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Viennese Delights: Remarks on the History of Food and  
Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Central Europe

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## **Abstract**

This paper aims to connect Franco-Italian and Anglo-American historiographies on the history of food thanks to a focus on sociability in a cross-cultural context. As an original case-study, eighteenth-century Vienna allows us to develop an ecological approach to food, diet and food supply, contrasting interactions between the social actors and their intellectual, natural, economic, social and cultural environments. The history of food is an intellectual history and a history of science of the German Enlightenment, since studying cookbooks fits in with the history of books and statistics. The history of Viennese food also highlights the vibrant urban economy of supply as a key-element to understand the gentrification of the city and the reconfiguration of its markets as places of sociability. Contrary to both the London and Parisian models, the presence in Vienna of numerous foreigners also contributed to the emergence of taverns and coffeehouses as selective and private social places allowing moral transgression and the strengthening of social bonds within the different groups of newcomers, making up the new social elite of the city. Finally, the Viennese history of food is also a history of power; the circulation of food between social actors provides historians with a better understanding of the nature of social bonding and the different possible ways to strengthen, maintain, adjust or contest it.

## **Keywords**

History of food; Eighteenth-century; Central Europe; Sociability; Intellectual history; Trans-imperial history

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Eighteenth-century Central Europe offers one of the major geographical research areas for the study of the early modern history of food. It especially allows us to focus on the circulation, the transformation and the appropriation of food between the Austrian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, between the Mediterranean and continental Europe, between the hinterlands and the major cities that presented a plural socio-cultural background, like Prague, Pest, Trieste, Temesvar (as it was) or Vienna. Writing a history of food in Central Europe before the rise of nationalism also puts a stress on how food contributed to the social life of a multi-cultural environment, as well as how it has been incorporated into the “gastronomic discourse” of the Enlightenment. Hence, the history of food in Central Europe necessarily has its echoes in France, England, Italy and the Ottoman Empire too. Indeed, this latter significantly contributed to the shaping of the eighteenth-century Viennese diet and its related urban sociability.

### **What is food history?**

The early modern history of food fits in with a long historiographical transition from the history of diet, dealing with demography and the material culture of a rural population, to the current studies on culinary exchanges in the context of cultural diversity. According to Karin Becker, during the last ten years the history of food has been supported by an increasing number of publications and the geographical and chronological extension of the scope of the research field.<sup>1</sup> Focused on the deep heart of societies, the history of food is the “total social fact” described by Roland Barthes and it can no longer be considered a marginal topic. According to Georg Simmel, food studies shed light on the economic, social, religious, political, cultural and scientific dynamics of (early modern) societies. However, this diversity – and the interest that the history of food represents – covers multiple historiographies and centres of interest.<sup>2</sup>

According to the French and Italian traditions, the history of food was first “une histoire de l'alimentation” generated by the entanglement of new historical perspectives offered by the first generation of the *École des Annales*.<sup>3</sup> Multi-disciplinary, it dealt first with an economic history of rural food production and subsistence, as part of demographic history. This trend stemmed from a political agrarianism that questioned the process of urbanisation of Western societies and the reconfiguration of the productive spaces related to the rural exodus.<sup>4</sup> It was also based on a folklorist tradition, clearly influenced by German ethnography.<sup>5</sup>

After World War II, the institutional weight that anthropology took in the social sciences invited historians to take into consideration other levels of understanding.<sup>6</sup> The ‘culinary triangle’ that

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<sup>1</sup> Karin Becker, ‘Introduction. Un bilan thématique et méthodique de la recherche actuelle sur l’histoire de l’alimentation’, *Food and History*, 10/2 (2012), p. 9-25.

<sup>2</sup> Georg Simmel, ‘Sociologie der Mahlzeit’, *Der Zeitgeist, Beiblatt zum Berliner Tageblatt* 41 (1910), p. 1-2 and for a recent edition Georg Simmel, ‘Sociologie of the Meal’, in *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London, 1997), p. 130-5; Roland Barthes, ‘Pour une psycho-sociologie de l’alimentation contemporaine’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 16/5 (1961), p. 977-86; *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Cwagng-Chih Chang (New Haven, 1977); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: a Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929-89* (Stanford, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> Luigi Messadaglia, *Per la storia dell'agricoltura e dell'alimentazione: raccolta di saggi con 15 incisioni fuori di testo* (Piacenza, 1932).

<sup>5</sup> Klaus Roth, ‘Nahrung als Gegenstand der volkswissenschaftlichen Erforschung des östlichen Europa’ in *Esskultur und kulturelle Identität: Ethnologische Nahrungsforschung im östlichen Europa*, ed. Heinke M. Kalinke, Klaus Roth, Tobias Weger (Munich, 2010), p. 27-38. See also Gabriella Schubert, ‘Deutschsprachige Reisebericht zu Eßgewohnheiten und Tischsitten der Muslime auf dem osmanisch besetzten Balkan’ in *Körper, Essen und Trinken im Kulturverständnis der Balkanvölker*, ed. Dragmar Burkhart (Wiesbaden, 1991), p. 107-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Pour une histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Jean-Jacques Hémardinquer (Paris, 1970); Maurice Aymard, ‘Pour une histoire de l’alimentation : quelques remarques de méthodes’, *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 30/2-3 (1975), p. 431-44.

Claude Lévi-Strauss described paved the way for a socio-cultural history of food.<sup>7</sup> Eating and drinking could not anymore be restricted to the idea of providing subsistence. From the banquets of ancient Greece to the everyday lunch of a school canteen, eating and drinking were part of a process – and part of a ritual – of social bonding, authorised and fitting in with the specific cosmology of a specific society.<sup>8</sup> This perspective is nowadays plainly promoted by UNESCO and the main evaluation criteria regarding applications for the Intangible Cultural Heritage List. As social practices, eating and drinking entail respect for norms and taboos and the mastering of specific codes, which enable people to be part of the community that these practices define.<sup>9</sup> Progressively, the history of diet has become a history of everyday life, just like the history of sexuality, from where the most eminent historians of diet, like Jean-Louis Flandrin, actually emerged.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1980s, the history of food was strongly challenged by the methodological issues raised by the linguistic turn. Treaties on food, cookbooks and culinary guides were thus regarded as producing a so-called “gastronomic discourse”; that is, generating and imposing a model in order to (re-)shape social behaviour and promote an ideal practice.<sup>11</sup> Such strong criticism meant a radical shift, forcing historians to re-focus on the elaboration of a narrative of food and to give up understanding the practices of societies in the classical way. Although the history of food has never really overcome the methodological restrictions imposed by the linguistic turn, it did take new historiographical directions. On the one hand, dealing with a quantitative approach, historians returned to the traditional way of broaching the history of diet, giving their attention to the circulation of food, to the supplying of early modern cities or to the rise of the *terroirs*.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, studying gastronomic discourses transformed the history of food as a subcategory of the history of science and matched the current concerns on diet and education.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime, through a very pragmatic approach, scholars from cross-cultural history have recently re-legitimised a certain social history of food. Although, according to Lévi-Strauss, food is

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<sup>7</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques*, 4 vol. (Paris, 1964-71). See also *Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits*, ed. Mararet L. Arnott (The Hague, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> Massimo Montanari, *Convivio. Storia e cultura dei piaceri della tavola dall'antichità al Medioevo* (Laterza, 1989), *Nuovo convivio. Storia e cultura dei piaceri della tavola nell'età moderna* (Laterza, 1991) and *Convivio oggi. Storia e cultura dei piaceri della tavola nell'età contemporanea* (Laterza, 1992); *La sociabilité à table: commensalité et convivialité à travers les âges*, ed. Martin Aurel, Olivier Dumoulin and François Thelamon (Rouen, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00437>. See also Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, *La cucina italiana. Storia di una cultura* (Laterza, 1999) and Jennifer J. Davis, *Defining Culinary Authority. The Transformation of Cooking in France, 1650-1830* (Baton Rouge, 2013).

<sup>10</sup> *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin et Massimo Montanari (Paris, 1996). *Voulez vous manger avec moi ? Pratiques interculturelles en France et au Québec*, ed. Daniel Latouche (Montréal, 2003). See also Allan Davidson, *Oxford Companion to food* (Oxford, 1999) and *The Cambridge World History of Food*, 2 volumes, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> For the main milestones in French historiography: Jean-François Revel, *Un festin en paroles. Histoire littéraire de la sensibilité gastronomique de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1976); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Chronique palatine. Pour une gastronomie historique* (Paris, 1992); Pascal Ory, *Le discours gastronomique des Français des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1998). See also Piero Camporesi, *Pellegrino Artusi, La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene* (Turin, 1970); Arjun Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India', *Comparative Studies in Societies and History* 30 (1988), p. 3-24; Priscilla P. Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19<sup>th</sup> century France', *American Journal of Sociology* 104/03 (1998), p. 597-641 and as a useful synthesis Timothy J. Tomasik, 'Gastronomy' in *The Columbia History of Twentieth-Century French Thought*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York, 2006) p. 238-42. German sociology presents an original perspective roughly ignored as *Essen und Kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektive*, ed. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann and Alois Wierlcher (Berlin, 1997) and *Mahl und Repräsentation. Der Kult ums Essen*, ed. Lothar Kolmer and Christian Rohr (Paderborn, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> *Medievistica italiana e storia agraria. Risultati e prospettive di una stagione storiografica*, ed. Alfio Cortonesi et Massimo Montanari (Bologna, 2001); Philippe Meyzie, *La table du Sud-Ouest et l'émergence des cuisines régionales, 1700-1850* (Rennes, 2007). Elise Mognard, 'Les traditions du foie gras dans la gastronomie française', *Anthropology of Food*, 8 (2011): <http://aof.revues.org/6789>.

