

Dishes on the Royal Table in Poland in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Tradition and Western European Inspiration

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Abstract

Reconstruction of the menu of Polish kings of the after-Jagiellonian era is also possible thanks to sources other than court accounts, although the information they contain is not always detailed. This concerns primarily royal court accounts, diaries and chronicles, which, however, provide valuable information about the customs at the royal table. More data is brought to the research by economic correspondence as well as personal correspondence - kept by monarchs with members of the royal family. Old Polish cuisine, which was a combination of original Slavic cuisine with later foreign influences - Hungarian, German, Turkish, Italian and French ones, experienced its best times until the end of the 18th century. However, in the case of court cuisine, the process of its decisive transformation took place earlier. Polish royal cuisine was never isolated from foreign influences. Evidence of foreign influences in Polish cooking are borrowed words present in today's Polish language (from German: words meaning smoked ham, cabbage stew, onion, sugar, potato, meatball, dumpling, lettuce, ham, soup, from French: baguette, broth, dessert, gherkin, croquette, mayonnaise, margarine, mortadella, pate, sauce, apple pie, and Italian: chocolate, cauliflower, kohlrabi, mustard, tomato). In the Middle Ages, during the reign of the Hungarian Angevins, cultural and culinary innovations from the south of Europe came to the Kraków court from Hungary. Thanks to external contacts, new ingredients and new dishes appeared in Polish cuisine. Polish cooking at the Polish royal courts underwent a significant evolution at the end of the 18th century, which does not mean that it was not previously influenced by foreign influences. During the reign of the last two Jagiellons, Italian chefs played a key role. Sigismondo Fanelli was of particular interest during the reign of Zygmunt I Stary. The trust placed in him by his successor, Zygmunt II August, meant that in 1558 Fanelli was sent by the king to Bari, where his mother Bona Sforza died the year before. The chef's mission was delicate - he was supposed to seal two rooms in which dowry goods taken by the queen from Poland were collected. A keen supporter of traditional Polish cuisine, Stanisław Czerniecki was the chef working for King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki for some time, but due to the short reign of the young ruler he went down in history primarily as a cook of the Lubomirski magnate family. It was him who was the author of the first Polish preserved cookbook published in Krakow in 1682, entitled "Compendium ferculorum, or collection of dishes. Paul Tremo revolutionized royal cuisine, he was a long-time chef at the court of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. The dishes prepared by this chef combined Polish and French traditions. In the time of the last king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the upper strata of society increasingly drew attention to the health benefits of light cuisine, disclosed in the books by Tremo, This light and sophisticated cuisine already heralded new, culinary times in which food products known to the Old Polish era - rice and potatoes - gained importance.

Keywords: Royal table; Baroque era; Tradition of old Poland; Foreign Culinary Inspirations; Court Royal Accounts

Introduction

The relationship between politics and the multiple traditions of cuisine at the Polish royal court is beyond doubt. Several significant transformations can be noticed in the political and cultural history of Poland in the 16th and 18th centuries. Therefore, my intention is to characterize the evolution of foreign influences on Polish royal table in the course of the 16th-18th centuries, taking into account the rivalry of native Italian and Austrian culinary traditions with the attractiveness of French cuisine and its gradual domination. All these issues should be characterized through the prism of the royal table, which was a model primarily for the magnates. The table of the “lower” nobility was conservative and long faithful to the native tradition. In the realities of the deepening decentralization of the state and the growing conservatism of the nobility, the royal court played the role of a bridge enabling people to learn about Western European culinary traditions. In the first half of the 16th century, native customs were intertwined with Italian customs, which was natural, because after the wedding of Zygmunt I the Old and Bona Sforza d’Aragona, many Italians appeared at the Polish royal court. The sixteenth-century Polish nobility didn’t yet fear Western European patterns. It was the nobility that at that time shaped the system of the parliamentary monarchy, in which only they had political rights. The result, however, was to limit the powers of the king. In the first half of the 16th century, the royal court played the role of a cultural center, but in the second half of the 16th century this function was taken over by the magnate courts and rich nobility courts.

In the 17th century, the gentry system gradually petrified. The nobility began to fear Western European patterns because they did not want the king’s strong authority. There was also an aversion to “foreign customs”, and attachment to the native culture was at its peak at that time. Western customs and culture, however, were well known at the Polish royal court. These were primarily French customs, because the wife of Władysław IV Vasa, and then Jan II Kazimierz Vasa, was a French woman – Louise-Marie Gonzaga. Jan Sobieski, who married her favorite, Maria Kazimiera de la Grange d’Arquien, was also influenced by the queen’s French court. After winning the royal crown, Sobieski initially continued the pro-French direction in foreign policy, and although he joined the pro-Habsburg party, but French customs were always close to him. At the court of Jan III Sobieski, as before, Polish customs were mixed with foreign customs. Apart from the royal and magnate courts, traditional Polish cuisine was common.

Much changed on the Polish table in the second half of the 18th century. Only in the 18th century did the narrow camp of reformers undertake the modernization of the state, and the interest in the political and cultural achievements of Western Europe also returned. King Stanisław August Poniatowski also played a significant role in these events. He was an admirer of light French cuisine, appreciated by many of his subjects during his reign. The article aims to show the realities in which French cuisine has

gradually gained popularity, and over time has become part of the tradition of Polish cuisine.

