THE SWEET BANQUET IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

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Abstract

In early modern England, the ‘banquet’ was a distinct meal type consisted solely of confectionery and fruit, accompanied by alcoholic distilled waters and wine. This dining practice has thus far received little scholarly attention, and this thesis provides the first full study of the sweet banquet. It takes account of a wide range of primary sources, including visual and material culture, architecture, household papers, inventories and literature in tracing the development of the banquet at court and its dissemination to the nobility, gentry and ‘middling’ sorts. That the practice of banqueting was ubiquitous at this time is a major new finding.

The banquet is revealed to have fulfilled a range of well-defined social functions. An important element of court ceremony under both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, it expressed contemporary ideas about kingship and articulated England’s place on a European stage. From the mid sixteenth century, the banquet is shown to have been central to elite sociability beyond the court. It was an important indicator of group membership, and a key site for relationship building and the demonstration of social status. Close attention to primary sources reveals that the banquet was intended as a recreation of the ancient symposium, a new finding which undermines the widely held assumption that Tudor visual culture did not engage with the continental renaissance. Finally the gendered nature of the banquet is considered in relation to feminist theory. This sheds new light on the relationship between public and private in early modern England, the gendered nature of space within the country house, and the extent to which feminine agency was possible in a patriarchal society. Overall, this study of the banquet is indicative of the value of studying ephemeral cultural practices, and the wide range of insights that this can generate.

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Note to the Reader

Original spelling and punctuation for early modern sources has been retained except for u/v and i/j which have been modernised throughout. New style dating has been used throughout.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CFEP	Cecil Family and Estate Papers
ERO	Essex Records Office
FSL	Folger Shakespeare Library
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
NRAS	National Register of Archives for Scotland
NRO	Norfolk Records Office
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
SHC	Surrey History Centre
TNA	The National Archives
UoN	University of Nottingham, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections
WSHC	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre

Introduction

In February 1955 an article entitled 'The Old English Banquet' appeared in Country Life Magazine. It described a then largely forgotten meal type which had been popular at court in the sixteenth century. This took place in a 'small apartment' and involved the consumption of fruit, wine and sweets. Its centrepiece was a subtlety; an 'ornamental device for the middle of the table comprising figures, animals and birds modelled in paste, sugar and jelly'.[1]

The author of this article, G. Bernard Hughes, was one of the first modern historians to write about the 'banquet' as a distinct dining practice, and he recognised many of its defining features. These events, as he noted, took place after the main meal, in a distinct space, and consisted of sweet foods, spiced wine and sculptural sugarwork. Originally developing at court, the banquet, as is demonstrated below, was quickly adopted by the nobility and gentry. By the seventeenth century, although it had fallen out of favour at court, the sweet banquet was a recognised literary trope and instructions for preparing the foods served at these events appeared in household manuals aimed at women of the 'middling sort'.

Until now, the sweet banquet has received relatively little scholarly attention. This is due, in part, to a seeming lack of primary sources relating to this particular meal-type. Given that the banquet developed at court, the accounts of the royal kitchens might be expected to prove useful, but the majority of these were destroyed in a fire at Whitehall in 1698. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation with regard to continental Europe, there are no visual records of either sculptural sugarwork presented at court and very few images of banquets themselves taking place.

[1] G. Bernard Hughes, 'The Old English Banquet', *Country Life*, 117 (1955): pp.473-5

Written descriptions of these events tend to be brief and are often fragmentary. Printed recipe books, whilst a useful source, shed light only on the later history of the banquet. This study, therefore, takes account of new sources in relation to the sweet banquet, including state papers, household accounts, inventories, letters, diaries, surviving material culture, architecture and portraits. This enables the tracing of the history of the banquet from its emergence, alongside a detailed analysis of the rich meanings and varied social and political purposes of this meal-type.

Recent research by scholars working in disciplines as varied as anthropology, English literature and history, has demonstrated the value of studying early modern cultural practices and has drawn particular attention to the symbolic importance of food and dining practices in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England. The influence of Norbert Elias should not be underestimated with regard to the relatively recent increase in scholarly interest in social practices, and dining in particular. His two studies, *The Civilizing Process* and *The Court Society* posit that changing attitudes to food and table manners in the early modern period reflected increases in class differentiation, affecting individual psychology and altering the ways in which people perceived themselves and others. As such, manners became a way not only of demonstrating one's social status, but also of effecting the physical and psychological removal of the individual from a wider group.[2]

Influenced by Elias, and focussing specifically on the English courts, 'new historicist' approaches, typified by the work of Stephen Greenblatt, Simon Thurley and David Starkey amongst others, have emphasised the importance of social networks, access to the monarch and the architectural spaces which facilitated these

[2] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen Books, 1978); Norbert Elias *The Court Society* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

practices.[3] These ideas have added impetus to an emerging scholarly interest in aspects of court culture which had previously been overlooked as marginal and decorative, such as dance, domestic goods and apparel.[4]

Relatedly, a number of feminist historians have, in recent years, turned their attention to domestic practices which have not traditionally been the subject of academic enquiry. These studies have examined topics such as the practices surrounding childbirth, women as medical practitioners, female artistic creation and patronage and the meanings of household work. Increasing attention has been paid

[3] Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); David Starkey, "The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts c.1350-1550," in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1981), pp.225-290; David Starkey, "Intimacy and Innovation: the Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547," in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (Essex: Longman, 1987), pp.71-118; Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240 - 1698* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: a Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003). Similar approaches are evident in John Adamson, "The making of the Ancien Régime Court," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime*, ed. John Adamson (London: Seven Dials, 1999), pp.7-42; John Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509 - 1714," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500 - 1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Seven Dials, 1999), pp.95-118; Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Peter Sillitoe, '"Where the prince lieth": Courtly Space and the Elizabethan Progresses,' in *Tudor Court Culture*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp.75-92.

[4] Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt, eds., *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Karen C. C. Doulton, "The Black Emperor in the Drake Jewel and Elizabethan Imperial Imagery," in *Early modern Visual Culture; Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.178-214; Mary E Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language* (Lincoln Nebraska and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Maria Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Reign of Henry VIII," in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004), pp.165-178; Elizabeth Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Ian W. Archer, "City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480–1625," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (2008): pp.157-79; Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume, Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011).

to the ways in which such activities may have facilitated female agency, enabling women to construct identities for themselves and to engage in political discourse.[5]

As a result, the production and consumption of foodstuffs, a subject traditionally associated with women, has increasingly come to be seen as a valid area of historical study.[6] This is particularly the case with reference to the early modern period, which has been revealed as a rich area of enquiry due to high levels of political and cultural upheaval and emergent capitalist economies. Related to these developments was an enhanced dialogue about food, manners and status, played out in contemporary conduct literature and an increasingly recognised willingness to spend significant amounts of money and time in dining. Scholars such as Michel Jeanneret, Sergio Bertelli, Ken Albala and David Goldstein have emphasised the importance of food and dining practices as status markers and their

[5] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: The Women's Press, 1986); Adrian Wilson, "The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation," in *Women as Mothers in Pre-industrial England*, ed. Valerie Fildes (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp.68-107; Marion Wynne Davies, "The Queen's Masque, Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth Century Court Masque," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne Davies (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp.79-104; Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters 1570 - 1620," in *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500 - 1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp.89-107; Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work in and out of the Kitchen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, "Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1591): Elite Women Writers and Devisers," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.207-226; Sara Louise Mueller, "Women, Performance and the Household in Early Modern England, 1580 - 1660" (PhD Thesis, Queen's University, Canada, 2007); Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles, Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Edith Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England, A Feminist Literary History* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan, 2011); Leigh Whaley, *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe 1400 - 1800* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household," *Centaurus* 55, no. 2 (2013): pp.81-104.