<sup>13</sup> Emma Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: French Food and the Sciences, 1670-1760* (Chicago, 2012) and *Feeding France: New Sciences of Food, 1760-1815* (Cambridge, 2014).

usually considered the most significant characteristic of a culture or a religion, telling what is allowed and what is forbidden, eating and drinking were, in the early modern world, vehicles of sociability and key-elements of social bonding, not only within a specific community but also between groups, nations and cultures.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the history of food intersects with the history of sexuality, of sociability, of identity or the history of emotions. This is one among the most stimulating re-emerging research fields. This fact needs to be explored more fully.

### Food in a fast-changing urban world

While Germany is usually absent from an early modern history of food, focused on the Italian Renaissance and on France during the Enlightenment, working on German/Austrian materials produces a rich and fruitful supply of documentation.<sup>15</sup> This gap between the materials available and their underuse is due, on the one hand, to a contemporary mystification of early modern Italy and France by scholars and publishers and, on the other hand, to the crystallisation of national food material culture during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the latter, resulting from an economic process of specialisation and optimisation of production, brusquely re-drew the gastronomic landscape. Eighteenth-century Viennese food culture is another “world of yesterday”, characterised by the diversity of the food available and by its creative combinations in interaction with the natural, urban and social contexts.

In the eighteenth century, Vienna saw impressive demographic growth, becoming, in 1775, the fourth city of Europe, with 200,000 inhabitants. Migrants coming from South Germany, especially Bavaria and Austria, from the Habsburg Monarchy, for example from Bohemia, Western Hungary and North Italy, and from abroad, such as France, Poland or the Ottoman Empire, supported this growth.<sup>16</sup> Plus, the presence of the Court in the city involved a very specific social configuration, meaning that there were high numbers of nobles and the economy depended partially on a single Court.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the demographic growth also benefited the rise of a modern bourgeoisie, with its specific material and immaterial culture. Last, but not least, Vienna was one of the most vibrant capitals of the *Aufklärung* – the German Enlightenment – characterised by the development of the cameral sciences – *Kameralismus* – related to the elaboration of a rational narrative in order to improve the management of society and its practices in all their diversity.<sup>18</sup>

However, working on Vienna implies switching from a methodology based on a predefined corpus of sources to an empirical approach based on the accumulation of materials of different types coming from multiple archival collections. Also, the history of Viennese food cannot be broached directly, sources are found in various types of document in different places, and for that reason it has been considered nothing but a marginal issue. However, my previous research on the social integration

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<sup>14</sup> Hélène d’Almeida Topor, *Le gout de l’étranger. Les saveurs venues d’ailleurs depuis la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2008) ; Valeria Heuberger, ‘Tafelfreuden aus dem Orient. Der Einfluß des Osmanischen Reichs /der Türkei auf die europäische Eß- und Trinkkultur am Beispiel Österreichs’ in *Auf den Spuren der Osmanen in der Oesterreichischen Geschichte*, ed. Inanc Feigl, Valeria Heuberger, Manfred Pittoni and Kerstin Tomenendal (Frankfort/Main, 2002), p. 115-24, Özge Samacı, ‘Food Studies in the Ottoman-Turkish Historiography’ in *Writing Food History. A Global Perspective*, ed. Kyri W. Claflin and Peter Scholliers (Berg, 2012), p. 107-20 ; Eric Dursteler, ‘“A Continual Tavern in My House” : Food and Diplomacy in Early Modern Constantinople’, in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, ed. Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Cambridge, 2013), p. 166-71.

<sup>15</sup> Andreas Häcker, ‘Mangeurs et cuisiniers dans la littérature moderne de langue allemande’, *Food & History*, 10/2 (2012), p. 169-79.

<sup>16</sup> Françoise Knopper, ‘Le cosmopolitisme viennois’, *Dix-huitième siècle* 25 (1993), p. 129-151 ; *Wir. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien*, ed. Peter Eppel (Vienna, 1996); Annemarie Steidl, *"Auf nach Wien !" Die Mobilität des mitteleuropäischen Handwerks im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Haupt- und Residenzstadt* (Vienna, 2003) and Csáky Moritz, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen - Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Vienna, 2010)

<sup>17</sup> *Ein Zweigeteilter Ort ? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Claudine Pils and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Vienna, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> *Sciences camérales. Activités pratiques et histoire des dispositifs publiques*, ed. Pascale Laborier, Frédéric Audren, Paolo Napoli, Jakob Vogel (Paris, 2011).

of the Ottoman merchants and diplomats in Vienna meant trying to grasp the structures of the supplies to the city in which the Ottoman merchants took part. It has also oriented my research on the influence of imported goods – and among them food – and of the Ottomans – in the diversity of both their geographical and religious background – on Viennese material culture.<sup>19</sup>

Following the case studies developed in a cross-cultural context, many concepts could be used as tools to understand the place of the Ottoman contribution to Viennese cooking and cuisine: transfer, transculturation, appropriation or *métissage*. Yet, all of these imperfect metaphors refer to a colonial context, which is inappropriate when qualifying the Austro-Ottoman relationship. Plus, it is the concept of *métissage* alone that does not refer to a process achieved but to a perpetual motion, which is certainly the most relevant intellectual framework to understand a phenomenon resulting from trans-continental circulations.<sup>20</sup> However, if a *métissage* could be both biological and social it never allows us to think about the relationship between a society and its natural surroundings. In fact, the history of food, even as an urban material culture, calls for an ecological approach, which pays attention to all the interactions at play between an individual or a group and both the social and natural environments in which he grows.<sup>21</sup> An ecological approach also allows us to integrate the relationship between early modern society and its natural environment, which is one of the most powerful current trends in urban studies.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the risk here is to naturalise urban society as a microcosm, by establishing universal laws that over-rationalize human behaviour. This paper aims only to identify different levels of understanding of an urban history of food and its contribution to the broader historiographical research field dealing with food, science and imperial cities.

Indeed, eighteenth-century Vienna is at the crossroads of three imperial areas. This is one of the capitals – *Residenz* – of the Holy Roman Empire. This is the centre of the administration of the Habsburg commonwealth, characterized by its religious and cultural diversity, which did not overlap with the Holy Roman Empire. This is also the major centre for Ottoman diplomacy and trade in Europe. The Viennese gastronomic discourse had to deal with the different food products and social groups, with their specific sociability, circulating in this entangled socio-political Imperial area. Being focused on the city allows us to understand the social synergies between the court and the city, the “natural subjects” and the foreigners, and the city and its surroundings, generated by this entanglement. It thus sheds light on a new way to broach urban global history from an original case study.

### **An intellectual environment: foreign food, cookbooks and statistics**

Cosmopolite sociability does not necessarily entail food mixing. Plus, according to Jaucourt, a cosmopolite is “the one who is nowhere a foreigner” and he is more characterised by skills to adapt to a specific context than by a mixed identity.<sup>23</sup> For example, the products that Ottoman merchants brought into Vienna are the most basic. Rice, olive oil, sugar, almonds, dates, different kinds of fruit, called “Oriental sweets”, and coffee were the classic Ottoman food contribution to the Viennese markets. These foods were usually incorporated into local cooking and were not invested with the kind of exotic value that would make them specific and attractive in the food market. More precious commodities decking out the best tables included wines from Santorino, shell fish or dry fish from the Black Sea. In the Viennese diet, these were drunk and eaten for themselves and not properly

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<sup>19</sup> David Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford, 2015).

<sup>20</sup> Jean Loup Anselme, *Logiques métisses : anthropologie de l'identité en Afrique et ailleurs* (Paris, 1990). See also *Food in Motion: the Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques*, ed. Allan Davidson (Oxford, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (Chicago, 1972).

<sup>22</sup> See one of the earliest special issues on ‘cities and environment’ in *Histoire Urbaine* 18/1 (2007). On Vienna, Jan Morke, ‘Vienna and Its Surroundings c.1600-c.1850’, *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997), p. 90-103. Recently *History of the Urban Environment*, ed. Martin V. Melosi and Joel A. Tarr (Pittsburgh, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et des métiers par une société de gens de Lettres*, volume 9, ed. Denis Diderot et Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (Genève, Pellet, 1777), p. 600.

assimilated into Viennese cuisine.<sup>24</sup> The quality of the foods clearly mattered more than their origin; Ottoman attics and caves were not exotic at all, according to the Viennese table.