Sources and methodology

World War II brought losses to the documents resources kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. Fortunately, they did not include the so-called Royal Accounts, which are located in the branch of the 1st archival collection called the “Crown Treasury Archive”. They reflect treasury expenses from 1388 to 1781. The so-called Court Accounts also survived in the same archival collection, in the 3rd department and come from the years 1507–1764 [1]. 90% of these archive records relate to the 14th-16th centuries, mainly during the reign of the last Jagiellonians and the first two rulers of the period of free election “viritim” [2]. Among the books of royal accounts, kept in the Crown Treasury Archive at the Central Archives of Historical Records, from the 16th century, which especially concern the reign of Zygmunt I, Zygmunt II August, Henryk Walezy and Stefan Batory, there are books with reference numbers: 25, then from 27 to 279, and in addition to this, 23 books with reference number from 310/311 to reference number 334/335 and from reference number 338/339/340 to reference number 347, as well as 3 books with reference numbers 348 / I-348 / III, 5 books (with reference numbers 350-354), 11 books (with reference numbers 358 / 360-347), 5 books (with reference numbers 378-385 / 386), 2 books (with reference numbers 390-391), and finally 4 books of huge volume of so-called Court Accounts, covering the years 1507-1764, but almost completely composed of 16th-century material. However, they are valuable comparative material, very useful in assessment of the later menu on the Polish royal table.

Polish source editors have been little interested in the royal court accounts so far, although some interesting studies can be noticed on the book market [3]. We have access to the royal accounts edited by Adam Chmiel covering the years of the reign of Zygmunt August [4]. In Polish historiography, royal accounts were comprehensively used by Marek Ferenc, who recognized the structure and organization of the court of Zygmunt August [5]; by Agnieszka Marchwińska in the study on the courts of the wives of this ruler [6]; as well as by Elżbieta Głuszczyńska, who studied the musical life of the court of the last two Jagiellonians [7]. However, minor works on the moral and artistic culture of the Jagiellonian court usually prove that almost exclusively information from the fragmentary publications of Chmiel and Władysław Tomkowicz are in the scientific circulation [8]. The larger part of this valuable source material is still waiting for publication.

It is worth paying attention to the publishing contribution of Lithuanian and Hungarian scholars. In 1918 Endre Veress published “*Rationes curiae Stephani Báthory regis Poloniae historiam Hungariae et Transylvaniae illustrantes (1576-1586)*” in Budapest [9]. This edition deserves to be mentioned because it was not included in the published Stefan Batory’s itinerary [10]. Thanks to the initiative of Lithuanian scholars, three volumes of the books of accounts kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records

were published in Vilnius: one of Aleksander Jagiellończyk from the years 1494–1504 [11] and one of Zygmunt August (so far from the years 1543-1546) [12]. The first of them makes a reference to Adolf Pawiński's publications and is their natural continuation [13]. Outside Poland, two editions of Jagiellonian accounts were also published, the first of which covers the years 1500–1507 and contains accounts of the court of Zygmunt Jagiellończyk as the prince of Głogów and Opawa together with the court registry from 1493. These sources preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Crown Treasury Archive, 1st department, Royal Accounts, reference numbers 21, 29 and 33, are already known from the work of Adolf Pawiński "The Young Years of Zygmunt I". Interest of Hungarian scholars in these sources is completely understandable. The accounts of King Władysław Jagiellończyk from a similar time did not survive, so this lack is in some way supplemented by the accounts of his brother, Prince Zygmunt. In 1914, Adorján Divéky published "Zsigmond lengyel Herczeg Budai Számadásai (1500-1502., 1505) (" Magyar Történelmi Tár ") in Budapest, selecting material concerning Hungarian matters from Zygmunt Jagiellończyk's books [14].

Accounts related to the private treasury can be supplementary to the information on food products in the cuisine of Polish electoral monarchs who came from the magnates. For example, extensive economic documentation created in the estate of Jan Sobieski has been preserved [15]. However, this is an incomplete source base, due to the fact that books of income and expenditure were not always regularly kept. Many food products were luxurious. Their costs were not always disclosed in official economic books, and what is more - after taking over the crown - Jan III Sobieski could make such purchases from the so-called the "pile" tax that the port had to share with the king, the Baltic city of Gdańsk. Calendars and guides for rational management can be very helpful in research on the Polish table of the modern era, because they were very practical in nature and the availability of food products used in Polish cuisine and their intended use were noted in them [16].

Reconstruction of the menu of Polish kings of the post-Jagiellonian period is also possible thanks to sources other than court reports, although the information contained therein is not always detailed. This applies primarily to diaries and chronicles, which are subjective, but provide valuable information about the customs prevailing on the royal table. More data for the research is brought by business correspondence and personal correspondence - conducted by monarchs with members of the royal family [17].

Due to the links between the Jagiellonians and the Czech Republic and Hungary, the time of Zygmunt Jagiellończyk was characterized by the editions of Petr Kozák [18] and Krisztina Rábai [19]. Thanks to Jarosław Dumanowski's initiative, the first Polish cookbook from 1682 written by the court cook of the Lubomirski family- Stanisław Czerniecki [20], was published. However, this source presents only the reign of Jan III Sobieski, when the cooking recipes present in Old Polish cuisine were not yet significantly

enriched due to the influence of French cuisine. One more important book, namely, the edition of the court minister's book created at the end of the reign of this ruler makes us familiar with the time of King Jan III [21]. Information about Polish native cuisine is enriched by a culinary guide, which was created at the court of the Radziwiłł family, dedicated to preparation of sweets [22]. The print edition of another cookbook by Wojciech Wielądko, who knew Czerniecki's guide, but revealed the culinary customs of the 18th century in which French standards were already very visible, is also worth of note [23].