[6] The growth of interest in food history and increasing recognition of its status as a valid area of academic enquiry is exemplified in the 2012 publication by Bloomsbury of the six volume *Cultural History of Food.* The most relevant Vol.umes here are Ken Albala, ed., *A Cultural History of Food in the Renaissance* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2012); Beat Kümin, ed., *A Cultural History of Food in the Early Modern Age* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).

role in conveying ideas of kingship and forming and maintaining social relationships.[7] Anthropological approaches have been important in this regard. Felicity Heal, for example, has utilised Marcel Mauss's theories of gift exchange to provide new insights regarding the meanings of food gifts and hospitality in this period.[8] Works with a strong grounding in political and social context have used published sources including recipe books, conduct literature and plays to explore the ways in which foods were perceived to affect body and mind, their symbolic associations and use in the marking of key life events.[9] In this way food is revealed as having been closely bound up with ideas of class status, national identity and virtue.

Within this body of work are a number of studies which deal specifically with the sweet banquet. C. Anne Wilson's Edited volume, *Banqueting Stuffe: The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet* provides a useful introduction to the topic, detailing the foods served at these events and the techniques utilised in making them. The contributors also examine the genre of printed recipe books dealing with confectionery and the architectural spaces in which banquets took

[7] Michel Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words : Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance* trans. Jeremy Whitelay and Emma Hughes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp.191-213; Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood, 2003); Ken Albala, *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007); David B. Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[8] Felicity Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 102 (1984), pp.66-93; Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Felicity Heal, "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.46-61; Felicity Heal, "Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England," *Past & Present* 199 (2008): pp.41-70; Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[9] Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Laura Mason, ed., *Food and the Rites of Passage* (Totnes: Porspect Books, 2002); Robert Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and other Gastronomic Interjections : Literature, Culture, and Food among the Early Moderns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Joan Fitzpatrick, ed., *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

place.[10] Patricia Fumerton devotes a chapter of her 1991 monograph to the 'trivial' spaces in which sweet banquets took place and the foods served at them. She argues that these events expressed an urge on the part of the elite in seventeenth-century England to withdraw from the rest of society, whilst reflecting a sense of threatened identity and notions of the 'self' as fragmentary.[11] Chris Meads' 2001 monograph *Banquets Set Forth* and Tracy Thong's 2008 PhD thesis both examine the use of the sweet banquet as a dramatic trope in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[12] In doing so, they provide important evidence for the pervasiveness of the banquet as a cultural form and usefully examine the recurring themes with which it was associated. Other studies have stressed the symbolic significance of the sculptural sugarwork displayed at continental European courts, although this is an area which remains largely unexplored in relation to England, due to the absence of visual material documenting English sugar sculptures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[13] Ivan Day's studies of European dining customs have dealt briefly with English sugarwork of this period, often as a precursor to more detailed work on the eighteenth century, for which the sources are much

[10] C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Banquetting Stuffe: The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).
[11] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, pp.111-67
[12] Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Tracy Thong, "Appropriations of the early modern banquet course and informal meals in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries" (PhD Thesis, University of Loughborough, 2008); Chris Meads, " Narrative and Dramatic Sources: Reflections upon Creativity, Cookery, and Culinary Metaphor in some Early Seventeenth Century Dramatic Prologues," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp.145-166; Tracy Thong, " Performances of the Banquet Course in Early Modern Drama" in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp.107-125.
[13] J. K. Watson, "Sugar Sculpture for Grand Ducal Weddings from the Giambologna Workshop", *Connoisseur* 199 (1978), pp.20-26; Daniela Ambrosini, "Les Honneurs Sucrés de Venise" in *Le Boire et le Manger au XVI^e Siècle*, ed. Marie Viallon-Schoneveld (Saint-Étienne: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2004), pp.267-284; L. B. Ross, "Beyond Eating: Political and Personal Significance of the Entremets at the Banquets of the Burgundian Court," in *At the Table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Timothy J. Tomasik and Julian M. Vitullo (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2007), pp.145-166.

more numerous.[14] Day stresses the political significance of the sugar sculptures presented at court festivities, an issue also alluded to in Sidney W. Mintz's authoritative account of the rise of the sugar industry in Europe, *Sweetness and Power*.[15] Here, Mintz highlights the particular effectiveness of foodstuffs in denoting social hierarchy and situates sixteenth century sugar sculptures at 'the ceremonial nexus of certain forms of consumption', considering them capable of validating political authority. Mintz focuses mainly on the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and does not approach the sweet banquet as a meal type in its own right. His methodology, which focuses on the meanings of foodstuffs and the ways in which they functioned in social situations has nevertheless been influential with regard to the manner in which the sweet banquet is approached here.

The increasingly recognised value of studying dining practices alongside the relatively recent awareness of the sweet banquet as a distinct meal type in early-modern England suggests that an in depth study of this dining practice is highly timely. Moreover, this thesis aims to address a number of gaps in the current scholarship on the sweet banquet. The work done thus far has focused on a relatively limited range of printed sources. Wilson, Mintz and Day rely mainly on the printed recipe books which began to appear at the end of the sixteenth century and remained popular throughout the seventeenth. Meads and Thong have considered plays produced in roughly the same period. The appearance of the sweet banquet in print would suggest that it was a recognisable cultural form by this stage and

[14] Peter Brown and Ivan Day, *Pleasures of the Table: Ritual and Display in the European Dining Room 1600 - 1900* (York: York Civic Trust, 1997); Ivan Day, "Sculpture for the Eighteenth Century Dessert Garden," in *Food in the Arts: proceedings of the Oxford Symposium of Food and Cookery 1998*, ed. H. Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1999); Ivan Day, *Eat, Drink and be Merry: The British at Table 1600 - 2000* (London: Philip Wilson, 2000); Ivan Day, *Royal Sugar Sculpture: 600 years of Splendour* (Durham: Bowes Museum, 2002).
[15] Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power : The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1985).

therefore that its history can be traced at least to the earlier sixteenth century. Moreover, the reliance on print sources in most of the work described above is problematic. Recipe books and household manuals belong to the genre of conduct literature. As such, these sources contain idealised visions of meals, household work, the practices associated with them and the types of individuals who carried out these activities, and may not reflect lived reality.[16] Similarly, plays, being inherently theatrical, do not necessarily provide insights as to the ways in which people utilised and engaged with the sweet banquet in reality. This thesis, then, whilst taking account of these sources, pays attention to previously overlooked primary material including household accounts, inventories and material culture. Whilst such sources have not previously been used in the study of the sweet banquet, they give a more realistic view of the extent of knowledge of this dining practice, establishing when and where it developed and how it was used and perceived as an element of ceremony and of everyday life.

This approach has not been without its challenges. In the case of household accounts in particular, relatively few examples of these documents survive, particularly from the sixteenth century. Those that do are often difficult to access. For example, the accounts relating to Belvoir Castle, extracts from which were published in 1905, are located in a private archive which is not open to the public. Other private archives which are open to the public are often difficult to access due to the cost implications. This study has therefore focused mainly on manuscripts held in publicly run archives as well as published household accounts. Evidence has been sought for the purchase, in-house production and consumption of banqueting

[16] Sarah Pennell describes them as 'partial, prescriptive and reactive'. Sara Pennell, "Family and Domesticity," in *A Cultural History of Food in the Early Modern Age*, ed. Beat Kümin (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.126.

foods as well as the use of the term 'banquet'. In dealing with manuscripts, priority has been given to households which demonstrated prior evidence of banqueting, through documentary or architectural sources, such as Lacock Abbey and Blickling Hall. In the case of printed editions of accounts and inventories relating to noble and gentry households, a much wider approach was possible, taking account of all such publications relevant to the period in question. In very few cases did these accounts yield no evidence of the consumption of banqueting foods.

Related to the focus on printed recipe books, noted above, is the fact that previous work carried out on the banquet by food historians has mainly focused on recreating historic recipes.[18] Whilst useful, this approach has meant that relatively little attention has been paid to the social and political significance of the banquet. Furthermore, only cursory attention has been paid to issues of social hierarchy in relation to this meal type. Every study acknowledges that the expense of the foods associated with it rendered the banquet an effective demonstration of wealth, but there has been little further exploration of class symbolism. Recently, scholars have questioned similar approaches to interior decoration, painting and pageantry, demonstrating that the visual and material culture of early modern England was capable of communicating in much more sophisticated ways than through the mere display of wealth.[19] Did the sweet banquet have similar communicative potential? If so, how was this exploited by banquet hosts and participants?

