Gustatory Knowledge

Ice Cream and Practices of Palate Pleasure in Archival Documents and Cookbooks (1770–1830)

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Abstract *This article links the production of ice cream in courtly kitchens and pastry workshops with the practices of congealing in civic households. Frozen desserts were nodal points at which the conditions of taste and delight met with gustatory regalement experienced in the palate. Celebrating connectivity by sharing gustatory experiences and by making space through taste, performativity and communication, this contribution argues that material and sensory culture are linked in the social environment of eating and the forms of relish linked to the arts of alimentation. In such a setting, various transfers of knowledge are enclosed in ice cream and tables where it was served and displayed were designed as multimedia and multisensory environment. Cookbooks, in this respect, provided insight into the arcane alchemy of gastronomical artistry and gave a civic public of readers, male and female cooks, gentlemen and gentlewomen, access to the secrets made in pots and pans and the homemaking of ice cream served in crystal glasses or china cups.*

1. Media and Practices of Taste: How to Freeze Ingredients to Ice Cream

Media, senses, and food are interwoven, bound to the histories of their formulation and preparation, in which ingredients, temperatures and compounds intersect and interfere. As outlined by the author of *The Italian Confectioner; Or, Complete Economy of Desserts*, edited, printed, and distributed by the London based publisher John Harding, frozen desserts are a hybrid composition of various media – condiments, flavors, plates, place settings, course of the menu etc. – sampled and mixed, adjusted and stirred and infused with different sets of temperature and means of cooling.

> Ices are composed of the juice of fruits, creams and liqueurs, prepared and concealed by means of pounded ice, mixed with salt, or with salt nitre or soda. The freezing pot should be always of pewter, because it prevents the contents of the

> vessel from congealing too quickly, and there is time enough to mix them thoroughly; for on this circumstance, in a great measure, depends the excellence of the ice. Tin vessels occasion too rapid a congelation, and do not afford time to well mix the materials. (Jarrin 1820: 123)

This statement refers to the chemistry of ingredients whose contents melted on the surface – of the tongue and in the warm environment of the palate and mucous membranes of the mouth. Nevertheless, it would be a dubious claim to hold that Guglielmo Alexis Jarrin, a confectioner and ornament maker, employed at a West London tea shop and coffee house, located at Berkeley Square in the borough known as the City of Westminster (Allen 2013; Reber 2019), had the spare time to compile recipes and had acquired sufficient language skills to translate them from his native Italian tongue into a mode of English accepted by the urban middle classes. Therefore, it is rather probable that Harding, the publishing house, hired a ghostwriter who helped the expatriate and non-native speaker with the compilation of his artistic knowledge.

The tea shop had been founded by Domenico Negri in 1757. James Gunter became his partner in 1784 and fully acquired this catering business in 1799, renaming it Mr. Gunter's Tea Shop and targeting upper-class customers of both genders. His son Robert, who was trained on the job in the family business became his successor in 1819 (Reber 2019). Gunter's established a brand for luxury and the distinctive tastes of coffees and teas, of course imported from the colonies, and cakes, pastries, tarts and glacés. The surname Jarrin stems from continental Europe, more specifically from the Piedmont – reigned by the Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia – or the Lombardy-Venetia region, which had been part of the Austria-Hungarian empire since 1815. As Italy did not exist as a kingdom or an early nation state at the time of the publication, the geographical signifier *Italian*, when linked with the professional attribution *confectioner*, served to claim expertise, craftsmanship and artistry when making a concoction of flour, eggs, sugar, salt, and water, and then combining these basics with ingredients that induced various flavours. Some readers and customers knew the fine cuisines of urban southern Europe through their travels that one may connect to the beginnings of tourism. Jarrin's persona – as an artist of food composition and as an author respectively as a trademark of an exquisite brand – retained a trace of reticent exoticism. Marked as Italian, though he was born and raised in the Piedmont region, the pastry confectioner stood for specialty, expertise, and tacit knowledge. For his publisher, these aspects became key pitches and main selling points to market the cookbook as well as its reissues and new editions.

