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The *Levitico*, or How to Feed a Hundred Jesuits

Abstract

This article examines the structure and content of what Jacques Revel called a new modèle alimentaire. It does so by reconstructing and analysing the dietary habits of the Roman Province of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, during the seventeenth century. This is made possible by a cluster of archival and printed documents here assembled and studied together for the first time: the financial accounts of the Collegio Romano, the Jesuits' flagship educational institution, which give annual expenditures on different categories of food; the regulations of the Collegio regarding diet and the maintenance of health; the Levitico, which provided a day-by-day, month-by-month meal plan for the Roman Province, including recipe outlines and portion sizes; and the manuscript recipe collection of Francesco Gaudentio, lay Jesuit at the Collegio's infirmary. These are integrated with other secondary research into the practices of Jesuits elsewhere in Italy, as well as those of other religious orders during the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits initiated a new dietary style, in terms of both meal structure and content, that is recognisably "Italian" (at least at this privileged level). It corresponded to contemporary medical notions of how best to nourish the body and maintain its health, with the aim of allowing the Jesuits and those in their care to lead the kind of active, religious life the Society so encouraged.

Keywords

*Society of Jesus
(Jesuits)
Collegio Romano
Counter-Reformation
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Levitico (meal plan)
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Diet-health
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Ignatius of Loyola
Francesco Gaudentio*

Introduction

On 12 May 1556 Ignatius of Loyola wrote to the rector of the Jesuit College in Louvain in response to a query from the latter regarding the appropriate diet of the College's residents.¹ The "Constitutions" of the Society, approved two years earlier, were somewhat vague on the matter. The only reference to food prescribed that it should be "common and consistent with the physician's recommendations in the region where one lives." Whilst individual Jesuits were reminded to keep in mind "humility, poverty, spiritual edification", and were encouraged to make sacrifices for devotional motives, they should not be forced to do so. Jesuit superiors had responsibility for ensuring and determining the diets of individual members, according to their needs and "circumstances".²

Ignatius did go into more detail for those who decided to undergo the "Spiritual Exercises", even if this advice was only tangentially relevant to Jesuits and those in their care. The "Exercises" provide eight "rules so that in the future one can moderate one's eating."³ Those two basics of diet, bread and wine, were fine, the former since it rarely lead to excess and the latter when drunk in moderation. But moderation applied to abstinence too. This should be done in an orderly fashion and was to be accomplished either by "becoming accustomed to eating ordinary foods" or by "eating lesser amounts" or more refined foods. Indeed one needed to maintain one's health and strength during the Exercises. One should eat slowly, not letting appetite determine how one ate. One should be "master of oneself, both in the manner of eating and in the quantity of food eaten." One should try to reduce the amount of food one ate, setting limits for the next meal. Otherwise, it was just as important to keep one's mind on spiritual things whilst eating, keeping in mind an image of how Christ ate and behaved when he was with his disciples. Ignatius's particular vision of the relationship between diet and devotion, so different from the rigours of the early Christian and medieval models, was partly conditioned by his own experiences and the frailty of his own body. Moreover Ignatius must have had health and disease very much in his mind as he composed his 1556 letter; normally written in his own hand, infirmity forced him to dictate this one to his secretary.⁴

¹ Letter from Ignatius Loyola to Adrian Adriaenssens, 12 May 1556, in Mario GIOIA, ed. *Gli scritti di Ignazio di Loyola* (Torino, 1977), pp. 758-759. A short version of this paper was presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Geneva, May 2009, and I would like to thank the audience for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the two anonymous readers of *Food & History* for their helpful comments and suggestions. This article is part of my ongoing project on the reception and assimilation of New World plants in Italy, funded by a Leverhulme Trust three-year research fellowship. All translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

² *Constitutions*, part VI, section 12, in GIOIA, *Scritti...*, pp. 569-570.

³ *Spiritual Exercises*, week three, *ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

⁴ Ignatius died shortly afterwards, on 31 July 1556. For two very different explorations of the link between Ignatius's own experiences and Jesuit spirituality and activity, see John O'MALLEY, *The first*

The Louvain College was made up of Jesuits from different parts of Europe and the rector, Adrian Adriaenssens, was evidently unsure of the quality of meals to be served to the community. Ignatius begins his reply by praising the rector's frugality regarding nourishment, but not when it comes to the care of the sick, who should follow the physician's medical and dietary advice, including whatever special foods he might recommend. If eating these in public might cause "scandal" to other members, then they should be taken in private. Jesuits should strive to be active and this means being healthy. There is no point in forcing a "coarser" diet on those used to eating well, especially if they are in a weakened state. Those in full health, however, should eat what are considered common and ordinary foods in the region. If wine is a luxury there, because it is imported, then one should get used to drinking beer, cider or water: whatever is usually drunk. Individual constitutions and temperaments need to be catered for. That said, "superfluous things" should not be allowed to creep in under the guise of "necessity". One should eat to remain healthy, and "all that is needed for health should be provided"; but not to the extent of eating foods which cater only to the senses. The key words are sobriety, flexibility, discretion, and, not surprisingly given the Jesuit context, accommodation.

Within a few years of the Society's founding in 1540 education had assumed a place alongside missionary work as the two key elements in the Society's ministry. By 1579 there were 180 Jesuit colleges in Europe, by 1618 there were 293 and by 1710, 517. They were all run along the same lines, in accordance with the Society's own *ratio studiorum*, developed in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.⁵ If the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* represented a new and modern pedagogical model, when it came to feeding their members and those in their care, the Jesuits initiated a new dietary style, shared (if not imitated) by other active religious orders of the time. As Jacques Revel first noted, this *modèle alimentaire* was in keeping with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.⁶ This is not to say that it was austere and frugal, which it certainly was not. Rather, it set a new standard that negotiated a course between courtly sumptuousness and refinement, on the one hand, shared by some aristocratic religious orders, and the simplicity and sameness

Jesuits (Cambridge, Mass., 1993) and W. W. MEISSNER, *Ignatius of Loyola: the psychology of a saint* (New Haven, N.J., 1992).

⁵ Ladislaus LUKÁCS, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* (Roma, 1986), vol. 5, *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu*.

⁶ Jacques REVEL, "Les privilèges d'une capitale: l'approvisionnement de Rome à l'époque moderne", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, vol. 87, no. 2 (1975), pp. 461-493, p. 492. A short version of the article, without the tables and most of the notes, was published with the same title in the *Annales ESC*, 2-3, 1975, pp. 563-574, and translated into English in R. FORSTER, O. RANUM (eds.), *Food and drink in history: selections from the Annales* (Baltimore, MD., 1979), pp. 37-49.

of the strict monastic diet, closer to peasant cookery, on the other. It took ingredients and dishes from both. The Jesuit style followed a regular pattern of three courses, *antipasto*, *minestra/porzione* and *pospasto*, not unlike the dining habits of privileged, lay sectors of Italian society. For instance, most of the meals first proposed by the Florentine kitchen steward Domenico Romoli in 1560 consist of *antipasti*, *allessò*, *fritto*, and *frutte*. Even if Romoli's actual dishes are more extravagant, it suggests that the Jesuits adopted, and adapted, established dietary patterns.⁷ Within a standardised meal plan the "Jesuit diet" allowed for choice by the individual, offering different options at the same meal. It also allowed – indeed encouraged – people of different status to be served special foods. Diet could thus be tailored to individual needs and constitutions, as recommended by the medical knowledge of the time, always a concern of Ignatius. The emphasis was on both the quantity and variety of foods, considered necessary to fuel the social elites in leading the sort of active life the Jesuits valued so much. It was a dietary style that remained little changed from the beginnings of the Society as a teaching order in the mid-sixteenth century to its suppression in 1773.

This essay will explore just what this meant in practice, from the macro level of expenditures on food to the micro level of the specific dishes prepared and served. It will do this by considering a cluster of archival documents relating to the Roman Province of the Society. These range from financial accounts to meal plans, from College regulations to cookery guidelines and recipes. The fact that one of these documents was labelled by an archivist as being "of no importance" (*di nessun conto*) suggests the lack of interest they have aroused in historians hitherto, but also explains their attraction to me. Two of these documents are reproduced in the Appendix. The dispersal of Jesuit records following the suppression of the Society, means that it is difficult to reconstruct their precise contexts. On their own each of these documents may have little to say to us, but they provide the context for one another, and, when integrated with the records of other religious orders and institutions, they can reveal much about this new *modèle alimentaire*, in some ways still a part of Italian cookery and consumption today. This article will focus on the dietary habits of Roman Jesuits; but similar studies could be made for other Jesuit provinces. Given Ignatius's advice that colleges adapt to local circumstances and customs, these would no doubt reveal differences between provinces but also within them.⁸ That said, they would

⁷ Domenico Romoli, *La singolare dottrina ... dell'ufficio dello scalco* (Venezia, 1587), pp. 33-128.

⁸ The Paduan College listed local dishes like frog's legs, snails and crayfish. *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (hereafter ARSI), *Provincia Veneta*, vol. 93, "Consuetudini particolari di più officij del Collegio di Padova", fol. 37r. Regional differences are evident in the regulations of the large Milanese Province, which state, for instance, that "in all the places of the province outside of Lent it is permissible to eat eggs and dairy products, except in the places in Corsica, where this is prohibited";

also reveal the centrality of the Collegio Romano, and the influence of the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, the Casa Professa, in setting a dietary model or template that was followed throughout Italy.⁹ It offers further evidence that in the early modern period a recognisably “Italian” cookery did exist, at least at this privileged level.¹⁰

Food Expenditures and Meal Structure

The priority the Jesuits of the Roman Province put on nutrition, health and the body is evident from the accounts of the Collegio Romano. These survive for the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, by which time this pillar of the Society’s educational system counted over 2,000 pupils.¹¹ In addition to recording expenses incurred in the running of the Collegio infirmary (excluding medicines and meals), the accounts list expenses for firewood, laundry, sending of letters, as well as food.¹² During the years 1670, 1671, 1697 and 1698, which I have used for this sample, food, including wine, constituted an average of 37% of the Collegio Romano’s overall expenditures (which themselves averaged 24,115 *scudi* during these four years).

As with household accounts, these record expenses incurred in the purchasing of food items; they are not necessarily a complete and precise record of foods consumed at the Collegio Romano. If produce came from the institution’s own estates, for instance, it would not be recorded. The Collegio

or, reflecting the Genoese fondness for olive oil as a condiment, that “a caraffe of oil is placed on the table in the Genoa house and college ... in the other places only a container of vinegar.” ARSI, *Provincia Mediolanensis*, vol. 73, “Consuetudines et ordinationes Prov. Mediolanensis”, fols. 7-11v. My warm thanks to Flavio Rurale for supplying me with this information from his own notes.