[18] See, for example, Peter Brears, "Rare Conceits and Strange Delights: the Practical Aspects of Culinary Sculpture," in *Banquetting Stuffe: the Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1991), pp.60-114.
[19] See the contributions in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds., *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Tatiana C. String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008); Kent Rawlinson, "Architectural Culture and the Royal Image at the Henrician Court," in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. Susannah Lipscomb and Thomas Betteridge (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013) pp.93-114.

In order to answer these and other questions, the first two chapters of this thesis focus on the banquet at court. Chapter one traces the emergence of the separate banquet under Henry VIII, using written descriptions of individual events to provide a definition of this dining practice and to highlight the specific terminology associated with it. Sources such as household papers, bills, building accounts and published accounts of pageantry have facilitated the development of a clear chronology of the banquet's development and varied use at court. The logistics of provisioning court banquets are explored, detailing the involvement of various household departments and gaining an idea of the relative expense of these events.

A survey of the architectural structures built to house banquets at court indicates that two distinct types were common; public banquets which formed part of the programme of entertainments during diplomatic visits and other festive occasions and more intimate banquets which took place more regularly. This chapter explores the function of these two banquet types, taking account of issues surrounding access to the monarch and the development of modern diplomacy in order to shed light on the part they played in politics and in the everyday ceremony of court life. An analysis of the iconography of sculptural sugarwork in relation to its specific political contexts indicates that both Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey used the banquet in highly sophisticated ways to make political points and to assert England's place on the world stage. The sources considered here reveal that the banquet was central to Henry VIII's governmental strategy, but also had significant subversive potential in the wrong hands.

Chapter two maintains the focus on the court. Considering the banquet under Henry's children, it finds little evidence for banquets during the reigns of Edward VI or Mary I and provides possible explanations for this. The re-emergence of the

banquet under Elizabeth I is demonstrated through the analysis of household accounts and descriptions of progress entertainments. Although, like her father, Elizabeth used banquets to entertain foreign dignitaries in the early part of her reign, the later decline of the diplomatic banquet suggests that such events were no longer considered to be fashionable enough for the entertainment of foreigners at court. Banquets continued to play a part in Christmas celebrations and the New Year's gift-giving ceremonies, but are best documented as elements of progress entertainments. This chapter takes account of current scholarly debate on the function of these entertainments in order to evaluate how sweet banquets contributed to their communicative programmes. This is achieved through three case studies, wherein progress banquets are analysed in relation to the overall entertainments and the contemporary political situation. These demonstrate that such banquets could be utilised and / or appropriated by both the queen and her hosts to convey specific, historically contingent messages. More generally, the sweet banquet was adapted to enhance the iconography linking Elizabeth with the Fairy Queen, Diana and the Empress of the Oceans. The banqueting houses erected in the gardens of her hosts' country houses served simultaneously as reminders of the queen's visit and the honour done to the household, and a visible means by which the monarch claimed authority over the land. Sources relating to the court indicate that after 1603 the sweet banquet was an infrequent meal type at best, and this chapter concludes by suggesting an explanation for this decline.

Chapter three traces the development of the banquet beyond the court. In this context, surviving and documented banqueting houses constitute a significant body of evidence. Descriptions in written sources are utilised to formulate a definition of the banqueting house based on several recurring architectural features.

This, in conjunction with estate records, has facilitated the identification of over sixty examples of this architectural form. These have been mapped for the period from 1500 to 1700, demonstrating their gradual spread in the sixteenth century, and ubiquity throughout England in the seventeenth. The banqueting house was clearly fashionable; it has thus far been unclear, however, whether its presence on an estate is indicative of the actual practice of banqueting. The analysis of household papers, including household accounts, inventories and manuscript recipe books is indicative of the widespread adoption of banqueting foods at a relatively early point in the history of the banquet and, in the case of many wealthier households, the capacity to produce these foods within the home. It is clear that the sweet banquet *was* a widespread dining practice, but it remains to establish why it was adopted so quickly and enthusiastically throughout England.

The detailed analysis of several household accounts indicates that the sweet banquet became central to elite sociability, a major new finding of this thesis. In the homes of the nobility and gentry, it was used to entertain important guests, particularly at Christmas time and, from the mid sixteenth century was a key component of baptisms, weddings and funerals. Given its appearance at these key life moments, this chapter argues that the banquet contributed to the assertion of group identity and the forging and maintenance of social bonds.

Chapter four considers the visual, material and literary cultures associated with the sweet banquet in order to identify the further meanings it held for those who hosted, attended and prepared foods for these events. The banquet was clearly an important status marker which provided opportunities not only for the demonstration of wealth, but also of refined manners and an exclusive education. More unexpectedly, written and archaeological sources provide compelling evidence that

the sweet banquet was intended as a recreation of the ancient symposium, and that its settings, practices and foodstuffs were modelled on examples from ancient sources. This undermines commonplace ideas of England as isolated from continental Europe and artistically 'mediocre' during the sixteenth century; lending weight, instead, to recent claims for an early and learned reception of the classical past. The idea of a lack of interest in visual art in post-reformation England is further undermined by an analysis of the ways in which the banquet's foods and settings explored the very idea of mimesis, demonstrating an in-depth engagement with contemporary debates about the meanings and morals of figurative imagery.

Finally, chapter five considers the practice of sugarwork as a feminine accomplishment. Drawing on recent scholarship dealing with household work in early modern England, it contributes to current debates surrounding the nature and status of women's work and the ways in which such everyday practices reflected and contributed to widely held ideas and practices of gender differentiation. Written sources, including descriptions of banquets and papers relating to the royal household, associate the sweet banquet with femininity from its earliest appearance. It is clear that women were considered to have a natural liking for sweet foods, and the ideal housewife described in sixteenth century household manuals was an expert in sugarwork. That the lady of the house participated in the production of the foods served at sweet banquets in practice is made clear from household accounts and inventories. The literary cultures associated with banquets, however, could be explicitly misogynistic. In comparing women to sugarwork, published sources characterised them as trivial, exotic and available for male consumption. An analysis of the architectural, artistic and literary spaces which women inhabited in relation to the sweet banquet, however, suggests that they also provided opportunities for

creative and political agency. The production of sugarwork allowed women to demonstrate their authority within the household, gentility and fashionability. The analysis of the spaces in which sugarwork was produced and consumed provides new insights regarding the gendered nature of country house architecture and sheds light on the relationship between public and private in early modern England, an issue that has recently been subject to increasing scholarly attention.[20] Finally, the analysis of portraits which make reference to their female sitters' practice of sugarwork suggests the importance and recognised communicative potential of this accomplishment. Within the context of female patronage, women ensured that their portraits referred to sugarwork in order to assert their status, virtue and authority, and to fashion their public selves.

This study focuses specifically on the separate, sweet banquet in England. Although it takes account of the use of sweet foods, particularly sculptural sugarwork, at other events including coronations, company feasts and the Jacobean masque, these are not a major research focus. This approach has been dictated by the sources themselves, which reveal that the sweet banquet was considered to be distinct from such events, and served quite different purposes. Likewise, although some Scottish examples have been taken into account, there is simply not enough evidence to suggest that banquets were as pervasive or as significant here as in England. The separateness of the English sweet banquet also contrasts with the situation in continental Europe, where sweet collations were integrated much more

[20] Laura Gowing, "The Freedom of the Streets: Women and Social Space, 1560 - 1640," in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) pp.130-153; Corinne S. Abate, ed. *Privacy, Domesticity and Women in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Erica Longfellow, "Public, Private and the Household in Early Seventeenth Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): pp.313-334; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2007); Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

fully with court and public entertainments. These parameters have resulted in a focused study which provides the first full chronology of the banquet in England. This thesis demonstrates that in the period between its emergence in the early sixteenth century and its decline in the late seventeenth century the sweet banquet was a pervasive dining practice. It had complex meanings and clear social functions which resulted in its centrality to court and country house ceremony and its enthusiastic adoption lower down the social scale. The study of the sweet banquet demonstrates the value of investigating early modern dining practices and their potential to shed new light on areas as diverse as practices of government, concepts of class and social mobility, the reception of the ancient world, attitudes towards art and new technology, spatial politics and ideas and practices of gender.

