

Upholding Status: The Diet of a Noble Family in Early Nineteenth-Century La Mancha

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In the spring of 1807, the old marchioness of Cervera, doña María Theresa Miró, saw her family properties in Almagro legally constrained. Her husband had died years before, leaving her the remains of a still large patrimony (land with olive trees, cereal, vines, the mansion, the coach), and an immense amount of debt. To satisfy the claims of the many creditors, the judge appointed an official to administer the family budget. The estate (*la Casa*) still had some resources: tenants paid their rents annually, while olives, grapes, barley and wheat were harvested by the *jornaleros* (day labourers). Leaving the payment of the debts to the widow and sons of the old marquis of Cervera, however, would have been foolish. At that time, with French troops poised to enter Spain, and a new society ahead, this family represented to perfection the lifestyle of the old Spanish aristocracy: living off the old family patrimony, arrogantly despising the possibilities of increasing it through improvements on their land, and stubbornly making expenses well beyond their economic means. Bankrupted probably decades before, they had been borrowing money from town officials and merchants, some of whom were holding in pledge pieces of the family's silverware.

The dramatic situation of the Casa de Cervera was not exceptional for the Spanish nobility in the eighteenth century. What is exceptional is the document left by order of the judicial administrator, a day-to-day record of the expenses of the Casa for almost two years. In this chapter, social identity will be explored by taking advantage of this source. In the first part, the diet of the Cervera family is described by quantifying each food item for the two years, introducing variables such as price, amount, and seasonal fluctuations in order to account for the structure of food consumption. In the second part, their diet is interpreted in terms of the family's social identity: if, on the one hand, the Cerveras were at the top of the social hierarchy in Almagro, in the broader context of Spanish nobility they were nothing more than a rural and impoverished noble family, very distant from the circles of real political and economic power, and hence from the modern and cosmopolitan trends and tastes developing in Madrid, Cádiz or other cities. The contrast between their local privileged position, sustained by tradition, and their

marginality within the nobility of the time, are reflected in the food they bought, preferred and consumed.

The document starts on June 1st, 1807, and ends on March 26th, 1809, the day before the marchioness died, covering a total of 22 months (665 days). It was written (with some difficulties) and signed by Vicente Rubio, probably a butler, who referred to the marchioness as *mi señora doña Teresa*, and to the administrator as *señor Don Francisco Alegandro de Chaves, administrador judicial, de caudales y rentas de Doña María Theresa Miró* (judicial administrator of properties and interests).¹ It is a daily record of expenses, listed in a column on the left, and the prices paid for them, listed on the right (see Figure 3.1). The daily number of items recorded varies between 15 and 20, the large majority of which are food; it also includes cleaning items such as soap, pottery for the kitchen, firewood, pharmaceutical products, and payments for various works such as building repairs.

The first problem arising when trying to study large landholders' food consumption through sources of this type (internal records of expenses) is to define which part of their consumption was satisfied by their own production. The absence of bread, olive oil, wine or meat cannot be interpreted as the absence of these products in the family's diet, but rather as the estate's capacity to satisfy domestic demand for these products: as food producers themselves, they would purchase in the market only the products they were not producing. Thus, a daily record of the food purchased would represent only *part of the total daily consumption*, leaving self-production unrecorded.²

The Cervera estate produced cereal (wheat and barley), grapes and olives, but did not operate as a rural factory, producing and marketing olive oil, wine, or flour (a very modest exception being a pig and some poultry being raised at the dependencies of the Casa). The documents show that the Casa de Cervera's workers were harvesting olives, wheat, barley and grapes in the very same months that olive oil, bread and flour, grapes and wine were being purchased for family consumption. This can be explained by two elements: first, the Cervera's crops were sold immediately after harvesting, instead of being transported to warehouses or olive mills to be processed, and then marketed. This means that the Cerveras were not among the successful ecclesiastical and civil landowners acting as agricultural entrepreneurs in Almagro.³ Second, the judicial constraint included the mandatory sale of the entire production, withholding the resulting income in order to pay the debts, and payment of domestic expenditures after authorising and checking them. The origin of the Cervera document is therefore not internal accounting, but a judicial constraint that ordered that every entry and every charge be registered. This suggests that the difference between food purchased (as recorded in the document) and food actually consumed by the family was minimal, limited to gifts or exchanges, and the document can therefore be considered an excellent source by which to learn about the family's diet, its seasonal variation, and to

Días 5		Días 7	
Carnero tres libras	48	Carnero tres libras	48
Pan quintero	38	Car. Panes	27
Somitos	10	Do cino 20 centos	40
pimentos	10	de chocolate y benzoinos	40
de chocolate	06	pan blanco	22
Benegas	04	Por Pallas	85
San dias	36	San dias	38
pejos	10	pejos	22
Por Pallas	22	es salada y es peña	08
pan blanco	22	almuerzo	16
Por es peña y es salada	08	ul. bor 10	18
Por es osanos del Cabro	09	Por es bor	17
5 ^o cada una	12	Por es chuzos de chuzo	30
Por con Panes al porcion		vinaga de uva	85
Del Cañon de la Encarnación		vinos de	09
de Alcaraz y otros	43	pimentos	14
ul. bor	21	San 5 ^o 1 ^o 18 mt	3482
Do cino ugual	34		
Bis los otros	17		
aguardiente	17		
San 6 ^o 1 ^o y 2 ^o mt	536		
Días 6		Días 8	
Carnero tres libras	48	Carnero tres libras	48
quintero Panes	40	quintero Panes	38
chuletas	24	Do cino	34
pimentos y pimentos	20	Escabechos de carnes	14
Do cino vino 1 ^o	34	Somitos	09
de chocolate y benzoinos	08	pimentos	12
pan blanco	22	es salada y es peña	08
San dias	36	Por Pallas	85
Por Pallas	85	pan blanco	22
Bis los otros	17	de chocolate y benzoinos	08
Cho Catala	17	es peña y es salada	08
es peña y es salada	08	ul. bor 10	21
ul. bor 10	16	almuerzo	16
Sud	10	San dias	34
ul. bor Pucheros	26	Bis los otros	17
San 4 ^o 1 ^o y 18 mt	445	ul. bor y chuletas	08
		San 4 ^o 1 ^o	383
San 11 ^o 1 ^o 20 mt		San 10 ^o 1 ^o 16 mt	

Figure 3.1 Page from the account books of the noble family. Each day started with registering three pounds of meat ('carnero tres libras').

what extent seasonal supply and prices shaped the family's pattern of food consumption. The document gives only indirect indications (discussed below) as to who had access to the food, in other words, on the distribution of the food among family and non-family members.

Almagro: Agriculture and Herding

In 1807, Almagro was a town in decline, but still enjoying the rank of *ciudad*, testimony to its past political and economic power. Belonging to the military Order of Calatrava since the Reconquest, Spanish monarchs had always been interested in consolidating the population and the military strength of the region, for centuries in the border with the Muslim territory. Donations to the nobility, military orders and the church were central to the strategy of attracting powerful families. Almagro's magnificent palaces and spectacular urban design are explained by the arrival, in the sixteenth century, of the Fuggers and many Flemish families, after Emperor Charles V had granted them, for decades his bankers and main creditors, the right to administer the income of the Calatrava Order, including the mercury mines of Almadén (near Almagro) in compensation for the immense debts that could not be repaid.