Food addresses the senses (Sutton 2010): the nose (odor/fragrance), the tongue, the palate and the tips of the finger (gustatory taste and tactility), the eyes (vision), and the ears (hearing). Such multisensory activity is interwoven with communication (Rodaway 1994; Howes 1994), as early as at the stages of production: Prepar-

ing food, bringing it to the table, presenting it there, customers being catered and landlords being served, eating dishes alone or accompanied by invited guests, all this contains social bonds and networks of representation (De Vooght 2012) as well as various stratifications: this process relates firstly to social interaction; secondly it comprises sensory experience; thirdly it entails conditions of space, infrastructure and provision of goods; fourthly, it bears on the composition of ingredients with regard to time-sensitive operations like heating, frying, stewing or cooking. Finally, there are two additional layers bound to this constellation, namely household economies as well as the media that stores and preserves knowledge of how to confect extraordinary meals and provide memorable gastronomical and gustatory experiences.

> Some are of opinion, that when any article is iced, it loses its sweetness, and that it ought therefore to have an additional quantity of sugar; but this is not correct; the diminution of the sweetness arises from the materials not being properly mixed or worked with the spaddle, when in the freezing pot. In Ices that are badly mixed the sugar sinks to the bottom, and they have necessarily a sharp unpleasant taste. (Jarrin 1820: 123)

Meals matter (Symons 2019), because they exemplify the social, cultural, sensual, economic and media entanglements involved in the consumption and enjoyment of food. These dimensions have become deeply inscribed in food cultures in general and in understandings of taste in particular, but they rarely form the core of historical examinations. In addition, food contains procedures of communication, of acoustic and auditory experience (Stahl 2022b), of time perception, the control and measurement of temperature, as well as spatial relations. "Of all the arts, cooking is most ephemeral" (Di Palma 2014: 118), because the courses on display melt away and are dispersed bite by bite. They were not designed to endure as works of art, but to be remembered as a performance within the palate. The French word *le palais* announces and signifies the different stages of such tasty spectacles being originally preserved to royal and aristocratic pleasures. In this respect, Marie-Antoine Carême, a confectioner and self-made *mâitre de cuisine* who lived from 1784 to 1833, established his name as a brand of quality and gastronomical ingenuity. He was a creator of aesthetic compositions and, in his restaurant, Carême performed the arts of gustatory sensual pleasures (Ferguson 2003) and subsequently became – like Jarrin and others – a successful cookbook author, who sold a lot of copies and editions. He referred his skills and reputation to his service to the royal kitchen and the haute cuisine of Parisian restaurants (Carême 1815).

It seems safe to assume that everybody knows something about ice cream and that many have held cones with portions of such frozen delight in hand, leading them to mouth and tongue, even if connoisseurs of the period were spooning icy sor-

bets from china cups, which may have been the usual way of consuming this frozen treat around 1800. Ice cream is an object of common knowledge. Analyzing the contexts in which this edible, which is all but an aliment, is produced, presented, and consumed opens pathways and perspectives that focus on where ice cream has been sensorially registered within cultural and social practices of eating and who can allow themselves such trices of luxury. It is an experience of ingredients, space, time, taste; jars and bowls made of glass; spoons first made of materials like brass, tin, and aluminum, to later be substituted by plastic in the second half of 20th century, or even nowadays by sustainable and degradable materials.

Looking into the inventory of courtly kitchens and confectionary workshops is a convenient way to learn whether frozen dessert or ice cream was frequently served at the aristocratic dining table and tied to specific occasions. In April 1786, a confectioner Friedrich Daniel Fischer, born in Ansbach, received a certification and testimonial, that he catered the daily provision of cookies and glacés extraordinarily well and proved to serve official events with his artistic excellence in terms of tasty pastry and frozen desserts.[1] In this written record it was also noted what victuals (coffee, tea, sugar etc.) the confectionary at Arolsen Palace served at a daily basis, who was entitled to them and to what extent.[2] At the Wilhelmshöhe Palace, the residence of the Dukes of Hessen-Cassel, a clerk counted and registered the inventory of the facilities and amenities which were used to cook and provide meals for the members of the court's administration and the nobles, both groups having been granted the right to dine with the Duke on a daily – or at least on a regular and serial – basis. Equipped with pen and paper, this clerk was obliged to manage the supply, maintenance and provision of foodstuff and infrastructure, also noting what dishes and tableware had been allocated to the stock. By the end of December 1822, the clerk counted four large and four small ice cream bowls (Eisgläser) in the shelves designated for glassware. They held the contents for scoops of ice cream, when such occasions were due.[3]