Chapter One: Royal Banquets Before 1547

This chapter is concerned with the early history of the sweet banquet in England. It outlines the development of related dining practices at the French, Burgundian and Italian courts, and their adoption at the court of Henry VIII. Literary sources as well as court records are utilised in establishing the chronology of these developments and outlining the logistics of supplying banquets at court, finding that this meal type was enthusiastically embraced in England. It then moves on to consider why this was the case, considering the function of sweet banquets in relation to their specific social and political contexts.

The Origins and Development of the Sweet Banquet in England

It is clear that the consumption of sugarwork was not a new feature of court life in sixteenth-century England. The cultivation of sugar cane was a Persian invention, spread by Arab expansion, and the crusaders had learnt of Arab sugar production in the eleventh century. By the thirteenth century, the Venetians were engaged in the production of sugar on Crete and Cyprus. The first mention of sugar in England appears in the twelfth century Pipe Rolls of Henry II and other sources suggest that it was used primarily as a spice at court and in the homes of the nobility throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[21] The first record of cane sugar being shipped to

[21] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power,* pp.28, 82-3.

England in bulk dates from 1319 with the transport of 100,000lb of loaf and 10,000lb of candy sugar.[22]

Subtleties, or table-top sculptures which incorporated sugar as well as other materials including wood and wax, were known in England from at least the fourteenth century. They were based on the *entremets* which were a feature of medieval French and Burgundian state occasions. These involved sculptures, and sometimes tableaux involving live performers, which were presented between courses.[23] In England, subtleties appear in menus for royal feasts in a culinary manuscript which dates from c.1390 and were presented between the savoury courses at grand feasts and weddings.[24] A number of references in contemporary sources indicate that this practice had become well established at the English Plantagenet court and in the higher reaches of the church by the mid to late fifteenth century. John Russell's *Boke of Nature*, written c.1452, for example, lists a 'soteltie', of the virgin Mary and the angel Gabriel, which was to be presented after the first course of 'a dyner of flesche', an angel appearing to three shepards after the second course, and the Virgin Mary 'consevyd by the holy ghost' after the third. A 'dinere of fische', meanwhile, calls for sotelties which simultaneously represent the four seasons and the ages of man.[25] William Gregory's fifteenth century chronicle of London describes a feast at the house of the Mayor of London in 1464 which featured subtleties[26], and subtleties with political implications were presented at the

[22] Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, Vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1949), p.526.
[23] Day, *Royal Sugar Sculpture,* p.17.
[24] Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler, eds., *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Early English Text Society, 1985), p.39. Brown and Day, *Pleasures of the Table*, p.10. Peter Brears, *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace*, 2nd ed. (London: Souvenir Press, 2011), p.63.
[25] F. J. Furnivall, *Early English Meals and Manners* (London: Early English Text Society, 1868), pp.48-53.
[26] William Gregory, *Gregory's Chronicle 1461 - 1469: The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Camden Society, 1876), pp.222. This feast occurred after the

feast celebrating the enthronement of George Neville as Bishop of York in 1465.[27] A sixteenth century copy of a royal household book in the British Library indicates that subtleties were served to the higher ranking persons present at a feast on the occasion of the coronation of Henry VII in 1485.[28]

In fifteenth-century Italy, the French-Burgundian practice of presenting subtleties between courses intersected with another fashionable culinary practice known as the 'void'. This consisted of spiced wine and wafers which were consumed in aristocratic circles after great feasts by the host and selected guests.[29] It occurred in the main banqueting hall, after the tables had been cleared, or 'voided'. At the Italian courts, the after-dinner practice of the void was gradually elaborated into a separate meal, the *collation*, which featured sugarwork and fruit alongside the traditional wine and wafers.

Accounts of ducal weddings of the 1460s and 70s describe sweet *collationi,* which could precede feasts or be presented late in the evening, after the feast, dancing and masquing. The wedding celebrations of Bernardo Rucelli and Nannina Medici in Florence in 1466 ended with a collation of confectionery,[30] and the wedding of Lorenzo Medici and Clarice Orsini in 1469 featured various collations. One, of fruit, confections and wine, took place in a garden loggia, and the following evening, after

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Mayor had taken offence at a feast hosted by the Sergeants of the Coif, and left to host his own feast. The Sergeants, in reparation, sent him a present of various foods including 'many divers sotelteys', only to be doubly ashamed as their presents were no better than what was being served on the Mayor's table at such short notice.

[27] Christopher Woolgar, "Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century," in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), p.25.

[28] BL Add. MS 4712, ff.25-27.

[29] On the void, see C. Anne Wilson, "The Evolution of the Banquet Course: Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects," in *Banquetting Stuffe: the Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp.10-11; Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England: A Social History and Catalogue of the National Collection* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990), p.217.

[30] Claudio Benporat, *Feste e Banchetti: Convivialita Italiana fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), p.151.

dancing, another collation of wine and gilded confections was served.[31] A collation of wine, sweetmeats and gilded, preserved fruits preceded a banquet held by Cardinal Pietro Riario in honour of Eleanora of Aragon in Rome in 1473.[32] Sixteenth-century sources indicate that by this stage the collation had become an event in its own right, which could take place independently of a feast. The chef Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera* (1570) describes one such occasion hosted by Pope Pius V, which took place in a garden on a May evening. Guests were served with three courses of fruits, sweets and nuts, and the tables were decorated with sculptures of mythological figures in sugar, butter and pasta.[33] At the entry of Henri III into Venice in July 1574, a sweet collation was presented in the *Arsenale*, including hundreds of sugar sculptures of gods and animals, made by the confectioner Niccolo della Pigna[34] In 1600, at the wedding in Florence of Maria de Medici and Henry IV, entertainments took place before tables decorated with sculptures of sugar and ice.[35] It is clear that this practice was quickly adopted throughout Europe. In 1518, a feast was held for an English embassy at the Bastille, in Paris, in a specially built wooden building. Here, a 'collation', or 'banket' of 'zuchari' and confections was served after supper and masking.[36] At the festivities for St. George's Day in Utrecht in 1586, according to

[31] Ibid., p.154.
[32] Ibid., p.167-8; K.A. McIver, *Cooking and Eating in Renaissance Italy: From Kitchen to Table* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), p.73.
[33] Day, *Royal Sugar Sculpture,* p.23; McIver, *Cooking and Eating in Renaissance Italy,* pp.73-4.
[34] Rocco Benedetti, "Le feste, et trionfi fatti dalla sereniss[ima] signoria di Venetia nella felice uenuta di Henrico III," (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1574), p.14. also described in Ambrosini, "Les Honneurs Sucrés de Venise", pp.282-3.
[35] Michelangelo Buonarotti, "Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maestà di madama Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Nauarra," (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600), p.18.
[36] Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII,* Vol. II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1854), pp. 301-2, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Vol. 2, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: H.M.S.O., 1867), pp. 478-482.