Nevertheless, Viennese cookbooks sometimes stressed the – real or false – national origin of a dish or way of cooking it. For example, in 1720, the Duchess of Trappau and Jägerndorff wrote down this recipe for what she called “Turkish paper”.<sup>25</sup> This were petals of different colours covered with a lemon caramel, which referred to the fashionable decorative motifs inspired by the Ottoman art of the time. Eleonora of Troppau was from the Liechtenstein family that was involved throughout the eighteenth century in informal trade with the Ottoman Empire, and this could also explain her sensitivity to Turkish art. However, this does invite us to consider food in parallel with the evolution of the decorative arts. Her book also embodies the contribution of Viennese cuisine to the European medicinal use of food, in which the Ottoman World played a significant role.

Between 1740 and 1755, the *Wienerisches Diarium* – Viennese official gazette – of Peter von Ghelen regularly advertised a specific *licitation* – legal notice – about the so-called Oppo-Baslam. This balm, extracted from a specific tree in Mecca, was described as being sent to Cairo by caravan and exported from there to Vienna “by the usual ways of the trade”. The *licitation* lists the different diseases cured by Oppo-Balsam and the way to administer the medication, that is, usually with coffee or tea or in a stock. Last but not least, Oppo-Balsam was also described as an elixir of youth. In 1770 a chemist from Bavaria, Matthias Zedinger, tried to find out how to prepare the balm and was given an imperial grant to trade in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>26</sup> Oppo-Balsam actually echoes the different uses of coffee, which could be a real medicine for the body, as Justin Stauchmann claimed in 1743 in his *Vorrede von der Vortreslichkeit des Thees und Caffees*, or a metaphorical one for the spirit, as used by the famous pamphleteer Hertels in 1745 in his *Politische Thee- und Caffee-Dosen*, or just like the Milan gazette *Il caffè*.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, according to the distinction made by Jack Goody, this here is more a matter of cuisine than a matter of cooking.<sup>28</sup> As for cookbooks from the last third of the century, they remain food for thought in a history of science and scientific practices. They produced knowledge, interacted one with the other and with other books of statistics, and organised the city according to a global categorisation of society elaborated in the Austrian *Aufklärung*.<sup>29</sup> In these books, the foreignness refers to the way of cooking a dish and not to the origin of the food. In 1740, for example, the *Nutzliches Koch-Buch* – “useful cookbook” – offered the recipes of the *Französische Strudeln* – “French strudel” –, the *Englischen Braten Gedämpft* – “English roast beef” – or the *Spanische Torten* – Spanish cake.<sup>30</sup> The national origin of these recipes did not entail a specific categorisation, which was only determined

<sup>24</sup> According to Jack Goody “cuisine” involves a transformation of foods into a cooked meal, Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Nimb schönen weiß klein gefähten Zucker nach deinem Gefallen / Lemonisafft seyhe durch ein Tuch / thue den Zucker un ein messiges Beck auff ein Glut / laß ihn wohl heiß werden, gieß den Lemonisafft an den erhizten Zucker / laß es zusammen sieben in der Dicke eines Kochs / nimb Blumen nach deinen Gefallen / schneids klein / laß übertrückern / rührs darein / leg blechene Mödl auff ein Oblat, gieß darein / wanns hart wird / so thue es herauß.’ in Eleonora Maria von Troppau u. Jägerndorff, *Branat-Äpfel deß Christlichen Samaritans*, volume 2 (Vienna, Ignatium Dominicum Voigt, 1720), p. 522.

<sup>26</sup> *Wienerisches Diarium* on 14 April and 7 August 1744, 8 February 1747 et 6 March 1748. See also 26 and 29 February 1744, 27 February 1745 et 7 February 1750. ÖStA, HHStA, Reichshofrat- Ärzte- und Arzneiprivilegien, 15, Matthias Zellinger, fol. 523-530.

<sup>27</sup> David Do Paço, ‘Comment le café devint viennois: Métissage et cosmopolitisme urbain dans l’Europe du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Hypothèses* 15 (2012), p. 343-53.

<sup>28</sup> J. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*.

<sup>29</sup> Guillaume Garner, *État, économie et territoire en Allemagne : l’espace dans le caméralisme et l’économie politique, 1740-1820* (Paris, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> *Nutzliches Koch-Buch: oder kurtzer Unterricht, in welchem Unterschiedene Speisen gut zubereiten beschriben seynd : Erstlich zu Wienn in kleinern form gedruckt, Anjetzt aber, da vil der Kocherey Verständige, dises Buch wegen ihrer gut- und sichergesteten Einrichtung sattsam approbiret haben, auf vilfältiges ersuchen in disem Form wiederum neu zum Druck befördert* (Styria, Johann Adam Holzmayr, 1740).

by the meal order: soups, intermediate courses, fish, meat, pastries and cakes, other baked goods. Such documents require an arrangement that allows us to deconstruct their scientific discourse and turn them into data usable for a qualitative approach.

Plus, while at the beginning of the eighteenth century cookbooks were written by aristocrats, their focus progressively moved on to cooking by/for the “bourgeoisie”, such as the anonymous *Neues Kochbuch, bestehend in ganz Ordinairen oder auf bürgerliche Art zubereiten Fleisch und Fastenspeisen*, published in 1776, or the most famous of them, the *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* of Ignaz Gartler and Barbara Hickmann, published first in 1787.<sup>31</sup> This went alongside the development of another method of more developed classification that is to be understood as a direct consequence of the development in Vienna of statistical science and the concern expressed in 1781 by Johann Kaspar von Riesbeck to promote Vienna as a city equal in interest to Paris, London, Naples and Istanbul.<sup>32</sup>

The history of eighteenth-century Viennese cookbooks also has, most definitely, to be part of a history of books, and of this very specific moment described by Leslie Body as the “Tempest in Vienna” that characterised the personal reign of Joseph II (1740-1790).<sup>33</sup> According to Leslie Body, the liberalisation of censorship in 1781 considerably increased the volume of political publications and pamphlets. This went alongside more acute attention paid by the European gazettes to the Imperial *Residenz* and its social life. Nevertheless, publishing cookbooks fitted in with, before everything, the multiplication of the topographies of the city. If these specific publications were definitely promoted by the vibrant political context of the reforms during the co-regency (1765-80) and the personal reign of Joseph II (1780-90) – and the constant necessity of re-picturing Vienna, because of the strong demographic growth supported by a permanent flow of migrants – topographies came from a deeper emerging process of promoting statistical sciences.

Kei Kaufmann classified these publications into two categories, i. e. social and urban descriptions and satires.<sup>34</sup> According to the current history of the Austrian administration, and more broadly the intellectual history of the *Aufklärung*, the structures of cookbooks refer to statistics and should be included in studies on descriptions of the city. Comparing the *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* to its exact contemporary the *Wiens Gegenwärtiger Zustand* of the statistician Ignaz de Luca is very fruitful. The structure of both books is made by a list of short notices in alphabetical order. The authors of the *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* offer several indexes that entail the possibility of broaching the book by ingredient, by kind of dish, by menu – depending on the day or on the season –, or by number of guests. In a sense, the *Wiens Gegenwärtiger Zustand* is even more developed than De Luca’s book, according to the standards of Viennese statistics.<sup>35</sup>

Viennese cookbooks are part of a broader area of publications on German food knowledge, which has been brought to light especially by the digitization of the collections of German scholars’ libraries like the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* in Dresden and by the Örebro Universiteit in Sweden.<sup>36</sup> By their nature and their dissemination, such documents thus echo the research programme *Euroscientia*, started in 2009, on the localisation and circulation of State knowledge in Europe between c.1750 and c.1850 and coordinated by Christine Lebeau in Paris.<sup>37</sup> They contribute to drawing a new geography of Enlightened Europe, emphasizing the Holy Roman Empire as a vibrant area of production and circulation of knowledge, in interaction with France and Italy, and

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<sup>31</sup> Jean Neubauer, *Neues Kochbuch, bestehend in ganz Ordinairen oder auf bürgerliche Art zubereiten Fleisch und Fastenspeisen* (Vienna, Georg Weingang, 1776) and Ignaz Gartler et Barbara Hikmann, *Allgemein bewährtes Wiener Kochbuch in zwanzig Abschnitte* (Vienna, 1787).

<sup>32</sup> Johann Kaspar von Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland an seinen Bruder zu Paris* (Vienna, 1784), p. 198.

<sup>33</sup> Leslie Body, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung 1781-1795* (Vienna, 1995).

<sup>34</sup> Kaufmann Kai, « *Es ist nu rein Wien* ». *Stadtbeschreibungen von Wien, 1700 bis 1873* (Vienna, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> Ignaz De Luca, *Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand unter Josephs Regierung* (Vienna, Wucherer, 1787).

