit ita dum calet seu vaccinum seu caprinum lac si bibatur. et statim supinum se
- 10 ponat ut diutius circa pulmones operetur cum melle mixtum et calefactum. sic melius iuvat .
- similiter et de butiro recente si acceperit pthisicus. 77
- sed butirum ipsum nec sale penitus non habeat. nam si habuerit sale, peius exterminat. si puro et recenti et mel
- 15 modicum admixtum fuerit, sic lingat catamodicum et supinum se ponat. tamen de pthisicis diximus esse aptum quos non longo tempore obtinuerit causa. nam si vulneratus fuerit pulmo et purulenta excreant, nec illis congruum.
- 20 oxygala vero graece quod latine vocant melca <id est lac> quod acetaverit, auctores dicunt sanis hominibus esse aptum, quia non coagulatur in ventre. tamen et ipsud aut melle admixto aut quando fuerit oleo gremiali. 78
- caseum, quantum dicunt, non solum infirmos sed sanos
- 25 gravat, maxime epaticos vel renium vitia habentes et qui splenetici sunt, quia coagulatur in renibus et lapides exinde generantur. 79
- caseum vero recens et dulce, quod non sit salsum, 80
- 30 in melle intingere bonum est. caseum vero assum vel elixum qui manducaverit, altero veneno opus non habet, quia exsucata alia pinguedine lapides puri efficiuntur. sed nec elixum, quia amissa pinguedine similiter ut sales devenit. nam ut credat quis, elixet caseum et tollat et dimittat illud refrigerari, et omnino quomodo lapis aut sales 81
- 35

p. 21

sic devenit. similiter et assatum intus ingressum quid
potest prodesse nisi lapides puros ingenerare.

simila vero et ipsa gravis, etiam sanis. pro necessitate
disenteriae qui sanguinem producant utilis fiat ita ut in
5 lactibus caprinis coquatur in carbonibus. quomodo butirum
sic fiet. **82**

De pomorum ratione citonia bona, et optima maxime
disentericis qui longo tempore sanguinem deponunt. ita
10 incisa in cruce elixentur bene in vaso fictili in aqua pura
dulci, et sic manducentur. et aliter, assa si bene sub ci-
nere diutius fuerint. **83**

mela bene matura in arbore quae dulcia sunt bona
sunt. nam illa acida non sunt congrua. nam dulcia sanis
et infirmis. et pira dulcia et bene in arbore maturata bona
15 sunt. nam dura et acida graviter nocent. **84**

pruna et ipsa maturata bene et dulcia, et persica dura-
cina omnino in arbore maturata, vel cerasia aut diversa
alia genera pomorum si in arbore maturata fuerint con-
grua sunt. si autem collecta cruda et per dies aliquos
20 admollierint, illud ad putredinem computamus, nam non
ad maturitatem, quia dum manducantur putridos humores
intus generant. **85**

mora sive domestica sive silvatica maxime congrua sunt
sanis et infirmis, et ipsa omnino matura in sua arbore vel
25 in rubo. **86**

figus bonae sunt, sed et ipsae maturae omnino. **87**

castaneae elixae bene aptae sunt vel assae. nam crude
non bene digeruntur. **88**

avellanae gravant, si in aliqua confectione cum alia
30 specie misceantur. **89**

amigdalae bonae sunt. praeterea si amariores fuerint
epaticis congruae sunt, sed in tepida missae. cortex ipsa
purgetur et sic manducentur. item et tribulatae bene sine
35 cute in melle optimo pthisicis congruae sunt, vel in ca-
tarro quando incipit maturare. **90**

pistacia vero et ipsa bona et apta sunt. **91**

p. 22

dactuli et ipsi boni, sed non frequenter, quia solent
facere inflationem et capitis dolorem si satis comesti
fuerint. **92**

5 caricae bonae et aptae, praeterea ad catarrum incipien- **93**
tem, ita ut diutius in ore masticentur. et quibus fauces
exasperantur et qui raucam vocem habent, bonae sunt
manducatae.

uva passa similiter ipso genere de uva dulci et alba. **94**
omfacium de uva cruda fit.

APPENDIX B

APICII EXCERPTA A VINIDARIO VIRO INLVSTRI (p. 77)¹

Breuis pimentorum que in domo esse debeant ut condimentis nihil desit: crocu, piper, zingiber, lasar, foliu, baca murre, costu, cariofilu, spica indica, addena, cardamomu, spica nardi.

De seminibus hoc: papaber, semen rude, baca rute, baca lauri, semen aneti, semen api, semen feniculi, semen ligustici, semen eruce, semen coriandri, cuminu, anesu, petrosilenu, careu, sisama.