By the mid-eighteenth century, when minister Ensenada organised the land registry which was to be the basis for the first tax on wealth, Almagro had almost 9,000 inhabitants; it was the site of a Jesuit college, of wealthy male and female convents, and the home town of powerful noble families. Until 1827 it was the capital of the province of Ciudad Real. Travellers through La Mancha mentioned large extents of unploughed land. In 1752, only 40 per cent of the surface of Campo de Calatrava (the territory to which Almagro belonged) was ploughed; grass, mountains and wasteland accounted for the remainder. The reason for this is that the region's main source of wealth had traditionally been livestock. Almagro was part of the Castilian plains where the famous Merino sheep originated. Since the Middle Ages, herding had been 'a major source of income for the landed elite, and it furnished supplementary income for the resource-poor agrarian economy as a whole, providing employment and producing raw materials for local textile industries' (Rahn Phillips, 1982, p. 776).

Once in the Manchegan plain, a traveller might look in all directions without seeing a hill, a gully, or even a sign of human habitation. The climate too was given to extremes, unlike the temperate south. Isolated by its mountainous borders, the plain of La Mancha experienced cold winters, very hot summers, and a notable lack of precipitation. The discerning traveller, nonetheless, could appreciate the real and potential sources of wealth behind La Mancha's desolate exterior. The soil was very hospitable to vines, grain and olive trees, and natural grasses flourished on all but the worst lands. In addition, La Mancha was the southern terminus for several of the famous sheep walks of Castile, where herds of the Mesta were put out to autumn and winter pasture (Rahn Phillips, 1979, p. 4).

Traditional specialisation in herding explains why La Mancha's arable land amounted to only 28 per cent of the total in the eighteenth century, when the median for Castile was 46 per cent. In the mid-eighteenth century, Almagro's secular and

ecclesiastical proprietors declared 2,621 horses, 1,210 pigs, 1,136 goats, and 26,571 sheep. At the end of the century, herding was in decline due to the loss of the international wool market,⁴ but it still explained the region's wealth to a large extent (or, better, the immense wealth of the region's landowners), and some of the features of the local nobility's diet.

But if the region's land was mostly devoted to herding, the situation was different in Almagro, where 86 per cent of the land was ploughed (of which 48 per cent was devoted to grain, 15 per cent to vines plus olives, and 17 per cent to herding, and 6 per cent irrigated). This was due to two developments: in the first place, land owned by ecclesiastical and noble landholders was increasingly put into cultivation due to increasing returns from crops. A shift had taken place in the food supply to Madrid, from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when most suppliers were from Northern Castile, to the eighteenth century, when La Mancha became the most important supplier to the Madrid market, particularly of wine (Ringrose, 1996, p. 202). Its location near the main road connecting Madrid and the southern seaports made transport prices of commodities from La Mancha competitive. By the mid-eighteenth century, this had resulted in a growing specialisation in commercial crops, such as olives and, particularly, vines.⁵ Furthermore, this strategy allowed large landholders to avoid the risks of cereal growing. Wheat was a 'political' staple, and since 1766, when a violent uprising against rising prices of bread had occurred in Madrid, governments had decided to force massive sales of wheat to guarantee the capital's supply. Wheat-producing regions, Almagro among them, then suffered from high prices of bread themselves: daily workers and small tenants, the majority of Almagro's population, suffered in a double sense: rising bread prices and increasing land scarcity.

The second cause of the higher percentage of land cultivated in Almagro was demographic pressure. Land shortage, a traditional problem due to the property system, was further aggravated because of growing population. As a result, illegal ploughing of the land had become increasingly common in Almagro in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1804, representatives of three villages asked for permission to plough the *dehesa* (enclosed pasture land) of Cabezas, 2,750 fanegas that the town council claimed to need because of the growing population:

Peasants had to rent land at high prices or too far away, in other villages; many of them had no other occupation, for lack of employment in these villages. Tenants lacked the means to pay the local taxes and to maintain their families. They ate bad food, and, as a consequence, disease had spread.

Although irrigated land was never higher than 7 per cent of the ploughed land, the economic importance of its production was very high. Irrigation was affordable for small peasants, since water was easily extracted from the subsoil: in 1753, the

cadaster recorded 5,000 mills for pumping up water in the lands around Almagro. This allowed small landholders to specialise in vegetable growing, an easily marketable production which provided part of the peasant population with some earnings, and with a poor but healthy and cheap diet: the abundant variety of vegetables purchased and eaten at the Cervera House were locally grown and sold.

Most of the land and livestock was owned by powerful ecclesiastical institutions and noble families. In the mid-eighteenth century, Almagro's main land- and livestock owner was the marquis of Valparaíso, whose social importance was not only due to his immense wealth, but also to his political power, being a minister of King Fernando VI (1746–1759). Heavily influenced by the reformist and enlightened ideas developing in Europe,⁶ his lifestyle was in all probability much influenced (as it was in almost every court in this period) by French taste and innovations. The figure of this modern, reformist noble with the largest fortune of the region, is important in understanding the relative position of other noble families of Almagro, and in particular the marchioness of Cervera a few decades later.

In this economic and social landscape, Doña Teresa Miró, marchioness de Cervera, widow, lived in her Altozano Street palace with her two sons, don Ygnazio and don Manuel Pérez de Guzmán. Very little is known about them, except that, in the first years of the nineteenth century, their Casa was bankrupted and they had important debts with different people of the town. Despite their financial ruin, they were still important landowners, a situation explained by the fact that the nobility's land could not be sold without royal authorisation. The document throws light on their lifestyle: the coach and the mules, domestic servants, and details of the different rooms of the palace – a patio with a well, a stable for the mules, a 'barley room' where the barley for the mules was stocked, a kitchen (whose mat was renewed), and coal was bought for the ironing. Items reflecting more personal needs of the family members appear as well: white-lead (*albayalde*) was bought for the old marchioness, payments to the hairdresser who came every once in a while to cut her hair. About 95 per cent of all expenses were on food. And food was, indeed, not only a major source of expenses, but a source of pleasure, and a permanent expression of the social position of the family.

Some Unexpected Features in a Traditional Aristocratic Diet

By the quantity consumed, its daily presence on the table, and the money spent on it (43 per cent of the total food expenditure), meat was the most important food consumed by the Cervera family, almost the only source of animal protein, fish consumption being very low. It was, above all, and together with white bread, the most obvious sign of status, to the point of being consumed in amounts far beyond any healthy levels.⁷ Meats consumed were mutton, pork, poultry, game and fowl.

Mutton and poultry represented a similar percentage of the total expenditure on meat, and together they accounted for nearly 65 per cent.

Mutton represented 32.5 per cent of the total expenditure on meat; it was purchased in different ways: mutton chops (*chuletas*), minced mutton (*picadillo*), mutton for stuffing, sheep's trotters (*manos de macho*) and, on a few occasions, roast lamb (*cordero*). It is unclear in the book whether some types of meat were from mutton or pork: loin (*lomo*), brains (*sesos*), tongues (*lenguas*), chitterlings (*asadura*), liver (*hígado*), testicles (*criadillas*). In any case, these varieties appear only exceptionally, while the purchase of *tres libras y media de carnero* (three and a half pounds of mutton) opens the list of purchased items every day. Mutton was clearly the basis of the marchioness' family diet, but it was never the only meat of the day.

Poultry had a similar importance to mutton in total meat expenditure, despite the fact that it was not consumed as regularly. Chicken (*pollo*) consumption was seasonal, from June to October/November: during these months, two chickens were bought almost every day. Hens (*gallinas*) show a much more regular presence in the diet, and every month between seven and ten were purchased. Given the fact that they were locally produced, prices of both chicken and hens were quite stable, one chicken costing half the price of a hen.