⁹ The “Consuetudini” of the Paduan College, referred to in the previous note, borrowed those of the Roman Province word for word, reminding users that the weights of ingredients provided were “those of Rome”. ARSI, *Prov. Veneta*, vol. 93, “Consuetudini ... Padova”, fol. 37v.

¹⁰ On the existence of an Italian cookery centuries before the existence of an Italian state, characterised in part by the many local differences, see Alberto CAPATTI, Massimo MONTANARI, *La cucina italiana: storia di una cultura* (Roma/Bari, 1999), introduction.

¹¹ This was the number of students by the end of the 16th century. Ricardo GARCÍA VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio, 1551, alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù, 1773* (Roma, 1954), p. 173. At the advanced level the curriculum envisioned, in addition to lectures, written exercises, plenty of private and group revision, and frequent disputations. New subjects such as geography were also encouraged. (See for instance, Romano GATTO, “L’insegnamento delle nuove scienze nei collegi gesuiti italiani”, *Annali di storia dell’educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, vol. 3 (1996), pp. 53-71.) The Collegio Romano was also home to some of Europe’s brightest lights, such as the polymath Athanasius Kircher, whose museum of marvels was proudly shown to visiting dignitaries. (Paula FINDLEN, “Scientific spectacle in baroque Rome: Athanasius Kircher and the Roman College museum”, *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 3 (1995), pp. 625-665.)

¹² *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Roma* (hereafter BNCr), *Fondo Gesuitico*, b. 1363: 1, “Entrata ed uscita del Collegio Romano di più decenni fino al 1726.” The single large sheet actually gives a breakdown of annual expenditures and income for the period 1670-99.

Romano possessed estates (*masserie*) in Naples, Macerata, Apulia and Sicily, as well as vineyards in and outside Rome (Porta Pia, Frascati and Albano). The accounts for expenditures and income give the impression that these estates provided an income, rather than produce as such. Moreover, it was an income that more or less tallied with expenditure each year.¹³ However, other archival documents suggest that some Jesuit houses, such as the Casa Professa, relied on their estates for produce, too.¹⁴ Because these administrative records are fragmentary and difficult to contextualise, due to the dispersal of Jesuit records after the Society was disbanded, it is impossible to come to any accurate conclusions regarding the Collegio Romano. However, if the accounts may under-represent levels of actual consumption in some categories, such as vegetables and legumes, or bread, they are nevertheless valuable in giving us an idea of the relative priorities the Jesuits placed on different categories of food and contemporary perceptions about their roles and functions.¹⁵

Was 8,800 *scudi* a lot of money to feed several thousand people in the late seventeenth century? Yes and no. No: compared to the 5,000 *scudi* cardinal Pietro Aldrobrandini had spent on a single banquet in 1600 (admittedly, for 1,500 people);¹⁶ or compared to 120 *scudi* spent on feeding each canon at the Santo Spirito hospital across the Tiber later in the century;¹⁷ or to the 70 *scudi* a thirty-eight-year-old merchant paid to eat in Rome in 1613.¹⁸ Confusingly, the same document gives the number of *soggetti* in the Collegio, as well as the number of *garzoni* or servant-boys who presumably served them. The former number averages 148, the latter 19. This is a long way from the 2,000 pupils I expected. However, when the total average food expenditure of 8,806 *scudi* is divided by the number of *soggetti*, the average expenditure per head works out at a reasonable 59.5 *scudi*.¹⁹ In any case, the Collegio Romano's costs were

¹³ BNCR, "Entrata ed uscita".

¹⁴ For instance ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, vol. 1146, Casa Professa, "Ricevute varie di dispenza, bestiami, calzoleria, massaritie, orto, legna, servitori, varie." Dating from the period 1680-1710, the papers related to the Jesuits' international "headquarters" or Casa Professa, in Rome. The first section, labelled *dispensa*, consists of signed receipts for the purchase of basic foodstuffs, including olive oil (from Genoa), almonds (from Provence and Sicily), ice (*neve*), capers, fish, macaroni, rice (from Salerno), as well as payments to shopkeepers. Those in the section labelled *orto* document payments for the upkeep of the Casa Professa's farm, located in Santa Sabina.

¹⁵ For a general discussion of consumption patterns, including food, see Maria Antonietta VISCEGLIA, "I consumi in Italia in età moderna", in Ruggiero ROMANO (ed.), *Storia dell'economia moderna. II. L'età moderna: verso la crisi* (Torino, 1991), pp. 211-241.

¹⁶ Richard SPEAR, "Scrambling for scudi: notes on painters' earnings in early Baroque Rome", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 85, no. 2 (2003), pp. 310-320, p. 312.

¹⁷ Archivio di Stato, Rome, *Ospedale di Santo Spirito, Libri Mastri*, in REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", p. 489.

¹⁸ Renata AGO, *Economia barocca: mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del seicento* (Roma, 1998), p. 86.

¹⁹ BNCR, "Entrata ed uscita". I have not included the *garzoni* in this calculation because they were fed leftovers from the main table, as is made clear in the guidelines of the Paduan college, modelled after those of Rome. ARSI, *Provincia Veneta*, vol. 93, "Consuetudini particolari di più officij del Collegio di Padova", fol. 33r.

probably similar to the 50-55 *scudi* spent on each student at the Jesuit College in Sezze, south of Rome, during the period 1600-1780, as calculated by Revel.

But, yes, it cost a lot compared to the 25 and 18 *scudi* spent on nourishing the master artisans and unskilled labourers, respectively, who worked on the estates of the Jesuit College at Sezze.²⁰ Early in the seventeenth century, a field worker's annual income was around 50 *scudi* and a stonemason's around 85 *scudi* (although this does not include the food ration, which could add an extra 15 to 20%).²¹ And they were the lucky ones, in that they had fixed employment and food as a set part of the arrangement. It has been estimated that a family of five could live modestly on 55 *scudi* a year²² – more or less what the Jesuit College at Sezze destined for each student's fare. By comparison, other Roman religious institutions spent considerably less per resident. For example the Scolopians spent between 14 and 23 *scudi* a year at their Collegio Nazareno during the 1630s. But then it was on a much smaller scale and was also able to rely on produce from its own lands.²³ Making exact comparisons is a very tricky business, given the number of variables involved.

Strictly in terms of the amounts spent each year, the Collegio Romano's wine bill constituted the biggest single expense, averaging 24%. This was followed by fresh and salted meats (21%), bread (15%), fresh and dried fruit (11%), fresh and salted fish (10%), and cheese, eggs and dairy products (10%). Other expenses included olive oil (5%), vegetables ("erbaggi diversi", 3%), and rice, pasta and legumes (1%).²⁴ There was a degree of fluctuation in expenditure from year to year, both in the different categories of food, and of food as a proportion of overall expenditure. For instance, total food costs go

²⁰ ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, vol. 1598, Collegio di Sezze, fols. 222-224 and 228, in REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", p. 489.

²¹ Massimo PETROCCHI, *Roma nel Seicento* (Roma, 1970), pp. 176-179; Giovanni VIGO, "Real wages of the working class in Italy: building workers' wages (14th to 18th century)", *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 3 (1974), p. 390.

²² Mario ROMANI, *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo* (Milano, 1948), p. 139 note 184.

²³ Archivio del Collegio Nazareno, Rome, *Fogli di bilancio* and *Libro dell'entrata e dell'uscita*, 1631-46, in Anna Lia BONELLA, "I libri di cucina del Collegio Nazareno di Roma (secolo XVII)", in Paola CARUCCI (ed.), *Gli archivi per la storia dell'alimentazione* (3 vols., Roma, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 1302-1317. The Scolopians, or Piarists, were founded by the Spaniard José de Calasanz to teach poor boys. Their Collegio Nazareno opened its doors in 1630.

²⁴ There is no separate heading for salt and *spezierie*, of which substantial amounts must have been used, pepper in virtually every dish, mustard seeds for the *mostarda* and saffron "to colour". Sugar was not often used, the common sweeteners being honey and *mosto cotto* (reduced grape must). All of these ingredients were most likely obtained from the Collegio Romano's own well stocked apothecary's shop. The *spezieria* of the Collegio Romano was included as part of the college tour offered to visitors, which included the library and Kircher's museum, and the attached church of Sant'Ignazio. On stock of the apothecary's shop, see BNCR, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 1382, "Catalogo dei medicamenti esistenti nella Farmacia del C.d.G. in Roma l'anno 1646"; and, more generally, M. E. DEL RÍO HIJAS, M. REVUELTA GONZÁLEZ, "Enfermerías y boticas en las casas de la Compañía en Madrid, siglos XVI-XIX", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol. 64 (1995), pp. 39-81.

up from 7,347 *scudi* in 1670 to 10,206 *scudi* in 1698, at a time when overall expenditure actually went down. Expenditure on bread in 1698 is almost double what it was in 1670, and expenditure on wine, meat and fish also rose sharply. (None of the years considered was a jubilee year, which came in 1675 and 1700. In any case expenditure is not any higher during 1675.) What does remain much more constant over the thirty-year period is the breakdown of food expenses, as just outlined.

The basic structure of the meal as served in Jesuit institutions in Rome, as in much of Italy, was *antipasto, minestra/porzione, pospasto*. Traditionally, the function of the *antipasto* was to open the stomach and stimulate the appetite, in preparation for the “main” dishes (meat or fish) that were to follow and that made the meal. Salads or titbits were possible *antipasti*. However, when it came to lunch, which was served in the late morning, the meal plans of the Roman Jesuits list the meat and fish dishes under the heading *antipasti*. Other *antipasti* include various fruits and vegetable dishes, so catering for both meat and lean days. The presence of meat so early in the meal might seem to fly in the face of the medical advice of the time, but in fact the meat dishes that the Jesuits served as *antipasti*, whilst not exactly light, were all moist, which made them easier to digest. From a Galenic point of view the meat dishes cooled down a warm stomach at the start of a meal.²⁵ Boiled or stewed meat dishes were to be preferred; in any case these should precede roasted or grilled meat.²⁶

Antipasti were only served at three lunches a week: on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the latter being meatless. The *antipasti* were followed by a *minestra*, a broad category of cooked, seasoned vegetables.²⁷ This was accompanied by the *porzione*, the main dish (our “entrée”) of meat, fish, eggs or pies. At supper, served in the evening, the Jesuit meal plan respected the more established order of salad or vegetable dish followed by meat or fish.²⁸ Finally, both

²⁵ The apparent contradiction of starting meals with heavy meat dishes is discussed by Jean-Louis FLANDRIN, “Diététique et ordre des mets”, in Bruno LAURIOUX, Laurence MOULINIER-BROGI (eds.), *Scrivere il medioevo. Lo spazio, la santità, il cibo: un libro dedicato ad Odile Redon* (Roma, 2001), pp. 381-391.