De siccis hoc: iasaris radices, menta, nepeta, saluia, cupressu, origanu{m}, zyniperum, cepa gentima, bacas timmi, coriandrum, piretru, cilri, fastinaca, cepa ascalonia, radices iunci, anet, puleiu, ciperum, aliu, ospera, samsucu, innula, silpiu{m}, cardamom{m}.

De liquorib{us}. hoc: mel, defritu, carinu, apiperiu. passu.

De nucleis hoc: nuces maiores, nuclos pineos, acmidula, aballana.

De pomis siccis hoc: damascena, datilos, uba passa, granata. Hec omnia in loco sicco pone, ne odorem et virtutem perdant.

Brevis cyboru{m}.

I.	caccabina minore	XVI.	murenas et anguillas
II.	caccabina fusile	XVII.	lucustas et isquillas
III.	ofellas garatas	XVIII.	pisces elixos
IV.	ofellas assas	XIX.	patinas oborum
V.	aliter ofellas	XX.	porcello coriandratu
VI.	ofellas graton	XXI.	porcello in oc cuctu
VII.	pisces scorpiones rapulatus	XXII.	porcello eo iure
VIII.	pisces frixos cuiuscumq. generis	XXIII.	porcello tymmo crapsu
IX.	item pisces frixos	XXIV.	porcellu exozome
X.	pisces assos	XXV.	porcellu lasaratu
XI.	pisces inotogonon	XXVI.	porcellu iuscellu
XII.	sardas	XXVII.	agnu simplice
XIII.	item pisces inotogonon	XXVIII.	hedu lasaratu
XIV.	mullos anetatos	XXIX.	turdos apontomenus
XV.	aliter mullos	XXX.	turtures
		XXXI.	ius in perdives

¹ The Apparatus Criticus can be found in the original publication: "Apicius", *Apicii Librorum X Qui Dicuntur De Re Coquinaria Quae Extant*, eds. Cesare Giarratano and Friedrich Vollmer (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1922).

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- 1 Caccabinam minorem: olera diversa elixa com-
pone et pullinam inter se, si volueris, condis liquamine et
oleo, et bulliat. teres piper modicum et folium et cum tri-
tura conmiscet ovum et tribulas. (1a) Alias: tritura,
5 unde perfundes caccabinam: teres ergo folium quan-
tum conpetat cum caerefolii una et quarta parte de lauri
baca et medium caulis elixi et folia coriandri et solves de
iuscello eius et vaporabis in cinere calido et adorna. ante
quam fundas in vasculo, perfundis conditum et sic ponis.
- 10 Caccabinam fusilem: malvas porros, betas sive
cauliculos elixatos, turdos atque isicia de pullo, copadia
procina sive pullina et cetera quae in praesenti habere
poteris conpones variatim. teres piper, ligusticum cum vini
15 veteris pondo duo, liquaminis pondo I, mellis pondo I, olei
aliquantum. gustata, item permixta et tempoerata mittis in
patinam et fac ut modice ferveat. et cum coquitur, adicies
lactis sextarium unum, ova dissolute cum lacte perfundes,
patina, mox constrinxerit, inferes.
- 20 Ofellas garatas: ponis ofellas in sartagine, adicis
liquaminis libram unam, olei similiter, mellis aliquantum
et sic frigis.
- Ofellas assas: exbromabis diligenter et in sarta-
gine mittes. friget oenogaro. postea simul cum ipso oeno-
garo inferes et piper aspargis.
- 25 Aliter ofellas: [si] in liquamine frigrantur et calidae
melle unquantur et sic inferantur.
- Ofellas garatas: lasar, zingiber, cardamomum et
unum acetabulum liquaminis misces cum his omnibus tri-
tis et ibi ofellas coques.
- 30 Pisces scorpions rapulatos: coquis in liqua-

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mine et oleo et cum mediaverit coctura, tolles. rapas elixas madidas et minutissime concisas minibus depressabis, ut umorem non habeant, et cum pisce obliges, et bulliat cum oleo abunde. et, iam bullibit, teres cumimum, lauri
5 bacam dimidiam, addes propter colorem crocum. amulabis de oryza propter spissitudinem. superfunds et tunc inferes. addes modum acetum.

Pisces frixos cuiuscumque generis sic facies: teres piper, coriandri semen, lasaris radices, origanum, rutam, caryotam, suffundes acetum, oleum, liquamen,
10 adicis defritum. haec omnia temperabis et in caccabulo mittis et ferveat. cum calefeceris, eodem pisces superfundes. asparso pipere inferes.

Item pisces frixos sic facies: teres piper, ligusticum, bacam lauri, Coriandrum, mel, liquamen, vinum,
15 passo vel caroeno temperas. coques igni lento, amulo oryzae obliges et inferes.

Pisces assos: teres piper, ligusticum, satureiam, cepam siccam, suffundes acetum, adicies caryotam, anethum,
20 ovorum vitella, mel, acetum, liquamen, oleum, defritum. haec omnia in uno mixta perfundes.