Game and wildfowl represented 19.4 per cent of the total meat expenditure: partridges and young partridges (*perdices, perdigones*), pigeons and young pigeons (*palomas, pichones*), turtle-doves (*tórtolas*), chocha (*chorcha*), but only a little rabbit (*conejo*) was recorded. There seems to have been a regular fowl provider for the Casa, because in January 1808 a payment to the 'partridges' man' (*el tio de las perdices*), who had also brought some firewood, is recorded. Finally, pork represents 13.7 per cent of the total meat expenditure, appearing in different ways: ham (*jamón fresco*), fresh and old bacon (*tocino fresco, tocino añejo*), and, once, roast sucking pig (*guarrillo*).

The Cerveras pattern of meat consumption is consistent with a traditional Spanish pattern: wildfowl was abundant in the cereal-growing land of central and Southern Spain.⁸ Pigs bred in southern Spain were regarded as the best quality, being fed on acorn pastures, and their hams being cured during the winter in hilly, cold areas. Their consumption had spread since the constitution of a Catholic state at the end of the fifteenth century, being a symbol of Catholic faith since Muslims and Jews were not allowed their consumption by their religions. As for mutton, the traditional meat of wealthy tables, its presence is higher in Almagro, origin of some of the most important herds of Spain.⁹

Figure 3.2 shows the strategy followed by the Cervera family to assure themselves a varied consumption of meat throughout the year. Consumption of mutton is quite stable: it was purchased every day, and only during fasting periods (March and December) in reduced amounts. Poultry and wildfowl could not be purchased

with this regularity, since they arrived only seasonally at the market: a perfect complement emerged, then, with mutton being combined with poultry from June to November, and with wildfowl from November to June.

Related to poultry (reared and marketed by the same hands, always women) were eggs, another source of proteins. Eggs were consumed regularly around the year, their price suffering minor fluctuations also due to the seasonal character of their production.

Bread was the most important food item after meat, accounting for 18 per cent of the total food expenditure. Bread purchased by the Casa was of two qualities: the lower quality is called just bread (*pan*) or coarse bread (*pan basto*), whilst the best quality is called 'white bread' (*pan blanco*). Sometimes the bread is recorded by its origin, 'from Carrión', a town near Almagro specialising in bakery. Bakers from Carrión were also buyers of wheat from the Cervera estate. Figure 3.3 shows the consumption of the two qualities, and their prices. The amount of the two varieties consumed is very stable throughout the two years. In July 1808, prices of both varieties dropped after that year's abundant harvest, which had a different impact on the two types of bread demand: white bread did not react to the price fall, while consumption of coarse bread first decreased (during harvest, most domestic workers ate in the fields), and then increased. White bread, the best quality

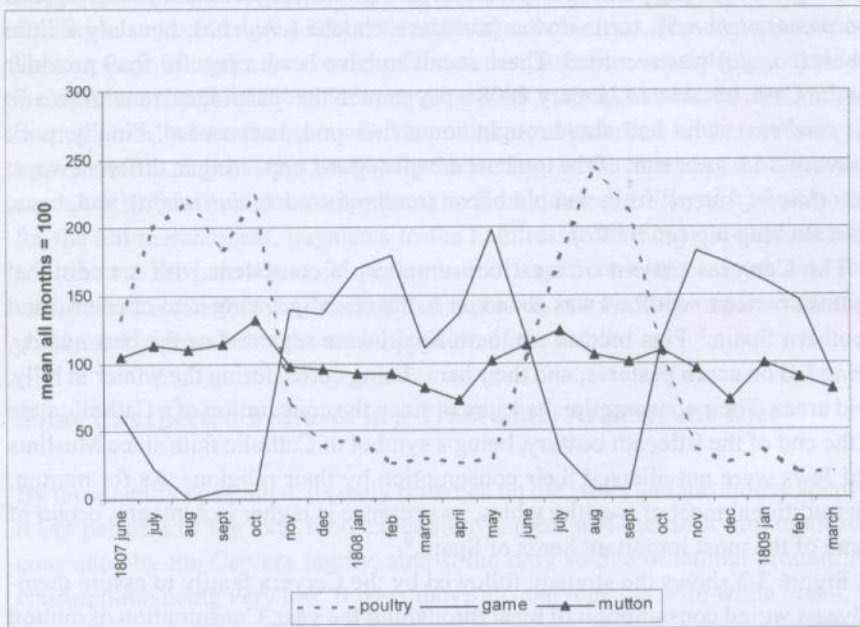


Figure 3.2 Consumption of mutton, game and poultry

and of higher price, was consumed by the family members: its demand is extremely stable and independent of price levels. Coarse bread, on the contrary, consumed by domestic and field servants, shows a dependency on price levels, its purchase increasing when the price fell.

The fact that bread was given daily to the estate's domestics is important in the light of social relations. Provision of wheat constituted a traditional problem for the region, and to solve it, or at least to prevent riots, a public granary (*Pósito*) had been created in the seventeenth century. In 1765 the deputy of Almagro wrote to the king: 'this town has little arable land, for which reason, even in years of plenty, its many inhabitants live off the bread that is brought daily for sale by various bakers of the region'. A year later, the town council insisted that 'the constitution of this town has always been to keep its inhabitants in food by the daily delivery of Bread that the neighbouring towns have voluntarily provided; suffering shortages of such precious stuff whenever an accident has impeded the said delivery'.

The importance of meat as a source of protein is greater due to the very minor presence of fish. Almagro is far from any seaport, and transport of fresh fish was difficult and very expensive. Traditional techniques for preserving fish, particularly salting, had solved this problem in part, as in large parts of Spain, making it possible to fulfil the Catholic precepts of fasting and meat abstinence. At the Casa de Cervera, meat consumption decreases, but it is far from disappearing on 'fish days'. This is consistent with different testimonies about the low level of conformity to

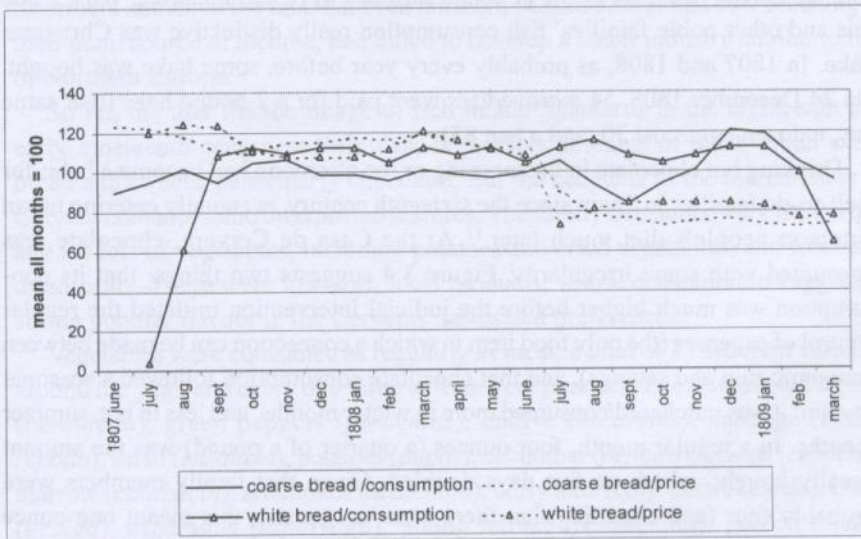


Figure 3.3 Consumption and price of coarse and white bread

this norm among the higher classes. Madame d'Aulnoy was surprised to see how easily this rule was ignored in seventeenth-century Madrid just by buying a papal bull:

Fish is very rare, being impossible to have fresh because it comes from the sea, which is more than eighty leagues' distance from Madrid. Sometimes they bring salmon, with which they make pies, which taste of spices and saffron. There is little river fish, but they find no difficulties in all this, because no one fasts, neither the lords nor the servants, because of the difficulties of so doing. They buy the papal bull at the Papal nuncio's house, and it costs fifteen *sous* of our currency.