The concept of distinction provides one way of reading such artefacts and the practices connected to them. But making sense of eating, understood as a social, cultural, and sensory practice also requires reflection on temporal/spatial relations. Temporality and temperature are two major driving forces in this context. Both

1 Testimonial for Friedrich Daniel Fischer, confectioner from Ansbach (then Hohenzollern-Brandenburg now Bavaria), specifications related to the courtly confectionary workshop at Arolsen, in: Federal Archive of the State of Hesse (Hessisches Staatsarchiv (HStA)) Marburg, 119a, Nr. 28, 15.04.1786, Bl. 1.

2 "Specification was an Thee und Caffe tägl[ich] aus der Conditorey gegeben wirdt", 1745 and 'Specification der Persohnen welche wochentl[ich] aus der Hochfürstl[ichen] Conditorey an Zucker, Thee und Caffe bekommen', 1748, in: HStA Marburg, 119a, Nr. 28.

3 Inventarium of the courtly kitchen at Wilhelmshöhe Palace, compiled by (Johannes) Fabronius, Cassel, 04.12.1822, in: HStA Marburg, 7a, 1137, Nr. 1, 28.12.1822, Bl. 1.

mark layers of ingestion, dish, pantry and, of course, digestion. Meals structure the timely order of workdays and Sundays (Aymard/Grignon/Sabban 1993). Then as now, a kitchen was a space in which knowledge interacted and communicated with social and preparative time, infrastructures, media, workforce, temperature, and the provision of foodstuff. Gastronomical spirit, economies of alimentation and rationalization of cooking procedures, therefore, connected a court's kitchen with a gentry or (upper)middle class household's domestic nutrimental affairs. This stretches to environments of gastro-production in restaurants (Möhring 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Iwanczek 2016) and to specialized services for gustatory enjoyment. Such services were outsourced to the craftsmen and craftswomen who ran companies that catered to the local or regional aristocracy (Kliewer 2015), or at least to distinguished families who enjoyed a high public profile. A restaurant's daily menu, understood as a public space for those who could afford it (consumers), with its table settings and its series of courses, expressed a condensed version of a courtly banquet. Re-enacting gastronomical distinctiveness at a table *de convives* or in a space with acquaintances (invitees), sitting in a dining room of an estate or a house, gastropolitics has been understood as a mode of social hierarchy and interaction that operates at a specific setting: namely, while sitting at a table (Appadurai 1981). It connects feudal banquets (De Vooght 2011), diplomatic dinners (Stéfanini 2016), civic table societies – in relative seclusion – along with the orchestration of stock in tea shops, coffee houses or restaurants. Public performances also play a part and provide additional values in terms of communication, interaction, posture, and distinction. In this respect, preparing meals requires skills of composition. Knowledge stored in memories of practices is one layer of such composition. This also requires notation, mainly on sheets of paper. On such surfaces recipes were registered, compiled, and bound between covers or bindings. Access to such arcane epistemic space was restricted until granted by a supervisor, a chef de cuisine. Another medium that garnered, translated, and construed gastronomical experience and gustatory knowledge was the cookbook, and access to such comprehensive culinary lore could be purchased (value of acquisition). *The Italian Confectioner*, a compilation of recipes allegedly authored by William (Guglielmo) Jarrin, or the *Pâtissier Royal Parisien*, collated by his French competitor Marie-Antoine Carême, provided a lively insight into the alchemy of fine taste of sweet tidbits. In this respect, multiple temporalities are assigned to the process of preparation. Assessing the most convenient point of time to adjust ingredients, when the temperature is accurate to apply inventories of materials, infrastructural tools like tableware and equipment and the orchestration of condiments drew sceneries of delicacy. Those landscapes of bodily and sensory enjoyment consisted of several nodal points at which transfers of gastronomical and gustatory knowledge occurred. And tables were the multimedia and multisensory environments – the spatial arrangements and temporal textures of fine taste – in which such experiences happened (Brillat-Savarin 1826).