At the Polish royal court both domestic and foreign influences, reflected in the accounting books, could be noticed. The analysis of this issue over a longer period of time imposes a comparative method. It is important to show the evolution that can be seen in the culinary art of old Poland, because it was related to the complicated political history of the state. This is further evidence of the complexity of history, made up of many matching elements - components of the historical process.

The state of research

Western European research into the history of food has an established tradition. Historians have been dealing with them for a long time. The history of European cuisine, as an obvious part of the history of everyday life, has long been the subject of historical research. For example, Bruno Laurioux deals with such issues in relation to the Middle Ages [24]. Ken Albala also deals with the history of food in the early modern era. Ken Albala works in the history of food in the early modern era [25]. Royal cuisine research is conducted by Kathryn Jones [26]. Jake Smith's research also remains in the circle of monarchs' kitchens, same as Danielle de Vooght [27]. On the other hand, a broad chronological framework was adopted by Fiona Ross, from antiquity to the recent times [28].

Polish historians became interested in the history of food relatively recently, although in the seventies of the last century the first pioneering research was carried out by Zbigniew Kuchowicz. He was the first to notice the diversity of the menu in Poland, largely consistent with the social division of the state [29]. However, he distinguished three tables: magnate, noble and peasant, not being essentially interested in the bourgeois table. The menu of the Polish nobility, magnates and monarchs of the 17th and 18th centuries has been of great interest to researchers for some time. What's more, research is being conducted on the changes that have occurred in Polish culinary habits over the centuries. Polish studies in the history of culinary arts is usually narrower in terms of chronology and content than foreign-language studies. One of the exceptions is the study by Maria Dembińska on the changes in Polish cuisine from the Middle Ages to the 17th century against the European background [30]. In Polish historiography, royal accounts allowing the reconstruction of the structure and organization of the royal court were fully used by Marek Ferenc [31]. Agnieszka Marchwińska based her work devoted to the courts of wives of king

Zygmunt August on the royal accounts [32]. Walter Leitsch dealt with the court of Zygmunt III Waza [33]. An attempt to compare nutrition at the Polish, Baroque court of Zygmunt II Waza with this one present at the Habsburg court is a book by Dominik Kadzik which discusses preparations for the wedding of the monarch with Archduchess Anna Habsburg, based, among others, on the content of royal accounts [34]. Jerzy Michalewicz wrote an article about the kitchen during the reign of Sigismund III Vasa [35]. Undoubtedly a study created in collaboration of J. Dumanowski with Lithuanian researchers Rimvydas Laužikas, Liutauras Čepreckas and Arvydas Pacevičius, devoted to the court cuisine of the Ogiński family is an interesting item [36]. Given the history of culinary arts, particularly noteworthy is the work of Jarosław Dumanowski. He mainly deals with the practical side of the functioning of Old Polish cuisine, including ancient cookbooks. He is considered a pioneer of Polish historical gastronomy. An interesting thread in his research remains the cultural ties between Poland and France, but he pays just as much attention to native culinary traditions, enriched with foreign influences over time [37].

General rules for food in the Old Polish era

The assessment of temperament and health of the Polish nobility by foreigners shows some convergence. Claudio Rangoni, the papal nuncio, tried to do his best to do it:

"Most Poles are with a white face, fair hair, of tall height and strong build. Simple from nature, they will be rather fooled than deceive others, especially those who have not been abroad, but in the conduct of business they are cunning and extremely self-interested (...) They are violent and impetuous, and zealous in matters that they care about, but not difficult to tame and satisfy that is why Queen Bona likened them to beer, which poured from a jug into a mug has a thick froth, and after a short while it is without it (...) [38].

In early modern Poland, attempts were made to understand the relationship between food and health. Correspondence and period diaries reveal the secrets of a "humoral diet". For a long time, the difference between healthy or unhealthy dishes was not recognized. However, it was specified what was healthy or unhealthy for a person with a specific temperament [39], often combining this with the need to strengthen sexual potency and increase fertility. According to one of the Hippocratic concepts of medicine, a variety of phenomena: climatic factors, geographical location, terrain layout, composition of water, soil, vegetation, living and working conditions, habits and customs affect the somatic and psychological aspects of man" [40]. Four types of personality were distinguished: sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic and choleric, and the dishes were divided into hot or cold and wet or dry. Therefore, a phlegmatic with low libido was advised not to eat fish, waterfowl and beaver's tail, because these dishes were considered to have a cooling and weakening effect. More spicy red meat was considered to be more suitable for this group of people. In accordance with

the recommendations of a humoral diet, a choleric should, in turn, choose dishes that are cold and mild in taste. Serving dishes in sets adapted to different types of personality was going to facilitate the choice. Disturbance of eating order was considered dangerous not only to health but also to human behaviour. As the Grand Lithuanian Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł emphasized in 1632 when assessing the course of the Sejm: "The spirit of opposition blew away when we had to listen to the session with an empty stomach, and bile aroused disturbed minds to inappropriate discourses of drunken heads" [41].

