

MEDICINE AND DIET IN CASTILE IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: THE *OPÚSCULO DE COZINAS*, BY *EL LICENCIADO ANTONIO* (DE TORNAY)

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ABSTRACT

This study is of the text called *Opúsculo de cozinias*. It was written by a French doctor, residing in Vitoria (northern Spain), and previously the doctor of the Duke of Brittany, at the request of the Duke of Alba. The treatise may be dated to about 1486-1487 and it is related to the illness of the duke, García Álvarez de Toledo, from which he died in 1488, and for whom the doctor, *el licenciado Antonio*, had previously written a *consilium* and a *regimen sanitatis* (health regimen). The brief treatise initially had five parts, but only one of them, the first, survives, on the subject of meat. It is not a cookery book as such, as its title might lead us to believe, in which detailed explanations of culinary procedures are given, but it is a veritable medical and dietary treatise in which the different varieties of meat are spoken about, along with the medicinal properties of certain exotic spices, aromatic herbs and condiments, with which sauces were made for the purpose of improving the digestive properties of certain foods that were inadvisable but necessary on the table of a member of the high nobility. The treatise ends with a brief section devoted to the way of carving different kinds of meat in the French style.¹

KEYWORDS

Antonio (de Tornay), García Álvarez de Toledo, Manuscript, Dietetics; Ars cisoria.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Antonius (de Tornay), Garcia Alvarez Toletensis, Manuscriptum, Doctrina de diaeta, Ars cisoria.

1. Introduction

In the Middle Ages the medical profession established the central role played by diet in the maintenance of health, insisting on the consumption or not of different foods included in daily and seasonal diets. When a person was affected by a particular kind of illness, doctors (physicians) considered that the patient was suffering from a humoral imbalance, which implied the alteration of their natural temperament (sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric or melancholic), always in relation to the qualities of each of the humours or fluids (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile). However, the notions that people had of diet at that time went beyond the present-day idea, referring principally to eating (dietetics), although this was certainly a central factor in the prescriptions that doctors made up for the sick.² Strictly speaking, diet (*diaeta*) alluded to food and drink, while in a more general sense, it referred to the so-called “unnatural things” (*res non naturales*), factors that, although they did not constitute the individual nature of each person, as did the “natural things” (*res naturales*), did contribute to better maintenance of health: air and environment, exercise and rest, food and drink, sleep and wakefulness, excretions and secretions, and passions of the soul (emotions).³

According to Bruno Laurioux, until a few years ago the idea was widespread among medieval food historians that the cuisine of the period corresponded to practical dietetics. Nowadays the picture is more complex, and between cuisine and medicine differences can be observed (of approaches and premises), divergences (in the texts, for the combination of ingredients) and even disagreements. The fact that differences and points in common existed between the medical and culinary approaches during the Middle Ages is obvious in the sphere of dietetics, whose thin red line between medicine and cuisine is perceptible in foodstuffs, which could be thought of as either medicines or foods. Culinary practice (cookery) is the technique to make food edible but also appetizing, although it is just one of the elements that are associated with food. The study of it focuses principally on cookery books, which appeared at the end of the thirteenth century and multiplied until the end of the fifteenth century in the form of manuscripts, first, and printed matter later,⁴ but also through medical texts such as general *regimina sanitatis* (regimens of health), or specialized treatises about food, as well as the individual and collective regimens

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2. Scully, Terence. *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1995: 185.

3. Nicoud, Marilyn. “La dietetica medievale: testi e lettori”. *Minerva*, 23 (2010): 15.

4. Laurioux, Bruno. *Les livres de cuisine médiévaux*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997: 25, 53-55.



(*consilia*) aimed at combating different illnesses.⁵ These texts include rules for regaining health but also for avoiding the risk of falling ill. In them the gastronomic and dietetic functions are in fact often closely intertwined⁶ despite the fact that the pleasure of eating could occasionally be considered incompatible with being in good health.⁷

From the thirteenth century onwards, in the context of the scholastic medicine taught in the universities, different texts were developed, first in Greek or Arabic, then translated into Latin, which quickly became fundamental tools of medical teaching. Some of them are devoted especially to foods, like *De alimentorum facultatibus* (On the Properties of Foodstuffs) by Galen, translated twice in the thirteenth century, or *De diaetis universalibus et particularibus* (On Dietetics [Universal and Particular]), by Isaac Israeli ben Solomon (tenth century). The dietetic discourse also has a place in the commentary genre, which constitutes one of the methods of medieval teaching, such as those made on certain passages of the first book of Avicenna's *Canon*, or Israeli ben Solomon's text, dedicated to the positive and negative aspects of the products consumed. They frequently talk about the nature of foodstuffs, the process of digestion, or the order in which these foodstuffs should be consumed. In fact, dietetics also appears in practical texts, and also in the personalized advice I referred to (medical prescriptions that appeared in the last third of the thirteenth century) and in the practice envisaged by aetiology and the treatment of diseases according to where they occur in the body.⁸

Physicians' interest in cookery, specifically in culinary recipes, was due to two sets of causes, one medical or therapeutic and the other social. Once the methods of preparing food were known, the doctor could help to feed the sick person by proposing and rejecting different ingredients, and at the same time he entered the private realm of the house, the kitchen, listing not just what had to be eaten, but also how it had to be eaten. The elites had access to the most expensive products on the market⁹ and, of course, to the most prestigious physicians, and these elites were

5. Lauriou, Bruno. "Cuisine et médecine au Moyen Âge. Alliées ou ennemies?". *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 13 (2006): 223-224. A global point of view of the medical texts referred to: Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "Introducción", [Arnaldi de Villanova] *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum*. Luis García Ballester, Michael R. McVaugh, Pedro Gil-Sotres, Juan A. Paniagua, eds. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Fundació Noguera, 1996: 471-885; Nicoud, Marilyn. *Les régimes de santé au Moyen Âge. Naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. 2 vols. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007; Agrimi, Jole; Crisciani, Chiara. *Les consilia médicaux*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.

6. Flandrin, Jean-Louis. "Avant-Propos", *Fêtes gourmandes au Moyen Âge*. Jean-Louis Flandrin, Carole Lambert, eds. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1998: 20.

7. Freedman, Paul. "Food Histories of the Middle Ages", *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*. Kyri W. Clafin, Peter Scholliers, eds. London: Berg, 2012: 33.

8. Nicoud, Marilyn. "L'alimentation, un risque pour la santé? Discours médical et pratiques alimentaires au Moyen Âge". *Médiévales: Langues, Textes, Histoire*, 69 (2015): 155-156.

9. The reference in both culinary recipe books and in health regimens to the most exquisite or healthy ingredients (the most expensive) does not mean that their use was habitual, even among the most privileged (Salmón, Fernando. "Consumo y salud: la comida y la bebida en la medicina medieval", *Comer, beber, vivir: consumo y niveles de vida en la Edad Media hispánica. XXI Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, del 2 al 6 de agosto de 2010*. Esther López Ojeda, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2010: 425).



the essential element of the medicalization of medieval society.¹⁰ The culinary rules of late medieval doctors were based on the magnificence and the sumptuousness of the culinary preparations that their patients liked so much, so it is no surprise that in that period the eating habits of the privileged determined some of the medical precepts.¹¹ As it was, it became necessary to adapt the tastes or eating habits of their contemporaries by reconciling the demands with theoretical knowledge and adapting the medical discourse to social realities that sometimes contradicted one another.¹²

The function of doctors in the service of privileged families was to supervise the work of the kitchens, having the same level of responsibility—or perhaps an even greater one—as the head cooks. The search for balance between the medical needs and the personal tastes of the diners required a significant level of mutual understanding between doctors and cooks,¹³ it being the latter who held this complex reality together.¹⁴ One must bear in mind, however, that daily culinary practice occasionally broke the dietary rules,¹⁵ and that doctors did not always have the same opinions about the specific properties of some foodstuffs, their preparation and the order in which they should be consumed.¹⁶ If the doctor's supervision consisted

10. Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “El arte de la cocina y los médicos: las recetas culinarias en los regímenes de salud”, *La ciencia en la España medieval: musulmanes, judíos y cristianos*. Lola Ferre, José Ramón Ayuso, María José Cano, eds. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992: 206-207.

11. Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. “*Quicumque vult continuam sanitatem custodire, custodiat stomachum*. La dietoterapia alla corte sabauda nel quattrocento”, *La mensa del Príncipe: cucina e regimi alimentari nelle corti sabaude (XIII-XV secolo)*. Rinaldo Comba, Anna Maria Nada Patrone, Irma Naso, eds. Cuneo-Alba-Rocca de' Baldi: Società Studi Storici di Cuneo-Famija Albeisa-Museo e Centro Studi “Augusto Doro”, 1996: 147.

12. Nicoud, Marilyn. “Savoirs et pratiques diététiques au Moyen Âge”. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 13 spécial (2006): 244.

13. Lauriou, Bruno. “Cuisine et médecine...”: 226.

14. Vivas, Frédéric. “Las prácticas alimentarias y la imagen del cocinero al final de la Edad Media”, *Alimentación y Cultura. Actas del Congreso Internacional, 1998. Museo Nacional de Antropología. España*. Vol. 2, Huesca: La Val de Onsera, 1999: 1034.

15. Flandrin, Jean-Louis. “De la dietética a la gastronomía, o la liberación de la gula”, *Historia de la alimentación*. Jean-Louis Flandrin, Massimo Montanari, dirs. Gijón: Trea, 2004: 849. For Hispania, examples of this way of working are recorded in Navarre (Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. *La Mesa del Rey. Cocina y régimen alimentario en la corte de Carlos III el Noble de Navarra (1411-1425)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2002), in Castile (Martín Cea, Juan Carlos. “Entre platos, copas y manteles. Usos y costumbres sociales en torno a las comidas en la Castilla bajomedieval”, *Convivir en la Edad Media*. Juan Carlos Martín Cea, coord. Burgos: Dossoles, 2010: 258-275), and in the Crown of Aragon (Torreblanca Gaspar, María Jesús; Morales Gómez, Juan José. “La provisión de la mesa de Fernando I en 1413: alimento y jerarquía”, *Actes: Ir Col.loqui d'Història de l'Alimentació a la Corona d'Aragó. Edat Mitjana*. Vol. 2, Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1995: 329-346; Riera i Melis, Antoni. “Jerarquía social y desigualdad alimentaria en el Mediterráneo Noroccidental en la baja Edad Media: La cocina y la mesa de los estamentos privilegiados”. *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 16-17 (1995-1996): 181-205; García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. *La taula del señor duc. Alimentació, gastronomia i etiqueta a la cort dels ducs reials de Gandia*. Gandia: CEIC Alfons el Vell, 2010, among many others). As an Italian example we have the case of the court of Savoy (Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. “*Quicumque vult...*”: 179).

16. Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 661-662.



in adapting the food to individuals depending on their good or bad health,¹⁷ the cook's function was to provide tasty food, bearing in mind that each flavour had a specific dietetic significance, but observing the rules of the complementarity of temperaments and flavours, which were gastronomic and dietetic at one and the same time.¹⁸

2. *It is my wish to universally address and devote a chapter to all kinds of meat: description and structure of the Opúsculo de cozinhas*

The last illness of the first Duke of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1488), entailed a series of medical advice provided by *el licenciado* Antonio (de Tornay), a resident of Vitoria and a former physician of the Duke of Brittany.¹⁹ This advice corresponds to three types of texts: the first concerns a *consilium*, written at the request of the duke's son, Gutiérrez Álvarez de Toledo, then the Chancellor of the University of Salamanca; it is followed by a *regimen sanitatis*, in which aspects are dealt with related to the air and the environment, how to regulate the sleep/wake cycle, recommendations for doing exercise and some concise references on matters of food and eating; the third document concerns a veritable cookery treatise from a medical point of view, written at the request of García Álvarez de Toledo himself.²⁰

The latter must have been satisfied with the *consilium* (counsel) and the *regimen* submitted by the French doctor, as he asked him for a more developed text dedicated to *presentar las virtudes y propiedades de las cosas usuales en el comer e beber, así como de las vigiales e anymales, con otras aviçiones minerales, particulando cada una por sí* ("presenting the virtues and the properties of the usual things eaten and drunk, and also of vegetables and animals, with other mineral additions, specifying each one of them").²¹ The doctor's attitude was at all times one of humility in response

17. Laurioux, Bruno. *Écrits et images de la gastronomie médiévale*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2011: 54.