2. Gustatory Knowledge: Ice is the Palate's Frozen Delight

Cookbooks are a form of media relaying multisensorial experience. Such printed matter can provide insight into the gastropolitics of alimentary tastes and into the arts of kitchen management at a feudal or royal court. Since the second half of 18th century, collections of recipes claimed relevance in providing the many with access to the exclusive gustatory knowledge of the few. The literate public to whom these collections were addressed included male and female food artists, daughters of the landed gentry who were preparing for marriage and had to be trained in directing households with servants, or bourgeois gentle women guiding a domestic workforce. For those who learned how to read, and, in general, for social groups who invested in educating their offspring, cookbooks offered access to flows of culinary information that was already transregional at that time. During the 19th and early 20th century, presumably beginning in the 1830s but after the 1848/49 uprisings at the latest, national attributions became common features for including or excluding recipes in such compilations. This tendency extended to the competitions between local confectioners and peregrine, trans-local and regionally and seasonally migrated ice cream makers (Möhring 2013a; Stahl 2022a). The cookbooks considered in this article, *Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de distillation* (Vincent 1767), the *Italian confectioner* (Jarrin 1822) as well as the *Kochbuch für alle Stände* (Armster 1828) represent only a small sample of the publications that characterize the contemporaneous market for guidebooks and manuals. These volumes had been preceded by numerous works which had been published in numerous editions, translated into other languages (Massialot 1691, 1692; 1698; 1702; Lehmann 1999) and received relevance and appreciation mostly through illegal reprints and pirated copies (Marin 1739; Menon 1749). Over time, and in circles of recurrence, these cookbooks underwent adaptations of titles, translations, expansions, and recompilations.

These recipe collections offer insights into the practices of household and kitchen management. Contemporary cookbooks of the mid-18th and early 19th centuries show, and this is the second thesis of this paper, that cooks shared recipe knowledge transnationally, traded among themselves and, with the support of their publishers, marketed it to a middle-class audience. Their designations of taste thereby performed a popularization of gastronomic and gustatory knowledge. Cookbooks provide insight into the spatial and temporal dispositions of presentation by referring to table manners and to notions of health precautions that were also included in understandings of food. These compilations served as culinary guides into gustatory landscapes revealing how premodern nobles and aristocrats celebrated cultures of eating, relish and savoir vivre. They sold by offering putative access behind the doors of courtly kitchens. This opened pathways of cultural appropriation and engraftment of such knowledge in civic practices of luscious food. These printed media combined nutritional knowledge, practices, and technologies

of preparation with suggestions for presenting dishes at the table. As collections of recipes and written manuals of how to make meals, which were issued and published for a developing market of readers, cookbooks also enabled culinary empowerment. They had in common the intention of giving advice, explaining, and presenting the preparation of fruits, salads, vegetables, and animals and suggesting different combinations. They claimed for themselves "thorough instruction on the art of cooking as well as on the preparation of baked goods, creams, jellies, drinks," according to the subtitle of the collection of recipes published by the German cook and restaurant owner Sophie Armster in 1828. Those instructions – provided by Armster, Jarrin, Vincent, and other authors – focused on applicability, especially when kitchen environments lacked certain equipage and gear.

Printed books popularize the preselection of gustatory and gastronomical knowledge. Printed, published, and distributed in 1767 by the Paris publisher and bookseller Philippe Vincent[4], who advertised his services as a publishing house with reference to the Duke of Burgundy, the *Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de distillation* accomplishes both. The recipe collection was a portable archive. It contained the cooking knowledge of the first half of the 18th century, could be taken along, read aloud, and served as a reference study of the art of food. Like an advertising insert, announcing the value of the book, the title page already indicated the book's diverse contents, such as "la façon de faire toutes sortes de gelées […] et de composer toute sortes de liquers […] de syrops, de glaces, d'essences." (Vincent 1767) The *Dictionnaire* included details on the preparation of jellies, as well as the composition of liqueurs, ice cream, thickened syrups and other liquids added with natural flavors. In addition to instructions on mixing liquors, the volume explained the uses of such concoctions, aimed at application by buyers who were capable of writing and reading. This in turn limited the target audience. It was aimed chiefly at the most skilled and dexterous chefs in princely court kitchens and restaurants, as well as at cooks – and female *cuisinières* – who were exclusively responsible "pour des Tables bourgeoises" (Vincent 1767) and thus employed by bourgeois lords. Subsequent editions were advertised as expansions. Supplements offered special content that increased the marketability and dissemination of this (secret) cooking knowledge. The publishers aimed at serial publication in order to tell the story of gastronomic and culinary skills (Williams 2020). Although this elaborate designation in the subtitle implies gendered attributions and a distinction between professional independence or dependent employment, it dispenses with the spatial definitions of the domestic and homely, even if such private residential building may have encompassed several hundred acres of acquired or inherited property (Wertz 2013). Female cooks in the mid-1760s were identifiable as cookbook buyers.