Dishes were also medicine, and some of them were connected with superstitions. For example, from the description of the last days of Zygmunt III Waza's life, there is quite a mysterious mention of the king's reluctance to drink a rose and honey drink, considered to be a medicine at that time. As he said to the doctors, he was led by "an inborn disgust to this mixture": "I know you give me death in this cup" [42]. A resident of the influential Radziwiłł family at the court of Jan III Sobieski regularly noted the setting of royal meals. After the victorious battle of Vienna in 1683, the first aid kit of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa also proved to be a valuable prize, which - apart from a dried human body, which was commonly valued in medicine at that time - contained a medicinal dish. The ruler himself wrote in a letter to his wife:

"[...] oils, compositions, various "gummata", balms, mummies, and many other wonderfully expensive and rare things by which Pecorini was astonished (...). There was also fish and other similar things, which are called "stinca marina". Ask your heart le pere Luis if it is to be a good thing to warm up the lower stomach ou le bas ventre" [43].

Food treatment was an important legacy of the ancient world. The Greek physician from Cilicia, Dioskurides Pedanios, advised patients suffering from epilepsy to eat roast sheep and donkey liver, and Pliny the Elder advised to give epileptics, among others, the heart of a wolf, meat of a suckling dog, cock testicle, camel brain, lamb blood and the first offspring of swallows [44]. Treatment with the use of the human body also had the ancient origin, because the ancient Kymrians recommended the sick to eat a dried human brain mixed with lily-of-the-valley water. Even in the eighteenth century, there was a belief in Poland that rational lifestyle and health-promoting behaviours - and thus a diet - are more important for health care than help of doctors [45].

In the past centuries, as it is now, the relationship between the type of food and health was noticed, emphasizing at the same time that the impact of agriculture and breeding goes beyond the sphere of physical benefits. It was reminded that the ancient Romans referred to the moral man as "bonus agricola" or "bonus colonus" [46]. Xenophon's words were also remembered: "Even very happy people cannot do without agriculture [47]. Because taking care of it, I think, is both pleasure and multiplication of household possessions, and physical movement that gives the strength which is attributed to a free man". The "free man" mentioned here is

not a peasant but an estate owner. A village close to nature was considered a habitat of virtues, in contrast to a non-food-producing city, where trade created many opportunities for fraud, and where the urban community rose distrust with its provenance which was not always easy to determine. People were aware of the health impact of hunting, the favourite pastime of many rulers, which also provided various game dishes to the royal table, which was therefore rarely entered into the accounts.

The relationship between proper nutrition and health was not always clear then. The Irish doctor traveling around Poland, Bernard O'Connor, presented such an attempt in his report, although the conclusions from his observations are slightly different from those currently accepted. However, he managed to see the protein advantages of poultry meat, which is the reason why it is valued in bodybuilding now. It should also be added that the type of meat served to the monarch should take his temperament into account. For example, Wojciech Wielądko believed that beef is excellent food for the melancholic [48]. On the other hand, his attitude towards pork was ambivalent, which was appreciated for its delicate taste, but not recommended for people suffering from stomach problems. Among his conclusion there was a significant comparison, referring to the humoral theory and diet: "Arabs, Jews, Turks and Tatars do not eat pork meat, because their hot nature would multiply quicker chances for scurvy and blood rotting" [49].

Royal table

Organization

The main residence of the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties was in the capital of Kraków, but they willingly enjoyed the residences located outside the city, in Łobzów or Niepołomice. The last of the Jagiellonians, Zygmunt II August, had his favourite residence far from Kraków, in the woodland of Knyszyn. King Stefan Batory liked to be in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania - in Grodno, and Jan III Sobieski had his favourite hunting manor in Jaworów in Rus. Zygmunt III Wasa moved his court to Warsaw and from the time of his reign it was here that the political and cultural life of the state was concentrated. Warsaw was the favorite seat of the last Polish king - Stanisław August Poniatowski.

The most important of the royal kitchens was at the Wawel Castle in Kraków for a long time but the transfer of the royal court from Kraków to Warszawa in 1596 meant that, following the monarch, dozens of people working in his kitchen also left Wawel. Apart from chefs, bakers, butchers and cheese makers, these were also porters supervising the supply of spices and pharmacists. During the reign of the last two Jagiellons, Italian chefs played a key role. Sigismondo Fanelli was of particular interest during the reign of Zygmunt I Stary. The trust placed in him by his successor, Zygmunt II August, meant that in 1558 Fanelli was sent by the king to Bari, where his mother Bona Sforza died the year before. The chef's mission was delicate - he was supposed to seal two rooms in which dowry goods taken by the queen from Poland were collected

[50]. At the end of the 16th century, the chef earned about 60 florins a year, and in addition to this he received several barrels of beer and cloth material. It is also known that foreign chefs - especially Italians - were then better paid than local specialists. It is presumed that the first cookbook published under the title "Chefmastering" was created in the 16th century and was supposed to be a translation of the Czech original. However, this is only a hypothesis, which is insufficiently emphasized by historical sources [51].

As many as two kitchens worked at Wawel. There were separate kitchens - one for a king and one for a queen. They cooked separately for royal children who ate meals with their own courts. For example, in 1544, there were four official royal kitchens in the castle: the kitchen of Zygmunt I the Old, separate kitchens of Zygmunt II August and his wife Elżbieta Habsburg, and the kitchen of Queen Bona. People responsible for providing and preparing meals followed the moving royal court. They had to meet many expectations. Ready meals had to be pleasing to the eye, and also surprise the eaters with an unusual appearance. The quality of the products used in the royal cuisine had to go together with a well-thought-out menu.