²⁶ In the words of the Roman physician Castore Durante, “if roasted and boiled meats are to be eaten, start with the boiled, being easier to digest.” DURANTE, *Il thesoro della sanità* (Roma, 1632), p. 54, in FLANDRIN, *Diététique...*, p. 390.

²⁷ This was similar what was referred to as the “convito alla francese”: a fixed sequence of double antipasto, meats, pies or fruits, and a variety of titbits. CAPATTI, MONTANARI, *Cucina italiana...*, p. 162.

²⁸ Mealtimes varied during the course of the year. The standard schedule for pupils at the Collegio Romano during the months of October and February was to rise “at eleven in the night” (*alle undici di notte*): since hours were calculated from half an hour after sunset, this corresponded to around 5.30 in the morning. Lunch was at 17 hours, or 11.30, and supper was at “one or one-thirty” (“l’una o l’una e mezza”), or 20.00, followed by bedtime “at four” (“alle 4”), or 22.30. This was put forward or back according to day length. The timetable changed every month, with the exception of May, June and July which were identical: rising “at 8” (our 2.30 in the morning!), lunch “at 15” (our 8.30, so, more like breakfast), and supper at our 17.00 (VILLOSLADA, *Collegio Romano...*, p. 85.) They most likely had

lunch and supper were brought to an end by the *pospasto*. The function of the *pospasto* was to close the stomach at the end of the meal: “styptic” foods – such as tart fruits, dry cheese or nuts – were favoured.

The actual content of meals was subject to a great deal of variation. On Thursdays, in anticipation of a meatless Friday and Saturday, there was a double *pospasto*, and on special occasions their might be three *antipasti* at lunch. In addition to “lean” days during the week and at vigils, meat was absent during all of Lent and the last week of Advent.²⁹ However, individuals could be exempted on health grounds. And they frequently were: surviving records suggest that Jesuit priests and students did not shy from using this exemption.³⁰ This was what Ignatius was alluding to when he suggested that priests on a special diet – in other words eating meat when everyone else was doing without – eat in private rather than with the others. The college physician must have been kept busy issuing dispensations. As Ignatius had intended, the physicians serving the Collegio Romano were expected to care for residents in both health and illness, according to the tenets of Galenic medicine. This included determining the diet most suited to maintaining the bodily health of each individual, as well those suited to the treatment of particular diseases.³¹

Roman Jesuits and those in their care did not exactly go hungry during Lent, such was the variety of foods available. And, in any case, they certainly made up for it during the rest of the year. At the Collegio Romano, special

breakfast an hour or so after getting up, as well as a snack (*merenda* or *colazione*) between lunch and dinner, as was the custom at other Italian Jesuit colleges.

²⁹ On the complexities of the Lenten diet, including what could be eaten, when and how, see Paolo ZACCHIA, *Il vitto quaresimale* (Roma, 1636). Parts of chapter 5, “Della qualità o natura dei cibi che nei digiuni si usano”, can be found in Massimo MONTANARI (ed.), *Nuovo convivio: storia e cultura dei piaceri della tavola nell’età moderna* (Roma/Bari, 1991), pp. 202-207.

³⁰ In the years 1710 and 1711 over one-third of the residents of Parma’s Jesuit “collegio dei nobili” were so exempted. Miriam TURRINI, *Il “giovini signore” in Collegio. I Gesuiti e l’educazione della nobiltà nelle consuetudini del Collegio ducale di Parma* (Bologna, 2006), p. 120.

³¹ The physician’s role was taken seriously. According to the 1551 regulations of the Collegio, “for the maintenance of the healthy and the treatment of the sick, it would be better to pay the physician a salary of so much a year, his stipend to be agreed with the superiors, rather than pay him every time he comes.” (LUKÁCS, *Monumenta paedagogica...*, p. 88.) The physician’s visits were to be announced by eight tolls of the college bell; the Jesuits, ever attentive to issues of status, granted a visiting surgeon only “five or six” tolls of the college bell. (ARSI, *Provincia Romana*, b. 199, “Levitico della Provincia (i.e. de ratione ciborum), 1659-1665” [hereafter ARSI, “Levitico”], fol. 1r.) With regard to the physician’s role in determining what individual pupils ate, Miriam TURRINI has suggested (*Giovini signore...*, p. 133) that the possibility of individuals being served particular dishes was a response to new 18th-century interest in “taste.” (See the chapter by Jean-Louis FLANDRIN, “Dalla dietetica alla gastronomia, o la liberazione della gola”, in Jean-Louis FLANDRIN, Massimo MONTANARI (eds.), *Storia dell’alimentazione* (Roma/Bari, 1996), pp. 534-551.) This individuality was, in fact, nothing new within Jesuit institutions; rather it went back to Ignatius’ own advice, and was consistent with Galenic notions relating to relationship between diet and personal needs and preferences. What remains difficult to ascertain is the extent to which personal preferences determined practices and to what extent Jesuit superiors allowed or even encouraged this. It had to be balanced with the advice that all college residents should eat much the same food, so that food would not become an element in competition over status.

occasions, which meant equally special meals, must have come close to numbering meatless or lean days. Visiting dignitaries meant fancier meals for everyone. Moreover, visitors frequently brought substantial food gifts. Typical was the visit of a young Benedetto Panfili – later cardinal, poet and patron of the arts – who came to visit on several occasions during November and December 1676, one of them deemed so special that a lay chef from outside the Collegio was specially brought in. The Collegio Romano’s chronicle recorded one of these visits with these words:

“6 December [1676]. His Lord the Abbot Benedetto Panfili came to lunch in the Collegio and endeared himself to the entire community. The day before he had sent great quantities of food to the Collegio, saying that the following day he would like to have lunch with us. For this purpose everything was set in order and a lay cook was fetched.”³²

The presence of guests was a common enough occurrence that the *volumetto*, kept by a kitchen steward (*sottoministro*) sometime in the seventeenth century, gives specific suggestions for “when outsiders, important people, come to eat.”³³ The Collegio was visited by popes, cardinals, princes and other illustrious guests. There were also other special occasions, like festivities for beatifications, canonisations, anniversaries, and the “renewal of vows” (celebrated twice a year). These were in addition to with regular celebrations of certain saints and other holidays. Finally, food “supplements”, in the way of additional *antipasti* or *pospasti*, were liberally bestowed on students sitting exams, acting in plays, reading the Bible during meals, as well as to priests examining students, giving sermons, directing plays or holding disputations. Especially when served to guests, these favours went by the name of *carezze* (literally, caress or flattery). I say “liberally bestowed”; but in fact their nature and content was highly regulated by the *Levitico*.³⁴

The Jesuit Diet: Feeding the Counter-Reformation in Italy

The single most significant entry in the accounts of the Collegio Romano is for wine, at 24% of food expenditure. Wine was not just a pleasant way of washing down food; apart from its scriptural and liturgical connotations,

³² Archivio dell’Università Gregoriana, MS 142, “Origine del Collegio Romano e suoi progressi”, no fol., in VILLOSLADA, *Collegio Romano...*, p. 270.

³³ BNCR, *Ges.* 590, “Volumetto”, fol. 89r. In his duties, the *sottoministro* was the Jesuit version of a *scalco*, in charge of provisions, meal planning and the serving of food. He answered to the *padre ministro* of the institution.

³⁴ ARSI, *Provincia Romana*, vol. 199, “Prmatica da osservarsi per la Provincia intorno al vitto”, fols. 24r-25r.

it was regarded as a basic element of diet and a major source of nourishment and maintenance of health. The 1551 regulations of the Collegio Romano stated that “the drink shall be well diluted wine [*vino assai aquato*], which should be given in moderation every day, not exceeding three glasses each of wine and water.”³⁵ Diluting wine was normal practice.³⁶ Residents at the Scolopians’ Collegio Nazareno (near S. Andrea delle Fratte, not far from the Spanish Steps) also drank their wine “adaquato”, and they drank it at every meal, including breakfast.³⁷ (The first meal of the day has proved the hardest to document for the Jesuits of Rome. At their college in Parma, breakfast was served to the pupils in their rooms, one and a half hours after getting up, and consisted of a piece of bread and a glass of wine. On Thursdays, which was a partial holiday, they had *ciambella* instead of bread. College staff were served a more substantial bread and cheese.³⁸)

In addition to drinking wine at all meals, different qualities of wine would be served at different occasions. Special wines were also offered to the sick and convalescent, for their believed restorative properties. Upon the arrival of visiting guests wine would be sent to their room, along with a few olives and fennel to snack on, and hot water with which to wash themselves.³⁹ The Jesuit *sottoministro* was advised to buy wine supplies in October. Moreover when wine was served at table, “he must ensure that the wine is drawn as little in advance of the meal as possible.”⁴⁰ The surviving records for the Roman Jesuits say little more than this, but the wines were most likely of the three main qualities identified by Revel, which correspond to the accounts of the Scolopians’ Collegio Nazareno.⁴¹ These reveal purchases of wine from Velletri, Frascati and Grottaferrata – all wines of the “Castelli Romani.” These wines were white, light and consistent in quality, and were becoming the standard beverage in the city. The Scolopians and their pupils also drank wine produced closer to home, from their own vineyard at Porta San Pancrazio, which produced a *vino romanesco* of varying quality. And they bought barrels of more expensive imported wines, like “vino di Saragozza” and “Greco d’Ischia”.

³⁵ “Regulae Rectoris Collegii Romani”, 1551, in LUKÁCS, *Monumenta paedagogica...*, vol. 1, p. 82

³⁶ The amount of water added to the wine would vary according to the “substance” of the wine, according to Andrea Bacci’s learned treatise on the subject, *De naturali vinorum historia* (1596). Bacci himself – physician, professor of botany at “La Sapienza” and archiater to pope Sixtus V – favoured the addition of very little water because of the high quality of the wines of his day, customarily drunk young. The passage on water and wine is in MONTANARI, *Nuovo convivio...*, pp. 166-168.

³⁷ BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, p. 1306.

³⁸ TURRINI, *Giovin signore...*, p. 112.

³⁹ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 2r.

⁴⁰ BNCR, *Fondo Gesuitico*, b. 590, “Volumetto nel quale a varie osservazioni e piccole scritture ascetiche sono intercalate brevi ricette culinarie. Di nessun conto. Sec. XVII”, fols. 86r. and 87r.