William Segar, a ‘sumptuous’ banquet of sugar items was presented after the feasting.[37]

The void had been a feature of royal and ecclesiastical feasts in England from at least the thirteenth century.[38] The first substantial evidence for the adoption of the *collation* in England is found in literary sources and court records relating to the reign of Henry VIII. Here, this fashionable, separate sweet meal was known as a ‘banquet’. Given that the term ‘banquet’ is used today to refer to any lavish feast, there is potential for confusion in relation to this terminology, and arriving at a precise definition of the term as it was used in the early modern period is challenging, not least due to the dispersed and often fragmentary nature of the sources in which it appears. That this was a term in frequent use is not in dispute, however the ways in which contemporaries understood it can only be reconstructed through the close reading of primary sources. As is outlined below, in the majority of cases, the term ‘banquet’ is accompanied by references to sweet foods and / or spatial withdrawal. It is not clear that the term was always used to refer to what I have classified as the separate sweet banquet, and particularly in sources relating to the 1520s, there is ambiguity between the terms ‘banquet’, ‘void’ and ‘supper’. However, in attempting to reconstruct and contextualise this highly ephemeral dining practice, this study has drawn on examples where at least two of the triad outlined above (sweet foods, spatial withdrawal and the term ‘banquet’) are present. Given the nature of the evidence, it has often been necessary to extrapolate and interpret what appears in textual sources. Nevertheless, they do suggest an increasing understanding, from the 1530s and throughout the sixteenth century, of the banquet as a separate dining

[37] J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* Vol. II (London: AMS Press, 1823), p.457
[38] Wilson, "The Evolution of the Banquet Course: Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects", p.11

practice as well as the emergence of a distinct category of 'banqueting foods' which referred only to fruit and confectionery. This suggests that the banquet should be understood as a particular meal with its own temporal and culinary definitions, and should be added to the early modern lexicon of meal types along with the terms 'dinner' and 'supper'. [39] This finding has important implications for the interpretation of primary sources, as is explored below.

Edward Hall's *Chronicle* is a key source for the description of sweet banquets held in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. Hall, (c.1498 – 1547), a lawyer and later serjeant of London, under-sheriff of London and a member of parliament, was a contemporary of Henry VIII, although the *Chronicle* was not published until 1548. It has been shown to be a collaborative work, with additions by its printer, Richard Grafton, and passages which quote existing manuscript and print sources almost verbatim, rather than an eyewitness account. Nevertheless, in its description of the reign of Henry VIII, it largely relies on contemporary texts, including Richard Gibson's Revels accounts, and, in light of this, remains a useful source regarding banquets at court. [40] Its vocabulary and descriptions trace the emergence of the concept of the separate banquet and the specific language relating to it.

One of the earliest banquets described by Hall took place in 1511 as an element of the celebrations surrounding the churching of Queen Katherine, who had given birth to a son on the 1st of January. In mid-February, a tournament was held at Westminster, with dinner, jousts and pageants, after which the king and queen heard

[39] It has long been recognised that the terms 'dinner' and 'supper' had very specific meanings. Dinner was the main meal, usually served between midday and 2pm, while supper was a lighter meal, eaten later, usually between 5pm and 6pm. The term 'feast' also had specific connotations, being used to refer to meals served on saints' days and other religious holidays, as well as the holidays themselves. See Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, p.231; Alison A Smith, "Family and Domesticity," in *A Cultural History of Food in the Renaissance*, ed. Ken Albala (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.143.

[40] Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle,* pp.2-5.

evensong, and had supper with various ambassadors. 'After supper', according to the *Chronicle*, 'hys grace with the Quene, lords and ladyes came into the white hall, within the sayde pallays' where 'the mynstrels beganne to playe, the lords and ladyes beganne to daunce.' After the dancing, and the presentation of a pageant 'the kyng with the quene and the ladyes returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket.'[41] Although in this passage, which refers to a relatively early date as regards the history of the sweet banquet, the ambassadors are also described as having 'supped with the kyng, and had a great banket', the later, more intimate banquet in the chamber clearly takes place at night, and is separate from supper, the distinction being reinforced by the intervening entertainment. This suggests that at this stage, the term was only beginning to be disassociated from supper, or general feasting; the practice of the separate banquet was still developing and, at this date, is likely to have been wholly confined to the court.

Hall mentions a number of other banquets held during the 1510s, including one in the great hall at Greenwich, on twelfth night 1513. Here, a 'sumptuous banket' was served to the king and queen after an entertainment and departure of the 'lordes and ladyes' who had participated in it.[42] Similar banquets were held after entertainments at Christmas in 1514 and 1516.[43] In the sections of the *Chronicle* dealing with the early years of the reign, however, the distinction between feast, supper, banquet and void continues to be unclear. On the 8th of October 1518, for example, the King entertained a delegation of French ambassadors at Greenwich. After hearing mass, the ambassadors were 'feasted' all day, and 'at night thei were brought into the hall',

[41] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the end of the Reign of Henry the Eighth* ed. Henry Ellis (London: J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman 1809), p.519.
[42] Ibid., p.535.
[43] Ibid., pp.580, 86.

where a pageant was presented. After this, Hall states that 'the kyng and the Ambassadours were serued at a banket with [two hundred and sixty] dyshes and after that a voydee of spices w[ith] [sixty] spice plates of silver and gilt'.[44] Here, due to the fact that the 'void' of spices was served separately, it is not certain precisely what the term 'banquet' refers to. This highlights the difficulty in ascertaining whether some meals described as banquets in the sources relating to the early sixteenth century conform to the characteristics of the separate sweet banquet. It is around this stage, however, that descriptions of banquets begin to consistently exhibit similar features, in that they are distinct from other meal types, take place in separate spaces and consist of fruits and confectionery. Consequently, some descriptions of dining practices, which do not use the term, can also be identified as banquets.

A 1518 letter from Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador to the English court, for example, clearly describes a banquet, which took place during celebrations relating to the signing of the Treaty of London. On October 3rd, Universal Peace was declared at St. Paul's cathedral, after which the king, all the ambassadors, the lords and prelates of the kingdom dined at the palace of the Bishop of London, and attended a supper hosted by Cardinal Wolsey. A masque and dancing followed supper, after which the twelve male and twelve female maskers, including the king and his sister Mary, lords and ladies 'seated themselves apart from the tables, and were served with countless dishes of confections and other delicacies.'[45] Here, we have evidence that this separate course or meal, served after entertainments, was associated primarily with confectionery. This account is of further interest as it indicates that the banquet course was now both temporally and spatially distinct from

[44] Ibid., p.595.
[45] Giustinian, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII*, Vol. II, p.225.

other eating practises, being consumed away from the supper tables, if in the same architectural space. Also of significance is the fact that only the twenty-four masquers are described as being served with the confectionery. The use of specific, separate spaces and exclusivity in terms of participants would later become common, and conceivably defining, features of the banquet. The association between the banquet and the masque, which is clearly articulated in this account, is also important. Hall describes the masque as first appearing in England in 1512, and being an Italian import.[46] This suggests that, from its emergence, the sweet banquet was associated with Italian culture, and is likely to have been conceived of as a means of demonstrating an awareness of cosmopolitan, continental court culture in England.

Descriptions of banquets held in the 1520s indicate that it this stage, the banquet was increasingly was increasingly recognised as a distinct, well defined dining practice. In a remembrance for the meeting between Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V at Gravelines in May 1520, it is noted that a supper should be held on the Sunday night, 'and after supper a mummery, with a banquet'; again, the banquet is clearly distinct from supper.[47] In Hall's description of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the diplomatic meeting held in 1520 at Calais between the French and English courts, the term banquet is, for the first time, explicitly associated with sweet foods. On Saturday June 17th, Henry VIII was received by the French queen at Ardres, where, after dancing and masking, 'spices, fruites, ielies and banket viands were brought.'[48] After this, numerous other accounts make it clear that the 'banquet' was conceived of as a specific event, featuring particular food types. The expenses of a

[46] Hall, *Chronicle*, p,526
[47] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. 3* ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longmans & Co., 1867), p.281.
[48] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.615.