<sup>36</sup> <http://130.243.103.193/greenstone/collect2/htmlmangle.php?fname=index.txt>

<sup>37</sup> <http://euroscientia.univ-paris1.fr>.

to a better understanding of the elaboration of the dietetic and gastronomic discourse produced by the Enlightenment.

German cookbooks call for putting into perspective the classic materials of the history of food in the eighteenth century almost exclusively based on France; they call for a re-localisation of their production and they stress the necessity to pay attention to the natural, economic and social environment of the cuisine described. Foreign food is not here a relevant category since food was not invested with the same identity value as today. Cooking foreign food – not necessarily exotic food – is part of an everyday life process of transformation and assimilation of a trade product. Viennese cuisine also has to be understood in light of the new composition of a city that historians used to divide between the Court and bourgeois society. Comparing cookbooks with topographies offers a new level of understanding of the culinary practices in (semi-)private spaces like the coffeehouse and tavern, evoking the caricatured division of the city into hermetic social groups.

### **Entangled natural, economic and social environments: supply and gentrification**

In 1775, Johann Christian Brand gathered in his *Kaufruf* forty portraits referring to the different street vendors – *Strassenhandlung* – that it was usual to come across in Vienna. From the curdled milk cheese seller to the Italian sausage seller (Figure 1) and the snail, lemon or crackers seller, almost a third of those merchants were dealing with food.<sup>38</sup> Canaletto's paintings of Vienna in the 1760s confirm this feeling that the city was full of food to eat on the street, to be cooked at home or to eat in taverns and other places.<sup>39</sup> Of course, like the cookbooks, the *Kaufruf* took part in a statistical rationalisation of urban society by categorizing the street sellers by activity. It has also to be read in interaction with the French *Cris de Paris*, especially Poisson's, published one year earlier, and the previous representation of the North Italian city people. Nevertheless, such a document – which is nowadays a proper “site of memory” of Viennese history – invites us to pay more attention to the supply of Vienna and its social dimension.

The entanglement of the local, regional levels of supplying Vienna contrasts with the reorganisation of the market places throughout the century and, according to the progressive extension of the control of the actors of the *Residenz* (Court), of the municipal area.<sup>40</sup> Statistical materials, combined with the documents of the administration, confirm the important role played by the Danube port in the economy and the planning of the reorganisation of the city.<sup>41</sup>

Vienna is a city port that presented entangled levels of food supply. The first was local and based on fishing and fish farming in the inner delta of the river. It provided the city with a daily supply. Vienna was a fish-eating society totally dependent on the ecological system of the Danubian inner delta, a delta that had disappeared by the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth century. Until 1753, fish was sold in the Hohermarkt, the old medieval market of the city, surrounded by the town hall and other symbols of the municipal authority. Fishermen formed a proper corporation and sturgeon was the emblem of the Hohermarkt. In 1753, rationalisation of the public space and the gentrification of the Hohermarkt neighbourhood meant that the fish market was moved to a little secluded square, more appropriate in view of the attention being paid to hygiene and public sanitation. Like the Graben, the Hohermarkt was then freed from unpleasant odours (Figure 2).

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<sup>38</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Bildarchiv (Ba), Pb 3456, 1-40. See also Ignaz Schwarz, *Der Wiener Kaufruf von Brand, ein Beitrag zur Wiener Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1911) and David Do Paço, ‘Le marchand grec existe-t-il ? Remarques sur les représentations collectives et les identités sociales viennoises dans le *Kaufruf* de Johann Christian Brand de 1775’ in *Images en capitale : Vienne fin XVII<sup>e</sup> – début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Christine Lebeau and Wolfgang Schmale (Bochum, 2011), p. 53-72.

<sup>39</sup> Monika J. Knofler, *Das Theresianische Wien. Der Alltag in den Bildern Canalettos* (Vienna, 1979).

<sup>40</sup> Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt: von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City* (Vienna, 1977).

<sup>41</sup> David Do Paço, ‘Échelles d’approvisionnement et aménagements urbains : l’espace portuaire de Vienne vers 1650-vers 1800’ in *L’approvisionnement des villes portuaires en Europe XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Caroline Le Mao and Philippe Meyzie (Paris, 2015), forthcoming.



Figure 1, Italian sausage seller, from the Kaufruf.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 2. Fish sellers on the Hohermarkt.  
Johan Emanuel Fischer von Erlach and Johann Adam Delsenbach, 1780.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> ÖNB, Ba, Pb 3456, 5.

In 1770, the topographer Friedrich Weiskern, perfectly identified this evolution and placed it into a broader and deliberate urban planning:

‘Formely, as well as working on free days, the Graben was mostly occupied by the so-called *Krautlerinnen* [market-garden women] with green garden vegetables and plants; the Neumarkt was daily covered with poultry dealers with their carts; and the Hohenmarkt was constantly taken up by herring vendors, and the day of fasting also by the fishermen up as far as Tuchlauben street, which made about very difficult and caused perpetual dirt. But in 1753 this was sorted out this way: fishermen received nearby Rotenthurm street, a paved square accommodated with freshly dug water fountains to free the new fish market from smells (...). Herring sellers moved into Brandstadt and the Krautlerinnen and then the poultry dealers took up different specific and more appropriate squares. In such a way, the Hohemarkt was the first, up to a corner, to sell lard, cheese and sides of speck. On the Neumarkt, there are only three weekly markets of flour and dry fruits. As for the Graben, it was totally cleared, up to a small stable formely occupied by women ropemakers, and that contributes much to the neatness of the city’.<sup>44</sup>

The rationalisation of the urban public spaces by the Imperial authority accompanied the rationalisation of the gastronomic discourse by topographers, and also the representation of the urban landscape by painters. Comparison between the Canaletto paintings of Vienna in the 1760s with Karl Schütz’ drawings of the 1790s shows that street vendors were substituted in the city centre by fine shops and boutiques. In 1775 Johann Christian Brand’s *Kauftruf* is the last testimony of a social landscape about to be reshaped, despite the clear contribution to the statistical analysis of society that this work represents.

Gentrification and sterilization of the old city centre of Vienna actually went with the development of the economic activity of supply on a regional level that the British traveller William Wrayall perfectly described in 1778:

‘If London or Paris offer more variety of intellectual pleasures and enjoyments, Vienna at least abounds in every delicacy for the gratification of the palate, and the indulgence of appetite. Sensuality itself must be satisfied with the tables of the nobility, which are served with great profusion; Hungary, Moravia, and above all Bohemia, supplying every kind of luxury for the epicure. The Bohemian partridges and pheasants are admitted to be infinitely superior in flavour to those of France or Italy. I dare not relate what I have heard of the quantities of game, large and small, killed, or rather slaughtered, in some of the Bohemian shooting parties. Many hundred heads of deer, hares, boars, and all kinds of wild fowl, are massacred by these relentless sportsmen; if such they can with propriety be esteemed, who estimate the diversion only by the multitudes which their destroy, and by the facility of the chase. The Danube, as well as the lakes of Hungary, furnish a variety of fish; and oysters are even brought from the Adriatic, either from Trieste, Fiume, or Venice, as are many kinds of sea fish. Piedmont contributes the largest and the finest truffles that I ever tasted, which preserve all the delicacy of their original flavour, though transported across the Alps. Prince Kaunitz is regularly supplied with them from Turin. In no article do the Austrians display more magnificence or variety than in their wines; and in many houses, as Lady Wortley Montagu remarked sixty years ago, a printed list of them is put under every plate’.<sup>45</sup>

Wrayall described nothing but the hinterland of Vienna, which went from Bohemia to the Adriatic sea and from the North Italian provinces, like Lombardy, to Western Hungary. He offered a very interesting geography of trade, which is usually longitudinal and based on the Danube natural axis but here latitudinal. The trade between Trieste and Vienna is still not that well-known despite the

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<sup>43</sup> ÖNB, Ba, Pk 3275, 61

<sup>44</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern, *Beschreibung der k.k. Haupt und Residenzstadt Wien, als der dritte Theil zur österreichischen Topographie* (Vienna, Kurzböcken, 1770), p. 8-9.

<sup>45</sup> William Wrayall, *Memoirs of the Court of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw and Vienna in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779*, volume 2 (London, Fort. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806), p. 264-6.

numerous archives in the Hofkammer dealing with the activity of the Adriatic port, put under the direct control of the Viennese administration in 1719. So far, historians have been focused on its Mediterranean trade and on the organisation of its cosmopolite society.