The Jagiellonian dynasty was very ambitious and quickly began to play an important role in South-eastern Europe, so royal cuisine was one of the factors that allowed it to increase its external prestige [52]. However, this required good organization, because meals had to be prepared on time, and what is more, the dishes had to be safe for the king's health and the health of his family. Such crown dignitaries as chefs, carvers, cup-bearers and chamberlains were responsible for meeting those conditions. They were not strangers to monarchs and he trusted them. However, these offices became only titular with time. A chef supervised food products and accounts. He was also responsible for the entire process of preparing and delivering dishes to the king's table. A cup-bearer managed basements and the service who dealt with decorating the table and bringing desserts and wines. Expensive tableware consisted of plates, bowls, jugs, spoons and knives, while forks were rare, of course they ate with hands. The pantler was under the cup-bearer, and his task was, among others, to try dishes before serving them to guests. An interesting fact is that for fear of the poison, Władysław Jagiełło, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk and Zygmunt I the Old avoided alcohol and drank mainly water. A crown carver dealt with cutting dishes, and a chamberlain took care of the order in which guests were hosted.

The order of dishes was constant. Three dishes were usually served: soup, main course in the form of roast or fish and vegetables. Meals began with cooked fish, meat and thick soups, and only then stewed and roasted meat sets appeared on the table. Desserts so called "wety" were the culmination of the feast. They were slightly different from today's sweets because they did not always contain sugar. For example, nuts, poppy seeds and cheese were old Polish "sweets".

The monarch ate meals twice a day - late in the morning (prandium) and late in the afternoon (cena) [53]. These were important meetings at the table, which combined eating with discussing, listening to music or reading selected texts by the teacher [54]. According to royal accounts, there were usually 22 or 24 different meat and fish dishes for lunch (breakfast), and 16 or 18 for dinner. Thus, breakfasts were hardly eaten, but they were preparing lunch before midday and dinner for the afternoon at 6.00 p.m. Over time, however, the time of eating was adjusted. Jan III Sobieski ate breakfast after the morning mass, and dinner was served at the table between 12 and 2 pm [55]. It is also known that chicken soup (broth) was the king's breakfast usually served to him around 9.00 a.m. [56]. Still, a meal eaten around noon was called breakfast [57]. Royal illnesses did not always have an effect on the change of manners. Shortly before his death, seriously ill Louis XIV ate dinner in bed surrounded by spectators, but this practice did not have to function at the Polish court [58]. Living then Jan III Sobieski usually dined with his wife and members of his family, except during periods when he suffered from health problems [59]. At the end of his life, when feeling unwell, like "Sun King", he ate meals in bed, but alone [60]. In moments of feeling better, he travelled, sending kitchen staff to a chosen living quarters [61]. King Stanisław August Poniatowski ate dinner at 1 p.m., always accompanied by 12 people, which could mean a humorous reference to Christ who had a meal surrounded by 12 apostles [62]. The chamberlain, who always accompanied the monarchs during the trip, was responsible for pouring the soup.

Dishes

The royal cuisine usually took into account the same dishes that were eaten by the upper social strata of contemporary Poland, or even by the medium one. This did not mean, however, that the preparation of dishes unknown to Polish chefs was avoided. The ingredients of Old Polish dishes were characterized by the papal nuncio Claudio Rangoni, who mentioned the abundance of fish species present in Poland (salmon, anchovy-like vendace), as well as honey and game (European bison, elk, deer and doe meat) [63]. Old Polish cuisine, which was a combination of original Slavic cuisine with later foreign influences - Hungarian, German, Turkish, Italian and French ones, experienced its best times until the end of the 18th century [64]. However, in the case of court cuisine, the process of its decisive transformation took place earlier.

Polish royal cuisine was never isolated from foreign influences. Evidence of foreign influences in the Polish art of cooking dishes are borrowed words present in today's Polish language (from German: words meaning smoked ham, cabbage stew, onion, sugar, potato, meatball, dumpling, lettuce, ham, soup, from French: baguette, broth, dessert, gherkin, croquette, mayonnaise, margarine, mortadella, pate, sauce, apple pie, and Italian: chocolate, cauliflower, kohlrabi, mustard, tomato) [65]. In the Middle Ages, during the reign of the Hungarian Angevins, cultural and culinary innovations from the

south of Europe came to the Kraków court from Hungary. Thanks to external contacts, new ingredients and new dishes appeared in Polish cuisine. Before French wine gained popularity, Hungarian wine was highly appreciated. Olive oil, certain types of wine and pasta became popular under the influence of Italy, and Rhenish wine and luxury meats appeared on the royal table under the influence of German cuisine [66].

In the 16th century, during the reign of Zygmunt I the Old and Zygmunt August, court expenses for luxury goods increased. Over time, overseas citrus fruits appeared on the royal table, as well as on the magnate table, which were much rarer here before. This was associated with a general increase in prosperity in Poland and greater availability of goods due to geographical discoveries and economic recovery throughout Europe. Some changes on the royal table appeared with the arrival of Queen Bona Sforza, wife of Zygmunt I the Old, to Poland. Products that Bona knew from Italy were already known at the Kraków court, but thanks to her, they became much more popular and became cheaper than before. Zygmunt I the Old's wife popularized artichokes in Poland. At that time, many coming Italians lived in Kraków, and many representatives of magnates were educated in Renaissance Italy, and therefore the traditions of Italian cuisine had a chance to be widely popularized. The queen regularly cared for supply of the royal table, so the consumption of Italian wine and cheese, especially Parmesan cheese, increased during her reign. The types of consumed products did not change during the reign of Zygmunt August. Only minor modifications in the court menu were introduced by Barbara Radziwiłł, born in Lithuania, who was buying more sea fish and offal [67].