Pisces oenoteganon: friges pisces, teres piper, ligusticum, rutam, condimenta viridia, cepam siccam. adicis oleum, <vinum>, liquamen et inferes.

Sardas sic facies: teres piper, ligustici semen, organum, cepam siccam, ovorum coctorum vitella, acetum, oleum. haec in unum temperas et perfundes.

Pisces oenoteganon: a crudo pisces quos volueris lavas, conponis in patinam, mittis oleum, liquamen,
30 vinum, fasciculos porri et coriandri, coquitur. teres piper, organum, ligusticum et fasciculo quos elixasti, teres et suffundes in pensam de patina. facis ut obliget. cum bene tenuerit, pipere asparso inferes.

8

9

10

11

12

13

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- 5 Mullos anethatos sic facies: rades pisces, la-
vabis, in patinam conpones, adicies oleum, liquamen, vi-
num, fasciculos porri et coriandri, mittes ut coquatur. adi-
cies piper in mortario, fricabis, adicies oleum et partem
acetum, vino passo temperabis. traicies in caccabo, pones ut
ferveat. amulo obligabis et patinam piscium perfundis. in-
super piper aspargis. **14**
- 10 Aliter mullos: radis, lavas, conponis in patinam.
adicies oleum, liquamen, vinum, in coctura fasciculum porri
et coriandri, inponis ut coquatur. teres piper, ligusticum,
origanum, adicies de iure suo [hoc de patella], vino passo
temperas, mittis in caccabo, ponis ut ferveat, amulo obli-
gabis et patellam postea perfundes, piper asparges et in-
feres. **15**
- 15 Murenas aut anguillas vel mullos sic fa-
cies: purgabis, conpones in patinam diligenter. adicies
in mortario piper, ligusticum, origanum, mentam, cepam
aridam, infundes vini acetabulum, liquaminis dimidium,
mellis tertiam partem, modice defritum ad cocleare. de-
bent autem hoc iure cooperiri, ut super cocturam supersit
aliquid iuris. **16**
- 20 Locustas <et scillas>: teres piper, ligusticum,
api semen, infundes acetum, liquamen, ovorum vitella et
mixta in unum perfundes et inferes. **17**
- 25 In piscibus elixis: teres piper, ligusticum, api
semen, origanum, suffundes acetum, adicies nucleos pineos,
caryotae quod satis sit, mel, acetum, liquamen, sinape,
temperabis et uteris. **18**
- 30 Patinam solearum ex ovis: radis, purgas, con-
ponis in patinam, adicies liquamen, oleum, vinum, fasci-
culum porri et coriandri semen, mittis ut coquatur. teres **19**

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piper modicum, origanum, suffundis ius <de> suo sibi, adicies iuri decem curda ova, dissolves et in unum corpus facies. traicies in patinam super soleas. ad ignem lentum pones ut decoquat, et cum duxerit, piper adspargis.

- 5 Porcellum coriandratum: assas porcellum dili- 20
genter, facies moretarium sic, in quod teres piper, anethum,
origanum, coriandrum viride, admisces mel, vinum, liqua-
men, oleum, acetum, defritum. haec omnia calefacta per-
fundes et asparges uvam passam, nucleos pineos et cepam
10 concisam et sic inferes.
- Porcellum aenococtum: porcellum accipies, 21
ornabis, coque in oleo et liquamine. cum coquitur, adicies
in mortario piper, rutam, bacam lauri, liquamen, passum
sive caroenum, vinum vetus, simul omnia teres, temperas
15 et traicies in patinam aheneam. mittis eum. Porcel- 22
lum eo iure percoque, cum autem levas, amulo obligabis
et sic in vas transferes et inferes.
- Porcellum thymo sparsum: porcellum lacten- 23
tem pridie occisum elixas sale et anetho et in aqua frigi-
da adsidue intingis, ut candorem habeat. deinde condi-
20 menta viridia, thymum, puleium modicum, ova dura, cepam
concisam minutatim, ea omnia superspargis et condis li-
quaminis hemina una, olei pondo uno, passi pondo uno,
et sic ministras.
- 25 Porcellum oxyzomum: porcellum accuratum 24
ornabis et mittes in iuscellum sic conditum: adicies in mor-
tario piperis grana L, mellis quantum conpetat, cepas sic-
cas III, coriandri viridis sive sicci modicum, liquaminis
heminam, olei sextarium I, aquae heminam I, simul tem-
30 peras in caccabulo. mittis in eo porcellum. dum bullire
coeperit saepius agitabis ut spissum fiat. si aliquid minus

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iuris facere coeperit, tunc adicies heminam unam aquae.
sic percoque et sic porcellum inferes.