⁴¹ REVEL, “Privilèges d’une capitale...”, p. 482; BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, pp. 1307-1308.

These stronger, sweeter wines were intended for guests, special occasions and the treatment of the sick.

For all these reasons wine was an important item of expenditure, not to be scrimped upon. If the Collegio Romano's wine expenditure was in line with that of Pavia's Collegio Borromeo (22%), it was moderate in comparison with that of the canons of Rome's Santo Spirito hospital, whose wine bill accounted for 32% of their food expenditure around the same period.⁴² And the recommended two to three glasses of wine, taken twice or three times a day (unless they were very big glasses), paled in comparison with the annual wine consumption of 474 to 664 litres offered to Jesuit workmen at the Sezze College's estate in 1704, according to category of labourer. Consumption per head at the Collegio Romano was probably along the lines of the 432 litres available for every seminarian at the S. Pietro seminary (1.2 litres a day) or the 435 litres at the Scolopians' Collegio Nazareno.⁴³ Even if served watered down, and even if much of it was on the weak side in alcoholic terms, this is a lot of wine.

In common with all of the city's inhabitants, Rome's Jesuits also consumed a lot of bread. In the city as a whole, wheat availability averaged well over 200 kilograms per head; and virtually all of this wheat was turned into bread.⁴⁴ Some 15% of the food budget at the Collegio Romano went towards "the baker for bread" (*il forno per il pane*).⁴⁵ Compare this to an ordinary worker in the city, who would spend something like one-third of his food expenditure on bread (and food absorbed three-quarters of his income). As far as the Jesuits were concerned, we have seen that even during the *Spiritual Exercises* devotees were not asked to cut down on bread. The Collegio Romano's own regulations stated that, when it came to bread, "there shall be no other measure than the needs of each person, and the bread purchased shall be healthy and nourishing (*sano et utile*)."⁴⁶ Bread availability at the Scolopians' Collegio Nazareno was around 300 grams per person per day; this went up as high as 700 grams during the few years when the Collegio experienced hard times.⁴⁷

⁴² On the Collegio Borromeo, see G. ALEATI, C. M. CIPOLLA, "Contributo alla storia dei consumi e del costo della vita in Lombardia agli inizi dell'età moderna", in *Hommage à Lucien Febvre: éventail de l'histoire vivante offert par l'amitié d'historiens, linguistes, géographes, économistes, sociologues, ethnologues* (Paris, 1953), vol. 2, pp. 317-341; REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", p. 490.

⁴³ REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", p. 491; BONELLA, "Collegio Nazareno...", p. 1309.

⁴⁴ REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", pp. 466-468.

⁴⁵ "Entrata ed uscita", BNCR, *Fondo Gesuitico*, b. 1363: 1. This regular contract with a baker may under-represent the amount of bread consumed at the Collegio Romano, especially in view of the estates it possessed in Apulia and Sicily, where wheat was probably grown. That said, other elite institutions, like Pavia's Collegio Borromeo, dedicated similar amounts of expenditure to bread: 17.2%,

⁴⁶ figure that also included pasta and rice. ALEATI and CIPOLLA, "Contributo...".

⁴⁷ "Regulae Rectoris Collegii Romani" (1551).

⁴⁸ BONELLA, "Collegio Nazareno...", pp. 1305-1306.

This paradox is consistent with the function of bread in the early modern Italian diet: generally speaking, the lower down the social scale we go, the more important the place of bread. For example, bread consumption of pupils at Rome's S. Pietro seminary was around 240 kilograms a year; for the agricultural workers on their estate outside the city (Boccea) it was double that. Or, to put it another way, 19% of the food budget of the canons of the Santo Spirito hospital went on bread, compared to 44% spent on the labourers at one of the hospital's estates (1695-1705).⁴⁸

If the Jesuits and other elite institutions differed from the mass of the Roman population in eating substantially less bread, they also ate different bread, for theirs was white. It was "good, large and well risen" and was supplied by bakers in the form of a white pizza or flat bread (*cacchiarelle*) and rolls (*pagnotelle*).⁴⁹ Of the wheat entering Rome, only one-fifth was transformed into luxury white bread for the city's elites; the rest was brown bread, for everyone else.⁵⁰ It was generally soft wheat, not like the hard wheat used in Naples for the making of pasta. In Rome, pasta was still consumed rarely. As a percentage of expenditure at the Collegio Romano, it averaged only around one percent – and that included the rice and legumes listed in the same heading.⁵¹ The meal plan, or *Levitico*, for the Roman Province of the Jesuits indicates that during the second half of the seventeenth century pasta was eaten once a week, still a luxury. At Wednesday lunch, from the months of October to June, pasta was served as the second course, or *minestra*, in the form of "tagliolini" with grated cheese, "vermicelli" or "maccaroni".⁵² Five pounds (*libbre*) of "maccaroni" would be cooked to serve 30 people (or 56.5 grams of uncooked pasta per person), served with a total of one pound and two ounces (*oncie*) of butter (that is, around 400 grams), "on days when meat is eaten", and all topped with 8 ounces (226 grams) of cheese.⁵³

At carnival there was a special treat: *ravioli*, which called for 6 pounds of ricotta, 1 1/2 pounds of butter, 15 eggs, and 2 pounds of cheese. To give an idea how these were prepared, Francesco Gaudentio, in his manuscript cookery book prepared for "the use of the Collegio Romano's Infirmary" in 1705, has a similar recipe for ravioli *nudi*, without pasta.⁵⁴ Here the ravioli

⁴⁸ Both in REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", pp. 490-491.

⁴⁹ BONELLA, "Collegio Nazareno...", p. 1305.

⁵⁰ REVEL, "Privilèges d'une capitale...", p. 466.

⁵¹ "Entrata ed uscita", BNCR, *Fondo Gesuitico*, b. 1363: 1.

⁵² ARSI, "Levitico", fols. 6r.-7v.

⁵³ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 9r. The Roman *libbra* was equal to 339.1 grams and there were 12 *oncie* in a *libbra*.

⁵⁴ Francesco GAUDENTIO, "Il Panunto Toscano, ovvero opera in cui si mostra il modo facile del cocinar moderna con poca spesa ... libro pimo, scritto in Roma l'anno del Signore 1705 per uso del Infermaria del Collegio Romano", Guido GIANNI (ed.), *Il Panunto Toscano* (Roma, 1974), p. 67. The term *raviolo* had generally referred either to a kind of *gnocco* or to the filling for a *tortello*, which was

consist of equal amounts of *provatura* (the Roman version of mozzarella) and ricotta, along with flour, salt and sugar; these are formed into “thin rolls like sausages”, boiled, and then seasoned with butter, mild cheese (*cascio dolce*), sugar and cinnamon. Gaudentio says to make them even better they can be baked so that a crust forms. We shall be returning to Gaudentio, lay Jesuit at the Collegio Romano’s infirmary, whenever we need to flesh out the culinary indications outlined in the *Levitico*, since the latter mentions only the main ingredients and proportions, by way of *pro memoria*, but does not give cooking instructions.

But let us return to staples. Fully one-fifth (21%) of the Collegio Romano’s food budget went on meat, fresh and preserved. This high proportion of expenditure is consistent with other religious institutions; if anything it is slightly higher. The canons at Santo Spirito destined 23% to the purchase of meat and fish,⁵⁵ compared to the 31% of the Jesuits, if we include fish. Regulations for the Collegio Romano (1551) set an upper limit of one *libbra* (339 grams) of meat a day on days when meat was served.⁵⁶ The same was true at the Scolopians’ Collegio Nazareno (1646), although the ration was slightly less than that a decade later.⁵⁷ Similarly, at the S. Pietro seminary, per capita meat consumption was 71 kilograms in 1650-1. However, and this is where accounts on their own can be misleading, this was before cooking. In practice, according to the *Levitico*, Roman Jesuits’ lunchtime *portione* consisted of half a *libbra* of meat each, “whether it is boiled, roasted or stewed.” It went up to over a pound when it consisted of pieces that would lose weight in cooking. Cuts like the shin were not to be weighed; rather, a lamb shin counted as two portions, a veal shin six, and a beef shin fed ten.⁵⁸

Privileged Romans ate plenty of meat, despite what foreign visitors said to the contrary. This consumption was relative, however. Their diet was not as meat-centred as the diets of visiting Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, but balanced with other food types – grains, vegetables and legumes.⁵⁹ In any case, most Romans could only dream of such meat, both in terms of quantity and quality (and the quantity available to them declined throughout the early modern period, as Revel suggested).⁶⁰ Ordinary Romans ate less meat than the well off: for the food of labourers on the estate of the Santo Spirito hospital, 13% went on meat and fish; for labourers at the estate of the S. Pietro

the shell. By the late seventeenth century the terms *raviolo* and *tortello* were on their way to becoming synonyms, which is why Gaudentio specifies “raviolo nudo”, literally, “uncovered”, that is without the pasta shell. CAPATTI, MONTANARI, *Cucina italiana...*, pp. 72-3.

⁵⁵ REVEL, “Privilèges d’une capitale...”, p. 490.

⁵⁶ “Regulae Rectoris Collegii Romani” (1551), p. 82

⁵⁷ BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, pp. 1311-1312.

⁵⁸ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 10r.

⁵⁹ CAPATTI, MONTANARI, *Cucina italiana...*, p. 74.

⁶⁰ REVEL, “Privilèges d’une capitale...”, p. 476.

seminary the annual *companatico* weighed in at 26.5 kilograms – and this broad category included meat and fish, either fresh or cured, as well as cheese. Labourers at the Jesuit estates at Sezze were lucky to get cheese or onions by way of *companatico*.⁶¹ And not only did they eat less meat; they ate the meat of a different animal. Better-off Romans favoured beef and veal, whilst the poorer opted for pork.

The Scolopians ate mostly beef (*vaccina*), on top of which they also consumed cured meats like salami, prosciutto and sausage. Indeed during the month of July 1646 they ate meat as a main dish on 18 occasions, on five of these occasions along with eggs. That is a lot of meat, considering they were only allowed it on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays – the rest being meatless or “lean” days.⁶² The Jesuit *Levitico* conveys a similarly carnivorous impression. Meat was eaten at lunch as an *antipasto* on Sundays and Wednesdays. It was eaten as a *porzione* as many as five times a week. And it was served at supper almost every day of the week, with the exceptions of Friday and Saturday, which were meatless. Of the fourteen meals listed each week, meat was served at half of them.