The family of the marchioness of Cervera ate fish on fifty of the 665 days covered by the account book. Fish days are concentrated in two periods of the year, March-April (Eastern) and December-January (Christmas). The varieties of fish were very limited, and only four are mentioned: sardines on nine occasions, hake on seven occasions (almost all of them at Christmas), 'fishes', probably river fish, on two occasions. Cod amounted to 64 per cent of total expenditure on fish.¹⁰ Cod was purchased every month except in September, October and November, when almost no fish was eaten, and December, when it was replaced by hake and sardines. The pattern of fish consumption is simple: salted fish was the only available possibility of accomplishing the obligation of meat abstinence in most parts of Spain, and the consumption of salted sardines and cod is predictable. Exceptionally, recourse to fresh river fish was also a solution. Price seems to have played no significant role: cod is the fish most eaten, although sardines were half the price. What made this and other noble families' fish consumption really distinctive was Christmas hake. In 1807 and 1808, as probably every year before, some hake was bought. On 24 December 1808, 54 *maravedises* were paid for a 2-pound hake (that same day, a dozen eggs cost 30, and a hen 85).

Drinking hot chocolate in the morning or the afternoon had become a habit for well-to-do families in Spain since the sixteenth century, eventually entering urban common people's diet much later.¹¹ At the Casa de Cervera, chocolate was consumed with some irregularity. Figure 3.4 suggests two things: that its consumption was much higher before the judicial intervention initiated the regular control of expenses (the only food item in which a connection can be made between economic ruin and savings), and that chocolate consumption followed a seasonal rhythm: it was purchased/consumed more in winter months, and less in hot, summer months. In a regular month, four ounces (a quarter of a pound) was the amount usually bought, which on fast days doubled. Given that family members were probably four (and assuming that there were no guests), this meant one ounce each. On 23 June 1807, a month during which four ounces were bought almost every day, an entry says: 'half a pound was spent for being a fasting day'.

Chocolate time followed a ritual similar to that of tea time in England or coffee in France:¹² it was a social occasion on which families gathered together, with friends and visitors joining them; there were particular pots in which to make the chocolate (*chocolateras*), cups to drink it, and cakes to accompany it.¹³ The document reflects the importance of the ritual of chocolate time for noble families: the Cervera family spent 6 per cent of their total food expenditure on the purchase of chocolate, sugar, sponge cakes (*bizcochos*), fat (*sebo*), and pies. This equals the amount spent on fresh and dried fruits, twice the amount spent on vegetables, and six times the amount spent on fish. Chocolate represented 52 per cent of the 'sweet expenses', while 33 per cent was spent on very expensive biscuits (one pound cost between 64 and 68 *maravedises*), 8.7 per cent on cakes, 3.3 on sugar and 2.5 per cent on fat 'to spread on the cakes'. The cost of biscuits, cakes and fat together was higher than the cost of the chocolate: in May 1808, biscuits and cakes amounted to 80 per cent of the total expenses on 'sweets', chocolate representing the rest. References to the practice of eating cakes and biscuits appear in the writings of foreign travellers, and it is probable that the Arab tradition of mixing almonds with honey and spices, the type of sweets still common to all the Mediterranean world, was present in the sweets that the family of the marchioness of Cervera was so fond of.¹⁴ Sugar and cinnamon were other complements of the ritual, as was probably milk as well, although it appears very rarely, and whether it was from sheep or goats is impossible to know.

The use of fat 'to spread on the cakes' is revealing of one of the characteristic features of Spanish cuisine in this period: the absence of butter. Eighteenth-century reformers lamented the fact that even northern peasants, who had cow breeding as their main source of income, had failed to develop a butter industry similar to that of Northern Europe.¹⁵

So far, the diet fits the image of rich inland Spaniards in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: little fish, impressive amounts of meat, much white bread and sweets, particularly chocolate. But the accounts of the marchioness of Cervera contains some unexpected features. The family consumed very little wine, and ate lots of vegetables, including potatoes and dried vegetables, and fresh and dried fruits. These were low-cost, local products, whose consumption suggests a strong popular flavour in the Cerveras' tastes and preferences.

Vegetables were consumed as regularly as meat: a total of 23 different varieties around the year, and every day three to four were purchased: tomatoes, aubergines (*berenjena*), green peppers (*pimientos*), endive (*escarolas*), cabbage (*berza*, *repollo*), salad (*ensalada*), potatoes (*papas*), cucumber (*pepinos*), onions (*cebollas*), marrow (*calabacín*), artichokes (*alcachofa*), curly kale (*col*), thistle (*cardo*), chard (*acelga*), asparagus (*espárrago*), young lettuce (*lechuguino*), golden thistles (*cardillos*), lettuce (*lechuga*), turnip (*nabo*), spinach (*espinaca*), garlic (*ajo*). This abundance of vegetables is an unexpected feature of a noble family's diet, given

their traditional absence on the wealthiest tables. Fresh vegetables and fruits were almost totally absent from the royal family's diet in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 69). This is consistent with medical opinion of the time: Luis Lobera de Avila, a reputed physician, wrote in 1530: "the foods which are commonly hurtful to men are: garlic, onions, leeks, sprouts, aubergines (. . .) Fruits are usually not good (. . .) everything taken from the trees is bad" (ibid.). The attitude toward vegetables seemed to have changed somewhat in the eighteenth century, when cookery books, particularly the one published in 1763 by Martínez Montañón, royal chef of King Felipe III, included dishes in which vegetables accompanied meat, eggs and fish, and even some all-vegetable dishes.

In the Cervera accounts, vegetables are not exceptional foods, but normal parts of the daily diet, liked by the family and probably cooked following traditional, local recipes. Vegetables formed the basis of local cooking. Dishes such as *pisto manchego* (peppers, aubergines, onions, tomatoes, garlic and marrows, all diced and fried with olive oil) have for centuries been characteristic of the region. *Migas*, a shepherds' dish, consisting of pieces of old bread, fried with little pieces of bacon, lots of garlic, and red pepper and possibly other leftovers, also appears in the Cerveras book, as food for servants on special occasions. The rich local supply of vegetables, a characteristic feature of the local economy, explains not only the high local consumption, but also the fame of some of them throughout Spain: aubergines from Almagro (*berenjenas de Almagro*), prepared as semi-preserves, with vinegar and spices, could be purchased at most urban markets in Castile and Andalucía.