Much more well-known is the food supply that Vienna received from Lower-Austria, especially its vineyards.<sup>46</sup> Again, Friedrich Weiskern pictured the flows of wine carts that disappeared in the city in autumn and he particularly stressed the self-supplying economy of the city.<sup>47</sup> A similar description is already offered in 1719 by Antonio Bormastino regarding the city grain supply that, at the end of the century, was still concentrated three times a week on the Neurermarkt.<sup>48</sup> Moving from a local level to a regional one indeed implied identifying new urban areas. The Neurermarkt is located in the Western part of the old city centre close to the Hofburg and where property is shared between the nobility and the Church. On the Neurermarkt is located the Capuchins' crypt, where members of the Habsburg family are buried. Contrary to the Hohermarkt, the symbol of the municipal authority, the Neurermarkt was that of the Imperial authority. Grain supply was then placed under Imperial protection and patronage and in this way incorporated into Habsburg political propaganda.<sup>49</sup>

After 1753, according to the urban statistician Ignaz de Luca, the old Hohermarkt was also transformed.<sup>50</sup> If boutiques and warehouses surrounded the square, a market of fine food and artisanal alpine handcraft took place there three times a week. Speck ham substituted fish, fitting in much better with the taste of the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood, i. e. a mix of rich merchants and traders and the nobility. A new geography, a new temporality, new actors but also new places of sociability were the consequence of this regional trade.

### **A socio-cultural environment: international trade and (semi-)private sociability**

A second level of city supply is international and directly connected to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup> In 1666, the Ottoman dervish Evliyâ Çelebi noticed the activity in the port of Vienna. He described:

'The bank of the Danube is here [in the Leopoldstadt] a single long landing dock, where all the ships and boats, barges and fishing boats and different wood rafts made from tree trunks and shingles stop before the customs and in front of hundreds of warehouses. The customs office makes four times a thousand gold coins in a year (...). The war shipyard and the place where the ships are made [i. e. the Arsenal] also lay in this suburb. Farther along live all the Jews there are in

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<sup>46</sup> Erich Landsteiner, 'Weinbau und bürgerliche Hantierung. Weinbau und Weinhandel in den landesfürstlichen Städten und Märkten Niederösterreichs in der Frühen Neuzeit' in *Stadt und Wein*, ed. Ferdinand Oppl (Linz, 1996), p. 17-50. See also *id.*, 'Wien – eine Weinbaustadt' in *ien – Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol 2, ed. Peter Csendes Tremel and Ferdinand Oppl (Vienna, 2003), p. 141-5.

<sup>47</sup> 'Es könnte unglücklich scheinen, welche eine große Menge Nahrungsmittel alle Tage in die Stadt gebracht wird. Es kommen täglich viele vierspännige Wagen mit Eyern und Krebsen an. Brod, Fleisch, Geflügel, werden in erstaunlicher Anzahl herzugebracht; und dennoch findet man gegen Abend nichts auf dem Markte. Das Weinlesen der Wiener dauert bis vierzig Tage; mittle-Zeit werden täglich dreyhundert Fuder Wein, drey bis viermal eingeführt. Man behauptet, daß bis 1200. Pferde zu dieser Zeit mit solcher Arbeit beschäftigt werden. Ueber dies ist's erlaubt, bis Martini den Wein aus den nächsten Dorfschafen in die Stadt zu bringen; und es ist unbeschreiblich, wie viel man dessen einführet, um entweder in Wien getrunken, oder aufwärts der Donau, mit großer Muhe in fremde Lande verführet zu werden. Von dem Weine, welcher einzeln, und im Kleinen zu Wien ausgeschenkt wird, kömmt der zehnte Pfennig dem Fürsten zu gute; und dieses trägt der landesfürstlichen Kammer 12000. Goldstücke ein.' in Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern, *Beschreibung der k.k. Haupt und Residenzstad Wien, als der dritte Theil zur österreichischen Topographie* (Vienna, Joseph Kurzböcken, 1770), p. 22-3.

<sup>48</sup> Antonio Bormastino, *Historische Beschreibung von der Kayserlichen Residenz-Stadt Wienn und Ihren Vor-Städten ; ou Description historique de la ville et residence impériale de Vienne et de ses faubourgs* (Vienne, Joan. Mich. Christophori, 1719), p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolai Friedrich, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781, nebst Bemerkungen über Gelehrsamkeit, Industrie, Religion und Sitte*, volume 2 (Berlin, Nicolai, 1788), p. 640.

<sup>50</sup> I. De Luca, *Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand*, p. 110-1.

<sup>51</sup> D. Do Paço, 'Échelles d'approvisionnement' and 'Extranéité et lien social. L'intégration des marchands ottomans à Vienne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 61-1 (2014), p. 123-146.

Vienna; they live in magnificent palaces in this suburb, while the German Infidels live in plain houses. The Jews are all very rich merchants'.<sup>52</sup>

First, fishermen's boats, inland barges and boats referred to the local, regional and international scale of city supply. Moreover, Çelebî described, on Leopoldstadt's bank, the urban structures of the Viennese port. First is the quay going alongside the Donaukanal, then come the proper docks where merchandise was stocked. Finally, behind the docks, a Jewish quarter – the so-called Judenstadt – usually described as a ghetto but, according to Ignaz De Luca, it represented an organisation close to a funduk.<sup>53</sup> After 1680, it polarized the urban expansion of the Leopoldstadt.<sup>54</sup>

Paying attention to the commercial activity of the Ottoman merchants during the co-regency (1765-80) provides a better understanding of the geographical organisation and the sociability of the port. In 1767, according to administrative records, Ottoman merchants were particularly active in three specific areas: around the Hohermarkt, around the Fleischmarkt and in the Leopoldstadt (Figure 3). Imported goods went from the docks of the Leopoldstadt (1) to the warehouses of the Fleischmarkt (2), and included merchandise traded by Ottoman merchants from Turkey to supply the local manufactories (3); manufactured goods bought by Ottoman traders on the Hohermarkt, were also stored around the Fleischmarkt (4) before export through the docks of the Leopoldstadt (5, 6).<sup>55</sup>

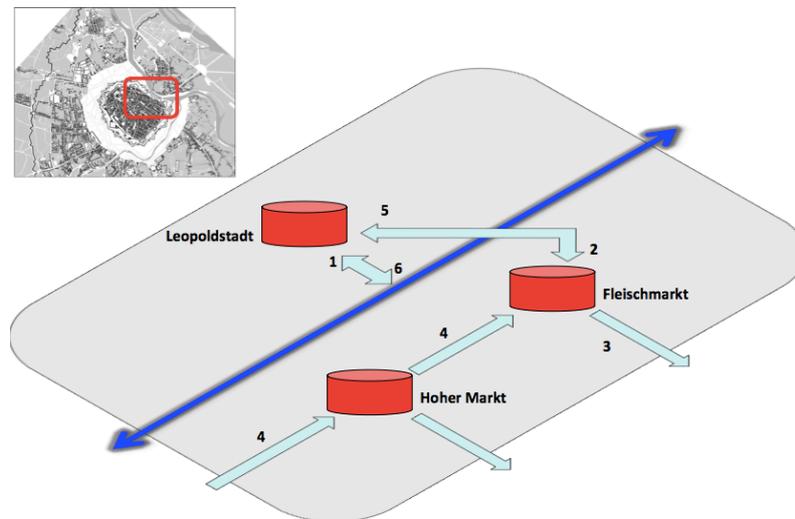


Figure 3: Ottoman trade and the supply of Vienna c. 1770

The activity of the Ottoman merchants, and broadly of international merchants, contributed to the integration of the urban space generated by the promotion of the river port of the Leopoldstadt. Moreover, according to the maps that follow, and a list provided by Ignaz De Luca in 1787, the geography of coffeehouses overlapped the geography of international trade in the city (Figure 4).

<sup>52</sup> *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien, anno 1665*, ed. Richard F. Kreutel (Vienna, 1987), p. 139.

<sup>53</sup> See also Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade. Merchants Guilds, 1000-1800* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 94.

<sup>54</sup> I. De Luca, *Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand*, p. 170-3 and *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Karl Vocelka et Anita Traniger (Vienne-Cologne-Weimar, 2003), p. 282-310.

<sup>55</sup> David Do Paço, 'Eighteenth Century Central Europe in transcontinental trade: the trading company of Molla Mustafa and the Viennese Conscriptio of 1767' in *Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe. Territory, population, consumption*, ed. Daniel Dumitran and Valer Moga (Münster, 2013), p. 31-42.