18. Flandrin, Jean-Louis. "Condimentación, cocina y dietética durante los siglos XIV, XV y XVI", *Historia de la alimentación*. Jean-Louis Flandrin, Massimo Montanari, dirs. Gijón: Trea, 2004: 645.

19. Probably university trained, he is recorded in Vitoria from at least 1483 to the middle of 1493. Concerning other aspects related to the identification of *el licenciado* Antonio: Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. "Açerca de la enfermedad de tenblor de los myembros e moliçia: consideraciones médicas para García Álvarez de Toledo a finales del siglo XV", *Redes hospitalarias: historia, economía y sociología de la sanidad*. Concepción Villanueva Morte, Antoni Conejo da Pena and Raúl Villagrasa-Eliás, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2018: 88; Cantera Montenegro, Enrique. *Las juderías de la diócesis de Calahorra en la Baja Edad Media*. Vol. I, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1983: 313 (doctoral thesis).

20. García Ballester, Luis. *La búsqueda de la salud. Sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval*. Barcelona: Península, 2001: 357.

21. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10r; García Ballester, Luis. *La búsqueda...*: 359. There is a meritorious transcript of the text, published some years ago (Vaca, Ángel; Bonilla, José A. *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1989: 289-312), although after it was revised some errors were found, so I have followed the revised transcript that Érika López Gómez has done for me. The text is a copy whose spelling is typical of the late fifteenth century and must have



to the commission, as it had been with the abovementioned texts,²² acknowledging a certain degree of regret for having agreed to the commission, and also his *osadía muy themeraria y por non me sentir tan leýdo, nin acompañado de los libros, que en tal caso requiriran* (“very rash audacity and for not feeling myself to be so well-read, nor accompanied by the books that this case will require”).²³ García Ballester considers that the author was in Vitoria without his library.²⁴ Another option is that Antonio (de Tornay) was not in Vitoria when he wrote it, but elsewhere. Bear in mind that his presence in the city is recorded from 1483 onwards²⁵ and this text, like those he had written previously for the Duke of Alba, can be dated to about 1486 or 1487, whereby the idea, not stated directly, but I believe sensed by García Ballester, that his books were still at the court of the Duke of Brittany, where *el licenciado* Antonio was from, loses force. His willingness with regard to the proposed challenge is at the very least remarkable, as *esta es una de las principales partes desta tan subida çiençia, cuya profesyón tengo y de tantos años a esta parte la aya exercitado y usado* (“this is one of the principal parts of such an excellent science, my profession, which I have practised and used for so many years now”).²⁶ It is a first-hand example of medieval doctors’ interest in food and eating.

García Álvarez de Toledo’s ailment, mentioned as *tenblor de los myembros e moliçia* (shaking of the limbs and softness),²⁷ is the axis on which the dietetic ideas of *el licenciado* Antonio will be developed, who divides his brief treatise into five parts:

*La primera será de las aves bolátiles con todas las otras carnes usytivas. La otra parte será de las yervas, plantas, frutas, granos e licores. La tercera será de los pescados, uestos e apostemas de tierra. La quarta será de las piedras minerales. La quinta e última será en hablar de las preparaciones commo salsas, cozinhas y otros condimentos convenibles a servicio de tan grand yllustre y magnífico señor, sometiendo syenpre a correçión de los que mejor e por mejor estilo lo tratan e pueden tratar.*²⁸

been esteemed by its owners. At the end of the document a note from the second half of the 18th century is added, which reads: *Que deste papel tan curioso he sacado dos copias. Una para el duque, mi señor, que se la entregué quando vino de Paris, año 1773; y la otra para mí en este mes de julio de 1782* (ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26v).

22. The doctor’s attitude is always one of humility with regard to the doctors who personally attend the duke. He seems interested in avoiding any kind of suspicion among his colleagues. In this respect, at the end of the *consilium*, besides alluding to the grace of God so that the sick man will make a complete recovery, he also entrusts his lordship’s doctors with *graçia de abrir sus entendimientos para escoger y obrar lo que a su salud convenible sea* (grace to open their understanding to choose and do what is good for his health) (Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. “*Açerca de la enfermedad...*”: 88). On this occasion, despite the difficulty of not having the books he needs to carry out his commission, he says that he will remember *algunas cosas leídas* (some things he has read), not without first asking the duke and *los reverendos letrados y otros que la leyeren* (the revered men of letters and others who read it) not to consider his work as being limited (ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10r).

23. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10r.

24. García Ballester, Luis. *La búsqueda...*: 357.

25. Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. “*Açerca de la enfermedad...*”: 88.

26. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10r.

27. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 2r.

28. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10r-v. The first part will be about flying birds with all the other meats consumed. The next part will be about herbs, plants, fruit, grain and liqueurs. The third will be about fish, eggs and



The structure of the content does not follow the usual order of the majority of health regimens: cereals, pulses, fruit, green vegetables, meat, superfluties and fish.²⁹ He refers first to poultry and then to the other types of meat that are usually consumed. This order is not unintentional; he employs it not just because of the special therapeutic consideration that was then given to poultry, but also because of its function as a representation of power among the elites.³⁰ To all this, one must add that the value of poultry in the food hierarchy was closely linked to the culture of chivalry, which still dominated the mental ideal even when the reality of chivalry had ceased to exist.³¹ Of the original text, if it was ever completed, only this first part has survived.

Before going into detail about each type of meat, we should remember that medieval doctors used a general differentiation of it, depending on whether it was the meat of birds or quadrupeds, domestic or wild, and on the animal's size, sex and age. The last two were important, as from them was derived the contingent complexion that determined some of their properties.³² *El licenciado* Antonio begins by distinguishing between domestic and wild (*sylvestres*) meats, indicating that in both of them some types of meat are more habitual than others in everyday consumption: *asý de las unas commo de las otras, ay algunas sólitas e otras non sólitas*.³³ The qualities of domestic animals, *de menos calor, y de menos sequedad, y de mejor nudrimento* ("cooler, less dry and more nourishing"), make them easier to digest.³⁴ As an exception the French doctor mentions Isaac Israeli ben Solomon (*Ysaque*),³⁵ who considers that the meat of the roe deer (*capolinas*)³⁶ has qualities similar to that of domestic animals. He also refers to Rhazes, and his *terçero del Al[man]çor*

mud poultices. The fourth will be about mineral stones. The fifth and last will discuss preparations such as sauces, *cozinas* and other suitable condiments at the service of such a great, illustrious, magnificent lord, submitting always to the correction by those who deal with it better and in the best way.

29. Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "El arte de la cocina...": 201.

30. Banegas López, Ramón A. *Europa carnívora. Comprar y comer carne en el mundo urbano bajomedieval*. Gijón: Trea, 2012: 26.

31. Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. "*Quicumque vult...*": 173.

32. Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "Introducción": 691.

33. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10v.

34. Medieval doctors were aware that not all animals provided equally advisable meat, and they therefore suggest that only certain kinds should be eaten, and others avoided (Peña, Carmen; Girón, Fernando). *La prevención de la enfermedad en la España bajomedieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006: 197).

35. Ibū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (Egypt, c. 832-Kairouan, c. 932) was a Jewish physician and philosopher in the service of the Fatimid caliphs of Ifrīqiya (now Tunisia). Known in the medieval Latin West as Isaac Israeli (or Judaeus) or simply Isaac. His work *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada wa-l-aghdiya* was translated into Latin (*Dietae universales*) by Constantine the African (c. 1020-1098/9) (Sciència.cat DB nom58 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=58>> (consulted: 18/11/2019)).

36. A learned expression that reproduces the Latin *capreolus* or *capriolus* and *capreolinus* (Pensado, José Luis. (1992) "Anotaciones marginales a *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*". *Studia historica. Historia medieval*, 10 (1992): 197).



(third chapter of *Liber ad Almansoris*),³⁷ and to Avicenna³⁸ as authorities who value meat particularly with respect to other foodstuffs for *criar e nudrir* (“rearing and nourishing”).³⁹ He additionally admits that Galen is aware that meat does not suit everyone (*non vien digie[stas]*). The Frenchman’s explanation of the goodness of meat goes even further, preferring that which *falla çerca de los huesos e de la parte derecha* (“is near the bone and from the right-hand side”) because it is easier to digest *que las syniestras* (“than meat from the left-hand side”).⁴⁰

The meat of domestic animals is divided by gender, *masculinas y femeninas* (“males and females”), as well as castrated animals. That of males, *más caliente y menos úmeda y de más ligera degestión* (“hotter, less moist and easier to digest”), is highly appreciated due to its proximity to the human complexion. Nevertheless, the meat of the female, *de menos calor natural e de menos humidat natural* (“less naturally hot and moist”), is more digestible.⁴¹ The animal given most praise is the castrated male *porque de la parte de la castradura tenga vezindad a la fenbra y por la calor y conplysió[n] suya natural masculina* (“because due to castration it is closer to the female and due to the heat and complexion it is naturally male”), i.e. it has characteristics common to the male and the female. He alludes to the belief of those who claim that the meat of *buey castrado* (castrated ox) is better than that of *del non castrado* (“of non-castrated”) and that of capons is better than that of young cockerels and hens. He also acknowledges that in some places, unspecified, *castran a las fenbras* (“females are spayed”) whose meat is better and essentially (*en natura*) more advisable.⁴²

El licenciado Antonio once again draws on his erudition, referring to Jacques Despars (*Jacobo de Partybus*)⁴³ and Michele Savonarola (*Michael de Ferraria*),⁴⁴ who

37. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (Ray, Iran, c. 864-c. 925) was a Persian doctor and philosopher. Known in the Latin West as Rhazes and Rasis, his work *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* was translated into Latin (*Liber Almansoris*) by Gerard of Cremona (c. 1114-1187) (Sciència.cat DB nom22 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=22>> (consulted 22/11/2019)).

38. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Sīnā (Afshāna, near Bukhārā, c. 980-Hamadān, 1037) was a Persian doctor and philosopher. Known in the Latin West as Avicenna, his work *Kitāb al-qānūn fī l-ṭibb* was translated into Latin (*Canon medicine*) by Gerard of Cremona (c. 1114-1187) (Sciència.cat DB nom179 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=179>> (consulted: 18/11/2019)).

39. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10v.

40. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10v. Of the same opinion is Alonso de Chirino, the personal doctor of John II of Castile, in his work *Menor daño de la medicina* (Vega, Emilio. “Aspectos de la alimentación en el tratado *Menor daño de la medicina* de Alonso de Chirino”, *Discursos hispánicos sobre alimentación y culinaria. Aproximaciones literarias y lingüísticas*. Rolf Eberenz, ed. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2014: 376).

41. Banegas López says with respect to the meat of females, especially if they had just given birth, that their meat was less balanced and digestive (*Europa carnívora...*: 55). Aldebrandin of Siena does not have the same opinion as *el licenciado* Antonio. He admits that the meat of male animals is hotter than that of females besides being more nutritious and more digestible (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime du corps*, eds. Louis Landouzy, Roger Pépin. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911: 121).

42. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 11r.