Vegetables were consumed according to a marked season: tomatoes and cucumber in summer, with aubergine and green peppers, plus onions and parsley, till October.¹⁶ Then, aubergines slowly disappeared, to be replaced by potatoes and endives. In autumn, vegetables and fresh salad were eaten every day. In November and December, tomatoes became scarcer, and potatoes, endives, curly kale, and thistle (still today a Christmas vegetable) appeared on the table. The variety was reduced in winter: potatoes accompanied by endives, thistles, curly kale, chard and sometimes asparagus.¹⁷ Tomatoes reappeared in June, together with marrow, cucumber, lettuce, and 'salad'.¹⁸ In summer the variety of vegetables and fruits was of course greater: on 22 August 1808, for instance, items purchased included three pounds of mutton, mutton chops, two chickens, bacon, chickpeas, three pieces of coarse bread, white bread, kidney beans, aubergines, tomatoes, peppers, melons, biscuits, salad and spices, eight eggs, three cooking pots and two cups.

The regular presence of potatoes as part of this noble family's diet deserves some attention. The first references to potatoes in Spain are from the mid-sixteenth century, when they were cultivated and consumed near Seville and sold at the Madrid market, as a result of the many *indianos* (wealthy former migrants to the

American colonies), used to the American products and tastes, living in these cities. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, potatoes were introduced into other parts of Spain, but their massive diffusion is thought to have taken place after the 1810s, as a means of compensating for the scarcity of grain caused by the disruption of the grain trade during the years of war against the French (López Linage, 1991). La Mancha was, together with the Canary Islands and Galicia, the region where potatoes were first introduced for human consumption, and was the origin of a local variety called *manchega* potato.

The Cervera document and further evidence from Almagro confirm that potatoes were well known in the region, and used for human consumption, at least from the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁹ A first-hand reference on the spread of potatoes in Almagro, some years before our document, is a letter published in *Semanario de agricultura y artes dirigido a los párrocos* (Weekly of agriculture and arts addressed to the priests), the main agricultural publication of the period (Diez, 1988). An enlightened priest, don Miguel López del Hoyo y Guerra, published in *Semanario* an enthusiastic article about the advantages of the new crop for human consumption, based on his experience in Almagro, where he lived: 'Potatoes are used here to feed people, and bread has been made out of them frequently, and pies which turned out very well when half is made of wheat flour'. According to don Miguel López del Hoyo, two types of potatoes were cultivated in Almagro: *papas discretas* and *papas tontas* o *morunas*, 'unknown here until fourteen or fifteen years ago, when they were brought from Murcia or Valencia'. The latter were planted by many in February and harvested in August, 'and although they do not come out big, they are more worthy, since their harvest comes before the other' (harvested from mid-October to mid-November). As this new type produced more, three fourths of all the land dedicated to potatoes were already planted with this type by the late eighteenth century.²⁰ The coexistence in Almagro of these two varieties, with different seasons, may explain the two types of potatoes (*papas buenas* and *papas ingertas*), bought by the Casa in October 1808, when the new crop was ready.

Potatoes did not replace other dried vegetables, but coexisted with them. Of the total food expenditure, 3 per cent was for dried vegetables, most of them chickpeas (*garbanzos*), consumed every month; kidney beans (*habichuelas*) and rice (*arroz*) appear as well regularly, while lentils appear just once. Chickpeas and kidney beans were local products, while rice was brought from Valencia.

To cook all these foods, to fry eggs or chops, to roast mutton or chicken, to prepare garlic sauce, to preserve the famous aubergines, to dress the salads, to prepare cold soups (*gazpacho*), *legumes* and vegetables, olive oil was basic. And even if the marchioness of Cervera was the owner of vast extents of land with olive trees, olive oil was regularly bought at her Casa, representing 4 per cent of the total food expenditure. Unlike fresh products, purchases of olive oil were

irregular: they amounted to between 1,200 and 1,300 *maravedises* every month until February 1808, when they totally disappeared for seven months; then olive oil was purchased again, now in higher amounts (1,800 *maravedises* in October 1808). This absence of olive oil purchases reflects one of the few instances of self-consumption of the Casa: February, the moment at which olive oil disappeared from the accounts, was when the olive harvest took place, suggesting that the estate was allowed by the judge to keep part of its own production, transformed into oil, and probably as olives as well (these were never recorded in the account book, although we know that they were much liked and consumed as appetizers at the time). This assumption is supported by the fact that in January and February the Casa paid the oliveskin-makers (*boteros*) for different oliveskins (*pellejos de aceite*), the recipients in which olive oil was transported and stored.

Consumption of fruit, fresh and dried, represented 6 per cent of the total food expenditure. Of this, 53 per cent was spent on fresh fruit, and 47 per cent on dried fruit. The marked seasonal consumption indicates that these replaced each other, compensating for the scarcity of one type with the abundance of the other. For example, in August and September, the two months in which the consumption of fresh fruit peaked, purchase of dried fruits dropped to zero. The reverse occurred in March and April 1808, when the expenditure on dried fruits peaked, at the moment when there were no purchases of fresh fruits. Eleven varieties of fresh fruits are recorded in the account book: melon (*melón*), grapes (*uvas*), water melon (*sandía*), pears (*pera*), plums (*ciruela*), apples (*manzana*), peaches (*melocotón*), oranges (*naranja*), mazzard cherries (*guinda* and *cereza*), and pomegranates (*granada*). Most of them seem to have been locally produced: according to the land registry, local fruit trees in the mid-eighteenth century included cherry trees (*guindo*), pear trees (*perales*), fig trees (*higueras*), almond trees (*almendros*) and quinces (*membrillos*). Oranges were probably the only non-local fruit.²¹ Dried fruits included hazelnuts (*avellana*), almonds (*almendras*), chestnuts (*castañas*), walnuts (*nueces*), acorns (*bellotas*) and raisins (*pasas*). Raisins appear almost always with hazelnuts. They were eaten particularly in fast periods.²²

The role played by spices, in a period when refrigerating techniques to preserve fresh food were almost unknown (and very expensive), was fundamental. Some spices helped to maintain the food, others simply masked the flavour. In any case, they were so essential that the spice trade flourished for centuries. Money spent on spices, salt and vinegar by the Cervera family amounted to 2 per cent of their total expenditure, of which two-thirds was spent on spices, 21 per cent on salt, and 13 per cent on vinegar. Spices purchased (frequently a purchase of undetermined 'especia' appeared) included cinnamon (*canela*), cayenne pepper (*pimentón*), ground pepper (*pimiento molido*), pepper (*pimienta*), hot pepper (*guindillas*), cumin (*cominos*), caraway (*alcarabea*) and cloves (*clavo*). Herbs included garlic (*ajos*), parsley (*perejil*), marjoram (*orégano*) and coriander (*cilantro*). They were purchased

daily, either from street vendors or at one of Almagro's spice shops, where American spices were sold. Spices were used with all food in Spain, as foreigners noticed.²³ In Southern Spain their variety was greater, and some of them, such as caraway, coriander, or cumin, were almost unknown in other parts of the country (Ríos and March, 1997). Spices represent a most characteristic feature of Spanish cuisine, and indeed of Spanish culture as a unique mix of Arab and American traditions.

Spices also had a very practical function: they were fundamental in the preparation and preservation of food. They were bought in great quantities every year on the occasion of the killing of the pigs: on 5 December 1808, a day before the pig butchers were paid, a massive purchase of spices is recorded: marjoram, cinnamon, pepper, salt, cloves, caraway, cumin and coriander. More salt, pepper and ground pepper had been bought in the days immediately preceding. Expenditure on spices doubled at the moment of the pig killing, which varied slightly every year.

There are some exceptional but interesting references to seeds and plants for healing purposes: mallow (*malva*), and *zaracazona*. As for vinegar, its use is characteristic of Manchego cooking: to prepare fresh vegetables, and meats, mixed with cumin, marjoram and garlic. Expenditure on vinegar disappeared in July 1808, probably because the Casa was consuming its own.