Meat came in a wide range of forms and preparations. As a lunchtime *antipasto*, it might take the form of liver, tripe, tongue, entrails (*interiora*), all usually stewed (*stufato* or *in guazzetto*, which could contain eggs), or sausage, lamb or veal trotters, or minced meat (*carne trita*). The latter would be prepared with 11 *libbre* of meat, 3 *oncie* of cheese and 5 eggs (for thirty people).⁶³ Prosciutto or salami might also be served, “on small plates with quantities proportional to them.”⁶⁴ As a *porzione*, it was in the form of stewed, boiled or roasted meats, usually veal or beef, chicken (then a luxury) or lamb (in season). When boiled, it might be accompanied “with a flavouring of mustard sauce [*monstarda salsa*].”⁶⁵ The preparation for “pallotte di carne” (meatballs), to feed thirty, called for “8 ounces raisins, 1 pound cheese, 5 eggs, and in the broth served over them 3 eggs.” The preparation for “carne stufata” (stewed meat), likewise for thirty, contained “8 eggs, 1 pound wild prunes, two-thirds a *foglietta* of reduced grape must [*mosto cotto*].”⁶⁶

Aside from a preference for veal and beef, there are two things worth noting with regard to Jesuit meat consumption. First of all, their fondness for offal. They made a virtue of consuming the entire animal, including offal,

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 491.

⁶² BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, p. 1311.

⁶³ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 8v.

⁶⁴ ARSI, *Provincia Romana*, vol. 199, “Pramatica da osservarsi per la Provincia intorno al vitto”, fol. 23r.

⁶⁵ BNCR, *Ges.* 590, “Volumetto”, fol. 89v.

⁶⁶ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 10v. A *foglietta* was roughly half a litre, depending on what was being measured (0.456 litres of wine or 0.513 litres of oil).

rather than considering it food for the poor.⁶⁷ Secondly, there is little in the way of game, as Revel also observes with regard to Roman food preferences.⁶⁸

In the evening, meats like these would generally be preceded by some sort of vegetable *minestra*. According to the meal plan in the *Levitico*, the vegetables varied according to what was in season. In the months of October–November it might be endive or borage *minestra*; from December to Lent, parsley roots, cardoons, fennel or “salad” (*insalata*); salad was also the starting course from Easter through to October.⁶⁹ None of the Jesuit sources says anything about the composition of these salads, other than occasionally to refer to the greens as a mixture or *mescolanza*.⁷⁰ Salads were favoured at the beginning of the meal, or at key points in it, as a stimulus to the appetite, but were best kept simple, according to the Roman papal physician Paolo Zacchia, writing in 1636.⁷¹ The cookery guidelines that follow the *Levitico* provide further examples of “minestre per 30 persone.” In spring, the *minestre* might be made from ingredients like freshly-shelled peas, small broad beans (*favette*), or broad beans (*scafe fresche*), usually boiled in water first and then lightly fried in olive oil.⁷² In autumn and winter, vegetables like cabbage, spinach or *zucca* (marrow, squash) or dried legumes like lentils or chick peas (“red or white”) would be used.

These vegetable *minestre* could vary a great deal. As served at lunch, they could be quite substantial. They would be cooked in a meat broth, to which eggs would be added (four per 30 people) as a thickener, in particular if the broth was from lean meat or it was a “giorno di festa o vacanza.” On meatless days, the number of eggs would be doubled, and butter and cheese added.⁷³ To give an idea, here is Gaudentio’s recipe “to make cardoon soup [*minestra di cardi*]”:

⁶⁷ CAPATTI, MONTANARI, *Cucina italiana...*, pp. 79–80.

⁶⁸ REVEL, “Privilèges d’une capitale...”, p. 477.

⁶⁹ ARSI, “Levitico”, fols. 6r.–7v.

⁷⁰ To give an idea, the dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca defined the word *insalaturza* as “a diminutive of salad, which is a foodstuff of herbs seasoned with salt, vinegar and oil, mostly raw, which is served at the start of a meal.” *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venezia, 1612), p. 451. “Herbs” it singled out as salad greens included rampion, chickweed, chicory, sow-thistle, saxifrage, carrot, salad burnet, alexanders (*raperonzolo*, *paperina*, *radicchio*, *cicorbata*, *targa*, *sassefrica*, *carota*, *selvastrilla*, *macerone*).

⁷¹ ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 203.

⁷² Otherwise, olive oil was used for cooking purposes on “lean” days, when animal fats could not be used. Considerable amounts were used, so that oil averaged 5% of the food budget at the Collegio Romano. It probably obtained its oil, as the Jesuit Casa Professa did, from Genoa. This did not necessarily mean that the oil came from Genoa but that it was sold by Genoa-based merchants, who traded in oil from Liguria, Tuscany, Lazio and Campania. CAPATTI, MONTANARI, *Cucina italiana...*, p. 122.

⁷³ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 9v.

“Take the cardoons, clean them and remove the membranes they have, wash them well in cold and then lukewarm water. Cook them in boiling water but first cut them into pieces, and leave them to boil for half a quarter-hour, afterwards drain them and before they cool lightly fry some good lard or hard bacon fat or beef, veal, chicken or lamb fat or suchlike with the cardoons. And after they have lightly fried for half an hour, pour over the boiling broth, and when they have finished cooking add eggs, mild cheese, verjuice, some colouring and various other spices if you wish, but sparingly.”⁷⁴

The vegetable *minestre* served at supper were lighter. According to the *Levitico*, “in the *minestre* made for the evenings, in the place of salad, there are no eggs, but wild fennel or cardoons, parsley roots or wild herbs with verjuice.”⁷⁵ Verjuice, *agresto*, made from unripe grapes, was the standard condiment for vegetables prepared in this simple way.

Vegetables formed a significant part of the diet of Rome’s Jesuits. Clearly, privileged Romans had overcome Renaissance medical warnings against the consumption of vegetables as potentially bad for one’s health. Zacchia quite unproblematically notes of vegetables that there “are many types and prepared in different ways.”⁷⁶ He singles out the artichoke for praise (though in the fruit section), as a Lenten food: if tender it can be eaten raw or else it can be boiled (“it passes through the body more readily”), baked (“it is more pleasing to the stomach”) or *tartufofolato* (“as the cooks calls it, that is seasoned with wild mint, a small quantity of finely chopped garlic, pepper, oil and salt; it re-awakens the appetite”).⁷⁷ Although vegetables are all but absent from Revel’s findings, they were eaten at virtually every meal, and always in the evenings. As vegetables were readily available and inexpensive compared to the staples we have discussed, and may also have been supplied from their own estates, they represented only 3% of the Collegio Romano’s food bill.

To this we should add legumes, which figure in another category, alongside rice and pasta (only 1% as a group). Legumes are the only vegetable Revel mentions, and he is clearly mystified at their rare appearance in the accounts. Consumption ought to have been high; perhaps Romans ate less legumes because they had access to so much meat, fish, eggs and cheese, he suggests.⁷⁸ The *Levitico* lists dishes based on legumes as both *antipasti* and *minestre*. Dried small broad beans (*favette*) for thirty people called for two-thirds of a *quartuccio* of *favette*, 10 ounces of raisins (*passerini*) and half a *foglietta* of olive oil.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, pp. 104-105.

⁷⁵ ARSI, “Levitico”, fols. 9v.-10r.

⁷⁶ ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 204.

⁷⁷ ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 206.

⁷⁸ REVEL, “Privilèges d’une capitale...”, p. 481.

⁷⁹ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 8r. A *quartuccio* was one-quarter of a *foglietta*, the latter being 0.456 litres of wine or 0.513 litres of oil.

Gaudentio prepares these by simmering them at length in a clay pot, sieving them, and lightly frying them with chopped onions, pepper and salt.⁸⁰ He also gives recipes for beans, fresh broad beans, two for lentils and six for chick peas. The Jesuits purchased their stores of legumes in August.⁸¹ Legumes were especially important on meatless days and periods of abstinence like Lent, although Zacchia recommends “not to fill oneself up with them nor to eat different types at the same meal.” He also suggests eating them well seasoned and with much bread, “given that in this way they nourish a lot and bring about other beneficial effects.”⁸² In 1665, the residents of the Scolopians’ Collegio Nazareno ate their way through over 65 kilograms of legumes during the course of Lent: given Lent’s duration of 44 days this works out to a not unsubstantial 1.4 kilograms of legumes a day (but divided by its twenty-six residents works out to less than 55 grams per person).⁸³

The main foodstuff served on meatless days was, of course, fish; and such days numbered over one hundred a year (depending on the strictness of observance). In fresh and salted forms fish accounted for 10% of the Collegio Romano’s food expenditure. On days when fresh fish was eaten at the Scolopians’ Collegio Nazareno, they bought 13-14 pounds, for servings of roughly half a pound. For the Jesuits, “with fish that is not scaled or gutted, there are three portions to a pound; with fish that is scaled or gutted, two.”⁸⁴ Little is said about the types of fish; these are not generally indicated in the Scolopian accounts either, but the fluctuations in price suggest a wide variety, in particular during Lent and to a lesser extent in the last week of Advent. Preserved fish, consumed in smaller quantities, might include anchovies, *tonnina* (off-cuts of tuna fish, either salted, in brine or in oil), *muscimano* (cured tuna filet), *tarantello* (tuna belly), *telline* (clams, tellins) or *caviale* (mullet eggs).⁸⁵ Zacchia recommends de-salting these preserved fish (*salumi*) and eating them either uncooked or lightly cooked. He considered the anchovy the healthiest because it kept its flesh even when salted.⁸⁶ (The Jesuit *Levitico* advised buying supplies of anchovies in October.⁸⁷)

The Jesuits’ meal plan suggests they were not keen fish eaters outside of Lent, for it is listed only occasionally at Friday lunchtimes, either generically as “pesce” and once as *telline* (as an *antipasto* option on Fridays from Easter to mid-June).⁸⁸ Meat and fish were regarded as quite distinct things and were never

⁸⁰ GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, p. 119.

⁸¹ BNCR, *Ges.* 590, “Volumetto”, fol. 87r.

⁸² ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 204.

⁸³ BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, p. 1312 note 28.

⁸⁴ ARSI, “Levitico”, fols. 10r.-v.

⁸⁵ BONELLA, “Collegio Nazareno...”, pp. 1311-12.

⁸⁶ ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 203.

⁸⁷ BNCR, *Ges.* 590, “Volumetto”, fol. 87r.