'supper' *and* a 'banquet royal' which took place at Greenwich in 1526 list payments for sugar and spices alongside the making of 'subtleties' and 'marchpanes' .[49] The term 'marchpane' referred to a substance akin to modern marzipan, as well as being used to refer to objects moulded from this material. Marchpanes were generally round and flat; the could be decorated with confectionery or provide bases for sculptural sugar-work. An account of the expenses of the household of Princess Mary for 1523 includes a payment made to Thomas Chandeler and David Bateman, for 'the gilting of divers subtleties for the banquet at Epiphany',[50] whilst orders for the reception of Anne of Cleves into England in 1539 call for 'wine, fruits and spices' to be prepared in the 'manner of a banquet.'[51]

These associations endured well beyond the reign of Henry VIII, and later sources indicate that by the mid sixteenth century, sweet 'banqueting foods' were recognised as a category distinct from other foodstuffs. In the diary of Henry Machyn, which covers the years 1550-63, we find, amongst other examples, a description of the 'wafers, spice-bread, comfits and diverse other banqueting dishes' which were served after a christening in 1559.[52] The household accounts of Robert Dudley include a list of payments for 'banqueting stuff against the banquet at Elthame' during the progress of 1560. The only foods listed are 'a brick of marmalade', 'a marchpane', and 'other kynds of banqueting stuff'.[53] Accounts for 'banketting frutes' required at court for Christmas 1572 list payments for sweet items only, including sugar 'for the marchpane stuff', 'gowlde leaves to gild the marchpane stuff', rose

[49] TNA SP1/38 ff.113-8
[50] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. 3,* p.1407.
[51] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 14* ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: H.M.S.O, 1894), p.199.
[52] Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (London: Camden Society, 1848), p.216
[53] *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1558 - 1561, 1584 – 1586*, ed. Simon Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.145-6.

water, almonds, fruit and spices.[54] Descriptions of Elizabeth's progress visits list numerous banquets, including the 'deliciouz and ambrosiall banket' presented with a masque after supper at Kenilworth in 1575 and the 'sumptuous' banquet held at Elvetham in 1591, which took place after supper and consisted exclusively of hundreds of 'sugar–worke' dishes.[55] A 1607 account for a reception for James I at the Merchant Taylor's Hall devotes a separate section to 'banquetting' expenses, which consist of payments for fruit, candied fruit, fruit pastes, cakes, comfits and marchpanes.[56]

All of these sources exclude savoury foods from the banquet, associating it with fruit, spices, subtleties and marchpane, and most clearly separate it from other meals. It is clear that by the mid sixteenth-century, when Hall's *Chronicle* was published, and Henry Machyn, a non-aristocratic lawyer, was writing, a banquet was understood to be a distinct meal type where specific foodstuffs were served including fresh and preserved fruit, sweets such as comfits, sucket and lozenges, marmalades, jellies, marchpane and sculptural sugarwork. The recognition of the precise use of vocabulary here, alongside the fact that banquets took place after supper, at night and were often associated with masques facilitates their identification even where only partial information is available.[57] This is crucial in ascertaining the frequency of the banquet, its supply and organisation, identifying the spaces in which these events occurred and, ultimately, their social and political significance. Relatedly, in

[54] Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I from the original office books of the Masters and Yeomen, ed. Peter Cunningham (London: Shakespeare Society, 1842), p.36.
[55] *The honorable entertainement gieven to the Queen's Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford* (London: John Wolfe, 1591).
[56] Charles M Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors: of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1875), pp.174-6.
[57] For example, where the term banquet is used to refer to a meal which takes place after supper we can confidently associate it with the separate banquet at which confections were served, even if the foods themselves are not described.

using the term ‘banquet’, I refer only to this separate and clearly defined dining practice.

Logistics: Provisions for the Banquet

There is evidence that in Italy sugarwork was made both by professional chefs such as Scappi, and by professional sculptors. Commissions for ducal weddings were executed by the Giambologna workshop in 1600 and 1608, with the production of the sugar sculptures overseen by Pietro Tacca, a sculptor who would succeed Giambologna as chief grand ducal sculptor to the Medici after the latter’s death.[58] Ercole Ferrata produced sugar sculptures to designs by Johann Paul Schor for banquets hosted by Alexander VII in the 1650s.[59] Sugarwork was also provided by monasteries, as at the Medici-Orsini wedding of 1469.[60] In England, it does not appear that individuals who produced sculpture in more permanent materials were involved in supplying sculptural sugarwork to the court. Here, a wider range of individuals was involved, from master-cooks, heralds and comfit-makers, to women working in an amateur capacity.

In the Wardrobe accounts relating to the Henry VIII’s meeting with Charles V at Gravelines in 1520, we find payments to the Windsor Herald, for ‘soteilties of divers sorts’ at 14d a lb, and ’39 boxes for subtilites’ at 4s.[61] As heralds were often involved in the planning of pageantry this suggests that they had some form of skilled input in

[58] Watson, "Sugar Sculpture for Grand Ducal Weddings from the Giambologna Workshop", pp.20-26.
[59] Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp.190-7
[60] Benporat, *Feste e Banchetti* p.98.
[61] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,* Vol. 3, p.334.

the production of sugarwork.[62] This would seem particularly likely in the case of sugarwork supplied for diplomatic meetings where heraldic subtleties were presented.[63]

However, revels accounts for Christmas 1572 indicate that by this stage other professions were employed in making sugarwork. They list, amongst other things, 'banketting frutes necessaryes', and 'fruts cou[n]terfete bowghte of Brayne thappoticary', that is, fruits made in sugarwork, like the pears, apples and lemons 'reddy made of marchpane stuff' which were purchased the following year.[64] Sugarwork was produced by apothecaries as sugar was often used medicinally in early modern England. Comfits and lozenges, for example, were thought to aid digestion and came to be included in the category of 'banqueting foods'.[65]

However, convincing evidence indicates that the sculptural sugarwork primarily associated with court banquets in the sixteenth century was a specialist skill of the royal cooks. The account for the 'banquet royal' of 1526 lists payments for the wages of '7 cooks, 4 days at 20d., for making a subtilty, with a dungeon and a manor place, set upon 2 marchpanes, garnished with swans and cygnets swimming about the manor, 13s 4d' and to 'Hugh, master cook to the princess, for cutting of a tower

[62] Anthony Richard Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: an Enquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heralds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 25-36, 48-52. It is interesting to note that Charles Wriothesley, whose *Chronicle* mentions a number of sweet banquets, was employed as Windsor Herald, perhaps explaining his interest in this subject matter.
[63] For sugarwork at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, see *Letters and papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 3*, p.310. Heraldic sugarwork was also made during Elizabeth's reign; in 1582 the queen was presented with a gilded marchpane of her own arms as a new year's gift, while the banquet presented at Elvetham in 1591 featured the queen's arms and those of the nobility in sugar. See Jane A. Lawson, ed., *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2013), p.305; *The honorable entertainement gieven to the Queen's Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford*, n.p. Heraldic subtleties were also served at a banquet in Paris during Thomas Sackville's visit to Charles IX to negotiate the Anjou marriage proposal, see Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England,* p.216. For further examples of heraldic sugar-work, see pp.69, 74-5, 92.
[64] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, pp.36, 55.
[65] Elizabeth I received numerous gifts of comfits, candied fruits, conserves and lozenges from doctors and apothecaries. See Lawson, *The Elizabethan New year's Gift Exchanges*, pp.63, 82, 98, 110, 24, 42, 60, 76, 93, 215, 35-6, 56, 78, 305, 38, 57, 77, 415, 33, 53-4, 73, 91, 510

set on a marchpane, and 2 chess boards and chessmen, garnished with 100 fine gold, 5s.' Elizabeth I received new year's gifts from people who worked at court which made reference to their professional skills. That she received gifts of marchpanes from the royal master cooks throughout her reign indicates that sugarwork continued to be their responsibility.[66]

Part of the attraction of giving sugar sculptures as gifts, and the use of the banquet as a court entertainment was of course the expense of the foods associated with it. Although the price of sugar fluctuated during the period in question, it should be noted that, as an imported commodity which was difficult to cultivate, it was always relatively expensive.[67] Furthermore, the examples listed above indicate that marchpanes and subtleties were typically gilded, using real gold leaf. Although, due to the partiality of the records, it is very difficult to gain an idea of the 'average' cost of a sweet banquet, some idea of the cost of the foods and settings for particular banquets may be ascertained.