Two alcoholic beverages appear in the document: wine and spirits (*aguardiente*), both local in all likelihood. Their purchase amounted to 2 per cent of the total expenditure, of which 65 per cent was for wine and 35 per cent for *aguardiente*. This is a modest sum, suggesting a low consumption of wine, consistent with the testimony of foreign travellers in Southern Spain.²⁴ Wine was not only used as a drink, but also, as was the case with milk, as a medicine for people and, on special occasions, animals: it was used for three days 'to bathe the mule' that finally died. There are also references to its use for workers in the harvest season: 'wine for the straw carriers' is recorded in August 1807.

Milk was purchased only three times in the two years, probably when some member of the marchioness' family felt ill. It was either from goats or sheep, since there is no evidence of cows in these years. And finally, there was water. Although there was a well on the patio (whose repair is recorded), its water was probably of inferior quality, and thus used only for washing and cleaning. The accounts book recorded 'a load of water' every few days, drinking water that was carried from the fountain by the *aguador*, or water carrier, with the help of a donkey. When the marchioness died in 1809, and the last accounts were settled, the donkey was sold to the water carrier. This drinking water was not cheap, amounting to some 200 *maravedises* every month.

We know what this family ate. We can only imagine how and when it did. There was first a distinction between meat days and fish days, although dispensation from fasting was common. The influence of abstinence rules appeared through the consumption of fish at Easter and Christmas, the corresponding decrease in

meat consumption, and the increase of chocolate at these two times. Fish (cod) was not the only fasting food: in these weeks the combination of spinach and chickpeas or rice appeared, showing that the fasting pottage, or *potaje de vigilia* (often with boiled eggs) was cooked according to the same recipe still used today. Other clear distinctions appear at Christmas, with hake and roast pork or lamb. Other holidays, such as local festivities appeared less clearly: on 13 July 1808, a 'dole for the Virgen de las Nieves' (meaning probably the Virgin's hermitage) is recorded, but no particular food was then eaten.

The Casa as a Factory

The year at the Casa de Cervera was marked by the succession of agricultural seasons: the olive harvest in January-February, cereal harvest at the beginning of the summer, the wine harvest in September, and the killing of the pigs in November-December. These moments were expected by everyone in Almagro, workers and landowners, as they marked the peaks in the year's activity and the circulation of money in the town. For the family of the marchioness of Cervera, they meant much-needed money coming in, but at the same time important outgoings to be made in order to pay the workers' wages and other expenses: in May 1808, 900 *reales* were borrowed from the Royal Granary 'to cover the expenses of the harvest'.

Each of these seasons left its mark in the accounts: in the first weeks of the year, payments to the oliveskin-makers for the oliveskins to store the oil; barley, to feed the mules that pulled the coach, was stored in the 'barley room' for which a new key was ordered in January 1808, and payments were made to the men who piled the straw. But these activities occurred outside the house, on the land, and the wages and other expenses related to them were recorded elsewhere. What was entirely 'domestic' was the *matanza*, the pig-killing. In 1807, the *matanza* took place at the end of November and the preliminaries included buying a load of firewood, salt and lots of spices. Amounts 'to pay the pig killers' (*a los matadores*), who were given some spirits (*aguardiente*), were also recorded at the time. After the killing, the preparation of the different cuts of pork (sausages, hams) involved a lot of work for some days: a knife and more spices (ground pepper and marjoram), more firewood and cooking pots were recorded. Finally, the notice 'to other women who were in the *matanza* I gave them for their payment . . .' In 1808, the *matanza* followed an identical process, a ritual which persisted in most of rural Spain for centuries.

To prepare and cook the different cuts of pork, female servants and other female occasional helpers were needed. Many other aspects of a noble family lifestyle, however rural and impoverished it may have been, required people as well. And 'need' itself was not enough to account for the existence of domestic servants: the very fact of being a noble required some people in one's service, a living sign of

privileged social position. Evidence with regard to the marchioness' domestic servants is only indirect in the document, although establishing their presence is crucial to understanding how the food purchased was distributed and consumed. We have the working tools and objects that refer to domestic work (a broom for the stable, knives and cooking-pots for the kitchen, soap, starch, and 'a basket for the clothing', coal for the ironing, lime to whitewash the walls, the coach and the mules . . .); we have no payments made to outside workers, such as laundresses, which indicates that the laundry was done by permanent women servants. And there is more direct evidence: in 192 days (of the total of 665 recorded in the account), amounts corresponding to the 'lunch for the family' are recorded. 'Family' was the word to define the group of domestic servants (Sarasúa, 1994). Apparently, this reference follows no regularity: some months it appears three, five or seven days; but then there were months in which the number of days when lunch is given to the servants is always twenty-two, i.e. the months' working days excluding Saturdays and Sundays. This could indicate that these were not living-in servants, and that only when there was a particularly high workload (from May to September) they stayed the entire day, and therefore had lunch there and not at their homes. I do not know how many domestic servants were in this group: there were clearly women and men, given the strict gender definition of domestic tasks: women would cook and prepare the meals, wash, hang out and iron the clothes, whitewash the walls, attend the old marchioness, clean the house; men would feed and clean the mules and drive the coach, keep the boiler going; someone had to serve at table, buy and carry everyday the food consumed. There are references to some of them in other documents: among the buyers of grapes at the end of the vintage there were 'Patricio López, Vicente Rubio, Antonio Murcia, Pedro Nieto and Vicente Bermejo, criados de esta Casa'. The word used, *criado*, can be interpreted as domestic servant (and in fact Vicente Rubio is the person who writes the accounts every day), but also as outdoors workers.

Whatever days they stayed, the number of people seems to have been always the same, because the mean price paid for their lunch is very stable: between 16 and 19 *maravedises* each day. This is a very low sum; take for instance 5 June 1807, a month in which the 'family' eats lunch on twenty-two days. On that day, 15 *maravedises* were paid for the 'lunch for the family', while 85 were paid for a roast mutton leg, 60 for a pair of young pigeons, and 60 for 3 pounds of mutton. That same day, quantities similar to that paid for the servants' lunch served only to buy lettuces (13), 'half a dozen artichokes' (17), 'potatoes' (16). It can easily be deduced that when the servants ate at the house, their food consisted of cheap vegetables (plus coarse bread). On very special occasions, though, some meat was bought for their lunch, so unusual a practice that it was recorded: on two occasions in August 1807 one pound of mutton, and once in April 1808, one pound of liver. On September 1808, eggs for the servants' lunch were recorded as well.

The End of an Era, the Ruin of a Family

The first question posed by the document studied here is whether the diet of this noble family living in Southern Spain was representative of what is known today as the Mediterranean diet. Some of the features of the diet do indeed belong to this model, such as the high consumption (and wide variety) of fruits and vegetables throughout the year; and the use of olive oil instead of animal fat for cooking. However, the very high (and constant throughout the year) consumption of meat, introduces a contradictory and unexpected element: the fact is that the Catholic norm of fasting and meat abstinence had shaped eating behaviour only to a very limited extent. It is not only that meat could be replaced by eggs or vegetables, instead of the very expensive, and relatively scarce fish. As the case of this noble family shows, meat was simply not replaced: in the same days that fish was purchased and consumed, all kinds of meats were being purchased and consumed.