4 About Philippe Vincent (1724–1790) see https://data.bnf.fr/12231108/philippe_vincent/ and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k98044590.textelmage

They occasionally managed (upper) middle-class kitchens and were anything but bound to domestic cooking environments, as we might assume and re-imagine that time. Male chefs, contrary to the common narrative (Revel 1982; Brears 1999), by no means dominated gastropolitics or controlled kitchen regimes. The artistic gastronomy, that, read as masculine, had split off from the feminine, artisanal preparation of food in household kitchens, without however attaining the status that it is commonly accorded in retrospect.

Designating dishes and contouring landscapes of flavor, the editor of the *Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de distillation* noted in the preface that he had compiled this collection of recipes to serve all tastes. He was an "officier de bouche" who had acquired knowledge of artful food and fine taste through his own experience. Vincent arranged knowledge transfers. He listed dishes, arranged them, and assembled them in menus. In this way, he composed tastes, or rather, he made selections. The author evaluated food according to bodies of knowledge that were essential to apply. The statement "la connaissance qu'on aura du goût de ceux pour lequels on travaille" (Vincent 1767: vii), thus refers to knowledge that cooks acquired about the tastes of those for whom they worked. These were the aristocratic *Hausherren* – whose function was somewhere between landlord, bourgeois, and proprietary host – who employed food artists in whose gastronomic establishments they had previously dined. According to Vincent, the pocket dictionary of cuisine served several functions for its readership: first, it appealed to those who could afford a healthy and expensive cuisine; second, it targeted people who were delicate (délicat) on the one hand, but still wished to dine well (bonne chère) on the other. Third, Vincent spoke of those who were just learning the arts of cooking. He said that the cookbook and dictionary enabled these people to act and cook for themselves. Tied to such a marketing pitch, Vincent's cookbook negotiated forms of self-empowerment by emphasizing the individual acquisition of skills of preparation and taste. His *Dictionnaire* followed encyclopedic practices, providing names of dishes and explaining their preparation. The food arranger used two procedures in this process. He took on the role of archivist and wrote down, as it were, notations of taste. The recipes he collected resembled miniatures of taste music that followed a compositional logic and were intended for performance and use at the table.

First of all, Vincent explains culinary terms for those who "ne sont point de l'Art", i.e. who were not familiar with the craft. While studying and employing this book, even thrifty people would discover that one could make "de très bonnes choses" inexpensively and without much effort. For this, the manorial palates did not need to be spoiled too much (souvent on les gâte), or "qu'on consomme infiniment plus qu'il ne faudroit pour bien faire" (Vincent 1767: ix), to receive at the table vast quantities of food for consumption. With this emphasis, Vincent distinguished the unrestrained consumption of food as gluttony from an approach to food that was conducive to health. To the letter D, Vincent assigned dessert and labelled this the fourth course.

He referred to "glâcer" as a coating of gravy that enhanced the flavor of meat; on the other hand, he understood it to mean a crust of heated sugar (une croûte de sucre) with which "les fruits ou pâtisserie" (Vincent 1767: xii) were spread.

Targeting a literate public of buyers, kitchen management trainees and professionals as well as cooking experts and gentlewoman, the following considerations put their emphasis on dessert, more precisely on frozen fruits and creams, the gustatory and culinary precursors of today's ice cream. On the one hand, Vincent's annotations express temporal sensitivity, when it comes to the 'right moment' to adjust ingredients and to compose condiments at diverse temperatures. On the other, his explications concerning the aromatic contents of fruits, in relation with the procedures of cooking and heating, refer to textures of food, which consist of interaction, mixture and communication of elements, long before palatine enjoyments enfold.