⁸⁸ ARSI, “Levitico”, fols. 6r.-7v.

served together at the same meal. Preparation guidelines suggest fish could figure as an antipasto, either as anchovies (two or three per person), herrings (half each) or as *tarabello* (perhaps *tarantello*, or cured tuna belly: eleven portions to the pound).⁸⁹ As far as fresh fish is concerned, Gaudentio's recipe collection suggests that Jesuits consumed a wide variety of it, prepared in a range of ways: boiled, baked, fried, in fishcakes (*polpette di pesce*), and in jelly.⁹⁰ Zacchia recommended salt-water over fresh-water fish, "just as they are more acceptable to the taste, so they are also better for one's health": best if grilled, although there is no reason why healthy individuals cannot also enjoy them fried.⁹¹

One item the Jesuits ate plenty of, on meat and lean days alike, was eggs. A notebook, probably compiled by a Jesuit lay member for his own use, perhaps as kitchen steward (*sottoministro*) to the superior, gives guidelines for "Battista the cook, for one hundred [people]." It recommends: "In an omelette [*frittata*], for one hundred people, without anything else, 90 pairs of eggs [i.e. 180]; if some cheese or bread crumbs or milk is added, 65 pairs of eggs [i.e. 130]."⁹² Gaudentio also gives *frittata* instructions "if you have to make a large number": "you can put them in a dish one above the other so that they stay quite warm."⁹³ In addition to his nine *frittata* recipes, including a humorously parsimonious "frittata alla fiorentina" in honour of his native Florence,⁹⁴ Gaudentio also gives other ways of cooking eggs: poached (*in acqua fredda*), scrambled (*sperdute*), fried (*nel tegamino*). Eggs also figured in meat and vegetable dishes, as we have seen, and in vegetable "pies": "In a pie of small marrows [*cucuzze*] or greens, 50 eggs along with milk or ricotta; or 80 eggs without them."⁹⁵ According to the *Levitico*, "torta di cucuzza" (small marrow, our courgette or zucchini) was a common Friday dish, especially during autumn and winter. It also gives the main ingredients for it, for 30 people: "3 pounds ricotta, or curdled milk [*lacte colato di bocale*]; 1 pound honey; 15 eggs, or 25 without ricotta or milk."⁹⁶ As eggs were considered both naturally nourishing and easy to digest, they were also given to the sick and indisposed

⁸⁹ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 8r.

⁹⁰ GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, pp. 127-36.

⁹¹ ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 205.

⁹² BNCR, *Ges.* 590, "Volumetto", fol. 88r. For Battista, eggs evidently came in pairs.

⁹³ GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, p. 77.

⁹⁴ In this "so noble a dish, celebrated throughout Europe, enjoyed ... by family heads because it offers great savings", the beaten eggs are spread thinly into a pan to cook out in the sun or gently over the ashes, and "be careful, that when you remove it from the pan you don't let the wind carry it away." "This dish, however, can be eaten only by Florentines, who are used to frugality, because if you were to serve it to someone from Lombardy or the Marche you would need a ream of these superfine sheets." GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, pp. 79-80.

⁹⁵ BNCR, *Ges.* 590, "Volumetto", fol. 88r.

⁹⁶ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 10r. This was a *torta* without a pastry shell or topping, baked in the oven. The Crusca definition of *torta* is simply: "a kind of dish made of various things, minced and mixed together, that is cooked in a pan" (p. 893). None of Gaudentio's *torta* recipes make use of pastry.

to drink, along with the normal breakfast, and added in higher quantities to their other foods, according to the suggestions of their physician.⁹⁷

The Collegio Romano spent an average of 10% of its food budget on eggs; but this category also included dairy products (identified as cheese, ricotta, butter and milk). Cheese found its way into a range of cooked dishes, as we have seen. In addition to this, according to the meal plan in the *Levitico*, some sort of cheese was a possibility at every lunch, throughout the year. For instance, during the months of October and November the lunchtime *pospasto* consisted of “cheese with apples or pears” on Sunday, “ricotta or fresh cheese” on Monday, “hard cheese” on Tuesday, “cheese with grapes” on Wednesday, “ricotta or fresh cheese” on Thursday. Friday presented a bit of variety, with either “fish or omelette and cheese”, no doubt to make up for the lack of meat, and then it was back to “ricotta or fresh cheese” on Saturday.⁹⁸ And the same was true the rest of the year. Cheese also featured at supper, often alongside whatever fruit was in season. Cheese was the perfect *pospasto*, to close the stomach at the end of the meal. The portions were not particularly large: preparation guidelines reckoned that one pound (339.1 grams) would provide ten portions of hard (or aged) cheese, eight portions of fresh cheese, and five of ricotta.⁹⁹ Aged cheeses like parmesan had long been considered a luxury, which only the well-off could afford. The increasing appeal of cheese for the elites, including fresh cheese and ricotta, previously regarded as fit only for peasants, is evident in the diet of Rome’s Jesuits.¹⁰⁰ Mind you, the ricotta was not eaten plain; rather, it was generally served mixed (*passata*) in some way, such as with honey, in the proportion of 4 ounces of honey to seven pounds of ricotta.¹⁰¹

“Fruits, apples and suchlike in season” was another element of the Roman Jesuit’s *pospasto* (and occasionally of the *antipasto*).¹⁰² Purchases of “fresh, dried and citrus fruits” accounted for 11% of the Collegio Romano’s food budget. Thus, fresh figs (5 to 10 person, depending on size) and melons (one for every ten people) were served as *antipasto*. But generally fruit was served as the *pospasto*. From mid-June to the end of September it was served every day (listed as either “frutti” or “cascio o frutti”), at both lunch and supper.

⁹⁷ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 3v.; GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, p. 171. Alas no indication is given anywhere as to what constitutes a “normale colazione”.

⁹⁸ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 6r.

⁹⁹ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 11r.

¹⁰⁰ Piero CAMPORESI, “Certosini e marzolini. L’iter casearium di Pantaleone da Confienza nell’Europa dei latticini”, in his *La terra e la luna: alimentazione, folklore, società* (Milano, 1995), pp. 82-113; Sheila MCTIGHE, “Foods and the body in Italian genre paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci”, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86 (2004), pp. 301-323; Massimo MONTANARI, *Il formaggio con le pere. La storia di un proverbio* (Roma/Bari, 2008).

¹⁰¹ ARSI, “Levitico”, fol. 8v.

¹⁰² BNCR, *Ges.* 590, “Volumetto”, fol. 89v.; ARSI, “Levitico”, fols. 8r., 11r.v.

Cherries, sour black cherries (large and small), sorb apples, pears, apples, peaches, apricots, medlars, grapes (and raisins), pomegranates, prunes and dried figs were all consumed. They were often eaten cooked. Gaudentio's recipe for sour cherries (*visciole*) calls for them to be simmered briefly in white wine and served in a plate "over two of two thin slices of bread with sugar and cinnamon on top, like a soup."¹⁰³ Cooked fruit was the only form of sweet they ate on a regular basis, at least according to the *Levitico*, even if many of their dishes were sweet, independent of where in the meal they were served.

The *Levitico* provides guidelines for *ciambelle* (6 eggs and nine ounces of butter for 30 *ciambelle*) and *frittelle di Quaresima* (1 pound raisins, oil and two-thirds a *foglietta* of reduced grape must), both of which are listed in the *antipasto* section.¹⁰⁴ It gives just one pie, the "*crostata* for the renewal of vows", one of the few preparations calling for sugar (which consists of 1 1/2 pounds of honey, 6 ounces of butter "on the days when lard cannot be used", 1 ¼ pounds of sugar, and apples).¹⁰⁵ The renewal of vows was a special occasion, marked twice a year, on Epiphany and the feast of the blessed (later saint) Luigi Gonzaga (21 June). On the latter occasion, the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano were celebrating one of their own; never mind the irony of consuming a special sweet on the feast day of a holy man who survived mostly on bread and water, apparently never eating more than an ounce of food at a time.¹⁰⁶ The Scolopians of the Collegio Nazareno purchased sweets such as *confetti*, *torrone* and *panpepato* for special occasions, such as Christmas 1667; but the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano would have been able to obtain them from their own very well equipped apothecary's shop.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the rector of the Collegio Romano may have allowed pupils to purchase sweets from there, as the boys of Parma's Collegio dei nobili were allowed to do, if there was a play being put on in the evening.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁴ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 9r. Zacchia discusses *frittelle* at length, "which during Lent are usually served with the fish, or right after it, or also before the main dish (but I do not have to follow the strictures of kitchen stewardship)." ZACCHIA, *Vitto quaresimale...*, p. 206. The remark suggests that I am not the only person confused by the different order in which particular dishes might be served!

¹⁰⁵ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 10v. Gaudentio, however, has recipes for *crostate* made with apples, peaches, sour grapes and pears, gooseberries, and sour cherries. GAUDENTIO, *Panunto Toscano...*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁰⁶ Gonzaga was a pupil at the Collegio Romano from 1585 and died in 1591, aged only twenty-three, helping the city's plague victims. He was beatified in 1605 and canonised in 1726. The reference to his meagre diet comes from Virgilio CEPARI, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Gesù* (Roma, 1762), pp. 39-40.

¹⁰⁷ BONELLA, "Collegio Nazareno...", p. 1313 note 30. The preparation and dispensation of sugar and sweets was still a significant part of the apothecary's trade.

¹⁰⁸ TURRINI, *Giovin signore...*, p. 125. Jesuit colleges were discouraged from buying prepared sweets, or indeed any other prepared foods, from *fondachi*, *taverne* or *bottegari* outside the college, as the colleges of the Neapolitan Province had to be reminded by the "visitor" Fabio Fabi. ARSI, *Provincia Veneta*, vol. 93, "Consuetudini della Provincia e della Case di Napoli", f. 60v.

During winter the *pospato* fruit was often replaced by chestnuts, done in a variety of ways (roasted in the oven or open fire, or boiled), or nuts, like walnuts (7 or 8 per person), fresh or dried hazelnuts (10 portions per pound of shelled dried nuts), pine-nuts (12 portions per pound), and fresh or dried almonds (11 portions per pound of shelled dried almonds).¹⁰⁹ Almonds, bought in bulk in October,¹¹⁰ figured in different cooked dishes, notably the *biancomangiare*, *minestra di amandole* (a restorative soup) and the *pangrattato* or *pancotto*, where almond milk substituted for the meat broth on meatless days, in which the stale bread was cooked.