The second question is class identity. In food terms, social privilege means two things: quantity (eating or at least having plenty of food at one's disposal) at a time when most people were hungry for most of their lives, and quality (eating good-quality and expensive things). As in most parts of Europe in the eighteenth century, most of the Almagro population consisted of poor peasants, and scarcity of food was a constant feature of their lives. They ate very little, and what they ate was of poor quality. This means that the mere fact of buying all types of food every day was a strong signal of the privileged position of the marchioness' family. The second element of this class identity is the presence of particular items that expressed the consumer's economic and social importance: white bread, meat (in particular expensive meats, such as poultry, game, the best cuts of mutton, such as the loin, or the hams in the pork, and roasted pork or lamb, with which special holidays were celebrated, or unusual parts, such as the brains and tongues),²⁵ fresh fish, such as hake (which had to be transported from the coast); sweets, such as pies and cakes, bought at the bakery; and non-locally produced (hence, special) foods, including oranges and rice, cod, chocolate, sugar, cinnamon, and other spices, brought to Almagro from the seaports of Sevilla and Cádiz by the same muleteers who exported the lace made by Almagro lace-makers (Sarasúa, 1995).

Class privilege was expressed in ways other than eating particularly expensive things; it was also expressed by the time at which things were eaten. Only those who were not constricted by limited budgets could eat anything at any time. Living before the agricultural revolution, the marchioness of Cervera had to come to terms with the fact that seasons existed, and that plants and animals appeared and disappeared from the market following their own rhythms. Seasonal consumption is also a characteristic of poor people's food consumption, obliged to adapt their diet to whatever was cheaper at the market. It is possible to know whether seasonal food consumption by the marchioness' family was due to their efforts at saving or

to the constrictions imposed by nature by looking at price levels. Two conclusions can be deduced from this: first, changes in the consumption levels of products such as game or poultry occurred not because the demand was price-sensitive (that is, not because the family reduced their consumption in response to increasing prices, or increased it in response to falling prices), but because there was no supply during certain months of the year. Secondly, changes in the price levels of certain products had no effect on the family's consumption levels. Figure 3.4 shows the case of chocolate, a product whose demand would have been expected to be much reduced, had saving been a goal for this bankrupt family. Chocolate consumption underwent important fluctuations, but these were totally unconnected with price levels, which were extremely stable. Eating something regardless of price was the outer sign of privilege.

Conclusion

'Noble families' included very different levels of economic resources and lifestyles in Spain. The pattern of food consumption of the Cervera family is, indeed, very distant from that of the Almagro peasant. But it was also very distant from the urban, courtly nobility: the Cerveras consumed little wine (and no liquors), and some expensive non-local items, such as cheese and butter, honey or lemons, are completely absent;²⁶ they regularly consumed (cheap) vegetables, fruits and tubers such as potatoes, most of them locally produced; their diet followed the changing food supply at the local market; a seasonal influence that reflected a deep integration in rural life and its calendar.²⁷ The popular, local features included the cooking

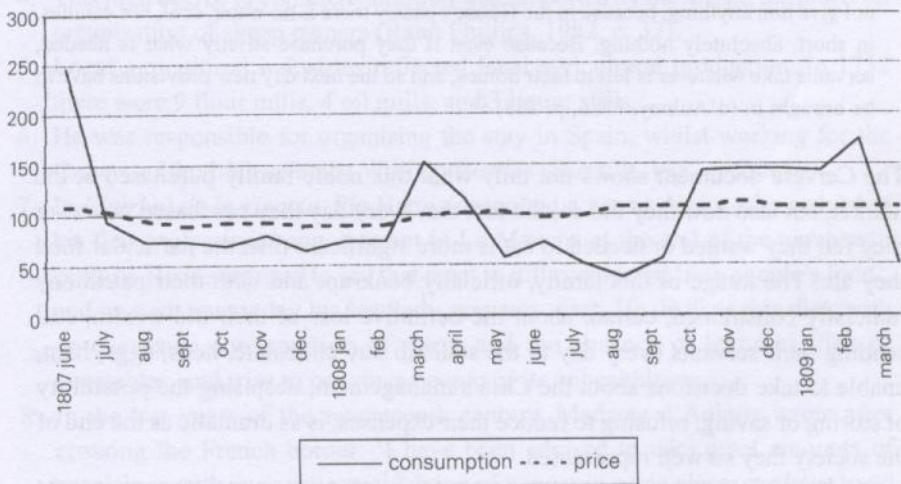


Figure 3.4 Consumption and price of chocolate

style, which clearly followed the local tastes and cooking traditions, as reflected in many scenes from *Don Quijote*. The social identity emerging from the diet of the marchioness of Cervera and her family represents a particular type of nobility, the traditional rural one, whose patterns of consumption combined the signs of their wealth and status with local features and tastes that differentiated them from the urban, courtly, sophisticated nobility.

The last element of identity emerging from the account books defines even better the type of nobility that the marchioness and her family belonged to. As late as the early nineteenth century, Spaniards still felt very strongly that thinking in terms of savings, making decisions in terms of profits, working harder in order to be richer, buying when it was cheaper, was simply dishonourable. For a noble family, this meant that expenses were dictated by honour, not by need or choice, and so they could not be questioned, or reduced. It also meant, above all, despising money, and everything related to it. The following statement seems very relevant of this particular attitude:

One thing deserving compassion is the disorder that exists in the houses of these great lords. Many of them do not want to go to their estates (that is how they call their lands, towns and castles), and spend their lives in Madrid, leaving everything in the hands of an intendant, who makes them believe what suits his own interests (. . .) It is not only in this that they make mistakes, but also in the daily expenditure of their Casas; they ignore what it means to make provision for what could be needed, they buy everything on trust, at the bakery, the butcher's, the rôtisserie, and so with others. They even do not know what these men write in their books, and whatever they give to them, never examine or refuse the accounts. There may be fifty horses in a stable lacking straw and oats, starving. And once the lord is in bed, should he fall sick during the night, they could not give him anything, because in the House's pantry there is no water, coal, nor candles, in short, absolutely nothing. Because even if they purchase strictly what is needed, servants take whatever is left to their homes, and so the next day new provisions have to be brought in (d'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 265).²⁸

The Cervera document shows not only what this noble family purchased at the market, but also how they did so; the fact that every day they purchased whatever they felt they wanted or needed to eat is more significant than the particular food they ate. The image of this family, officially bankrupt and with their patrimony judicially constrained, certain about the definitive loss of their old wealth, still sending their servants every day to the stalls to buy chocolate, hens, eggs, ham, unable to take decisions about the Casa's management, despising the possibility of storing or saving, refusing to reduce their expenses, is as dramatic as the end of the society they so well represented.

On 17 March 1808, with Murat marching towards Madrid and King Carlos IV and his prime minister Godoy planning their flight to France, a popular revolt

started in Aranjuez. In the following years, war against the French expressed the desire for freedom, as well the deep need for social change.²⁹ The modest accounting book recording the daily domestic purchases of the old marchioness of Cervera, tells us about the lifestyle of a social class that could no longer exist, a society that had to end.