43. On his life, work and career: Jacquart, Danielle. “Le regard d’un médecin sur son temps: Jacques Despars (1380?-1458)”. *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, 138/1 (1980): 35-86. His most popular text was his commentary on Avicenna’s *Canon*, printed in Lyon 40 years after his death, in three thick volumes: *Expositio supra librum Canonis Avicene*. Lyon: Jean Treschel, 1498.

44. One of the most famous Italian doctors of the fifteenth century; he was a professor at the universities



consider spayed young hens more advisable *que otro lynaje suyo* (“than others of their species”) for people with a fever (*febryçitantes*). From his own experience (*esto por mí es cosa muy experimentada*), he adds that he has eaten, and has ordered those with a fever to eat, this type of hen, noting the speed with which tender white meat can be cooked; *más deleitables en el comer* (“the most delicious to eat”).⁴⁵ At the same time, domestic animals are also regarded as better or worse depending on their age:

*Yten más, la carne doméstica recibe dibisyón e partimento commo las adoleçentes e latantes y jóvenes y viejas. Las latantes es más caliente y más úmida que sus pares. Las non latantes son de menos umidad, ay en ellas propiedad de fácilmente ser digestas, porque la primera latante es de su natyvidad más cercana en la [...] más sangre. La otra jovena non latante es más lexos de su nascimiento, es más seca e más caliente. Alguno podría dezir que la carne de leche por el bulgo y golosos, lo contrario dévese entender, que la tyerna y muy latante y çercana de su nascimiento non es tan buena nin tan loada commo en el tiempo que se dexa la leche, sy gorda fuere. Entiéndese que los médicos llamamos latantes, o algunos dellos, fasta los veynte días ternulas jóvenes, aunque laten. De los quarenta arriba son más convenibles porque dexan parte de algunas lymosidades e viscosydades. Vulgarmente todos llaman latantes las que se crían en leche. Las viejas son peores en todas sus obras, generantes umor malincónico y sangre quemada.*⁴⁶

Once again following the *Liber tertius Almansori* by Rhazes (*en el terçero de los alimentos*), the meat of animals neither young nor old and well fed is more appreciated depending on their age.⁴⁷

of Padua and Ferrara. On dietetics he wrote *Libreto de tutte le cosse che se magnano*, probably composed in 1452 (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte le cosse che se magnano. Un'opera di dietetica del secolo XV*, dir. Jane Nystedt. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988: 7-15). On his life and work: Crisciani, Chiara. “Michele Savonarola, medico: tra università e corte, tra latino e volgare”, *Filosofia in volgare nel medioevo: Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale (SISPM)*, Lecce, 27-29 settembre 2002. Nadia Bray, Loris Sturlese, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: 433-449; Crisciani, Chiara; Zuccolin, Gabriella, eds. *Michele Savonarola. Medicina e cultura di corte*. Florence: SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011.

45. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 11r-v.

46. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 11v. Likewise, domestic meat is divided and separated into adolescents and suckling and young and old. Suckling animals are hotter and moister than their peers. Non-suckling animals are less moist, they are easy to digest, because the first suckling animal is from its birth closer in the [...] more blood. The other non-suckling young animal is further away from her birth, is drier and hotter. Some might say that suckling meat, for the common people and gluttons, the opposite must be understood, that tender and very suckling and close to its birth is not as good nor so highly praised as when it ceases to suckle, if it were plump. It should be understood that doctors, or some of them, call young calves suckling up to 20 days, even if they are suckling. After 40 they are more advisable because they leave part of some sliminess and viscosity. Vulgarly everyone calls those that suckle milk, suckling animals. The old ones are worse in every way, generating melancholic humour and burnt blood.

47. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 11v-12r. A similar opinion to that of Aldebrandin of Siena, who claimed that the meats of both old and young animals which had been removed from their mother's womb were very harmful, recommending abstinence from them (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 121). Antonio Guainerio, in the service during the first half of the fifteenth century of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and of Amadeus VIII of Savoy, in his *Opus preclarum*, recommends young animals to sick people, which therefore have a dry complexion, generally neither too thin nor too plump (Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. “*Quicumque vult...*”: 172).



The meat of poultry, hot and dry, is easier to digest than that of four-legged animals. The duke's doctor refers to one of Galen's works, *De subtiliante dieta* (On the Thinning Diet), to distinguish between birds *exercitantes e otras [que] non* ("that exercise and others that do not"); the former are more appreciated.⁴⁸ By their size, birds are classed as: plump, middling and lean (*magra*). The meat most appreciated is that of the middling ones, *que engendra la sangre y buena, commo dize el tercero de Almonçor* ("which engenders good blood, as the third chapter of *Liber ad Almansor* says"), then that of than lean ones, which generate blood that is drier and *de pocas superfluidades* ("with few superfluities") although they feed one well. The least liked is plump meat because it engenders very moist blood and *haze muchas superfulidades, y poco nudrimento y laxan el vientre* ("creates a lot of superfluities, provides little nourishment and loosens the bowels"). If moreover they are too plump they take away the appetite and *hazen abominaçion* ("cause disgust").⁴⁹ The author is more concise when dealing with wild birds: *más calientes y más secas* ("hotter and drier") than domestic ones, so they are more indigestible.⁵⁰ Due to their condition they are best prepared with savoury sauces to cool their natural complexion.⁵¹ He states generically that *segund los doctores* ("according to the doctors") these birds feed one well, *y en espeçial las viejas salades [que] son fechas más calientes y más secas* ("and especially the old salty ones that are hotter and drier").⁵²

48. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 12r. This work was translated into Latin by Niccolo da Reggio and published in the *Galeno* of 1490 (vol. 1. 142vb-144vb), and more recently into Italian: Galeno. *La dieta dimagrante*, ed. Nino Marinone. Turin: G. B. Paravia, 1973. Averroes, in his *Colliget*, a work *el licenciado* Antonio knew, claims that the animals *que corren rápidamente y hacen mucho ejercicio* (that run fast and have a dry complexion) have a dry constitution, with little moisture, *y otros cuya carrera es lenta y hacen poco ejercicio* (that run slowly and do little exercise) have a cold damp complexion (Averroes [Abū-l-Walīd Ibn Rušus]. *El libro de las generalidades de la medicina [Kitāb al-Kulliyāt fīl-ḡibb]*, eds. María de la Concepción Vázquez de Benito, Camilo Álvarez Morales. Madrid: Trotta, 2003).

49. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 12r. Antonio Guainerio defends the same ideas with respect to meat in general (Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. "*Quicumque vult...*": 152).

50. Aldebrandin of Siena is of the same opinion (*Le régime...*: 121).

51. This reference to salty sauces as an element of the culinary preparation of wild fowl is important. One of the parts into which this treatise was divided dealt with *salsas, cozinás y otros condimentos* (ADA, c. 62-69, f. 10v) although it has not survived. The use of these products (particularly spices) went further than simple culinary taste (flavour and sensory balance). The function of sauces, as can be seen in the text by Maino de Maineri, *Opusculè sur les sauces*, was to seek humoral balance in culinary preparations as a whole, especially in those that included ingredients not advisable from a dietetic point of view (Laurieux, Bruno. "*Cuisine et médecine...*": 234-235).

52. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 12r. In a Catalan translation of Aldebrandin of Siena's text some wild birds are rejected, especially ducks and geese, because they live in dirty places and in muddy waters (Günzberg i Moll, Jordi. "*Tractat de les viandes e dels beures* (Ms. 1474 B.N.M.)", *La Mediterrània, àrea de convergència de sistemes alimentaris (segles V-XVIII)*. XIV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals, Palma, del 29 de novembre al 2 de desembre de 1995. [Palma]: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1996: 702).



The treatise lists the natural complexion (or qualities) of each animal species before offering the doctor's opinion about the advisability or not of eating them. Occasionally, and depending on whether the meat is for healthy or sick people, he advises on the method of cooking. Bear in mind that both the suggested preparation and ingredients, as has already been said, seek a dietetic purpose.⁵³ At the same time, when he deems it necessary, *el licenciado* Antonio refers to different medical authorities, some of them already mentioned, to put forward their opinions and side with them: Hippocrates, Galen, Rhazes, Avicenna and Ibn al-Ġazzār. Leo Africanus (*Libellus de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, Rome 1527) published a detailed biography ("Mesuach"), in which he gave his birthplace as the city of Mārdīn (now in southeast Turkey), and he says that he must have been trained in Baghdad and served al-Ĥākīm, the Fatimid caliph of Cairo, until his death in 1016. This biography, which is now regarded as a fantasy, has led historians to regard as a real person a supposed Māsawaih al-Mārdīnī, or Mesue the Younger. Moreover, both of them were at times confused with the ecclesiastic author John of Damascus (Johannes Damascenus, 7th-8th centuries). The work is an organized pharmacological treatise, which follows the model of Avicenna's *Canon*. It contains an introduction to pharmacology (*Canones universales*), a very extensive *Antidotarium* (or *Grabadin medicinarum universalium*) (571 formulas) and a section on the medicinal therapeutics of diseases from the head to the feet (*Practica* or *Grabadin medicinarum particularium*), to which is often added the work of Al-Kindī, *De gradibus*, and some suggestions on pharmaceutical metrology. In medieval sources, *Antidotarium* and *Grabadin* are names also referring to the whole. When "pharmacy" developed, the work, conceived for doctors and commented by renowned university teachers, became very successful with apothecaries (who called the anonymous author 'divine' and 'the evangelist of the apothecaries') (Sciència.cat DB nom1088 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=1088>> (consulted: 13/1/2020)).

53. Nicoud, Marilyn. "Savoirs et pratiques...": 245.

54. In the Latin West, a compilation of practical pharmacology (*Opera*) under the name of Mesue ("Eben Mesue" or "Johannes Mesue") was in circulation from the 13th century onwards, which cannot be attributed to the Nestorian author of the 8th-9th centuries Yuhanna ibn Māsawaih, given that later authors are cited, such as Rhazes, Avicenna and Ibn al-Ġazzār. Leo Africanus (*Libellus de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, Rome 1527) published a detailed biography ("Mesuach"), in which he gave his birthplace as the city of Mārdīn (now in southeast Turkey), and he says that he must have been trained in Baghdad and served al-Ĥākīm, the Fatimid caliph of Cairo, until his death in 1016. This biography, which is now regarded as a fantasy, has led historians to regard as a real person a supposed Māsawaih al-Mārdīnī, or Mesue the Younger. Moreover, both of them were at times confused with the ecclesiastic author John of Damascus (Johannes Damascenus, 7th-8th centuries). The work is an organized pharmacological treatise, which follows the model of Avicenna's *Canon*. It contains an introduction to pharmacology (*Canones universales*), a very extensive *Antidotarium* (or *Grabadin medicinarum universalium*) (571 formulas) and a section on the medicinal therapeutics of diseases from the head to the feet (*Practica* or *Grabadin medicinarum particularium*), to which is often added the work of Al-Kindī, *De gradibus*, and some suggestions on pharmaceutical metrology. In medieval sources, *Antidotarium* and *Grabadin* are names also referring to the whole. When "pharmacy" developed, the work, conceived for doctors and commented by renowned university teachers, became very successful with apothecaries (who called the anonymous author 'divine' and 'the evangelist of the apothecaries') (Sciència.cat DB nom1088 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=1088>> (consulted: 13/1/2020)).

55. The author is unidentified. Alluded to in a reference on the meat of the crane, nothing has been found on this subject in texts of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Anthimus' *Epistula* to Theodoric, king of the Franks, gives a short note about this meat, but it is nothing like it. In Theodorus Priscianus there is nothing, nor in the so-called *Dieta Theodori*. It has been sought in other late authors and also in the *Epistola Theodori* addressed to Frederick II of Sicily, but there is no reference either to crane meat, nor a single sentence even vaguely reminiscent of that of the French doctor.