In the royal cuisine, various types of oils were used, mainly produced from native Polish plants. Among them there was linseed oil, which, however, was also imported from Hungary. For example, in 1557, the merchant Valentin Ferber bought linseed oil weighing 684 pounds, for 34 zlotys (florins) and 6 gross [68]. The cooking instruction prepared in 1647 by King Władysław IV Vasa for the courtier responsible for picking up a deputy from France has survived. The royal menu included fasting days and meat days, and among the proposed products were, among others: waxwings, fieldfare, hazel grouse, partridges, black grouse and capercaillies, trout, grayling, salmon, flounder, salted herring, lamprey in vinegar, snails, oysters and fresh fruit [69]. King Jan III Sobieski - who was both a magnate and monarch - was a real gourmet personally supervising the process of preparing meals. Expenditure on purchase of then fashionable orange trees, fruit for preserves and sugar is visible in the letters he wrote, as well as in the accounts written in his land estates. The amount of expenditure of the court of Jan III on luxury goods is difficult to determine exactly. The invoices contain amounts of money spent on the purchase of spices and sugar, but expenditure on these products was usually covered by an amount not disclosed in the registers, supplementing the net income. It is known, however, that in the Jakub Perzyng shop in Lviv they bought raisins for 6 zloty, vinegar for 10 zlotys, nutmeg for 3

zlotys, spice cloves for 3 zlotys, cinnamon for 7zlotys and sugar for 5 zlotys [70]. The amount of 73,712 zlotys spent by Queen Maria Kazimiera also included the expenditure on olive oil, olives and lemon [71]. The basic drink, both in the Middle Ages and in modern times, was a low-percentage beer drunk with each meal. Lwów, Gdańsk, Grodzisk, Kowno and Warka beers were eagerly put on the table. It was not only a drink but also a meal. Served with cream and curd, it was a nutritious dish usually eaten for late breakfast. Its large quantities were imported initially from Hungary, Austria and Moldova. Wine was the imported product. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Hungarian wines were popular in Poland. Jan III Sobieski imported Hungarian wine for large expenses. In 1682, the merchant Gabriel Bernatowicz received 22 866 zlotys for this purpose, of which he spent 20 322 zlotys [72]. In the 18th century, however, lighter French wine was becoming more and more popular.

And since the Turkish influence was more and more noticeable from the 17th century, raisins, figs, dates and fruit preserves became a delicacy. Gaspar de Tende, a French nobleman, staying in Poland in the 60s and 70s XVII century, wrote: "[Poles] add a lot of sugar, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, olives, capers and raisins to these sauces (...). They spend so much on spices and roots that some great noblemen in Poland import them annually for 50,000 livres" [73]. The oil was also pressed from nuts and almonds, and the latter ones were also used to make almond milk, the recipe of which was preserved in the family archives of King Jan III Sobieski [74]. However, almond milk was also used in cosmetics, similarly to donkey milk, but the latter product was not included in culinary recipes. One can read about the favourite ingredients of dishes served on the Polish royal table in the diary of Kazimierz Sarnecki, who in March 1695 informed the Radziwiłł family that Queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska had sent her daughter, the Elector Bavarian Teresa Kunegund, not only a Polish chef, but also dried mushrooms, salted saffron milk caps, groats, smoked carp, "Danube" pasta, as well as butter from Jarosław, probably salted, because Teresa Kunegunda could not get used to eating melted butter [75]. Hard-to-digest delicacies served at the royal court became the cause of severe ailments. They included deer marrow, as well as the widely-valued cabbage: "Her Ladyship, Kiev province governess became very sick ex occasione of the deer marrow, which she could not digest, and before she was poisoned by the cabbage and peaches (...)" [76]. King Jan III Sobieski took care of regular purchase of bacon, groats and flour, he personally supervised poultry farming, including turkeys called "Indian hens" [77]. The royal cuisine could not lack dairy products, such as butter, cheese, goose and chicken eggs, and cream. The meals were varied thanks to the abundance of various fruits and vegetables. A lot of them were eaten, especially white and red cabbage, onions, beets, peas, spinach and turnips. Carrots, radish and parsley, which was also used to colour jellies green, were appreciated. Apples, pears, cherries and plums predominated among the fruits. Domestic products also played an important role in the royal cuisine. In addition to local vegetables

and fruits, hazelnuts and grass grains known as Polish or Masovian manna which grew in the meadows and banks of streams were particularly valued.

All of the ingredients mentioned above have been used in the preparation of numerous meat dishes with the addition of many groats. Polish royal cuisine of the 17th century, including the royal cuisine, was full of interesting culinary ideas. The list of dishes served in Bari in 1517 after her marriage per procura with the king of Poland tells a lot about the details of her culinary tastes. Then jellies of lamb, meat pieces with white wine sauce, roasted pigeons, roast beef with wine sauce, game with pepper sauce, meat patties, stewed peacocks and roasted pheasants, capons covered with bacon, partridges in apples, rabbits, noodles and lettuce appeared on the table. Nut nougat with cream cheese and marmalade, puff pastry stuffed with sweet cheese, eggs and mustard, rice cakes, caramels and fried chestnuts were served for dessert. The feast menu after the young queen's arrival in Krakow probably looked similar. Zygmunt Stary prepared for the arrival of his wife very carefully, rebuilding the Wawel in a new style and expanding the castle's royal kitchens. He also had to be aware of Italian cooking habits.