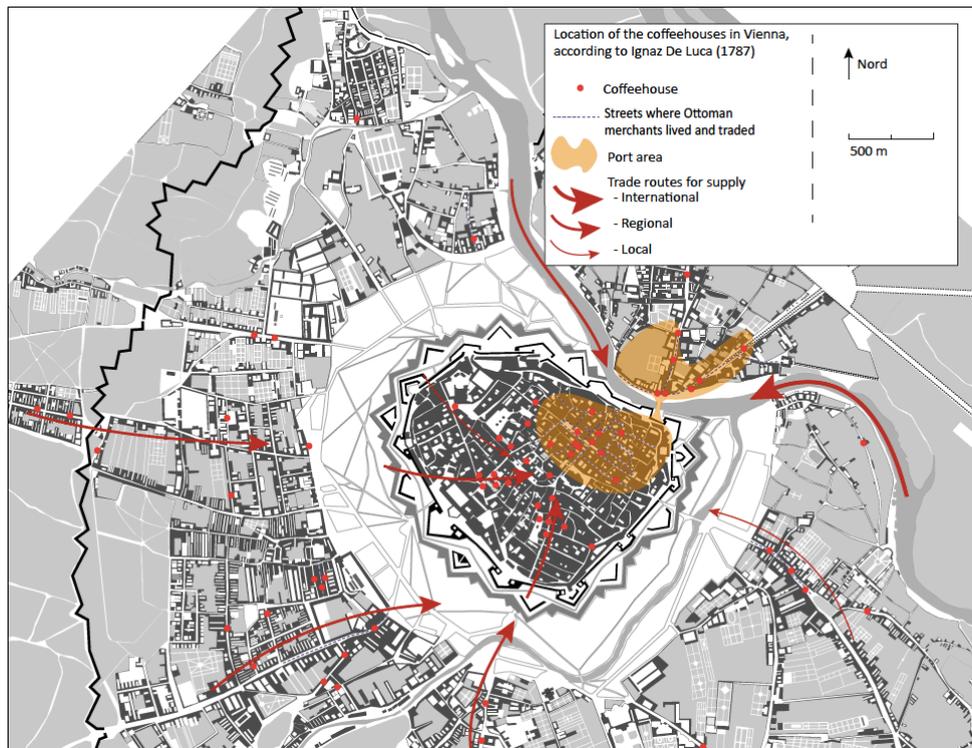


Figure 4: Location of the coffeehouses in Vienna in 1787

In 1781, Johann Johann Kaspar von Riesbeck described the attendance at coffeehouses and taverns, which explained their geography. According to him, in Vienna, coffeehouses and taverns were places attended in particular by “the large amount of well-paid administrators, the opulent nobility and numerous foreigners” living in the city.<sup>56</sup> On the contrary, according to the Hungarian count of Fekete de Gálantha in 1787:

‘le bon bourgeois ne se distingue plus du peuple, que par un faste aussi mal entendu que ruineux, & par la ridicule envie d’imiter la nuance de la Noblesse, à laquelle il touche de plus près, car ces nuances sont infinies à Vienne. Sa caractéristique est à peu près la même que celle des classes inférieures, & ce n’est que chez quelques uns que le caffè a pris la place du cabaret & le Théâtre national, celui des farces, qui ont succédé aux momeries religieuses’.<sup>57</sup>

Fekete made the distinction between the ‘cabarets’ attended by the bourgeoisie and the coffeehouses attended by the nobility, which seems to conflict with the description given by Riesbeck.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, analysing the sources of the Council of Trade allows us to work out that coffeehouses and taverns were, for the most part, located at the back of the deep inner courts of buildings owned by administrators and noblemen. Like the House of the Teutonic Order or the House of the Holy Cross, they were usually composed of two courts, the smaller dedicated to the personal accommodation of the landlord and the administration of the building and the larger divided into warehouses on the first floor

<sup>56</sup> ‘Hier könnte der *Homme à quarante ecus* wirklich bestehen, aber wenn er mehr als 40 Thaler hätten, so ist die Versuchung mehr zu verthun, zu stark, als daß er seiner Oekonomie getreu bleiben könnte. [...]. Die unmäßig grosse Anzahl der reich besoldeten Hofbedienten, der zahlreiche Adel, und die vielen Fremden, die sich bloß des Vergnügens halber hier aufhalten, wissen von keiner bessern Beschäftigung, als ihrem Vergnügen nachzuhängen.’ in Johann Caspard v. Riesbeck, *Briefe eines Reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland An seinen Bruder zu Paris*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1783), p. 268-9.

<sup>57</sup> Jean Fekete de Gálantha, *Esquisse d’un tableau mouvant de Vienne tracé par un cosmopolite* (Vienna, 1787), p. 26-7.

<sup>58</sup> See footnote 56.

and flats on the top floors (Figure 5).<sup>59</sup> It is in the latter courtyard where coffeehouses and taverns were located.<sup>60</sup>



Figure 5: a tavern in the Teutonic Order's Building

Riesbeck paid attention not only to attendance, he also evoked the particular practices of the place.<sup>61</sup> Referring to Venice, he described this sociability as totally different to that of the London and Parisian coffeehouses.<sup>62</sup> Since these were not a bourgeois habit, they were not a matrix of a democratic sociability promoting freedom of speech. On the one hand, they were not public but private places, where people hid to avoid the control of public space that was particularly strong during the reign of Maria-Theresa (1740-80) and, on the other hand, they were the result of the familiarity and conjunction of private interests between the foreign merchants and the administrator of the trade, who supported and invested in their business.<sup>63</sup> Food played a part in two essential dimensions: moral transgression and social bonding.

<sup>59</sup> E. Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt*, p. 116-8 and Andreas Weigl, 'Die Bedeutung des Wiener Hofes für die städtische Ökonomie in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts' in *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Claudine Pils and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Innsbruck, 2005), p. 55-80.

<sup>60</sup> D. Do Paço, 'Extranéité et lien social', p. 135-9.

<sup>61</sup> 'Gehst du den Tag über in ein Kaffeehaus, deren es hier gegen 70 giebt [...] welche unter den öffentlichen Häusern die reinlichsten und prächtigsten sind. Ich sah eines mit rothem Damast tapeziert, mit vergoldeten Rahmen, Uhren, und Spiegeln à la grecque, und mit Marmortischen – so stehst du halt das ewige Essen, Trinken und Spielen. Du bist sicher, daß dich kein Mensch ausforscht, oder dir mit Fragen lästig ist. Kein Mensch redet da, als nur mit seinen Bekannten, und gemeiniglich nur ins Ohr. Man sollte denken, es wäre hier wie zu Venedig, wo sich alle Leute in den öffentlichen Häusern für Spionen halten.' in Riesbeck, *Briefe*, p. 206-7.

<sup>62</sup> Cowan Brian, *The Social Life of Coffee: the Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005). See also Ray Oldenbourg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* (Marlowe, 1999) and Hans-Erich Bödecker, 'Das Kaffeehaus als Institution aufklärerischer kommunikativer Geselligkeit' in *Sociabilité et Société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse*, ed. Étienne François (Paris, 1986), p. 65-90.

<sup>63</sup> B. Ann Tlusty, 'Privat' oder 'öffentlich'? Das Wirthaus in der deutschen Stadt des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert' in *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Tavernen. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne, 2004), p. 53-73. For comparison Susanne Rau, 'Public order in public space: tavern conflict in early modern Lyon', *Urban History* 34/1 (2007), p. 102-13 and Gerd Schwerhoff, 'Die Policey im Wirthhaus. Obrigkeitliche und gesellschaftliche Normen im öffentlichen Raum der Frühen Neuzeit. Das Beispiel der Reichstadt Köln', in *Machträume der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. Christian Hochmuth and Susanne Rau (Constance, 2006), p. 355-76.

Last, but not least, this familiarity and social proximity between the enlightened nobility and foreign merchants in Vienna fostered the socialisation and acculturation of Ottoman merchants into the city. In 1780, the famous Berlin publicist, Frierich Nicolaï, noticed that:

‘Also, one meets in this suburb [the Leopoldstadt] many Turkish men. They live in the City around the Fleischmarkt, where they also have warehouses for their goods. However, they come here in part for business, and in part because the nearby bridge conveniently has a coffeehouse. It looks eccentric that some go half Turkish and half German dressed’.<sup>64</sup>

As a Berliner, Nicolaï was surprised by what he was describing. A history of Viennese coffeehouses paves the way to other understandings of the early modern history of Vienna, the Habsburg Monarchy and Central Europe. It echoes with early modern global history as well as with the sociology of the present global cities, the entanglement of their diverse and plural backgrounds and the social bonding passing through them.<sup>65</sup>

As a case study, the recipe for coffee, recorded by Ignaz Gartler and Barabra Hikmann in 1787, makes it possible to comment on the place of coffee in Viennese gastronomy and on the techniques of both its preparation and its appropriation.<sup>66</sup> First, the two authors classified coffee in the category of “drinks and other things to cook”, along with almond milk, lemonade or chocolate. Coffee had become a sweet – *Sußichkeit* – and was no longer considered a medicine or a drug. In 1770, according to the Ottoman merchant Peter Anastasio, coffee was nothing but one ‘Oriental sweet’.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, while the trade in coffee in Western Europe depended on the monopolistic activity of the port of Bordeaux, in Vienna coffee was still directly imported from the Ottoman Empire and not from the West Indian colonies.<sup>68</sup> The milled coffee was infused in boiled water and clarified with a drop of fresh water. Then, according to the French way, coffee could be filtered and tempered with sugar, milk or cream. Nevertheless, Gartler and Hikmann stressed the proper Viennese way of cooking coffee: “one dose of milled coffee for two cups of white coffee”. White coffee is a tisane of organic orange

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<sup>64</sup> Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland*, vol. 2/2, p. 11-2.