56. 'Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī, known to Europeans as Johannitius, was trained in medicine, and was one of the principal translators of medical works, particularly of Galen. From a Christian family, he was well versed in Syriac and Arabic, and during a stay in Byzantium he learned Greek. Under the patronage of the caliphs of Baghdad, first, and then of other lords, he directed a translation workshop, whose activity has entailed confusions in attributions. He also wrote original medical works, above all commentaries on those by Galen. His translations and original works reached the Latin West via Constantine the African and Gerard of Cremona, among others (Sciència.cat DB nom172 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=172>> (consulted: 13/1/2020)).

57. Alī ibn 'Īsā is presented in Arabic sources as one of the most outstanding disciples of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and the author of a book about the properties of animals. He served as the doctor of the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'tamid (870-892) (Raggetti. Lucia. *'Īsā ibn 'Alī's Book on the Useful Properties of Animal Parts: Edition, translation and study of a fluid tradition*. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2018: XI).



Savonarola, Jacques Despars, Baldench (Ibn Butlān),⁵⁸ Rufus [of Ephesus]⁵⁹ and the *Conciliator* (Peter of Abano) are those mentioned.

Table 1. Author's citations

Authority	No. references	% [92=100%]	Works referred to
Avicenna	17	18.47	[<i>Canon</i>]
Galen	16	17.39	<i>De alimentorum facultatibus libri III</i> <i>Terapeutica methodus</i> <i>De subtiliante dieta</i>
Rhazes	12	13.04	<i>Liber tertius</i> <i>Almansori</i>
Isaac Israeli	10	10.86	
Michele Savonarola	8	8.69	
Averroes	5	5.43	<i>Colliget</i>
John Mesue [Pseudo Mesue]	5	5.43	
Hippocrates	3	5.43	
Rufus [of Ephesus]	3	3.26	
Baldench [Ibn Butlān]	2	3.26	[<i>Tacuinum sanitatis</i>]
Jesu [Alī ibn ‘Īsā]	2	2.17	
Johannitius [Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq]	2	2.17	
Peter of Abano	1	2.17	<i>Conciliator</i>
Theodosius	1	1.08	
		1.08	

58. Baldench refers to Abū-l Hasan al-Mutjar ibn Butlān, also called Baldach (Baghdad) (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 80 -nº 801-), a Christian doctor of the eleventh century. His most popular work in the late Middle Ages was *Taqqwin al-sihha*, disseminated as *Tacuinum sanitatis* (López Piñero, José Mª. "La medicina como norma de la vida humana en el galenismo y las 'Tablas de salud' de Ibn Butlān", *Theatrum Sanitatis. Biblioteca Casanatense*. Barcelona-Madrid: Moleiro, 1999: 39-40).

59. Rufus of Ephesus, a Greek doctor, lived during the reign of the Emperor Trajan (1st century AD) and practised in Rome. He is expressly cited in the works of Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina, but very little is known about his life. Four medical texts (in Greek) are known by him: *De renum et uesticae morbis*; *De corporis humani, partium appellationibus*; *De satyriasi et gonorrhoea*; *Quaestiones medicinales*. (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 116 -nº 1671-; Fiorucci, Francesco. "Rufo di Efeso", *Dizionario delle scienze e delle tecniche di Grecia e Roma*. Paola Radici Colace, Silvio M. Medaglia, Livio Rossetti, Sergio Sconocchia, eds. Vol. 2, Pisa-Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2010: 887-888).



The list of birds corresponds firstly, although it is not specifically reflected in the text, to domestic ones, and it includes hens, chickens, cockerels and capons, squabs and ducklings, and, secondly, to wild ones, wild hens, geese, cranes, peacocks, partridges and grouse, turtledoves, quails, thrushes, sparrows, *cardunchuelos*, larks and *aves de ribera* (waterfowl).⁶⁰

In the first group, young hens are recommended for ladies. Old ones are hard to digest *e asý viene de los gallos y capones viejos el Aviçena en la tercera fen del primero regimiento de lo que se come e beve* (“and Avicenna says this about old cockerels and capons in the third fen of the first regimen of what is eaten and drunk”).⁶¹ Hens and capons must be roasted, and it is better if they are covered with a lamb’s or a kid’s stomach *porque su humedad se conserva* (“because their moisture is retained”).⁶² The meat of male chickens is highly recommended for all complexions, and even better if they are *razonable gordura, como comienza a cantar y quieren jugar con las gallinas* (“reasonably plump, like when they begin to crow and want to play with the hens”). He again refers to Avicenna who recommends this meat *en el segundo e en la fen dize seys del tercero en la cura de la cólyca* (“in the second chapter and in fen sixteen of the third on the cure for colic”).⁶³ Female chicks, for their part, are not so advisable for healthy people, but they are recommended for those with a fever. Capons, referred to previously with hens, are regarded as having greater nutritional value, *y son mejores como lo dize Ysaque y el Juan Mesué*. (“and they are better as Isaac and John Mesue say”).⁶⁴ The flesh of the wild hen, *segund cuentan los doctores* (“according to the doctors”), is considered very dry and produces stomach cramp. From a nutritional and complexional point of view it is similar to partridge.⁶⁵ He also has a negative opinion of squabs (young pigeons) whose meat *es caliente, fasta el segundo grado, y úmida, más del segundo* (“is hot, up to the second degree, and moist, more than the second one”). Both old and young ones are inadvisable, although the latter are better. These are harmful for people suffering from fever whilst the old ones, *calientes y secos y de muy gruessa sustancia*, (“hot and dry and of very thick substance”), provide poor nourishment. If they are roasted they damage the brain and the eyes, besides causing *enfermedades sanguinas* (“diseases of the blood”).⁶⁶

60. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 12v-16v.

61. *Canon*, book I, fen 3. Likewise Aldebrandin of Siena (*Le régime...*: 128) considers that the best hen is one that has not laid its first egg. Chunrardus Erstensis, for his part, in his *Regimen sanitatis* (15th century), states that the best meat of all fowl is that of the plump healthy hen. Arnald of Villanova, in his *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum* (1305-1308), agrees with Aldebrandin; he moreover adds that the best capons are those that have not yet reached eight months old (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 692-693).

62. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 12r-v.

63. *Canon*, book II and book III, fen 16a.

64. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 12v-13r.

65. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 13r. In the Catalan translation of Aldebrandin’s text it is recommended that the hen be boiled in water and seasoned with sour grape juice or sour pomegranate juice. Chickens must also be boiled and seasoned with sour grape juice (Günzberg i Moll, Jordi. “*Tractat...*”: 701).

66. An opinion similar to that of Aldebrandin of Siena, who recognizes that the blood generated by young pigeons is thick and viscous and its consumption is harmful for persons of a hot, dry nature, who easily sicken due to the heat (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 129). Michele Savonarola likewise



However, it is possible to alleviate one's bad complexion if they are eaten with vinegar, and coriander is included in the sauces accompanying them on the table. The meat of ducklings is not well thought of either, the *más caliente que todas las aves domésticas* ("hottest of all domestic fowl"), which Avicenna *graduó en el segundo grado, y dévese entender a fin del Segundo* ("graded in the second degree, and it should be understood at the top of the second"). *El licenciado* Antonio claims that *escalienta el resfriado* ("it heats the cold") producing fever as well as causing indigestion; in the event of choosing this meat it must be roasted, and *sy fuere puesto un poco de azeyte con algunas espeçies, quitará mucho su mala conplisyón* ("if a little oil were used with some spices, it will very much reduce its bad complexion"). The opinion of Hippocrates is also mentioned, who says that of all waterfowl these are the moistest.⁶⁷

In reference to wild fowl, the duke's doctor states that there is no agreement among the doctors about the complexion of the crane: *por el Teodosyo es puesta fría; el Juanes la pone caliente* ("Theodosius says it is cold, Juan, that it is hot");⁶⁸ he chooses the opinion of the former. Despite being poorly thought of for being difficult to digest and *degeneratyva de gruesa sangre* ("generating thick blood"), if it is caught when hunting with falcons and the bird is young it is harmless to eat, although before cooking it must be hung *con sus plumas e aparejado con buenas espeçies* ("unplucked and prepared with good spices"). This is an example of the custom endorsed by the doctors of the period of airing birds before cooking them.⁶⁹ Drinking aromatic wines after eating it is also recommended.⁷⁰ The meat of the peacock is described as warm and moist, *a çerca del segundo grado* ("close to the second degree"); that of young birds is recommended. It is difficult to digest, its meat is very fragrant and its *nocumento* (harmful qualities) can be mitigated *sy antes de comer sea colgado del cuello e de sus pies e sean colgados piedras de los pies, un día o dos* ("if before eating it is hung from the neck and from its legs and stones are hung from its legs, for one or two days"). *El licenciado* Antonio cites Michele Savonarola (*dize el Micael*), who alludes to the good qualities of wine for avoiding the harm that this meat can do to those who do not do exercise and eat it frequently.⁷¹ The meat of partridges and grouse is highly thought of; the

admits that Galen states that roasted young pigeons are bad for the brain and the eyes and that they must be cooked with vinegar sauce, rose water, spices and coriander prepared with a bit of sugar (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 117; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval. Apéndice con la versión castellana del "Régimen de salud" de Arnaldo de Vilanova*. Huesca: La Val de Onsera, 1997: 198).

67. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 13r-v.

68. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 14r.

69. According to Arnald of Villanova cranes and pheasants had to be left outside for two days in summer and three in winter (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "Introducción": 694).

70. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 14r. The good fragrance of wine, that is, being aromatic, is a sign of its capacity to nourish the organism and above all to multiply the subtle spirits (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "Introducción": 723). Ancient and medieval writers considered that smells were "food for the soul", and they therefore concluded that smells could act directly on the brain. The fragrance of a wine suggests its flavour, whereby the nose is an essential part of drinking it. There is a close link between smell and taste. In fact medical and philosophical texts are focused on how flavour is related to substance and viscosity, and how it affects digestion (Jaboulet-Vercherre, Azéline. *The Physician, the Drinker, and the Drunk. Wine's Uses and Abuses in Late Medieval Natural Philosophy*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014: 147).

71. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 14v. Aldebrandin of Siena states that crane and peacock are naturally the same,



best is that of young birds, *como perdigones rodados* (“such as dappled partridge chicks”), although that of old ones, despite being *de dura digystión* (hard to digest), is very nourishing. Whether boiled or roasted these meats constrict, *y muchos dizen manjar de cardenales, como lo dize Micael de Ferrara* (“and many call it a delicacy of cardinals, as Micael de Ferrara says”).⁷²

The meat of the turtledove, *caliente fasta segundo grado* (“hot up to the second degree”), is attributed with some *humidad superflua* (“superfluous moisture”) and is indigestible; the best are young and plump.⁷³ The French physician once again cites Galen, who recommends not eating turtledoves over a year old, and in the event of doing so allowing a day to pass after slaughtering them, *como dize el Galieno en la Dietta suptilísima* (“as Galen says in *On The Thinning Diet*”).⁷⁴ This warning is also given for partridges, as *no tienen buenas carnes a digiry* (“their meat is not easy to digest”). Both species have the property of *sutilicar el yngenio, e asý lo dize el Avin Rayz en el seteno de su Coliget*⁷⁵ and *el Aviçena en la catorzena fen del terçero, hablando de la cura de la mala conplisyón del hígado* (“sharpening the wits, and Rhazes says this in the seventh chapter of his *Coliget* and Avicenna in the 14th fen of the third chapter, speaking about the cure for the bad complexion of the liver”).⁷⁶ To make up for the harmful qualities of turtledoves, the use of salt, oil and vinegar is recommended when cooking them. Our author, however, generally includes the contrary opinions of other authors who state that the meat of plump turtledoves *ayudan y perparan a la digistión y son propias y buenas a la corrança* (“help and prepare digestion and are good for diarrhoea”).⁷⁷

Quail meat, *que en Françia se llama calla* (“called *calla* in France”),⁷⁸ is very moist, whereby it causes problems with digestion.⁷⁹ Its consumption makes people suffer *fiebres flemáticas y podridas, o a gota coral* (“phlegmatic and rotten fevers, or epilepsy”). Cloves or pepper with a little vinegar are the remedies that avoid problems with

besides being the toughest and heaviest meats of all fowl, except for the ostrich. Hard to digest, the advice is that they be eaten in summer, leaving them for three days after they have been slaughtered. The use of black pepper is recommended to season these meats (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 131). For Arnald of Villanova peacocks must be opened for two to three days after being slaughtered (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 694). Michele Savonarola’s opinion about peacock meat is very similar to *el licenciado Antonio’s* (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 116-117; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 195).

72. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 14v.

73. Arnald of Villanova includes the same opinion (Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 197).

74. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 15r.

75. Averroes, *Colliget*, book VII.

76. Avicenna, *Canon*, book III, fen 14a.

77. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 15r.

78. Aldebrandin of Siena (*Le régime...*: 132) alludes to the *char de quaille*.

79. Arnald of Villanova is not of the same opinion, pointing out that its meat is temperate, tending to hot in the first degree: it is nourishing and engenders good blood, being suitable for the sick, thin and elderly (Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 197). Maino de Maineri includes chickens, hens, capons, partridges and quails among fowl with good comestible qualities, due to their proximity to the human complexion (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 693).



its digestion.⁸⁰ That of thrushes (black and white) is *caliente y seca en fin del primer grado, fasta el primero del segundo, y así lo dice Jesús* (“hot and dry in the first degree, up to the first of the second [degree], and Jesus says this”); the best ones are young and plump, and should be cooked and eaten (*puestas en pan*) with meats of a moist complexion. This meat is considered better than that of the turtledove although *algunos las aborrecen porque son de fuerte odor y comen gusanos y langostas* (“some abhor them because of their strong smell, and they eat worms and locusts”). The mention of Ibn Butlān (*Baldench*) is interesting for pointing out that the most suitable are thrushes caught *en lazo o redes* (“in snares or nets”) while there are also those who consider birds hunted with *aves de rapina* (“birds of prey”) to be better.⁸¹ Sparrows are not advisable for *ombres de cályda conplisyón nin temperados* (“men of a hot complexion, not temperate”); according to Avicenna *estos páxaros comidos hazen venir la luxuria* (“eating these birds makes men lustful”).⁸² *Cardunchuelos* are held in better esteem, as *son de muy fácil e buena digistión, e dan grand nudrimiento* (“they are very easy to digest properly, and they are very nourishing”); the best are the plumpest and *a todas edades convenibles* (“advisable at all ages”).⁸³ *Dize el Galieno* (“Galen says”) that larks cure the bowels and they are laxative when boiled; the best are young and plump and, although they are hard to digest, *son ellas ayudaderas de la luxuria* (“they aid lust”). The duke’s doctor once again cites Galen who states his preference for young birds, *que tanto más oviere de la bermejor y negror, nin color (...) aunque engendren sangre malencónica* (“the best being those that are red and black, with no colour (...) even though they engender melancholic blood”).⁸⁴

The list of birds in general, and of wild ones in particular, ends with *aves de ribera* (waterfowl). Hard to digest and foul smelling, they produce *muchas superfulidades* (“a lot of excrement”). According to Hippocrates, in degree and complexion they are similar to ducklings; they are not recommended for weak stomachs. Their harmful properties can be remedied if they are cooked with vinegar, cinnamon and cumin.⁸⁵

With regard to four-legged animals (*animalias de quatro pies*) *el licenciado* Antonio begins with kid, whose meat *ninguna mistura de malicia ay* (“has no mixture of malice”). The best are suckling and very young, with skin that is black or tending to red, as Rhazes states; they are better plump than lean, and they should be prepared either boiled or roasted.⁸⁶ He also mentions Averroes as an authority, who *en el quinto*

80. Aldebrandin of Siena claims that the quail has the same properties as the lark, astringent by nature. Plump ones are preferable, roasted with fine salt (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 132-133).

81. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 15v.

82. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 16r.

83. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 16r.

84. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 16r.

85. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 16v.

86. An opinion very similar to that of Michele Savonarola, who says: *sin tener daño o malicia alguna, mayormente el que mama; y no ha de ser nuevo o cercano en el parto, porque es húmedo, sino de un mes y gordo, porque el flaco mucho se aleja de su bondad: es mejor cocido que asado; y aún más sabroso fiambre. Como quien engendra buena sangre* (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 131; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 201). Maino de Maineri and Arnald of Villanova also highly appreciate it (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 691).



su Coliget (“in the fifth chapter of his *Coliget*”)⁸⁷ praises this animal’s good qualities. Its meat is preferable for sick people *que non a los rústicos porque a ellos requieren en su estómago mayor sustancia e que dure más a cozer* (“but not peasants, because they require more substance in their stomachs, which takes longer to digest”). It is a type of meat that Jacques Despars thinks is easy to digest and is highly recommended for *delicados* (“delicate stomachs”), although *algunos* (“some”) consider that the roasted meat harms the stomach. *El licenciado Antonio* once again appeals to Isaac Israeli ben Solomon (*Ysaque*) and his good opinion of this meat. Billy-goats and old nanny-goats are rejected because they can cause *gota coral* (epilepsy).⁸⁸

Mutton and lamb are the most consumed (*usytivas*) according to the French doctor *y más los carneros castrados* (“castrated rams the most”). Lamb is not much recommended: *umidísyimo, y en su grado es caliente en primero grado* (“extremely moist, and in its degree, it is hot in the first degree”), indigestible according to Isaac Israeli ben Solomon. Galen is opposed to people with a dry complexion eating suckling lamb and mutton; the meat of the non-suckling animal is better *porque es menos úmida e menos viscosa e menos mala* (“because it is less moist, less viscous, and less bad”). Other authorities are pointed to such as Averroes, Rhazes and Avicenna *en el segundo libro suyo, en el capítulo de la carne* (“in his second book, in the chapter about meat”),⁸⁹ besides Galen and Isaac Israeli, who have a negative opinion of mutton, although they add that young animals are less harmful than old ones.⁹⁰

The brief treatise continues with the meat of the castrated ram. Well thought of, it is ascribed mild qualities, although according to renowned authors like Johannitius (*Janiçio*), it is thought to be *caliente e úmida en el primero grado* (“hot and moist in the first degree”). Animals are appreciated *y toda región y en todo tiempo* (“from any region and of any age”), especially specimens reared *de buen ayre y en buenos logares altos, do pastan yervas buenas e oloríferas* (“in the open air and in good high places, where they graze on good fragrant grass”). *El licenciado Antonio* says that for Averroes this meat is the best after kid, *e que esta es opinión de la mayor de los médicos* (“and that is the opinion of most of the doctors”) although Galen believes that it is not as good as veal.⁹¹

The section on *la carne de buey e de la ternera* (“ox and calf meat”) also includes beef (cow). It is recommended that the calf should be approximately two months old and plump, which aids digestion, is nourishing and produces *bueno sangre, como lo dice Avem Ruyz en el quinto de su Coliget* (“good blood, as Averroes says in

87. Averroes, *Colliget*, book V.

88. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 16v-17r.

89. Avicenna, *Canon*, book II.

90. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 17r-v. Aldebrandin of Siena disagrees with the opinion of the authors referred to by the duke’s physician. He considers mutton to be light and, therefore, more easily digested by the stomach, providing better nourishment and easing the bowels. He rejects the consumption of suckling lamb, but allows it after it is one year old, given that it is easily digested and generates quite a lot of blood and good nourishment; castrated ones are best. Of all the old animals the meat of the lamb is the best (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 124).

91. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 17v-18r.



the fifth chapter of his *Coliget*).⁹² The female calf (heifer) is particularly appreciated as opposed to kid. Galen, for his part, thinks it is better than hens y otras viandas (“other meats”), while for Jacques Despars the meat of males is better than that of females, *sobre todo sus pares* (“especially their peers”). The latter establishes his criterion, basing himself on *las calidades activas e más temperamento, çercana a umidad* (“the active qualities and more temperament, close to moisture”).⁹³ The meat of the young ox, *segund el vulgar llamados novillos pequeños* (“called little bullocks in the vernacular”) is dryer in texture while *en la calor* (“in its heat”) it is similar to veal. For Avicenna, *en la primera del primero, en el capítulo de las compelysyones y edades* (“in the first of the first, in the chapter about complexions and ages”) there is little difference between the young e *ynfante* (and infant) specimen.⁹⁴ Less appreciated dietetically than veal, both are regarded as suitable for persons *rebastos e non delicados y a los que exerçitan (...)*, y aún a los delicados, *sy por costunbre la ovieren, y mejor será sy de uno o de dos días estoviere muerta* (“robust and not delicate and for those who do exercise (...), and even delicate people, if they were used to eating it, and it will be better if it has been dead for one or two days”). Castrated oxen are better than non-castrated ones and are of a cold and dry complexion.⁹⁵ Of these three meats the least appreciated is cow, especially old cow, *commo dize el Aviçena* (“as Avicenna says”). Drier and colder than ox, *mala e malencónica sangre engendra* (“it engenders bad melancholy blood”), capable, according to Galen, of causing people who eat it frequently, especially if they have a *cálida e seca conplisyón* (“hot and dry complexion”), to behave like *maniacos o aver otras enfermedades de malencónica* (“maniacs or suffer from other melancholic illnesses”).⁹⁶

Pigs are divided into two types, domestic and wild (boars), and in turn, according to their age, into suckling, young, old and decrepit. Due to their complexion the meat is warm and moist, although that of the oldest animals *tyenden a frialdad e sequedad* (“tend to be cold and dry”) as Michele Savonarola put it. Jacques Despars, who the duke’s doctor also follows, is more specific: *son calientes en primer grado e secos fasta el Segundo* (“they are hot in the first degree and dry up to the second”).⁹⁷ The meat of suckling pigs should not be eaten until after approximately 40 days, due to its great moisture; it is advisable to roast it, *más non en pan* (“but not to accompany it with bread”). Its consumption is permitted for those who have *fuerte estómago y seca conplisyón* (“a strong stomach and a dry complexion”). The meat of the piglet, between six and seven months old, less moist, is better, although it is even more preferable if castrated. Those nearly one year old are superior, which, as Galen claims *en el seteno de la Trapéntica, que dize de las cosas más nutritybas de las*

92. Averroes, *Colliget*, book V.

93. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 18r.

94. Avicenna, *Canon*, book I, fen 1.

95. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 18r-v.

96. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 18v.