Under the entry "Groseilles (Glace de)", the author explained how to prepare frozen food from red currants. Cooks were to measure out "deux livres de groseilles" and mix them with the amount of about a French pound of raspberries in a pan. The pulpy broth was to be separated into three or four parts and poured into a strainer one at a time to separate the juice from the fruit. The liquid was then to be placed on the stove and heated over an open flame. The confectioners then added "une livre & demie sucre" and dissolved it in the broth. This aimed to balance the sourness of the currants. A "chopine de l'eau", that is, an English pint, about six hundred milliliters of water, was then to be added to replace the liquid evaporated by the boiling. "Vous la mettez dans une terrine pour refroidoir." After the temperature-controlled treatment of the brew, it was to be drained into a deep bowl. Vincent did not comment on the nature of this vessel. The next step in the process followed: cooling down the temperature and initiating the process of congelation.

> Ensuite vous mettrez votre eau de groseilles dans une salbotiere, pour faire prendre à la glace. Si vous n'êtes dans le tems [sic!] de la groseille en grain, prenez de la gelée de groseilles framboisées, un pot ou deux, selon la quantité que vous en voudrez faire; vous la mettrez dans de l'eau chaude, pour qu'elle soit plus facile à se dégeler; passez-la au travers d'un, en la pressant avec une spatule; ajoutez-y du sucre & un peu de cochenille, si vous n'y rouvez assez de couleur, & vous finirez vos glaces comme à l'ordiniaire. (Vincent 1767: 311)

Vincent had seasonal time in his mind and explained that if there were no ripe currants available, the basic ingredient could be replaced by a jam of currants and raspberries that had previously been prepared. Furthermore, he discussed controlling the temperature, mentioning the process of (re)cooling (refroidir) and defrosting (dégéler). Other aspects highlighted the *Dictionnaire portatif*: specific vessels for cool-

ing recipes in salted ice water (salbotiere)[5] and tools for detaching the aggregates of special treat from the brass cans (spatule), as well as the admixture of animal dyes such as crushed beetles (cochenille), to stain the mélange in the colour red, providing calculations of quantity with regard to the eaters. Freezing, Vincent clarified, was the result of different blending ratios. Ingredients, materiality, processing methods, time and temperature became important variables in the process of preperation. Garden fruits and forest berries could be boiled down, preserved, thickened into jams or, of course, frozen. In the mid-1700 – lasting until the end of 19th century – it was quite a time-consuming procedure to congeal food in a kitchen Vincent's pocketbook listed the recipes in alphabetical order and thereby restaged them without updating them. Therefore, there was little room for reinvention. Combinations saved time. Falling back on juices or schnapps suggested itself everywhere. With "Geniévre (Glace de)" frozen juniper berry, the preparation followed a similar path. Une demie poignée de geniévre que vous concassez & mettez-le dans une pinte d'eau, avec un peu de cannelle & une demi livre de sucre." (Vincent 1767: 303) The ended mixture was to be brought to a boil as a whole. After this process, the cook was to separate the composition into five or six parts and "ensuite vous le passez à la chauffe", to heat again. "Vous le mettez dans une salbotiere pour prendre à la glace." (Vincent 1767) The decoction of juniper berries and sugar, enriched with cinnamon, was to be put, very probably in a tin container, in a vat filled with salted water and crushed pieces of ice. In this receptacle, and with constant stirring, the mixture changed its nature. It assumed the state of freezing. After that, the frozen, previously thickened, creamy mixture could be scraped off the inner walls with a wooden spatula or spoon. The same principle had to be transferred and applied to all kinds of fruits and berries, for example, sour acerola cherries (azerolles). Here, the portable kitchen dictionary provided comparisons with other similar fruits, helped to determine the exact type and degree of ripeness, and designated geographical locations. "Ce fruit, quand il est mûr, est rouge, doux & mol, les meilleurs sont celles qui croissent dans l'Italie & le Languedoc." (Vincent 1767: 58) However, this variety of cherry was hardly useful in preparing food. Therefore, it was neither worthwhile to purchase them on a regular basis, nor to store them. Vincent advised dipping these cherries, pierced with a small skewer, into a mixture of caramelized sugar and then drying them. If it were to be served, cooks would have to "donner d'une autre façon que dans leur naturel" (Vincent 1767) to the acerola cherries. They were only presented at the table after having undergone a preparatory treatment.