Court celebrations in 17th-century Poland also required finesse. In Poland of the Baroque era, illusionary dishes appeared on Old Polish tables, for example pike dish seasoned in such a way that it tasted like it was prepared from veal [78]. Such dishes were a big surprise for the eaters. The similar ones were prepared for the wedding feast of King Zygmunt III Wasa and Anna Habsburg. The accounts include, among others: "(...) dragons 16, crocodiles 16, deer 16, pig heads 16, (...) dolphins 16, (...) lions 16, griffins 16 (...)" [79]. Sophisticated dishes were gilded, so we learn that one of the royal officials, "aromatarius" Rosiński received payment for gilding and dyeing. The pharmacist Andzioł provided the court with marzipan. Artful sugar pyramids were prepared for the feast celebrating the entrance of the new monarch - August II Wettin - to Krakow in 1697. One of the attractions were glowing marzipan torches [80].

What dishes were eaten on a daily basis, however? A cookbook written by Stanisław Czerniecki. A keen supporter of traditional Polish cuisine, Czerniecki was the chef working for King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki for some time, but due to the short reign of the young ruler he went down in history primarily as a cook of the Lubomirski magnate family. It was him who was the author of the first Polish preserved cookbook published in Krakow in 1682, entitled "Compendium ferculorum, or collection of dishes" [81]. Polish dishes offered by Czerniecki were critically assessed by foreigners. Frisian Ulryk von Werdum followed him in these opinions, reporting his impressions in the early 70s, "No nation uses salt and all kinds of roots as abundantly as Poles" [82]. It was rightly and accurately noted that they ate little bread, but a lot of meat, as well as groats and peas served as additives. They valued

the principle of greasy, abundant and peppery food [83]. The roast meat consisted of several types of meat: beef, veal, lamb and mutton, and relatively rarely also pork considered then a product of inferior quality. Peas and cabbage were ubiquitous in meals. In the Polish cuisine of the 17th century there was not one dominant type of meat, because they ate a lot: beef, mutton, lamb, a lot of poultry - chickens, capons (i.e. castrated fattened roosters), pigeons, guinea fowls, geese, ducks, and sometimes turkeys. Rabbits were also considered poultry. Game meat was very popular on the royal table, including that one which is under protection today. This mainly concerns the black grouse, the capercaillie, the beaver's tail and the bear's paws. Hunters of King Jan III Sobieski received one and a half thalers a week, and sometimes land grants were the form of remuneration [84]. One method of preserving meat, apart from salting, drying and smoking, was to put it in shelled peas [85]. This method was to protect it from rotting for 2 to 3 weeks. The accounts did not always include amounts spent on meat due to the fact that popular hunts could provide them in large quantities.

Some of the Old Polish dishes are still eaten, and many people - more or less rightly - consider them native Polish dishes. These include: soups, dumplings, bigos and fish dishes. Foreigners noticed that Polish soups prepared on the basis of chicken and goose meat were distinguished by their colours. The yellow soup containing a large amount of saffron was well known, and there was the black soup with the addition of blood. Borscht and rye soup often appeared on the table. As foreigners noticed, no bread was added to the soup in Poland. It was usually with various groats - buckwheat, millet, pearl barley and manna. Soups are popular in Poland to this day, but they have changed their taste under the influence of French cuisine. Dumplings are very popular to this day. Dumplings are considered a traditional Polish dish. The legend says that Poland owes this dish to the prior of the Kiev monastery, Jacek Odrowąż. Thus dumplings would have a Russian origin, and according to legend, Odrowąż who was passing through the Podkarpacie, having only flour, cabbage and mushrooms, combined everything together into one dish. Regardless of the origin of the dumplings, they were considered a traditional Polish delicacy. Hubert Vautrin, a Frenchman travelling around Poland, described them as a cooked, stuffed dough stuck together in the shape of a rooster comb or small boat [86]. In fact, dumplings, as a dish made of thin, rolled-out dough in the shape of a square or circle, filled with filling, were probably made in different parts of the world independently of each other. Other dishes, considered to be Polish ones, also appeared on the royal table. Vautrin, as he said, did not know if there was a separate Polish cuisine, but he described the dishes he met, rightly highlighting their dominant sweet and sour taste. A large amount of fat in the dishes and their very spicy taste were other features characterizing Old Polish cuisine. The taste described here still has a bigos, which is a mixture of sauerkraut, cold meats, mushrooms and sometimes also dried plums. However, it differs significantly from the old Polish bigos, which was an acidified mixture of various meats and fish [87].

Nowadays, Poles eat much less fish than before. Old Polish cuisine specialized in numerous dishes made of fish that was cooked, baked, fried and smoked. Numerous fish dishes, considered to be a Polish specialty, as well as soups were very popular. It was the result of Poles' attachment to numerous religious fasts. Fast in Poland was much more restrictive than the Protestant or Catholic fast of the Italians or French. There were about 200 fasting days. Abstinence from eating certain foods was required, among others on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, as well as on Christmas Eve, Lent and Advent. At that time, fish and crayfish as well as vegetables and fruits were eaten, and lard and butter were replaced with vegetable oils. In the 16th century, people fasted on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and on all the eves of major holidays. Until the beginning of the 18th century, fasting was the basis for identification of a Catholic Pole. Numerous days and fasting periods required ingenuity in preparation of dishes made of fresh, dried, smoked and salted fish. Herring, cod and salmon imported from the Baltic Sea were popular, but freshwater fish also appeared on the royal table. Because of that, the pond economy was developed. The accounts and recipes show that pike, carp, crucian carp, gudgeon, tench and breams dominated there. However, eels and crayfish harder to catch were a delicacy. Fish soup based on pike, crucian carp, perch, carp and trout meat was a popular dish. Jellies made of fish and coloured yellow with saffron, red with cherry juice and green with parsley were very popular on the Old Polish royal table. An interesting fact is that, not yet familiar with gelatin, chefs concentrated these dishes with the use of an extract from plants of the mallow family, commonly growing in Poland. There were also pates were prepared from fish. Stanisław Czerniecki, gave as many as 100 fish recipes out of 300 main courses. At the royal court, freshwater, domestic and imported fish from the Dniester, the Volga and the Dnieper was eaten. It is significant that although Italians and French considered Polish cuisine bizarre and not very tasty, they valued fish prepared in a Polish way.