25

5 Porcellum lasaratum: teres in mortario piper,
ligusticum, careum, misces cuminum paululum, lasar vivum,
lasaris radicem, suffundis acetum, addis nucleos pineos,
caryotam, mel, acetum, liquamen, sinape factum. oleo om-
nia temperas et perfundis.

26

10 Porcellum iuscellatum: mittis in mortario
piper, ligusticum aut anethum, coriandrum, rutam, bacam
lauri, fricabis, suffundes liquamen, porrum, passi sive mellis
modicum, vinum modicum, olei aliquantum. cum coxeris,
amulo obligabis.

27

15 Agnum simplicem: de agno decoratio facies
copadiola, lavabis diligenter, mittes in caccabo. adicies
oleum, liquamen, vinum, porrum, coriandrum cultro con-
cisum. cum bullire coeperit, saepius agitabis et inferes.

28

20 Haedum lasaratum: haedi intestina bene
purgata imples pipere, liquamine, lasare, oleo et intra
haedum mittes et bene consues et cum haedo simul
coquuntur. et cum decoxerit, adicies in mortario rutam,
bacam lauri et levatum haedum atque exsucatum ipso iure
perfundis et sic ponis.

29

25 Turdos hapantamynos: teres piper, lasar, ba-
cam lauri, admisce cumino garum et sic turdum per gut-
tur imples et filo ligabis. et facies ei impensam, in qua
decoquatur, quae habeat oleum, sales, aquam, anethum et
capita porrorum.

30

30 Turtures: aperies, ornabis diligenter, teres piper,
lasar, liquamen modicum, infundis ipsas tortures ut con-
bibant sibi, et sic assas.

31

Ius in perdices: teres in mortario piper, apium,
mentam et rutam, suffundis acetum, addis caryotam, mel,
acetum, liquamen, oleum. simul coques et inferes.

Expli(cit) brevis ciborum.

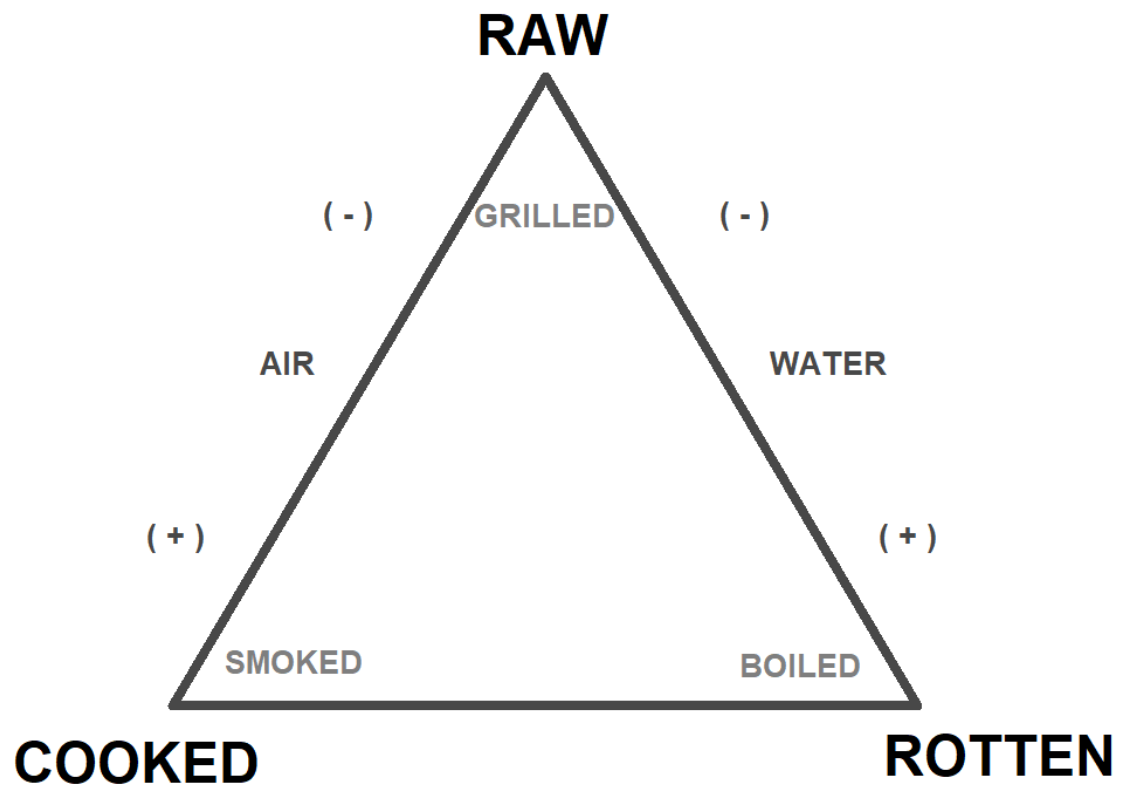


Figure. A visual depiction of Lévi-Strauss' culinary triangle.

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