We know, for example, that the estimated cost of spices for the king, queen and nobles for the month which included the meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold was £440.[68] A payment for 'soteilties' for the same event lists them as costing 14d per pound, and requiring boxes which cost 4s. The same bill lists a payment of £344, 6s, 4 ½d for spice and subtleties.[69] The total cost of the supper and banquet held on May 6th 1526 at Greenwich came to £162, 10s, 5 ½d, including 18s 4d in wages of cooks making subtleties and marchpanes. The spicery, which supplied the spices, fruits and confectionery associated with the banquet was the most expensive

[66] Ibid., pp. 44, 62-3, 82, 98, 124, 60, 77, 93, 215, 35, 56, 78, 305, 39, 57, 77, 96, 416, 33, 54, 73, 91, 510.
[67] For the average prices of sugar in England and a comparison of the price of sugar with other food commodities from 1260 to 1702 see Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, Vol. 2, pp.528-9.
[68] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,*Vol. 3, p.337.
[69] Ibid., p.334.

department by far with its bill of £61, 10s, 11d. The amount spent on sugar, almonds, rosewater and gold leaf, that is the main ingredients used in sculptural sugarwork, was £8, 12s and 3 ½ d. The second most expensive department was the poultry, with its bill of £39, 16s, 5 ¾d, including 2s 8d for 15 peacocks and 8 lambs at 18d. [70] Compared to other foodstuffs then, banqueting goods were relatively expensive.

The same was true later in the century. The sugar items supplied for the masque at Christmas in 1572 came to £5, 3s, 4d, with a further £2 allowed to the 'carver and others' for making the sugar fruits.[71] When Elizabeth was entertained by the Lord Keeper at Gorhambury in May 1577, the total cost was £577, 6s, 7 ¼d, including £27, 6s, 1 ¼d for spices and £19, 0s 6d in 'banquetting stuff.'[72] For a similar visit to Lord North at Kettering in 1578, the total was £642, 4s 2d, including £5 spent on 'marche panes', £16, 4s 0d on sugar, £39, 0s, 21d on 'grocerie ware', including 'banketting stuff', and £32, 2s, 4d on building works, including the construction of a banqueting house. [73]

The cost of the raw ingredients was not the only factor which contributed to the banquet's expense. Sources indicate that sugarwork itself was labour intensive to make. Recipes for marchpane indicate that it was made by pounding roughly equal

[70] TNA SP1/38 ff.113-6. Although other accounts associate the supply of fruits with the confectionery, in this case they are listed under expenses for the Spicery.
[71] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p.55. The reference to the carver here is interesting. The carving of meat was accorded a high status as a skilled activity at the early modern courts, and numerous treatises dealing with it were published. That the carver produced sculptural sugarwork suggests that some of the same skills were utilised in both disciplines. Wendy Wall has made a similar point, and argues that writing utilised the same skills set. Wendy Wall, "Household "Writing": or the Joys of Carving," in *Feminisms and Early Modern Texts: Essays for Phyllis Rackin*, ed. Rebecca Ann Bach and Gwynne Kennedy (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp.25-42.
[72] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al. Vol.ume II: 1572 to 1578 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.511-514.
[73] William Stevenson, "Extracts from the Book of Howshold Charges and other Paiments laid out by the Lord North," *Archaeologia Or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 19 (1821): pp.287-90.

qualities of sugar and almonds with a mortar and pestle until they were finely ground. This mixture was then bound using rosewater and gum tragacanth, a plant-based stiffener. Although the sources quoted above do not specify what the subtleties which rested on marchpanes were made from, another source from the 1520s describes a chess board sculpted from 'spice plate'.[74] This may refer to a substance made by combining sugar and other spices with gum tragacanth and variously known as sugar paste and gum paste in sixteenth century England. The earliest printed recipe for this substance in English appears in Girolamo Ruscelli's 1558 translation of the *Secrets of Alexis* which was originally published in Venice in 1552. It describes how to make 'a paste of sugre, werof a man may make all manner of fruites, and other fine thynges with theyr forme, as platters, dishes, glasses, cuppes and such like thinges'.[75] The ingredients for this paste were gum tragacanth steeped in rosewater, lemon juice, egg white and white sugar which had been ground to a fine powder. These were then combined in a pestle and mortar and cinnamon was added. [76] The complex processes described in these recipes, including the grinding of sugar and almonds by hand, the heating of sugar to the correct temperature, and the use of hand-moulding techniques, indicate that the production of sugarwork was both labour intensive and highly skilled.[77] Even small items, such as comfits, required seeds or spices to be coated in around thirty layers of sugar syrup,

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[74] George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* ed. Richard S. Sylvester (London: Early English Text Society, 1994), p.68-71.

[75] Girolamo Ruscelli, *The secrets of Alexis containing many excellent remedies against diuers diseases, wounds, and other accidents. With the maner to make distillations, parfumes, confitures, dyings, colours, fusions, and meltings* (London: William Ward and Richard Androse 1615). p.61.

[76] On the terminology associated with various forms of sugar paste, see Day, *Royal Sugar Sculpture* pp.7-9. For more on the techniques used in the production of sugarwork, see Brears, "Rare Conceits and Strange Delights: the Practical Aspects of Culinary Sculpture"; and Ken Albala, "Cooking as Research Methodology: Experiments in Renaissance cuisine", in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp.73-88

[77] Experimental archaeology involving making marchpane from an early seventeenth-century recipe indicates that the grinding of the almonds alone took over an hour. See Albala, "Cooking as Research Methodology ", p.82.

precisely heated to 'manus Christie height', and dried thoroughly between each ten coatings.[78] The time consuming nature of sugar work is emphasised by the 1526 payment of wages to seven cooks for four days spent in making one subtlety. This added expense is likely to have enhanced both perceptions of the value of sugarwork and of the wealth of the hosts of sweet banquets.

Preparations for banquets also included the provision of props, settings and dining utensils. Specialist table-ware, including spice plates which were often made of precious metals or glass and forks, which at this stage were only used for eating banqueting foods, were supplied by the Jewel House or were bought for specific entertainments.[79] The Revels Department provided costumes, settings and props such as pageant cars for the masques which often accompanied banquets. The Revels was also tasked with the decoration of the banqueting chambers and banqueting houses.[80] Banqueting houses could take the form of temporary or semi-

[78] Hugh Platt, *Delights for Ladies to adorn their Persons, Tables, Closets and Distillatories* (London: Peter Short, 1594), recipe 24. Plat also includes a recipe to candy spices and flowers in half a day, implying that this was considered to be quick. Ibid., recipe 42.

[79] A 1542 inventory of Whitehall palace lists 'nyne spice plates of grene and blewe glassw… iii of them being partly gilt' and the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII's goods lists numerous spice plates made of precious metals and glass, and several gilded forks: *The Inventory of King Henry VIII : Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419. Vol. 1, The Transcript* ed. David Starkey et al., (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1998), pp. 39-40, 428-9. Accounts from the Field of the Cloth of Gold includes a payment for '16 glasses for soteilties' *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 3,* p.336. A banquet which accompanied a mummery at court in 1520 was served on gold and silver plate. *Ibid* pp.239-40 An account of the royal Jewel House of 1532-3 lists 81 spice plates of silver and silver gilt, and 66 trenchers which, being silver and gilt, are likely to have been associated with the banquet. The same document lists four forks for green ginger. These were also associated with the banquet, and appear here at an extremely early date for England. TNA E36/85 ff. 34v, 24r, 45v. The 1591 banquet at Elvetham was served 'all in glass and silver'. On the serving of spice, also see Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England,* pp.110, 214-7; Kirstin Kennedy, "Sharing and Status: The Design and Function of a Sixteenth-century Spanish Spice Stand in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): pp.142-155.