97. According to Michele Savonarola pork meat is hot in the first degree and moist in the second. A six or seven month old pig, as it is less moist, was more appreciated than suckling pig (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 133; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 200).



que conosco es la carne del puerco e De subtilissima dieta, de buen nutrimento son y nudran a todos los ombres, aunque aya en ellos alguna cosa vizcosa (“in the seventh of the *Therapeutic Method*, which says that pork meat is the most nutritive of those we know and in *The Thinning Diet*, they are very nourishing and feed all men, although they are rather viscous”).⁹⁸ The most appreciated, however, is wild boar, as Avicenna states. Its meat is recommended for strong stomachs and *moços niños* (“young lads”) due to its nutritional capacity, although that of decrepit specimens is *dura degestión y engendratyvos de umor malencónico* (“hard to digest and engenders melancholic humour”). Those who abuse the latter tend to suffer from quartan fevers, *commo lo dize el Ysaque del capriolo* (“as Isaac says about venison”).⁹⁹

With regard to male and female mountain goats *el licenciado* Antonio considers the meat of young animals better, *de trenpada conplisyón* (“of moderate complexion”), as opposed to old ones, seeing as the latter, basing himself on Isaac Israeli ben Solomon and Hippocrates, is hard to digest and engenders *nudrimiento melencónico* (“melancholic nourishment”).¹⁰⁰ *Capiolina* meat (venison) is thought to be among the tastiest of all the wild ones. In this case the French doctor qualifies a previous comment about this meat’s capacity to nourish with respect to that of wild boar: *aunque dixé primero que la carne del puerco hera la mejor y de más nudrimiento, en el nudrimiento más es la del puerco y la otra es más ligera y más presto se conbierte en nudrimiento* (“although I said first that pork was the best and most nourishing, pork is more nourishing and the other [venison] is lighter and it nourishes more quickly”).¹⁰¹

As regards the meat of the hare, Rhazes and Avicenna claim that it is hot and dry, while Jesu and *algunos* (“some”), like Ibn Butlan, add that it is hot and dry in

98. Galeno, *De ingenio sanitatis*, book VII. This work by Galen reached medieval Europe in three stages, corresponding to three different Latin translations: 1) an abridged version, based on an Arabic original perhaps also abridged, done by Constantine the African (1017-a. 1098/1099) at the end of the eleventh century, entitled *Megategni*. 2) A complete translation, also from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona in Toledo in the second half of the twelfth century, entitled *Liber de ingenio sanitatis*, and 3) a complete translation, from the original Greek, begun by Burgundio of Pisa in the second half of the twelfth century and finished by Peter of Abano (1250-c. 1316), entitled *Terapeutica methodus* (Sciencia.cat DB nom3442 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=3442>> (consulted: 18/2/2020).

99. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 18v-19v. Aldebrandin of Siena was of a similar opinion, who considered that the meat of old pigs produces everyday and malarial fever, and other similar diseases. For him pork meat is the coldest and moistest of all meats; that of the wild boar, in comparison with it, is hot and dry. He also thinks suckling pig is harmful, except for people with a strong stomach and a hot, dry complexion. In those who are naturally moist it may produce everyday and malarial fever, and other diseases (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 122-123). Maino de Maineri judges the meat of the wild boar to be excellent, provided it is not too young or too old, the ideal age being between one and two years (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 692).

100. Michele Savonarola says that goat’s meat is hot and dry, hard to digest; that of old nanny-goats engenders particularly melancholy blood. He has an even worse opinion of the billy-goat, whose meat is even hotter (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 130; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 201). On the contrary Aldebrandin of Siena considers goat to be cold and dry, recommending it for people of a hot nature but not for those of a cold nature. Like *el licenciado* Antonio, he states that if it is eaten it should be a young specimen (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 126). Guainerio, for his part, recommends adult goat for those suffering with some kind of paralysis (Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. “*Quicumque vult...*”: 175).

101. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 19v.



the second degree. The best are *jóvenes y adolescents* (“young and adolescent ones”), hunted with hounds *o con otra manera de caça* (“or another method of hunting”) Very plump ones, although they are very tasty, are rather indigestible and must be roasted. Their properties include encouraging insomnia, constipation and provoking urination, being advisable for those suffering from *estrangurria* (slow and painful urination, due to spasms in the urethra or bladder); the head of the animal is especially indicated for treating sicknesses of the brain *e mal de nerbios y catarros* (“and nervous disorders and catarths”). For the purpose of avoiding the harm that its consumption can cause it is advised to prepare it with *buenas especias* (“good spices”).¹⁰²

Venison is not held in great esteem from the dietetic point of view. Its meat is hard to digest *e de umor malencónyca generatyba* (“and generates melancholic humour”).¹⁰³ It is not appropriate for those who *tienen vijilias y pensamientos y perilenças ménicas y semejables* (“cannot sleep and have thoughts and *perilenças ménicas* and the like”), although it can be eaten if accompanied with *condimentos tendientes alguna umidad* (“condiments tending to some moistness”) such as thick bacon and bread, the latter better cold than warm. He also refers to badger (*tasugo*), thought to be moister than pork. The French doctor is aware that there is little call for it, except for *algunas enfermedades* (“some sicknesses”), so he considers dealing with its properties later on.¹⁰⁴

From this point on, in line with the general tone of many dietetic treatises, *el licenciado* Antonio goes into detail about each of the parts (and entrails) into which the aforementioned foods can be cut, placed in order according to the classical tradition of the head to the lower limbs, so that the people sitting at the duke’s table will be informed of their properties:

E porque, ylustre y magnífico señor, de las abes, de las carnes que más usytibas son he hablado e en paresçer por más servir a su señoría, debo tratar de todas partes e miembros de

102. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 19v-20r. Aldebrandín of Siena states that hare’s meat, besides being dry, generates melancholy bile more than any other wild animal. It is better thought of than the billy-goat or the nanny-goat, but is it not advisable for those of a lean dry complexion because it provides very little, poor nourishment (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 127). Michele Savonarola reflects that it is no meat for a lord and that not all the doctors believe that the best option for preparing it is roasted, as the meat is tougher than when it is boiled, besides engendering melancholy (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 135; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 202-203).

103. In *Flos Medicine* (second half of the twelfth century) it is said that venison, salty meat, hare, beef and goat are *alimentos melancólicos enemigos de los enfermos* (melancholic food, the enemy of the sick) (Frutos González, Virginia de. *Flos Medicine (Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum): estudio, edición crítica y traducción*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010: 135).

104. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 20r. Venison and wild boar were the game most appreciated by the elites that could be eaten all year round. Nevertheless, Gerard de Solo’s *Regimen sanitatis* (c. 1315-1371) advises caution about the suitability of eating it together with peacock, advising young animals, eating small quantities and sporadically (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 692). Aldebrandin of Siena includes venison and fallow deer among the cold moist meats. It is hard to digest and generates thick, melancholy blood; if the animal is young its meat *vale más que cualquier otra carne salvaje* (“is worth more than any other wild meat”). The best specimens are those that have been castrated and old ones are the worst (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 127).



*las anymalías e de sus calidades, asý de los interiores commo esteriore, esto se entienda de los susodichos. E antes que vaya partyculando, quiero hazer universal capítulo porque los criados e curiales de vuestra señoría que en su servicio e mesa continúan, ayan conoscimiento de las partes de cada uno de los miembros.*¹⁰⁵

The first thing dealt with in this part is the brain and the neck, of a cold moist complexion, *y algunos lo quieren graduar al segundo grado* (“and some wish to graduate it in the second degree”). Those of poultry, of wild fowl especially, are highly appreciated, while those of ram, kid and calf *engendran náusea e quitan el apetyto y trahe fastío y nuescan al estómago* (“engender nausea and take away the appetite and cause disgust and churn the stomach”). The harmful properties of these can be reduced when they are prepared with *espeçias* (spices) that comfort the stomach: oregano, pepper, salt, cinnamon and mint.¹⁰⁶

Not all brains give the same medical result, nor are their parts used equally. Thus, referring to Galen *el licenciado* Antonio claims that hare’s brains are *grande melezina* (“a great medicine”) because rubbing children’s teeth *en el tiempo que conbiene (...)* *fácilmente los echan* (“for the right amount of time (...) easily brings them out”). The opinions of Peter of Abano¹⁰⁷ and Rhazes are also included, who consider that bone marrow has a hot and cold temperament, so the best is that of veal, *la que se alla en los uestos del espinazo y la que más çercana es al çebro, la qual es llamada nuca*. (“which is found in the backbone, closest to the brain, which is called the neck”). The part farthest away is thus thought to be the driest, while the one in the middle is *más medida* (“not so dry”). The duke’s physician once again gives Galen’s opinion, *en el terçero de Los alimentos*, (“in the third of *Foodstuffs*”) that the part in the middle is easy to digest¹⁰⁸ while Avicenna states that, if it is eaten in large quantities, it upsets the

105. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 20v. And because, illustrious and magnificent lord, I have spoken and given my opinion of birds and the meats that are most consumed, and in order to be of greater service to your lordship, I must deal with all parts and limbs of animals and their qualities, both the internal and the external ones, this is understood about the previously mentioned meats. And before I go into detail, I wish to make a universal chapter so that your lordship’s servants, who continue in your service and at your table, should know about the parts of each one of the members.

106. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 20v. Aldebrandin of Siena says that to make people vomit they should be eaten after meals. As a general rule he does not recommend their consumption except for persons with a hot, dry complexion who have no harmful humours in their stomach. In this case he admits that it stimulates sexual desire. They should be seasoned with vinegar, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, mint, parsley, etc. (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 133-134). Michele Savonarola advises correcting their malice by preparing them with cinnamon, white pepper, ginger, or with oregano, white pepper and salt (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 124; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 205). Arnald of Villanova says that they should be well roasted (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 455).

107. The work referred to in the text by the physician and philosopher Peter of Abano (Abano, Veneto, 1250-Padua, c. 1316) is: *Conciliator controversiarum quae inter philosophos et medicos versantur (el Conçiliador dize)* (ADA, c. 62-69, f. 21r).

108. Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, book III, ch. 10: *En efecto, en la medida en que se aleja de del cerebro, se hace tanto más dura. Por tanto, participa menos de grasa, y por eso también no provoca náusea, y si se cuece bien, proporciona al cuerpo no poco alimento* (Indeed, the farther it [the spinal cord] is away from the brain, the harder it becomes. Therefore, it has less fat, and so it does not cause nausea, and if it is well cooked, it provides the body with quite a lot of food) (Cerezo Magán, Manuel. *Galeno, pionero del nutricionismo. De acuerdo con su obra en tres libros, Sobre las propiedades de los alimentos (De alimentorum facultatibus)*. Análisis,



stomach and takes away the appetite. The problems derived from eating it are due to the use of salt and spices (unspecified), eating them hot and in small amounts.¹⁰⁹

As for eyes, their composition is divided into humours, *túnicas* (membrane) and fat. The eyes of plump animals (thick eyes) are thought to be different from those of lean animals. The former are cold and moist while the latter are cold but dry. The author also states the opinion of Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, who claims that eyes are hard to digest, as are muscles and nerves, with which they share qualities and complexion. He refers to vinegar, pepper, ginger, *o otras especias, o pólbora común* (“or other spices, or common spice powder”) as ingredients that make them healthier. He also mentions ears, which, in order to make them better, *an de ser cortadas las puntas dellas* (“the tips have to be cut off”).¹¹⁰

The throat is cartilaginous and has cold and dry qualities, like *las narizes, labios e orejas* (“noses, lips and ears”).¹¹¹ There is no agreement among the medical authorities mentioned by our doctor with respect to the complexion and qualities of the tongue: Avicenna considers that its *nudrimento* (“nourishment”) is moist, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon that it is halfway *entre duro y blando* (“between hard and soft”), and it will be easier to digest if it is accompanied by spices and milk, and Rhazes claims that it is temperate and provides average *nudrimento*. Rufus and John Mesue think it hot and moist. Despite the disagreements it is considered a foodstuff that produces indigestion by being *compuesta de venas e arterias* (“composed of veins and arteries”).¹¹²

Wings are nutritious and highly regarded. Those of hens and capons are appreciated, but those of partridges, pheasants and grouse are more nutritious and better. The gradation given to this part of the bird is related to species and age. The duke’s doctor also mentions the idea (“some say”) that chicken legs are better than wings, especially those of birds that *non ayan exercitado el buelo* (“have not yet taken flight”).¹¹³ He also refers to birds’ necks, harder to digest the older the bird is.¹¹⁴

Udders (or teats) are compared to *grandulosas* (knotty) meats, of moist texture and *declinante alguna frialdad* (not so cold). Tasting good, somewhat sweet, they

comentarios sobre el pensamiento de Galeno sobre nutrición de los alimentos de todo tipo (animal, vegetal y otros) y traducción de esta obra. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2018: 126, 301).

109. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 21r.

110. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 21v. Their diverse nature (made up of flesh, nerves, fat and humours) is positive. According to Aldebrandin of Siena they are easy to digest, although they are heavy due to the fat that sticks to them. To correct their harmfulness is it suggested they be garnished with ginger, pepper and cinnamon (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 135).

111. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 21v.

112. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 21v-22r. Aldebrandin of Siena considers the nature of the tongue to be between hot and cold, although a bit colder than hotter, while the neck is cold and dry. The former should be garnished with pepper, cinnamon, ginger, vinegar and *especias parecidas* (similar spices), and the latter with *buenas especias calientes* (good hot spices) (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 135). For Arnald of Villanova only tongue of calves and deer is good (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 455).

113. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 22r.

114. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 22r-v.



engender good blood, and are nourishing, although slow to digest. The best are those of plump animals; the most indigestible, those that contain milk.¹¹⁵

As for lungs (*o vofes*), *el licenciado* Antonio finds them to be of a cold and moist complexion, admitting that despite there being agreement among the medical authorities with regard to the moisture, this is not the case with their coldness. He lists some of them: John Mesue and Rufus say they are hot; Rhazes and Michele Savonarola, cold. For their part Avicenna and Isaac Israeli ben Solomon *dizen que pervibe tal nudrimento flemático* (“say that such phlegmatic nourishment remains”), an opinion that the duke’s physician agrees with. The best are from young plump animals, like rams, calves, domestic pigs and kids. He also says that there is no agreement among the *dotores medicos* (“medical doctors”) about establishing the graduation of their complexion as a *miembro* (limb) or as a *manjar* (food), although for him they are cold and moist in the first degree.¹¹⁶ It is considered a food easy to digest although less nutritious than others. He alludes to Jacques Despars who finds them a foodstuff with a lot of fat, but good for people with a phlegmatic complexion.¹¹⁷

In reference to the medical authorities’ point of view with respect to the complexional graduation of the heart, as a member, after Johannitius, it is considered hot and dry, while as a food, *materialmente segund la materya y partes componientes* (“substantially according to the substance of things and component parts”) it is cold and dry. For their part John Mesue and Rufus disagree and they *ponen* (“regard it as”) hot and moist. Our doctor tries to justify the latter’s position because he believes *que lo entendieron quanto a su efeto a causa de los espíritus* (“that they understood it with regard to its effect due to the spirits”). The heart, composed of nerves and arteries, is not very meaty, and those of young, plump animals should be chosen. Hard to digest and not much to eat, he refers to Galen, who says that its properties can be improved with salt, cumin and spices.¹¹⁸

115. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 22v. Michele Savonarola states that they are hot *y tanto que ponen gran sustancia y fervor den los corazones de los hombres* (so much so that they place great substance and fervour in men’s hearts). In the rest of the commentary he agrees with *el licenciado* Antonio (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 126; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 207-208). Arnald of Villanova, for his part, recommends abstinence whenever possible and more so if one is not hungry or they are not accompanied with some other preparation (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 455).

116. About the different graduation of foods, depending on whether they are considered as “limbs” or “food”, perhaps we should be wondering if there is no relationship with the belief of some medieval doctors that, although foodstuffs and medicines had qualitative properties measured on the same scale of four degrees, some foods ought to be administered in larger amounts than a medicine of the same degree to achieve the right effect on the human body.

117. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 22v-23r. Aldebrandin of Siena mentions that this meat, by nature cold and moist, only remains in the stomach for a short while and provides less nourishment than other members. It is food not very suitable for those with a cold stomach and no appetite. In the event of eating it, it should be seasoned with spices to reduce its harmful effects (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 136). Michele Savonarola also considers that it is a food easy to digest, which rapidly descends to the stomach. Not very nourishing and phlegmatic, he considers it to be food for fat people (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 126; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 206).

118. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 23r. Tough, cold and dry, the heart, according to Aldebrandin of Siena, is not easily digested in the stomach. Not advisable for those with a cold stomach, if it is well digested it



Livers are hot and moist up to the second degree. The best are those of goslings and ducklings, then those of hens and pigs, followed in quality by those of suckling animals; all of them of the fattest specimens and *non viejas* (“not old”). From a dietetic point of view they are not very highly regarded as *son de gruesa e mala desyrtión e prebentes sangre gruesa* (“they are fat and hard to digest and tend to generate thick blood”). Nevertheless, if they are cooked in oil and salt they produce good blood. Goat’s liver is recommended for those who cannot see very well at night.¹¹⁹

The spleen, like the heart, is considered to be hot and dry to the second degree *porque es mucho compuesto de arterias* (“because it is composed mostly of arteries”). Slow to digest, *engendra sangre malencónica* (“it engenders melancholic blood”). The best ones are those from plump, moist and tender animals, especially pig’s spleen. Also hot and dry is the complexion of kidneys, the most appreciated being those of suckling kid. Difficult to digest, they do not taste nice and are not very nourishing; their dietetic qualities usually improve when they are *aparejado* (“prepared”) with salt and vinegar.¹²⁰

Testicles (*genetybos o turmas*) are hot and moist up to the second degree. As they are easily digested and because they are nourishing, those of plump cockerels are appreciated, especially young ones *que non han subydo en gallinas* (“which have not mounted hens”). According to Michele Savonarola, the testicles of quadrupeds are not advisable as they are hard *de digerir y (...) non hay ninguna bondad* (“to digest (...) and there is no goodness”). This same author also advises against intestines and tripe, hard to digest and not very nourishing, which *deben ser dexados para los golosos que con ellos e con el vino dulce han su plazer* (“must be left for those with a sweet tooth who are delighted with them and sweet wine”). If they are eaten they should preferably be from fat young animals; their complexion is cold and dry up to the second degree.¹²¹

provides good, abundant nourishment (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 136). Michele Savonarola also believes it to be cold and dry, not very nourishing and it tastes bad; it improves if it is accompanied with spices and salt (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 127; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 205). Arnald of Villanova, for his part, believes that it is not suitable for temperate bodies, choleric people, or for those who have poor digestion as it is hard to digest and generates thick blood (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 454-455).

119. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 23r-v. For Aldebrandin of Siena the best are those of mammals, and, of those that do not suckle, that of the hen (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 136-137). Michele Savonarola prefers those of ducks or geese, and in graduation, that of the duck, hen and pig; among the animals that do suckle the most appreciated are those of the kid and calf. He recommends cooking them with oil and salt, they should not be too dry, also with aniseed or fennel seeds (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 127; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 206). Arnald of Villanova has reservations about eating them if they are boiled, because they cause colds, tighten and create black blood; he accepts lightly cooked kid’s liver which should be eaten from time to time (Gil-Sotres, Pedro. “Introducción”: 455).

120. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 23v-24r.

121. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 24r. Michele Savonarola considers the stomach or *molleja* to be cold, dry and hard to digest. He only recommends that of birds despite the poor nourishment they provide. It is better if well cooked after marinating it in greasy broth, honey, ginger and salt (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 127; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 205). Despite the cold, dry and unnutritious nature of the sweetbread, Aldebrandin de Siena admits that it has the property of comforting and opening the appetite (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 137).



Feet are of temperate quality; the front ones are better, as Rhazes proposes, and especially those of lambs and kids; they are followed in preference by those of the ram, the pig and the calf. Difficult to digest, they engender viscous humours, *non gruesos nin loables* (“neither thick nor praiseworthy”), but their negative properties can be reduced if they are well cooked with vinegar and saffron.¹²² Tails are hot, appreciated for their *mober contynuo* (“continuous movement”). If too many are eaten they are harmful, engendering, according to Rhazes, red bile.¹²³

The skin of animals (*cueros*) is cold and dry to the second degree. It generates a lot of viscosity whereby it causes obstructions (*opilaçiones*). Cooking it with spices makes it easier to eat. The best is that of capons and *aves, después de los lechones* (“birds, after suckling animals”). Of a hot moist complexion to the second degree is *grasa de la gordura e sebo* (“fat and suet”); the advice is to use that of *las alimánias que ay en trepamiento* (“animals that are higher up the scale”) despite having laxative properties and engendering *fastidio* (“annoyance”). The lightest fat *se combierte en cólera* (“is turned into bile”), its use being proposed in the culinary preparation of meats. It is not advisable to eat any fat on its own because *engendran flema e fazen opilaçiones grandes y corronpen las viandas* (“they engender phlegm and cause large obstructions and spoil food”). The fat most used in the Christian world, corroborated by Avicenna, is that of the pig.¹²⁴

El licenciado Antonio ends the part about meats with a brief treatise about the art of carving food *segund la universalidad curial galicana*, that is, the way the French do it. The purpose of this last section is to choose the best part of the animals to be served by the Duke of Alba’s servants and carvers. It is divided into four sections, some already mentioned at the start of the treatise: the first one stresses that the best, the tastiest and the most digestible meat is to be found nearest to the bones; the second, that the *más ligera de digerir* (“the lightest to digest”) is on the right-hand side; the third, that the front part of animals is lighter and *de más calor que los otros çagueros* (“is hotter than the other hind parts”). He suggests offering ladies (*damas*) the front, right-hand parts, *a causa que esa parte es más caliente y las damas de menos calor que los barones* (“because this part is hotter and ladies are cooler than gentlemen”), while men benefit most from the left-hand side, *a cabsa de la menos calor de la carne y más calor baronil* (“due to the fact that the meat is cooler and men are hotter”). At the same time the diner’s age is also taken into account, considering the right-hand front parts best for those *con hedad de los çinquenta avaxo* (“under the age of fifty”).¹²⁵

122. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 24r-v. Of a similar opinion, Aldebrandin of Siena justifies the preference for the front legs, understanding that the blood engendered in them is clearer and thinner as it is the hottest part. This is due to the effort and to the movement that animals make with their front quarters (Aldebrandin de Siene. *Le régime...*: 138). Michele Savonarola is of the same opinion with respect to the front and back legs: the best are those of lamb, kid and calf (Savonarola, Michele. *Libreto de tutte...*: 128-129; Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval...*: 207).

123. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 24v.

124. ADA, c. 62-69, ff. 24v-25r.

125. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 25r-v.



The fourth section is the longest, and it is especially interesting as it may be one of the first treatises, despite its brevity, that tackles the practical aspect of carving from the French point of view. It refers succinctly to the qualities of the carver, his rights or responsibilities, and to the utensils he needs to do his job, but not in as much detail as Enrique de Villena, just over 60 years earlier (1423), in his *Arte Cisoria*, a work dedicated to Sancho de Jarava, a carver in the service of John II of Castile.¹²⁶ However, as is the case with Villena's treatise, it is necessary to regard the treatise by *el licenciado* Antonio as a secondary compilation of the practice and processes related to human health, and consequently to medicine.¹²⁷

El licenciado Antonio begins with the way of carving poultry, *segund la horden en el general capítulo se puso* ("in the order it was presented in the general chapter"), pointing out that one must begin carving these (hens, capons, partridges, pheasants, grouse y *semejables* ["the like"]) with the wings; the cut should be fine. However, if the livers of these birds are presented on the table they must be offered at the start, cutting them into two or three parts, depending on the size of the piece. In the same way he remembers that *algunos de nuestros doctores* ("some of our doctors"), Michele Savonarola especially, state that it should be cut in such a way that the diner does not need to use his or her hands to pull the meat apart again. The reason for this is simple: small pieces *en la desyrtión será más loable y conveniente a la salud de su señor* ("in digestion will be more praiseworthy and suitable for his lordship's health").¹²⁸ He continues explaining how chickens should be carved, beginning with the legs, before mentioning some of the qualities that a good carver ought to have in order to do his job:

Alto el cuchillo e limpio commo más curialmente se pueda; y porque en la limpieza quel donzel debe tener en sus paños e gabynetes sea más acá en estos regnos de España. Non me quiero detener, ca el trinchante e donzel es dado oficio por su señor más alto y digno que otro oficante en la mesa y dello se debe mucho preçiar y debe tener el coraçón muy elevado

126. Villena, Enrique de. *Arte Cisoria o Arte de cortar los alimentos (y servir la mesa)*, ed. José-Luis Martín. Salamanca, 1997: 17-26. In the Hispanic world we also know another similar text originally from Mallorca: Contreras Mas, Antonio; Miralles, Joan. "Com tayllaràs devant un senyor: primera obra mallorquina de gastronomia", *Actes de la VIII Trobada d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica (Mallorca, 18, 19, 20 i 21 de novembre de 2004)*. Josep Batlló Ortiz, Jordi Ferran Boleda, Mercè Piqueras Carrasco, eds. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica, 2006: 115-123. The printed Catalan edition of the *Llibre del coch* also presents the way to carve *carn salada*, suckling pig, ox or beef, mutton, hare or rabbit, peacock, capon, partridge, kid and pigeons, besides relating, concisely, the characteristics of the good carver (Robert. *Llibre del coch: tractat de cuina medieval*, ed. Veronika Leimgruber. Barcelona: Curial, 1977: 23-24). Its author is identified as 'mestre Robert', the cook of King Ferdinand of Naples, who, with the Lenten prescriptions included in the text, modified in 1491, must have been Ferdinand I (1458-1494). This date enables us to suppose that if it was not a handwritten publication, it was an incunabulum; the first edition in Catalan that we have was printed in Barcelona in 1520 (Sciència.cat DB nom3363 <<https://db.narpan.net/gent.php?id=3363>>).