Concluding Remarks

The pattern and content of the diet of Rome's Jesuits, as outlined for the mid-seventeenth century, did not change much over the next hundred years. Several new ingredients made their appearance. One of these was the tomato, which, as of the late 1750s, was a regular addition to the Friday *frittata* from late July through to early September, at the Jesuits' Casa Professa.¹¹¹ Their pasta consumption had doubled, too; from eating it once a week, they were now eating it twice a week! They were also eating it in a greater variety of ways than earlier: macaroni in broth (*maccheroni in brodo*), baked (*in tiella*), with walnuts, with a lightly fried mixture of bacon, onion and herbs (*in soffritto*), and, when guests came, such as on 8 January 1760, "a quarter capon with serving of vermicelli for the Piarist fathers."¹¹² Otherwise, Jesuits at the Casa Professa ate the same foods and in the same ways as the rest of the Roman Province did and had been doing for a century or more. Once the Jesuit dietary model was established, it was slow to change. With continuities outweighing changes in both meal structure and content, the Jesuit example offers a counter to Fernand Braudel's famous assertion that food consumption patterns of the privileged in early modern Europe offered a rapidly changing *histoire événementielle*, whereas those of the poor represented a static *histoire des structures*.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ ARSI, "Levitico", fol. 11r.

¹¹⁰ BNCr, *Ges.* 590, "Volumetto", fol. 87r. The Jesuit Casa Professa bought almonds from Sicily and Provence. ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, vol. 1146, "Ricevute varie di dispenza, bestiami, calzoleria, mas-saritie, orto, legna, servitori, varie."

¹¹¹ ARSI, *Provincia Romana*, vol. 211, "Diario della Casa Professa di Roma, 1757-63", fols. 10v., 11r., etc. This offers a record of the foods actually served day by day, rather than a quarterly meal plan. On the Italian history of the tomato, see David GENTILCORE, *Pomodoro! A history of the tomato in Italy* (New York, 2010); Italian translation, *La purpurea meraviglia. Storia del pomodoro in Italia* (Milano, 2010).

¹¹² ARSI, "Diario della Casa Professa di Roma", fol. 59v.

¹¹³ Fernand BRAUDEL, "Alimentation et catégories de l'histoire", introduction to J.-J. HÉMARDINQUER (ed.), special issue of *Cahier des Annales* entitled "Pour une histoire de l'alimentation", no. 28, pp. 15-19.

The Jesuit *Levitico*, as introduced by Ignatius and his successors, and as implemented in the Roman Province, certainly ensured that Rome's Jesuits were well nourished. The diet provided quantity, quality, variety and flexibility. In their set sequence of courses and in their preference for food that was high-quality and nourishing without being ostentatious or overly elaborate the Jesuits of the Roman province pre-figured bourgeois habits and an Italian national cuisine. On the one hand, they avoided the pampered luxury of the Benedictines and privileged groups of ecclesiastics like the canons of Santo Spirito. Their foods, including the provisions they bought in bulk, followed the course of the seasons. There is no record of what the Queen Christina of Sweden was served on her visit to the Collegio Romano in 1656; but it would not have included anything prepared to amaze guests, like the strawberries "washed in white wine" that she had been served the previous 27 of November (!), at a banquet in her honour in Mantua.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Rome's Jesuits were certainly much better fed than the majority of the city's population, which had to deal with a largely subsistence diet and frequent famines, even within the context of Rome's privileged position as a capital.¹¹⁵ The poorest were lucky to get the leftovers from the tables of the city's better-off.¹¹⁶

Perhaps the rich, high-fat diet, with its frequent rewards and perks, helped Jesuit pupils remember what they had just learned, if recent scientific research about the role of fats and memory consolidation is anything to go by.¹¹⁷ Whether it made the Jesuits and their pupils any healthier than the rest of the population is another question, however. In the days when life expectancy was determined primarily by epidemic and infectious disease, they did not live much longer, on average, than everyone else: 31.5 as opposed to 30 years.¹¹⁸ But that is to miss the point. According to the standards of the time, and according to prevailing medical knowledge regarding the importance of food in the maintenance of a healthy body, the Jesuit authorities aimed to provide the best for themselves and those in their care. In so doing they set some of the dietary and culinary standards that are still a basic part of the Italian diet today.

¹¹⁴ Bartolomeo STEFANO, *L'arte di ben cucinare* (Mantova, 1662), pp. 135-6, in MONTANARI, *Nuovo convivio...*, p. 216. On Christina's visits to the Collegio Romano, see VILLOSLADA, *Collegio Romano...*, pp. 276-277.

¹¹⁵ To give an idea, it has been estimated that the monetary value of a student's diet at Pavia's Collegio Borromeo was the equivalent of 220 days' labour by a master artisan and 370 days' work by an urban labourer. ALEATI, CIPOLLA, "Contributo...", p. 335.

¹¹⁶ Thus: "What is leftover from the table is either to be kept or given to the poor." BNCR, *Ges.* 590, "Volumetto", fol. 86v.

¹¹⁷ James MCGAUGH et al., "Fat-induced satiety factor oleoylethanolamide enhances memory consolidation", *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 106, no. 19 (12 May 2009), pp. 8027-8031.

¹¹⁸ The estimates are for the period 1540-65. Silvana SALVINI, *La mortalità dei gesuiti in Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Firenze: Quaderni del Dipartimento Statistico, no. 3, 1979). Privileged groups like the Jesuits did not fare better than the rest of the population because nutrition and mortality were directly linked only where malnourishment was chronic, especially amongst the very young.

Appendix 1: “Il Levitico della Provincia [Romana]”, 1659-65

Source: ARSI, Provincia Romana, vol. 199, fols. 6r.-11r. The transcription is mine, as are any errors. A question mark [?] indicates difficulties in interpreting the handwriting.

6r.- Ottobre e Novembre

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	la Sera
Domenica	Fegato Trippa Lingue Carne in guazzetto o fredda	Pangrattato Mero brodetto con herbette	Cascio con mele o pere	Alesso e minestra di mero brodetto se non si è data la mattina
Lunedì		Cavoli Boragini Finocchi	Ricotta o cascio fresco	Mescolanza Arrosto Castagne in forno
Martedì		Farro	Cascio duro	Stufato Polpette Cicoria
Mercoledì	Interiora in guazzetto, o stufato, o salsiccia	Tagliolini con cascio sopra	Cascio con uva	Indivia Arosto Caldalesse
Giovedì		Riso	Ricotta o Cascio fresco	Boragine inminestra. Alesso. Mele cotte o sorbe
Venerdì	Un ovo, o fagioletti, o Prugne, o Maccaroni, o Torta di favetta	Cucuzza con ova	Pesce o frittata e cascio per postpastro	Pan cotto Rape cotte o cipolle cotte
Sabato		Legumi	Ricotta o cascio fresco	Ova in scorza Cicoria o indivia Caldaroste

6v.- Dicembre sin'a Quaresima

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	La Sera
Domenica	Come sopra o salsiccia	Pan grattato	Cascio o ricotta con uva	Minestra di radiche di petrosello, o cardi, o finocchi Alesso Cascio duro
Lunedì		Cavoli Biete o Boragini	Ricotta	Indivia Arosto Caldalesse
Martedì		Farro	Cascio e mele	Insalata Stufata o polpette Cascio
Mercoledì	Come sopra	Tagliolini o macaroni	Cascio con uva o mele	Insalata Arosto Mele cotte
Giovedì		Riso o herbe	Ricotta	Zuppa franzese o Pancotto Alesso Castagne in forno
Venerdì	Come sopra o Torta di cocuzza	Pangrattato o cocuzza con butirro, et ova, o con mandole	Ricotta o cascio fresco	Come sopra o insalata fresca
Sabato		Legumi	Cascio	Insalata Ove in scorza o torta Caldaroste

7r.- da Pasqua sino a mezzo Giugno

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	la Sera
Domenica	Fegato fritto o in guazetto o Carne trita o in pezzi o arrosto	Pangrattato	Cascio con scarfè	Insalata Arrosto Cascio

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	la Sera
Lunedì		Herbe	Ricotta	Insalata Arrosto Carciofi
Martedì		Farro	Cascio	Insalata Stufata Cascio e cerase
Mercoledì	Piedi di agnello o Carne trita o arrosto	Vermicelli o Mezzo brodetto o Piselli	Cascio con frutti	Insalata Arosto Cascio con visciole
Giovedì		Herbe o Riso o Piselli	Ricotta	Insalata Arosto Carciofi
Venerdì	Latte o un ovo o Frutti o Telline	Legumi o Herbe	Cascio	Insalata Torta e frutti
Sabato		Pangrattato con ova o butirro	Ricotta	Insalata Ova in scorza Carciofi

7v.- Da mezzo Giugno per tutto Settembre

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	la Sera
Domenica	Come sopra o fichi o altri frutti	Agresta con fette di pane o Mezzo brodetto	Cascio e frutti	Insalata Arosto Frutti
Lunedì		Pangrattato	Frutti o cascio	Insalata Stufato Frutti
Martedì		Cicoria o lattuga con scarfe, o biette o boragini	Cascio e frutti	Insalata Arosto Cascio o frutti
Mercoledì	Come sopra o Piedi di vitella o Salsicciotto o presutto o frutti	Mezzo brodetto	Cascio con frutti	Minestra con agresta e fette di pane Alesso Cascio con frutti

	Antipasto	Minestra	Pospasto	la Sera
Giovedì		Farro o Herbe	Frutti o cascio	Insalata Arosto Frutti
Venerdì	Come sopra o meloni	Pangrattato o zazese [?] con ova e butirro o con latte di mandole	Frutti o cascio	Insalata Arosto Frutti
Sabato		Herbe con oglio	Frutti o cascio	Insalata Ova in scorza o torta Frutti o cascio

8r.] Antipasti ordinarij per 30 persone

Alici due o tre per uno secondo che sono grandi, no. 60

Arenghe mezza per uno – 15

Tarabello secondo [?] due lib. per decina nel cuocersi di una libra pesate dopo esser cotta se ne fanoo XI antipasti – lib. 2 onc. 4

Cappari oltre la passerina, diece per libra in tutto lib. 3

Fichi freschi otto o diece: e se sono grossi 5 o 6 – no. 140

Brugne verdacchie 6 o 8. Ma d'altra sorte 12 o 14 – no. 120

Melloni, se sono degli ordinari. 3. Antipasti per mellone – no. 10

Favetta { [di lei due teneri d'un quartuccio
[di passerini on. 10
[di oglio mezza foglietta

Fagioli secchi { [di essi un quartuccio
[di oglio mezza foglietta

Fagioli freschi lib. 3 in scorza

Fagioli freschi { [scafati lib. 8 ½
[di oglio mezza foglietta

Piselli freschi { [in scorza lib. 3
[scafati lib. 8 ½
[di oglio mezza foglietta

8v.] Scafe [?] scafate fresche { [di esse lib. 8 ½
[di oglio mezza foglietta

Cocuzza liquida { [di mosto cotto un terzo di foglietta
[di passarina lib. 1
[di oglio tre quarti di una foglietta

Spinaci { [di passarina lib. 1
[di oglio tre quarti di foglietta
[di mosto cotto la sesta parte di un bocale