<sup>65</sup> Nigel Worden, ‘Strangers ashore : sailor identity and social conflict in mid-18th century Cape Town’, *Kronos* 36 (2007), p. 72-83. See also Jacques Barrau, ‘Café boisson, café institution’, *Terrain, revue d’ethnologie de l’Europe*, 13 (1989), p. 92-97 and Omar Carlier, ‘Le café maure. Sociabilité masculine et effervescence citoyenne (Algérie, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 45/4 (1990), p. 975-1003.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Man thut die Kaffeebohne erstlich in eine eisernes länglich-rundes cylindrisches Gefäß, welches man an einigen Orten Kaffeebrennen zu nennen pflegt, oder in eine Pfanne, und hält sie über glühenden Kohlen, unter beständigem Umdrehen oder Herumrühren so lange, bis sie ziemlich schwitzen und eine kastanienbraune Farbe bekommen. Von da werden sie über Papier ausgeschüttet, und nur dünn aufgebretet, weil sonst die Hitze fortwirten, und die meisten Bohnen verbrennen würden, wenn auch di Pfanne nicht mehr auf dem Feuer wäre. Hernach werden dieselben auf besonders zu diesem Gebrauche verfertigten Kaffeemühlen klein gemahlen. Von deisem gemahlten Kaffee nimmt man gemeinlich zwey Loth zu einer Maß siedenden Wassers, welches entweder über das Kaffeepulver gegossen wird, oder man thut dieses, wenn das Wasser siedend heiß ist, in den Kaffeekessel oder die Kaffeekanne, läßt es dann noch ein Mahl über den Kohlen aufkochen, un zieht, wenn es überlaufen will, das Gefäß von den Kohlen hinweg, gießt sogleich, damit sich der Kaffee bald setze und klar wird, ein klein wenig frisches Wasser hinein, oder wirft auch nur etwas gestoßenen Zucker in die Kanne, und trinckt denselben, wenn er klar ist, aus Schälchen mit etwas Zucker, schwarz oder mit warmer Milch, guten Obers oder Rahm vermischt. Diese Art, den Kaffee zu kuchen, biethet manchen Nachtheil, worunter derjenige, daß der Kaffee hierbey dem Ausrauchen preisgegeben, gewiß nicht der mindeste ist; man hat daher allgemein angefangen, das kochende Wasser oder den klaren Kaffee-Sud über den gemahlten Kaffee zu filtriren oder zu seihen, wobey kein Kochen mehr Statt findet, und det Trank wird dadurchungemein lieblicher.

Das Verhältniß des Kaffeepulvers zu dem aufzugeißenden Wasser ist nicht zu bestimmen, indem der Eine den Kaffee etwas stärker, der Andere etwas schwächer liebt. In Wien pflegt man aus einem Loth Kaffeepulver zwey Schalen weißen Kaffee zu bereiten.’ in I. Gartler and B. Hikmann, *Wiener Kochbuch*, p. 414-5.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Zucker, türkischen *Coffè*, Dattel, Mandeln, und dergleichen Orientalische Süsse Waaren’, Peter Anastase petition to Maria Theresa (no date), Stadt und Landes Archive Wiens, Bericht 1770/14.

<sup>68</sup> Karl Teply, *Die Anfänge des Wiener Kaffeehauses. Fakten kontra Legenden. Von Wiens erster armenischer Kolonie* (Vienna, 1974) and *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien : Georg Frank Koltschützky, Johannes Diodato, Isaak De Luca* (Vienna, 1980). See also D. Do Paço, ‘Comment le café devint viennois’.

flower water, specifically from the Levant. The taste of Viennese coffee had something of the Ottoman Empire. The fact that this was not set out in a cookbook where foreign influence was clearly identified by the authors attests to the assimilation and banalization of Turkish coffee among the Viennese bourgeoisie, not least because of the social integration of the Ottoman merchants in the city.

### **Taste, emotions and the socio-political history of food: a gastro-diplomacy**

Last but not least, “Viennese delights” invites us to develop an intimate history of food and to overcome the distinction between cooking and cuisine. *Mémoires* and private correspondence offer an original insight to the practice of consumption of the enlightened aristocracy and how foreign foods were appropriated to their way of life. This entails switching from the history of science to the history of intimacy, gender and intimate thoughts. The correspondence of Count Philipp Cobenzl with Baron Peter Herbert is a rare and rich contribution to the history of food circulation and appropriation and, broadly, to the history of the European Enlightenment.

The profile of the two correspondents embodies the relationship between Austria and the Ottoman Empire. Philipp Cobenzl came from an aristocratic family from Gorizia in Carniola, which took advantage of the development of the port of Trieste and invested in both the Adriatic and Levantine trades. In 1767, Philipp entered the Imperial court and made links with the enlightenment nobility, especially the close salon of the count of Windischgrätz attended by the young emperor. In 1779, Joseph II promoted Philipp as Vice-Chancellor in charge of the foreign affairs of the Austrian monarchy. One of the first decisions that Philipp took was to send Baron Peter Herbert to Istanbul as Imperial *internuncio* – the representative of the Emperor and of the Pope. Son of an exiled Jacobite and of the daughter of an Armenian merchant in Pera, Peter Herbert was born and raised on the Bosphorus. Educated by the Jesuits of the *Internunciature*, he followed Father Franz to Vienna in 1754, who was involved in the foundation of the Oriental Academy. After his brother’s death in 1761, Peter quit the Jesuits and entered the service of the Cobenzl family. He accompanied Philipp throughout his training in Salzburg, Brussels and Vienna. The men became friends, members of the radical reforming groups of the States, but also minister and ambassador, patron and client, and lovers as well.

The private correspondence that they began in 1779 aimed to guide Peter in his work, to manage the extension of the Cobenzl clientele in the Ottoman Empire and also to maintain the bond between the two men.<sup>69</sup> Food played an important part in it, and cannot be restricted exclusively to metaphoric figures referring to their sexuality.

Peter Herbert took the initiative in this food business. Using the diplomatic pouch on 17 May 1780, he wrote:

‘Empressé de remplir les ordres que Votre Excellence a bien voulu me donner par la dépêche du 21 avril dernier, j’ai l’honneur de l’informer son hohe Margen se passe d’étourgeon jusqu’à l’hiver prochain, attendu que la saison de ce poisson est passée ; mais comme le devoir d’un ministre est, quand il ne peut pas emporter une chose, de chercher au moins quelque équivalent ; je prends la liberté d’envoyer à Votre Excellence un petit baril de turbot mariné et fort bien accompagné, dont la qualité est excellente ici, qui remplira également l’objet qu’Elle se propose dans sa sagesse (...). Votre Excellence pourra m’indiquer les poissons et coquillages de la Mer Noire qu’Elle voudra croquer à Vienne. C’est tout à fait une nouvelle branche de commerce que j’ouvre, et que je n’excepte que les goujons et les Stockfisches, dont l’espece manque ici tout à fait depuis vingt-cinq ans ; elle a été transplantée, dit-on, en Autriche, le magasin se trouve au Graben à la *fischen Apotecken* au deuxième étage.’<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> David Do Paço, ‘La place de l’Empire ottoman au sein de l’administration josphiste. Remarques sur la correspondance privée de Philipp Cobenzl et Peter Herbert entre Vienne et Istanbul (1779-92)’, *Revue de l’Institut Français d’Histoire en Allemagne* 6 (2014), forthcoming.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Herbert to Philipp Cobenzl, from Pera, 17 May 1780, Turkey V, 18, fol. 86r.

And Philipp Cobenzl replied on 5 June 1780:

‘C’étoit toujours pour l’hiver que mon desir d’avoir de l’éturgeon mariné faisoit ses calculs et je suis fort surpris que vous me promettiez du turbeau pour cette saison-cy doutant fort qu’il puisse arriver en bon état pendant les chaleurs. Je serai d’ailleurs fort aise si nous pouvions établir entre Nous un Commerce regulier de Cuisine pour toutes sortes de choses qui supposent un voyage aussi long, mais pour regler la charge de retour, il faut me dire, quelles provisions rares je pourrois Vous envoyer d’ici. Est-ce le sanglier peut-être ou quelqu’autre gibier qui seroit rare chez vous ? Enfin voyez ce qui pourroit vous convenir pour que le contrat ne soit pas absolument unilateral’.<sup>71</sup>

There are a few things to be said about this. First, the circulation of food between the two empires confirms what I have described earlier on Ottoman imports to Vienna, that they were limited to a familiar sphere and were not a matter of exotic experience. Sturgeon and turbot were eaten in Vienna, the diplomatic pouch just makes their circulation easier, cheaper and faster. Second, this trade was nevertheless dependent on the season and on weather conditions. Winter meant conserved fish could be sent – protected in a marinade – to provide Cobenzl’s table with fresh fish. The sending of wild game, which Herbert found had a particularly delicate taste, from Bohemia to Istanbul, could only be made through the Balkan roads in winter, while the wine that Herbert sent to Vienna could transit through Venice.<sup>72</sup> Third, food exchange was obviously handled as a gift/counter-gift dynamic to generate a long-distance sociability, adding to it a sensual dimension.