Notes

1. In the last months the signature of a woman also appears, Josefa Zaias, the widow of judicial administrator Chaves, who had died weeks before the last accounts would have been settled. The document, entitled 'Gasto diario de la casa de la Sra Da Maria Theresa Miró', is in Archivo Municipal de Almagro (Ciudad Real), (box 'S. XIX, varios', No. 5529) unfortunately badly catalogued.
2. Studying the Auvergne nobility's food consumption, Charbonnier (1975, p. 472) noted that bread, fruit and vegetables were not recorded in the account books 'en raison de l'autoconsommation'.
3. Or at least not during these last years: the olive mill that appears among the properties constrained could indicate that the family had acted as food industrialists in the past (but they might have just rented it to someone else acting as such); in any case, the Casa buys regularly olive oil throughout the whole period covered by the 'book'.
4. This high degree of commercialisation was supported by the *Mesta*, the powerful organisation of sheep owners (Rahn Phillips, 1982, p. 32).
5. Local agricultural industries reflected local agricultural production: in 1752 there were 9 flour mills, 4 oil mills, and 3 liquor stills.
6. He was responsible for organising the stay in Spain, whilst working for the Crown, of the Irish scientist William Bowles (Sarrailh, 1957, p. 326).
7. In *El árbol de la ciencia*, Pío Baroja described a young doctor who arrived at his first professional appointment in La Mancha at the end of the nineteenth century. He is surprised to see that meat is still considered 'rich people's food', and as such, every day his landlady prepares meat. He dislikes this diet, with an excessive consumption of meat, and the absence of legumes, fish or vegetables, and tries to convince people of its unhealthiness.
8. In the last years of the seventeenth century, Madame d'Aulnoy wrote after crossing the French border: 'I have been advised to take great amounts of provisions with us so as to avoid dying of hunger in some places we have to go through; since hams and pork's tongues are famous in this country, I have given

- orders to take a fair amount of them' (p. 55). In Burgos, Northern Castile, she tasted (and liked) lamb and partridges, although, like many foreign travellers, she noted the strong flavour of frying with olive oil: 'although lamb is very tender there, not everybody likes their way of frying it in boiling oil; because butter is extremely rare there. Partridges can be found in great quantities and they are very big' (D'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 99).
9. Mutton was not only the most abundant meat in Spain, but had been the most appreciated since the Middle Ages: 'Tous les traités du XVe ou du XVIe siècle s'accordent pour attribuer la palme, entre toutes les viandes, au mutton. Dès 1420, Juan de Avinon écrit que la viande de mouton est la plus noble des viandes d'animaux à quatre pattes. Au XVIe siècle, Luis Lobera de Avila et Juan Sorapan de Rieros expriment la même idée.' (Vincent, 1975, p. 451). In the early decades of the nineteenth century, mutton began to be replaced by veal and steak in the northern areas in which livestock was becoming a major specialisation, such as Galicia (Eiras Roel, 1975, p. 463, fn 5).
 10. Cod had traditionally been fished in Atlantic waters, off the Grand Banks, by fishermen from Northern Spain. Formerly a French territory, Terranova became British after the Utrecht Treaty of 1713. Although the treaty recognised the traditional rights of Spanish fishermen to fish and salt the cod there, they were in fact prevented from doing so, and British fishermen were increasingly taking over the cod trade. By the mid-eighteenth century, with growing commercial and political rivalry with Britain, and a growing deficit in the balance of payments, cod imports became a political issue; political reformers advocated replacement of cod by different fish as 'fish days' staple, inspired by the French prohibition on imports of sardines from England in 1715 (Ulloa 1740, p. 150).
 11. In late eighteenth-century Madrid it was occasionally offered to domestic servants as part of their wage (Sarasúa 1994, p. 217).
 12. 'The wife of the town's governor ordered chocolate to be brought in, which she offered to me, and it cannot be denied that they do it better here than in France', wrote Madame d'Aulnoy during her stay in Vitoria, p. 63.
 13. An *onza* (or 'ounce', slightly less than 30 gr.) per person was considered the regular daily consumption of chocolate, to the point that chocolate makers made chocolate tablets of one kilo weight, divided into two parts of a pound each, in turn divided into eight portions.
 14. 'Merendamos at the princess' house (. . .) There was iced and hot chocolate, and another chocolate with milk and eggs. They take it with sponge cakes or rolls both dry and fried, which they make purposely' (d'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 243).
 15. Butter was exceptional even in Madrid a century before: 'Thank God, Lent is over, and even if I fasted only during the Holy Week, time seemed to me much longer than what the entire Lent would have seemed to me in Paris,

- because there is no butter here. The one we can find comes from over 30 leagues, wrapped like small sausages in hogs' casings, is full of worms and more expensive than butter from Vanvre. One has to put up with oil because it is excellent, but nobody likes it' (ibid, p. 252).
16. Items purchased on 1 September 1808, included: mutton three pounds, mutton chops, one pound of fresh bacon, two chickens, one hen, white and coarse bread, melons, 'fruit', chickpeas, cabbage, eggs, 'lunch for the family', peppers and tomatoes, salad and spices, and two loads of water.
 17. On 12 January 1808, items purchased included: three pounds of mutton, two partridges, white and coarse bread, thistle, potatoes, olive oil, spices, hazelnuts, a load of water, soap, a load of firewood, biscuits, lunch for 'the family'.
 18. On 22 June 1807 (a fish day), items purchased included: three and a half pounds of mutton, four coarse loaves, lettuces, potatoes, cod, 'lunch for the family', spices, hazelnuts, almonds, half a pound of biscuits, wine, a hen, kidney beans, half a dozen oranges, rice, two pounds of chickpeas, two pounds of mazzard cherries, soap.
 19. In both cases, potatoes are referred to the original American word, *papas*, instead of the modern term in Spain, *patatas*, although this was already used in most late eighteenth-century texts.
 20. *Semanario de agricultura*, tomo II, Madrid, 1797, pp. 307–8. *Orujo* is grape waste (or olive waste) after pressing. The liquor distilled from grape waste is also called *orujo*.
 21. Oranges were highly priced and regarded as exquisite fruit. Madame d'Aulnoy wrote: 'Don Fernando de Toledo sent me wines and liquors, with a great quantity of confits and oranges' (d'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 50).
 22. One century before, Court ladies were given 'on fast days one pound of dry fruits such as roasted hazelnuts, almonds, dates or raisins' (Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 93).
 23. Madame d'Aulnoy complains on different occasions about the use of spices in Spanish cuisine: 'I was served a great dinner, which gallant Spaniards had had prepared for me, but everything was so full of garlic, saffron and spices, that I could barely eat anything' (d'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 41).
 24. 'They economise wine extraordinarily. Women never drink it, and men in such tiny quantity, than half *quartillo* a day is enough for them' (ibid, p. 227). Leandro Fernández de Moratín, the most famous late eighteenth-century playwright, was shocked at the heavy use of alcoholic beverages by English gentlemen. He titled the seventh of his *Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra* (Loose annotations about England) 'Drunkenness'.
 25. According to Montanari (1997, p. 187), this was a transitional period for meat consumption in Europe: after being a basic food of the privileged classes for centuries, it suffered a progressive loss of prestige among the wealthy.

26. The absence of cheese is particularly noticeable since the famous manchego sheep's cheese already existed.
27. On 3 November 1808, the purchase is recorded of 'chestnuts of All Saints Day' (*castañas del día de los santos*).
28. 'Spaniards give their body-servants but fifteen escudos per month, with which they have to clothe and feed themselves (. . .) This is why they eat nothing but onions, peas and other vile species, and what makes pages rob more than magpies' (d'Aulnoy, 1986, p. 226).
29. Hunger and need increased in Almagro in the first decade of the nineteenth century, due to the disruption of agricultural and livestock production brought about by the French invasion and the war. In 1809 abandoned children were so numerous that the City Council hired fifty-six wet nurses to feed them. In 1815, 161 wet nurses were needed (Sánchez-López, 1993, p. 34).

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