But already in the second half of the 17th century a great discussion on the meaning of fasting began in Poland. There was a division, some magnates did not agree to so many fasting days, others thought that eating meat and cheese on Friday was prohibited. The discussion lasted until the eighteenth century. The example of Jan III Sobieski's menu from the 90s shows gradual liberalization. The king did not fast on Wednesdays, and at the end of his life, when he was old and sick, he received a dispensation and fasted only a few days a year, on the eves of major holidays. The contradiction was the fact that on one hand during the fast meat and dairy products were forbidden, and on the other one the fast did not limit the amount of eaten food. The papal nuncios noticed with amazement huge amounts of fish, frogs, turtles, sweets and wine on fast-day, Polish tables.

From the second half of the 17th century on, Old Polish cuisine had a competitor at the royal court - French cuisine. French chefs showed up here along with the French spouses of Polish monarchs. A cook at the court of Jan III Sobieski had to know the secrets of not only

Polish but also French cuisine. Jan III, married to the Frenchwoman Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien, who knew French culture well and implemented French foreign policy in the first half of his reign, also knew French culinary customs well. In 1666 he asked his wife who stayed in Paris to find a good cook, necessarily a Frenchman [88]. Jan III Sobieski loved French patties whose preparation was quite difficult, because it required a skilful combination of chopped meat with properly prepared puffy pastry. The French art of cooking was considered more sophisticated than Polish one. As the diarist Jędrzej Kitowicz noted, the seventeenth-century cakes were heavy and thick, lacking the fluffiness characteristic of later baking [89]. In the times of Jan III, more attention was paid to the amount of food and sumptuousness than to the quality of the dishes served. Polish dishes had a very sharp and intense taste, because they were abundantly seasoned with saffron, cloves, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg and other exotic spices. They were at the same time sweet, sour and very spicy, so they seemed somewhat similar to dishes liked in ancient Rome [90].

The reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski turned out to be a breakthrough in the evolution of Polish cuisine. His court cook, Paul Tremo, revolutionized royal cuisine [91]. And Tremo's talent was well paid, the king paid him over 10,000 zlotys a year. And just like in Polish political life, also in the royal cuisine a compromise turned out to be a way to overcome old habits. The dishes prepared by this chef combined Polish and French traditions. In the time of the last king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the upper strata of society increasingly drew attention to the health benefits of light cuisine, disclosed in the books by Tremo, "Kitchen Botany" and "Science of the exact ways of cooking and preparing dishes from meat, fish, vegetable, flour, as well as seasoning various sauces and making punch essence" [92]. The student of the favourite chef of the last Polish king was Jan Szyttler, born in Warsaw, who in his youth also dealt with the meals of the monarch, and later became the author of the first systematic Polish cookbooks [93]. In the royal kitchen of Stanisław August Poniatowski, they prepared for the ruler and his court among others beetroot borscht with dumplings, smoked meats, spicy marinades, roast meats - together his favourite roast sheep, as well as hazel grouse (the smallest European forest grouse) filled with bacon. The king liked oysters, soups, so apart from borscht he was eager to eat almond soup served on Christmas Eve then and hazel grouse broth [94]. This light and sophisticated cuisine already heralded new, culinary times in which food products known to the Old Polish era - rice and potatoes - gained importance.

Conclusions

The Polish culinary art practiced at Polish royal courts underwent a significant evolution at the end of the 18th century, which does not mean that it was not previously influenced by foreign influences. In the times of Jan III Sobieski, it was not yet possible to speak of a significant influence of French cuisine. Although French dishes were served at the royal court, Queen Marie Casimire was their admirer principally. However, she also liked some Old Polish dishes. After

her husband's death, she left for Rome, and then settled in France, at the Blois castle, not hiding that she missed groats and beets. Polish nobility, apart from magnates, was attached to their native culinary traditions. French customs and culture were unpopular in the 17th century, because conservative circles of the nobility were afraid of foreign influences, considering them dangerous also for the Polish system. People of the Enlightenment era turned out to be more open to the political and cultural achievements of Western Europe. Poland was slowly opening up to the influence of other countries, also in the culinary sphere. Thus, the transformation of Polish cuisine took place not through a revolution, but through a compromise evolution. This phenomenon was also favored by the progress of medical science. In the mid-eighteenth century, culinary techniques were modernized, primarily in royal cuisine. Techniques for stewing dishes, thickening them with fat and roux have developed in Poland, we have weaned from combining sour, sharp and sweet flavors in food, and what's more, the humoral diet was losing popularity as a result of advances in anatomy and medical knowledge [95].

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