But it was not only this, on 1st July 1780, Peter Herbert revealed the background of his business and how food exchange took part in his political dealings:

‘Comme qui dit commerce dit échange, il est juste, Mon Cher Comte, ainsi que vous le remarquez de me donner vos superfluités pour mes esturgeons, mes turbots et mes vins. L’hiver prochain vous aurez abondamment de tout cela, mais en attendant je souhaite d’apprendre que mon turbot est arrivé à bon port. Le succès de cette tentative nous engagera à étendre nos spéculations à l’été. A l’entrée de l’hiver vous aurez des dattes, des figues, des raisins secs, surtout ceux de Smyrnes qui sont petits et sans pépins. Ces fruits secs ne me coûtent rien, ils me viennent par la contribution volontaire de mes consuls, de mes négociants et protégés. Je vous demande à mon tour à présent des ananas frais. J’en ai déjà commandé six par forme d’essai ; mais il n’y avait pas de mal que j’en repasse une douzaine d’autres. Il faut mettre six grands et beaux ananas par caisse et les emballer avec de la sciure de bois. Il faut aussi les cueillir un peu avant la parfaite maturité, car ils acheveront de murir dans le transport. Vous ferez prendre des informations très exactes à ce sujet ; il m’importe beaucoup d’avoir mes ananas en bon état, pas tant par gourmandise, quoique je compte bien en manger, que pour en régaler le Grand Seigneur et le Vizir, qui désirent l’un et l’autre de manger de ce fruit, qu’ils ne connaissent que confit’.<sup>73</sup>

Peter Herbert here clearly revealed that all his personal patronage in the Ottoman Empire was partially handled through the circulation of food and food exchange. “The voluntary contribution of my consuls, of my traders and my *protégés*” is nothing but a tribute they paid to their patron and protector. It embodied the asymmetrical relationship of the oriental branch of the Cobenzl clientele ruled by Herbert. Such a gift economy stressed the permanent re-foundation of the dependence between patron and client in a very basic feudal way, including an oath of allegiance. Herbert extended this system out of the administrative sphere when he evoked the traders and the protégés with whom he dealt. They were Ottoman merchants expecting support for their trade in Austria, dragoman families from Pera, landlords from the Archipelago like the Cigala family in Santorin that regularly provided Herbert with wine, artists from Italy or young scholars coming from Vienna to improve their knowledge of oriental languages and of Ottoman society, like Joseph Hammer in 1797, under Herbert’s protection.

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<sup>71</sup> Philipp Cobenzl to Peter Herbert, from Vienna, 5 June 1780, Türkei V, 18, fol. 84r.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Herbert to Philipp Cobenzl, from Büyükdere, 1st July 1780, Türkei V, 18, fol. 91r. and Philipp Cobenzl to Peter Herbert, from Vienna, 6 November 1780, Türkei V, 18, fol. 126r.

<sup>73</sup> Peter Herbert to Philipp Cobenzl, letter from Büyükdere, 1st July 1780, Türkei V, 18, fol. 91r.

Moreover, in his relationship with Cobenzl, Herbert based this business on the principle of reciprocity as a way to overcome the patron-client relationship and his submission to Cobenzl, and he played on this as part of his strategy. His letter from the 17 May is certainly one of the most important of the correspondence, and it is the richer from a literary point of view. Writing about private matters, Herbert addressed Phillip as “Your Excellency”, while in the next paragraph dealing with State affairs he addressed him as “Count Phillip”. Herbert almost reversed the relationship, and this is nowhere more clear than in his discussion of food.

Herbert implemented the same strategy with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan, with the fresh pineapples that he wanted to provide for them. The verb “régaler” that was used is rich in complexity. It could mean treating someone to a delicious meal. It is also a refined synonym of “to smoothly corrupt” him. More cynically than Marcel Mauss, Marshall Sahlins noticed that “Eskimo are famous for the custom of gift-giving. ‘Gifts make slaves’, they sometime explain, ‘as whips make dogs’”.<sup>74</sup> The sociology of food also stresses the balance of power that feeding involves, especially when it is about rare food. Herbert’s gastro-diplomacy is the counterpart of current gastro-sexuality, implying the same anthropological seductive process: surprise, taste and surrender. It stresses the possible way to deal with, and to possibly overcome, an unequal and asymmetrical relationship.<sup>75</sup>

In 1755, the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna completely understood how useful the table was for the good conduct of negotiations.<sup>76</sup> Feeding guests was not only a demonstration of power and a social commitment but, according to the Austrian interpreter who described a dinner at the table of the ambassador in his report, it was clearly a matter of seduction. After his official audience before the Emperor, Halil Efendi, the Turkish ambassador, invited the Imperial administrators who have organised the ceremony to dinner. On a sheet of paper the Austrian Interpreter discreetly drew the table plan. This document was considered interesting enough, first, to be recorded among the official papers related to Halil Efendi’s mission and, second, to be reproduced by the ambassador representing Venice and properly included in his official dispatches to the Senate.<sup>77</sup> While the guests were placed around the table “in descending order of importance”, the Austrian interpreter and his son were strategically placed in order to be able to organise the discussion between the ambassador and his guest during the meal.

However, the only discussion was about the food served and the way to eat it, according to Ottoman gastronomic practice. Nevertheless, and still according to the Austrian interpreter, this very specific moment of sociability had a major consequence on Halil Efendi’s reputation and then on the success of his mission.<sup>78</sup> The seduction was acknowledged, accepted and even expected by his Austrian guests, who eventually offered him help both to adapt to protocol and to support his administration during his stay in Vienna. Halil Efendi’s mission was the most successful of the Porte in Vienna of the century. Thanks to his reputation and the credit that the early days of his mission conferred on him, he was able to support all the claims and petitions of the Ottoman merchants in the city and his stay paved the way for the liberalisation of the Viennese trade market to the benefit of the Ottomans. The dinner offered by Halil Efendi committed the guests to providing something in return.

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<sup>74</sup> Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (Paris, 1925) and Marshall D. Sahlins, *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays* (Chicago, 2000), p. 281.

<sup>75</sup> *The Emergence of the Gastrosexual*, ed. Future Foundation (London, 2008).

<sup>76</sup> See the description made by the Austrian interpreter Anton Seleskowitz in a global report on this ambassadorship, *Turkei IV*, 3, p. 233-9.

<sup>77</sup> OeStA, HHStA, Ält. Zerem. A., 50/1 et ASV, Senato, DAS, Germania, filza 261, fol. 343.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Endlichen hatte Er die H: Gäste um Erlaubniß, stunde auf, und begabe sich, wie Sie pflegen, zum waschen, Er komme sogleich wieder, und nahm mit Ihnen den Caffè, worauf Sich alles auf die Sofa in Sein Parade Zimmer begabe, Herr v. Gundl, Baron de Koch, Tussaint und Herr Baron de Binder unterhielten Ihn nach eine Weile mit unterschiedlichen freundschaftlichen discoursen, jeder rühinte Seine gute Lebens Art, und grosse Politesse an, besonders Herr Baron de Binder, welcher Ihme zuletzt sagte, daß, da Er bey dem Tractament nach der Audienz Ihro May der Kayserin Königin gleichfahls den Hauswirth zu machen habe, er verhoffe Ihn Gesandten eben wie Herrn Gundl auf das beste zu bewirthen, Er wünschte Ihme indessen bis dahin, und auch ferners alles Wohlergehen, worauf Sich jedermann von dem Gesandten beurlaubte, und retirirte.’ in *Turkei IV*, 3, p. 238-239.

In the context of sociability in the eighteenth-century European Court, personally feeding his guests was a very subtle submission, gratifying the position of the guests more than the host. Seduction – especially with food – makes more complex the gift/counter-gift anthropological process and its use by historians.

### **Towards Food, Science and Empire**

The Viennese case study stresses in particular how food contributed to the emergence of a new scientific discourse on society promoted by early modern statistics and by the Administrative Enlightenment. Indeed, food was an essential matter for the city administration both in order to support the demographic growth of Vienna, but also regarding the transformation of a society that was more and more socially and culturally diverse. Controlling the Viennese food supply was the opportunity for the imperial administration to legitimize its authority over the city, against the municipality, but also, as a consequence, to promote a new informal sociability organised in the semi-private and semi-secluded places that were the coffeehouses and taverns. These were a tool of social control, since they deepened the integration of foreigners, here the rich Ottoman merchants, into the clientele of the Austrian political elite. Trans-imperial food socialization is also particularly obvious at the diplomatic stage and makes more complex the logic of eighteenth-century sociability in the context of cross-cultural relationships. Food is a matter of knowledge and bonding and power, and it pushes historians to face a multidisciplinary methodology. But the history of food is also able to shed light on the present heritage politics regarding the patrimonialization of material cultures and their socio-political relevance. Such politics could invite a cross-cultural bonding by stressing the different legacy, or strengthening the particular ethnic, religious or local identity of a group weakened by globalization, or simply by the permanent evolution of cultures and the constant reconfiguration of social orders.