Brugne lib. 5

Passarina lib. 3 ½

Ricotta passata { [di lei lib. 7
[di mele on. 4

Latte colato e senza schiuma tre bocali e mezzo

Salsiciotto lib. 3 ½

Presutto cotto lib. 10, con la terza parte di una foglietta di mosto cotto

Carne trita { [di lei lib. 11
[di cascio on. 3
[ova no. 5

Fegato le medesime qualità e cose

9r.] Arrosto carne lib. XI

Trippa { [di lei se ne dà una di vaccina in pezzi
[di cascio mezza lib.
[senz'ova

Maccheroni { [di essi lib. 5
[di cascio lib. 4
[di butiro lib. 1 on. 2, quando non si mangia carne

A. 30 ciambelle ova n. 6, butiro on. 9

Ravioli nel carnevale { [di ricotta lib. 6
[di butiro lib. 1 ½
[ova n. 15
[di cascio lib. 2

Nelle frittelle di Quaresima { [di passarina lib. 1
[di oglio
[di mosto cotto 2 terzi di foglietta

Minestre per 30 persone

Favetta { [di lei mezzo quartuccio
[d'oglio mezza foglietta

Fagioli secchi { [di essi mezzo quartuccio
[d'oglio mezza foglietta

9v.] Ceci rossi o bianchi { [di essi mezzo quartuccio
[di oglio mezza foglietta

Lenticchie { [di esse mezzo quartuccio
[d'oglio mezza foglietta

Cavolo con una foglietta d'oglio. L'altre herbe con poco più di mezza foglietta d'oglio

Minestre bianche con mandorle lib. 1

Farro o riso lib. 2 o 8 { [cascio on. 8 per sopra
[il medesimo con le rape [?]

Maccaroni lib. 5

Farinella lib. 2

Piselli freschi scafati lib. 8 ½

Scafe fresche scafate lib. 8 ½

Nelle minestre del venerdì o sabato, se sono di zucca, pangrattato o altra qualsivoglia cosa senz'oglio, si mettono ova n.o 9, di cascio on. 6, di butiro on. 6. Nelle minestre che si fanno col brodo di carne non si mettono ova, se non fosse giorno di festa o di vacanza, o la carne assai magra, et allora si possono mettere ova n.o 4

Nel brodetto ordinario ova n. 15, nelle feste solenne no. 30

Nelle minestre che si fanno la sera, in luogo [10r.] dell'insalata, non si metta ova, ma finocchietti o cardì, o radiche di petrosello, o herbe con agresto.

Nella zuppa francesce non si metta ova, ma cascio lib. 2 ½

Nel pancotto dell'astinenza nel verno, ova no. 4, cascio on. 5, butiro on. 6

Nelle cipolle o rape della sera dell'astinenza nel verno, di oglio mezza foglietta

Portioni ordinarie per 30 persone

La carne per le portioni si assegna al cuoco a ragione di mezza libra per uno, così nell'alesso come nell'arrosto, o stufato. Si dà di più una libra per decina per il calo ordinario della carne e non si pesano li stinchi, ovvero ossa ultime delle gambe: ma quelle di agnello si contano per due portioni. Quelle di vitello per sei. Quelle di vacche per diece.

Del pesce che non si raschia, o sventra, si [10v.] fanno tre portioni per libro. Del pesce che si raschia o sventra, due.

Ova due portioni in qual modo si facciano.

Torta di zucca o di herbe $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[di ricotta lib. 3, ovvero latte colato di bocale} \\ \text{[di mele lib. 1} \\ \text{[ova no. 15, se ne v'è ricotta né latte, no. 25} \end{array} \right.$

Torta di riso o altro $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[di mandole lib. 1} \\ \text{[di mele lib. 1} \end{array} \right.$

Torta di latte con ova, no. 15

Tortelli di ceci $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[di mandole onc. 10} \\ \text{[di passarina lib. 1} \\ \text{[di mele lib. 1} \\ \text{[di mosto cotto foglietta 1, e con 3 se non vi sono} \end{array} \right.$

mandorle

Pallotte di carne con passarino onc. 8, di cascio lib. 1, ova no. 5, e nel brodo che si mette sopra di esse no. 3

Carne stufata con ova no. 8, brugne lib. 1, mosto cotto due terzi di una foglietta

Per la crostata nella rinovatione de voti

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[di mele lib. 1 } \frac{1}{2} \\ \text{[di butiro onc. 6 quando non si può usare strutto} \\ \text{[di zucchero lib 1 } \frac{1}{4} \\ \text{[di mele lib . . . [for "as required"?]} \end{array} \right.$$

11r.] Pospasti ordinarij per 30 persone

Noci 7 o 8 per uno

Nocchie fresche due pospasti per lib. con la scorza [i.e. 1/2 pound each]

Nocchie secche pospasti 10 per lib. senza scorza

Mandole fresche con la scorza 20 per pospast.

Mandole secche senza scorza pospasti 11 per libra

Pignoli pospasti 12 per libra

Zebibo o passerina pospasti 8 per lib.

Cerese grosse pospasti 2 per lib.

Visciole palombine pospasti 2 per lib.

Visciole piccole pospasti 5 per ogni due lib.

Sorbe no. 16

Nespole 12 o 14

Granati [Crr...?] 2 o 3 pospasti per ciascuno

Pospasti ordinarij per 30 persone [again!]

Uva fresca pospasti 2 per lib.

Pere, mele, perticale 2 o 3 per ogni pospasto

Bricocoli piccoli 7 o 8 per pospasto

Ricotta pospasti 5 per lib.

Cascio { [duro pospasti 10 per lib.
[fresco pospasti 8 per lib.

Fichi secchi pospasti 5 per lib.

Olive pospasti 5 per lib.

Appendix 2: Excerpts from a “*Volumentto nel quale a varie osservazioni e piccole scritture ascetiche sono intercalate brevi ricette culinarie. Di nessun conto. sec. XVII c.*”

Source: *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Roma, Fondo Gesuitico 590* [GES 590]. The notebook is in Latin and Italian, carefully prepared and leather-bound (with leather ties), written in a fluent and very tiny hand, measuring 14.3 cm high x 11.3 cm wide x 2.5 cm thick. For use within a Jesuit college context, the *Volumentto* contains an eclectic mix of different things, which proceed one another without apparent order, including sections in Italian on how to make confession, behaviour towards others, lots of Latin devotional material, and material from the Jesuit *Constitutions*. There is no way of dating the *Volumentto* more precisely. The reference culinary recipes are in fols. 86-89v., starting with advice about the *Levitico* to be followed by the kitchen steward (*sottoministro*):

[86r.] Avisi per il sottoministro

Il sottoministro è mastro [?] del superiore, e per questo procuri intendere la volontà sua per seguirla, e cossi l’avisì in tutto quello che si mancherà [?] in collegio. Haverà cura delli coadiutori alli quali può comandare alli altri da parte del superiore, e cossi veda ch’ogn’uno doppo haver visto [?] messa, attenda al suo offitio p.tertium [?] in cucina, e che si facci ogni cosa al suo tempo e nel modo ordinato. Habbi cura che il vino quanto meno avanti si può si cavi e si dia in tavola secondo che vole il superiore. Non si magni il pane del istesso giorno per quanto si possa, ma del passato. Haverà cura di osservi [?] l’ordine della cucina, a avisare quando non si potesse. Procuri che li ufficiali habbino le cose a tempo e che non spendi o troppo ligne [?] o specie o altro secondo l’ordine. [...] [86v.] Quello che avanza in tavola o si preservi o si dia alli poveri. [...] [87r.] Ricordi al superiore la provisione per tutto l’anno, et alcuni giorni avanti ritrovando [?] alcuna cosa, e nel giorno del mese presente [...]

[88r.] Ordine di Battista cuoco, per cento

Carne per 100 persone	{	[castrato alessò lib. 50
		[vaccina lib 50
		[arrosto lib 58

Farro per minestra puceto [?] lib 6

Riso lib 7

similmente di farinella e vermicelli

Brodetto con ova per cento. ova 50

Brodetto per la sera l'inverno 15, l'estate 20

Nel antipasto di carne. ova 12

Pescie- Alesso buono, palombo orata, lib una per quattro

Fritto grasso cinque onc., piccolo [?] 3

Tonnina per antipasto. lib X

In frittata per cento senza altra cosa, ova para 90. Aggiuntovi un poco di cascio e pan grattato o lacte, para 65

In torta di cucuzze o d'herbe. ova 50, insieme con lacte o ricotta. senza, ova 80. Torta [?] in aqua lib. 3 di caso, ova 50

[88v.] Per minestra di amandole per cento. lib 4 di amandole. Per amalati quattro amandole per minestra.

Cascio seno [sevo?] per una torta. lib 4

foglietta 12 di latte in torta di cucuzze di ricotta 10

Nel pan grattato per cento. lib 2 di butiro

In minestra di legumi, d'olio una foglietta e mezza, cocuzze o di herbe doe fogliette, di cauli 3 fogliette

[89r.] Avisi [?] quando vengono forestieri, persone d'importanza a magnare.

1) Si mette in ordine la casa e lochi di essa [?] publichi, come la chiesa, cortili, horto, capella, parisi [?] e lugho dover hammo a stare doppo pranzo con seggie e vesti [?] affixi si vi sarà comodità. 2) In tavola si prepari con cose nette e si adorni il refettorio con imagine e frondi re: [del fondatore?], poi con caraffe e bicchieri per alteri oridini re: [?], preparasi surgatori [?] et bauli per dar aqua a mano. Si prepari piatti, tondi, blenchi[?] re:

Antipasti potranno essere

Frutti quando è tempo come uva melloni peschi cerase pruna, ricotta, fiorita, malangoli dolci, salami cioè per [?] o sopprassata lingua, capretto, vitello o polli arrostiti, o in guazzetto, di piedi, animelle, fegatelli, colli, cerculla [cuoculla?], fegato o trippe. Nel arrosto metragoli [?], nelli altri guazzetto.

Minestra

Brodetto con herbe o senza [asenza?]. Farro, farinella, piselli

[89v.] Alesso con sapore monstarda salsa

Vitello, pollo, vaccina carne salatta, lingua [?], doppo pasticci

Post pasto

Torta, cascio buono, frutti pomi et altro secondo il tempo, fonicchi [finocchi], carcioffole, confectioni e stuccadenti

Mentre mangiano li forestieri potrà mangiare la p.a et la ra vi sarà preparata [?] d'alcuno natione o cognoscente. Di poi si potranno hatenere [tratenere?] o con matua [?] e con essenzi [?] letterarij come con dispute o ragionamenti tali. [...]