This treatment aimed at transforming the cherries' natural flavor. Thus, by the middle of the 18th century, the kitchen was a laboratory in which planned and prescribed sequences prevailed. As long as the blueprint of production had been inter-

5 For a delineation of a salbotiere see Jarrin 1820, 281, Plate 2, drawing 9, see December 11, 2022 (https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2015pennell18106/?sp=308).

nalized, it could be rather easily adapted to the gustatory preferences of the landlord and the landlady and their offspring, those who were the target audience of such arts of cooking and publics of private sensory displays.

Sophie Armster, a restaurant owner and chef de cuisine, who has been already mentioned earlier in this article, published a collection of recipes in 1828. She placed frozen desserts and glacés in a chapter and gave an extended explanation of the means and technologies applied (Armster 1828: 519–526). "Usually use a bucket filled with ice" when preparing frozen dessert from fruits and syrups. The crushed ice needs to be well mixed "with salt" and poured "a hand high" into the container. "Then you put the freezer container with the mass on top, and now fill all around the ice mixed with salt." The confectioner additionally sprinkles the lid of the freezing container sprinkle with salt. In this cooling environment, "the can is left to stand still for a quarter of an hour, then it is turned around in the bucket in a circle for a quarter of an hour." (Armster 1828: 519, translated by HS) After this thirty-minute procedure, the lid of the can is lifted and "the frozen mass is scraped off the side with a small wooden shovel made for this purpose". The contents must now be stirred well and sealed again in the can. Then, and here Armster does not give an exact time, the housekeeper, cook or housewife continues "to turn and stir the mass until it stood out like butter". The author also describes the material composition of the freezing container. It must have "the form of a high tin pot" (Armster 1828: 520). Based on this cooling and freezing process, she explained various flavors: Vanilla, cream, champagne, punch, maraskino (marasca cherry liqueur from the Eastern Adriatic coast), canehl (cinnamon), pumpernickel, chocolate, coffee, tea, pineapple, orange, lemon, melon, peach, apricot, apples, rosehip, quince, strawberry, raspberry, currant and cherries. All of these flavors could be refined with almond pieces. At first glance, it can be assumed that Armster initially referred to fruit that could be grown in northern Germany, and by doing so, she addresses what kind of syrops and jams might have been available and stored in a household's larder. It included a well-stocked wine cellar as well as flavors traded nationally and imported from colonies. At second glance, and after reading *The Italian Confectioner* (London 1820), it becomes clear that Armster and her ghost writer and co-author were merely translating Jarrin's recipes into German. She copied and aligned her enumeration in the same order, using identical titles (Jarrin 1820: 130). In addition to these indications, related to the provision of goods, the contents of recipe collections and cookbooks and the evolution of a genre of customer-orientated literature, a third layer emerges that displays gustatory knowledge. Both features are registered in the handy explications given. In this respect, the printed recipe (as text) contains sensory experiences that indicate which meals and desserts are prepared in laboratories (kitchens as space) and whether they are consumed in dining rooms or restaurants (tables as place).

3. Cooking as Artistry and Scientific Practice. Or: The Kitchen as a Laboratory of Modern Times in the Early 19th Century

The physical process of 'de-servir' becomes condensed into the word 'dessert' (Tebben 2015: 11). With this registration into the terminology of indulgence, "frozen desserts also featured prominently in the sweetcourse beginning in the seventeenth century." In cookbooks, printed and published since the early 18th century and reissued repetitively until the middle of 19th century, the authors, mostly cooks themselves holding prominent positions in the court kitchens of princes or kings or running their restaurants, communicated the appropriate technologies and methods of freezing. They offered readers "numerous recipes for iced cheese, cream, and fruit dishes" (Tebben 2015: 12) that could be reproduced in practice.