127. Gascón Vera, Elena. "La ceremonia como ciencia: "El arte cisoria" de Enrique de Villena", *Actas del Octavo Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas celebrado en Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, del 22 al 27 de agosto de 1983*. A. David Kossoff, José Amor Vázquez, Ruth H. Kossoff, Geoffrey W. Ribbans, eds. Vol. 1. Madrid: Itismo, 1986: 589.

128. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 25v.



*e linpio, ca por limpieza resçibe el señor en su comer más deleyte e placer. Y commo esta sea regla quel placer en el comer y agradamiento de la vianda e corte sea esfoçamiento de los espíritus mucho faborescen a la desystión. Y cierto sean quel cortar de los grandes y de las damas más se debe atrever más en el cortar más grueso a los grandes que non a las damas. Y es mucho mirar, aunque acá mucho se usa, que a las damas non se deben dar cortos de huesos, porque en la boca y manos resçibe más torpedad, lo qual es mucho apartar a las damas onestas. Y la que más honestamente en la boca e manos comiere, es de mayor loor y más curial, y por el contrario, a las otras que lo contrario fezyeren. E debe ser más atrebydo el trinchante a presentar los huesos a los señores que a las damas. Porque, aunque esceda en alguna cosa, non es a él tan desonesto commo a las damas.*¹²⁹

After expounding the need for cleanliness in cloths and knives, and after criticizing the customs in the *regnos de España* (“kingdoms of Spain”) of offering ladies very small pieces of meat on the bone,¹³⁰ the French physician goes back to the way of carving ducklings, geese, cranes and peacocks. The exposition is brief, nothing like the length that Enrique de Villena goes to with regard to carving these birds, making it extensible to other good-sized birds, such as cranes, goslings, ducks, pheasants and grouse, teals, cockerels and capons, storks, great bustards, and so on.¹³¹ In our case, let us not forget that this treatise has a medical purpose: one must start by carving the breast and removing all the meat, *començando de la fúrcula, ques encima del pecho* (“beginning with the wishbone, which is above the breast”), from

129. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26r. The knife must be as long and clean as one for serving the lord should be; and because it is very customary in these kingdoms of Spain for the young nobleman to keep his cloths and knives clean. I do not wish to dwell on this, because the carver and young nobleman is appointed by his most high and gracious lord, more than any other officer at the table, and of that he must be very proud and his heart must be very high and clean, as the lord takes great delight and pleasure in cleanliness when dining. And as this is a rule that pleasure in eating and thanks for the food and carving be perforce of the spirits, they greatly favour digestion. And it is true that when carving for grandees and ladies he must be bolder and carve more thickly for the grandees than for the ladies. And he should be very careful —although it often happens here— not to give ladies small pieces of meat on the bone, because it is too difficult for ladies to hold in their hands and eat. And that which is eaten most honestly in the mouth and hands, is more praiseworthy, and on the contrary, the opposite is the case with the others. And the carver should be more daring when presenting the bones to the lords than to the ladies. Because, even though he goes too far in something, he is not as dishonest to him as to the ladies.

130. Despite not confirming it explicitly, Enrique de Villena, when dealing with carving peacock, suggests that it was not unusual for cuts of the meat on the bone to be placed on the table. Nevertheless, when he deals with carving the bottom part of the legs he advises the carver to place the bones in the leftovers bowl *que no conviene sean roídos en el real comer* (which should not be gnawed at the royal table) (Villena, Enrique de. *Arte Cisoria*...: 56). We also find medieval moralists criticizing the different nations’ ways of carving and eating food, for example the Catalan Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis (1330-1409), who says: *La IIII^a rahó que allegaven sí és, car deyen que catalans tallen la carn netament e polida, guardant-li lo tall qui-s varieja per diverses carns en diverses maneres, e la menjen en tallador netament. E les altres nacions, axí com ffranceses, alamanys, engleses e ytalichs, ne fan troços, e tayllant dels dits troços un poch ab son coltell, contracten la carn ab les mans a cada vegada que-n prenen, e posenles davant en un poch de pa* (The third reason they put forward is, for they said that Catalans carve meat cleanly and neatly, keeping for him the cut which varies for different meats in different ways, and they eat it cleanly carved. And the other nations, such as the French, Germans, English and Italians, cut it into pieces, and cutting a little from the said pieces with their knife, they squash the meat with their hands every time they eat it, and they place it before them in a piece of bread) (Eiximenis, Francesc. *Com usar bé de beure e menjar. Normes morals contingudes en el “Terç del Crestià”*, ed. Jorge E. J. Gracia. Barcelona: Curial, 1977: 90).

131. Villena, Enrique de. *Arte Cisoria*...: 55-57.



the breast canal to the legs. The wings and *coxas y esquinazo* (thighs and back) are left till last. He insists once more, if they are going to be eaten, on the preference in the presentation of the livers of these birds.¹³²

The rest of the exposition about carving poultry is succinct. Thus, turtledoves must be carved like squabs, that is, into four parts, *de manera que vien pueda ser tratado e honestamente en la boca* ("so that they can be well and honestly treated in the mouth").¹³³ Quails' wings must first be cut into two or three parts before going on to carve the legs and back. A common rule for small birds is to also cut them into four parts: *dos en las alas e dos en las pyernas* ("two in the wings and two in the legs"). It is for the carver to decide how to present the back, as its bones are the most tender.¹³⁴ Nor does he go into too much detail in the part devoted to quadrupeds. As a general rule the cut should slice across the meat *e non alongando. Y es de mucho notar que por el çeguero corte deben ser los braçuelos e múscolos* ("and not along it. And it really must be pointed out that the front legs and thighs should be cut second").¹³⁵ He ends the treatise with the way of carving kid; first the breast of the front quarter and then the other quarters *de la parte de los reñones, non olvidando las costillas y los reñones de los çagueros, que por meleçina son muy loados* ("of the part of the kidneys, not forgetting the ribs and the kidneys in the hind parts, which as medicine are very praiseworthy.")¹³⁶

3. Final considerations

The text studied, which survives in part, is the last part of the therapeutic advice that *el licenciado* Antonio wrote for the first Duke of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo. His *Opúsculo de cocinas* is not a cookery book in which detailed explanations of culinary procedures are given. It is a veritable dietetic treatise in which the different varieties of meats are explained in detail, as well as the medicinal functions of some exotic spices, aromatic herbs and other condiments, with which sauces are prepared for the purpose of improving the digestive properties of certain foodstuffs that are rather inadvisable but necessary on the table of a member of the high nobility. Social distinction is exemplified in the list of meats and spices, some of them difficult to obtain for much of the population, but also, tangentially through some varieties of meat, like ox and calf, typical of other less fortunate groups (robust and not very delicate persons), among whom are those who do intense physical work.

132. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26v.

133. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26r-v. This is how Villena proposes that small pigeons, roasted and composed with pepper and vinegar, should be carved; and for young pigeons too (Villena, Enrique de. *Arte Cíсорia...*: 60).

134. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26v.

135. Villena also considers it necessary to make accurate cuts in the thighs and skirts of the ox (Villena, Enrique de. *Arte Cíсорia...*: 60).

136. ADA, c. 62-69, f. 26v.



Associated in the past with the Breton court, and with a great deal of experience, the duke's doctor also explains the common practice of airing the meat of poultry, while the way of preparing it will depend on the type of meat, its complexional properties and its nutritional value. Despite the few references he makes, the practice of roasting is the most recommended, although not categorically, since it will depend on the type of animal and on the medical considerations about it. It is a text that agrees perfectly with the dietetic suggestions proposed by its author to treat the Duke of Alba's illness, provided before the treatise was written. He recommends that the duke eat partridges, pheasants, grouse, squabs, young capons, male turtledoves, plump hens, quails and small birds, besides all kinds of birds' brains, especially those of wild ones; migrating waterfowl is not advisable. The meat of birds is considered to be less nutritious than that of quadrupeds but far more digestible. Of the latter, castrated ram and kid are suggested, especially the latter's jaws and brains, the head and brains of hare, the reproductive organs of cockerels and the livers of plump birds.¹³⁷ On the whole the positive and negative aspects of each type of meat are pointed out, assuming a certain personal attitude in the dissemination of medical knowledge with respect to the tastes of the person it is written for. On top of this I should point out that the part devoted to the way of carving food is not only influenced by his medical knowledge but probably also by the experience he acquired during his time at the Duke of Brittany's court.

El licenciado Antonio makes a veritable effort at erudition with respect to authors and works. The references, in numerical order of importance, to Avicenna, Galen, Rhazes, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, Michele Savonarola, Averroes, and others, show that he was au fait with the treatises of Hippocrates and Galen, the Arabic texts (in their Latin versions) and with some works by his contemporaries, as well as Jacques Despars. Nevertheless, many of the references to medical authorities, I do not know to what extent, like those made to Theodosius, Rufus, Jesu and Ibn Butlan, were quite probably learned indirectly through other treatises, like the *Libreto de tutte le cosse che se magnano* ("Little book of all the things that are commonly eaten") by Michele Savonarola, in which these authors are also mentioned, and of which the Frenchman seems to have first-hand knowledge. The citations are included as justification for the medical ideas expressed, and also, we cannot rule it out, in search of recognition as a well-informed doctor.

This is yet another example of the importance achieved by the vernacular languages in the transmission of medical knowledge, which seeks, from an educational point of view, to make accessible to a member of the high nobility, who after all is the one who asked for it to be written, theoretical and practical knowledge of the different foods to be eaten. The use of Castilian is also justified in the writing of the advice and the medical regimen that was produced prior to this

137. Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. "Açerca de la enfermedad...": 101.



treatise, and in making it understandable for the Jewish doctors who attended the duke and did not know Latin.¹³⁸

138. Serrano Larráyo, Fernando. "Açerca de la enfermedat...": 86. Ignorance of Latin by Jewish doctors does not seem to have been infrequent at the end of the Middle Ages. In Portugal King Manuel issued a decree (1497) by which Jewish doctors who had converted or who were thinking of converting would be allowed to use medical works in Hebrew, if they did not know Latin (Ferre, Lola. "Los regímenes dietéticos medievales en prosa y en verso: entre la medicina y la literatura". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Hª Medieval*, 7 (1994): 334-335).