The cookbooks considered here represent only a small sample of the publications that shaped the market for guidebooks and manuals of the time. The new editions could be advertised as extensions accompanied by supplements that offered special content. Such add-ons created extra benefits for the literate public and increased the marketability and dissemination of this cooking knowledge. Publications fostered popularization and empowered a reading audience. To gain knowledge of recipes meant, as it were, to peek behind the scenes of court cuisine and partake of its simmering odors, then to imitate and reinvent what one has observed – all from the comfort of one's own home. To let these gastronomic skills melt on one's tongue while reading, this experience reflected tasteful, voyeuristic, and sensationalizing potentials, and required individual capacities of assessment to be in place along with notions of good taste. In this overall context, research about the uses of culinary and gastronomic literature or about gustatory knowledge is almost completely absent. Cookbooks underwent adjustments of titles, translations, expansions, and recompilations. Recipe collections provide insight into the practices of household and kitchen management (Teuteberg/Neumann/Wierlacher 1997; Mohrmann 2006) and sensory communications, while also mapping territories of gender and colonial experience (Kowalchuk 2017; Bickham 2020).

Understanding the production of ice cream (gastronomical art), its display and staging at tables – which can be understood as media inasmuch as they are arranged for consumption in public space – and the modes of consuming of such ambrosial and congealed treats (gustatory performance) configured links between material and sensory cultures of eating. Such an approach celebrates the connectivity that has been established through the customs related to sitting at a table: designating space while sharing food; enforcing social bonds, including covert asymmetries and open hierarchies; taste; and communications about temperature, smell, taste, and satiety. The court kitchen was one place where frozen desserts could be prepared with the taste of vanilla – food chemists invented a substitute in the 1870s – another was the workshop of confectioners. The confectioners per-

formed their skills on prominent occasions and served special dishes at royal courts, European aristocratic houses and in restaurants, frequented by an affluent bourgeois clientele. Ice cream was a tasteful and aesthetically staged form of culinary delight. Inventories, menus, invitation cards to banquets and delivery invoices stored their performances, knowledge of recipes, tastes repertoire of bourgeois kitchen management and food preparation via cookbooks. Bourgeois table manners increasingly aligned themselves with aristocratic ones and thus assimilated them (Lévi-Strauss 1973). Imitation allowed transfer and translation. The distant world of princes could be tasted and felt. It becomes clear that geographical space and food culture are not only in constant, trans-regional exchange (Braudel 1966), but also link medial, gastronomic, and sensual spaces. This double consideration expands the understanding of body, sense, and spatial knowledge.

Books, storing and revealing knowledge about the secretive and previously undisclosed arts of preparing and presenting food were addressed to a reading public of middle-class consumers (Hyman/Hyman 1999; Pinkard 2009). As early as the mid-18th century, they were aimed at those who considered themselves responsible for the multifaceted tasks of household management and targeted those who aimed at investing in performative acts of fine dining in order to gain cultural capital and to compete with other contenders from an equivalent social rank. This applied to gentlewomen, as they were called by English advisors, who ran households like large businesses (Moxton 1758; Leighton/Spiers 1846; Light/Prentice 1980; Peterson 1989; Ruiz 2017; Hickman 2019). But they particularly targeted their staff. In large middle- and upper-class households' leadership within a kitchen environment required captaincy in terms of coordination and organisation of trades. Employees strove to meet and serve the sensual and aesthetic tastes of aristocratic and bourgeois rulers and to transform their crafts – intertwined with gastronomical experience and gustatory knowledge of the landlady and the landlord – and skills of alimentary composition with them. Cookery was aimed at the palates of those who paid and those who provided the means of production of the household. The head of the household, *la maîtresse de maison* (Demarson 1838), instructed her cooks and evaluated the craft and artistic knowledge along her own sensual taste experiences and ideas.

Reflecting on ice cream initiates curiosity in reference to gustatory memories and indulgences. Reading cookbooks and recipes for preparing ices as well as for icing fruits, liquors and syrups reveals semantic acuteness and sensory presentiments linked to the arcane alchemy of gastronomical artistry and providing a glimpse of how ice cream might once have tasted on the surface of the tongue, coaxing the palate of gustatory pleasures, *le palais du goût*. Recipes for ice cream and frozen desserts, compiled and printed in cookbooks, disclosed that sensory experience of fine taste was – and is – bound to spatial and temporal relations. It was – and is – also linked to artistic and experiential knowledge that shaped

gastronomical practices and gustatory customs. Emerging media outlets recruited authors who selected, compiled, commented, and explained recipes. By doing this, they provided guidance and became points of reference when those of the literate public aspired to prepare meals, to serve dishes to perform the arts of cooking and eating.

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