[80] Richard Gibson's Revels Accounts include details of the provision of costumes and elaborate props, such as pageant cars, see TNA E36/228; TNA E36/229; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Vol.3 part II, pp.976-77. Documents relating to preparations for the visit of the French Ambassador Maréshal Saint-André in 1551 demonstrate that the Revels' responsibilities included the erection and floral decoration of a temporary banqueting house: FSL MS L. b. 17, FSL MS L.b.276. The Revels was supported by other departments in the construction and decoration of banqueting houses, including The Works, The Wardrobe, The Tents and the King's Painters. See W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp.13-14.

permanent, tent-like structures, erected under the jurisdiction of the revels. Designs for tents erected at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, (Figure 1) as well as a later depiction of the event itself (Figure 2) give an idea of their appearance. They were relatively large in scale, and their plans could be elaborate. Brightly coloured, they were often covered in heraldic decoration, although some of the examples erected at Guisnes in 1520 incorporated glass and were painted to look like stone. More permanent stone buildings also housed banquets and were built under the supervision of the department of the Works. A survey of the banqueting houses erected under Henry VIII provides further evidence for the development and function of the sweet banquet in the early sixteenth century.

Banquet Settings

The concept of the banqueting house emerged in the 1520s, and, like the banquet itself, may have been based on continental models. A building constructed by the French at the Bastille in 1518 for the entertainment of an English embassy consisted of a temporary wooden structure.[81] The interior featured three 'stages', or galleries supported by pillars decorated with 'antique workes'. The ceiling and walls were hung with light blue cloth, with that on the ceiling painted with gold stars.[82] David Starkey has suggested that English banqueting houses emerged as copies of this example, and are symptomatic of a distinct lack of cultural innovation in England at the time.[83]

[81] Giustinian, *Four years at the Court of Henry VIII*, Vol. II, p. 301.
[82] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.596.
[83] David Starkey, "The Legacy of Henry VIII," in *Henry VIII a European Court in England*, ed. David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), p.12.

However, the banqueting house built by the English at the meeting with Charles V at Gravelines in July 1520 appears to have been much more elaborate, although in the event, high winds meant that it went unused. It was a circular canvas structure, supported by wooden posts, with a circumference of 117 metres (384 ft) and a diameter of 37 metres (122ft), and featured scaffolds for spectators. The dome of the ceiling was decorated to represent the four elements, each painted in a circular band. Earth was represented by a band of land, featuring mountains, forests, castles and animals. Above this was water, represented as a sea, with ships and fish, followed by air, shown as a sky with clouds, winds, stars, sun, moon and planets; surmounting all was a circle of flames representing fire.[84] According to John Stow, further decorations included 'men of diverse strange nations' with descriptions and the arms of these countries' while one side of the interior of the building was devoted to the arms and pedigrees of Henry and Charles.[85]

Further evidence for the design and decoration of these structures is provided by a description of a banqueting house constructed on one side of the tilt yard at Greenwich (Figure 3), for the entertainment of a French embassy in 1527. This measured 30.5 metres (100ft) by 9 metres (30ft). The roof of the dining chamber, 'where they both supped and banketted', was hung with purple cloth decorated with pomegranates and roses, while the walls were covered with rich hangings, gilded crests and candlesticks of 'antyk woorke'. On one side, there was a place for heralds and minstrels, whilst central to the display were two cupboards on which plate was exhibited, one of which was eight feet long and seven 'stages' high, the other four 'stages' high. After supper, the royal party moved through a triumphal

[84] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp.160-61.
[85] John Stow, *The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England* (London: Thomas Adams, 1615), p.510.

arch, the back of which was decorated with scenes from the Battle of the Spurs, via a long gallery, into another space, the 'disguising house'.[86] This was decorated with images of ancient figures, including Hercules and Scipio, while the roof had been adorned according to a design by the royal astronomer, Nicholas Kratzer, with 'the hole earth environed with the sea, like a very mappe or carte, and by a conning makyng of another cloth, the zodiacke… and within the zodiacke were the twelve signs, curiously made, and above this were made the seven planettes.'[87] Here, a pageant and masque took place, after which the king, queen and ambassadors 'returned to the banket chamber, where thei found a banket ready set on the borde, of so many and marveilous dishes, that it was a wonder to se'.[88] According to George Cavendish, this consisted of 'subtylltes' and 'many straynge devysis' which defied description.[89] After the banquet 'the kyng and all the other went to rest, for the night was spent, and the day even at the breaking.' [90]

By 1534, there was a 'bankett howse' at Richmond, located 'by the tennys playe', whilst in 1539 repairs were carried out on a 'banketyng chamber' at the king's house at Ampthill, Bedfordshire.[91] In 1544, the glass in 'one of the banket howses in the garden' at Leeds Castle in Kent was repaired.[92] A further banqueting house was erected the new privy garden at Whitehall between 1537 and 1547, (Figure 4). [93]

By 1550, there was a banqueting house in the grounds of Nonsuch (Figure 5), Likely to have been erected under Henry VIII, this was a two-storeyed, timber framed

[86] TNA E36/227
[87] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* pp.722-3.
[88] Ibid., p.724.
[89] Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 72.
[90] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.724.
[91] Howard Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* (London: H.M.S.O, 1963), Vol. IV pp.328, 41.
[92] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII Vol. 19*, ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: HMSO, 1903), part 2, p.407.
[93] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* Vol. III p.315.

structure set at a distance from the palace, adjacent to the 'grove of Diana'. It boasted large windows, a lead covered lantern and 'a balcone placed for prospect' in each of the four principal corners.[94]

At Hampton Court, (Figure 6) there appear to have been a number of banqueting houses in addition to the example built in the tilt yard for the French embassy of 1527. Another group overlooking the tilt yard included the principal banqueting house, and a group of small, detached buildings located in and around the borders of the great orchard, which may be the structures shown in Wyngaerd's view of Hampton Court (Figure 7).[95] A further banqueting house was situated on the 'mount' in the privy garden, and is likely to have been built in the 1530s. This building was at least two stories high, with a domed roof. In the same area were three other, smaller buildings with quatrefoil plans, and two buildings set into the privy garden walls which Simon Thurley has suggested may have been used for banquets. This idea is supported by pay books, which refer to the buildings in the grounds as 'towers, banket houses and arbours.'[96]

It is likely that other, outdoor structures were utilised as banquet settings. This is supported by the account for the 'banquet royal' of 1526, which was to be held in the 'gallery within the tiltyard at Greenwich', and an account for a 'dinner' held in 1528, which included a large quantity of spices, comfits, fruits and gilded marchpanes, suggesting that this event also included a sweet banquet. It was to be held in 'the lodge in the little park at Windsor'.[97]

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[94] Ibid., Vol. IV p.202.
[95] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, p.138; Thurley, *Hampton Court,* pp.89-93.
[96] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's works,* Vol. IV, p.138.
[97] TNA SP1/38 f.113, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 4, ed.* J. S. Brewer (Longman & Co., 1870), pp.1764-5.

This overview of royal banqueting houses built during the reign of Henry VIII suggests that two different types of banquet were common. Relatively intimate banquets are likely to have taken place in the small scale, permanent stone or brick banqueting houses located in the grounds of royal palaces. Large scale, ceremonial banquets were presented during the visits of important foreign ambassadors. As with continental banquets, such as that presented at the Bastille in 1518, these were semi-public occasions, and the banquet was integrated with other entertainments, including feasts and masques. They were located in specially built, temporary or semi-permanent banqueting houses, such as those constructed at Gravelines in 1520 and at Greenwich in 1527. Their large scale underscores the public, ceremonial nature of these banquets and their ephemeral nature of these structures would have emphasised their expense, and the conspicuous consumption associated with the events they housed.[98] Here, whilst the banquet was not the main event, the costliness and exotic nature of its materials contributed to the overall themes and purposes of the entertainments.

The Symbolic Language of Diplomatic Banquets

This section explores the ceremonial and political efficacy of the sweet banquet, particularly in the context of diplomatic entertainments. It demonstrates that every element of the banquet, from its lighting and the interior decoration of the banqueting house to the foods served within it, drew on a rich and potent symbolic language. This was utilised to express contemporary ideas about kingship and to assert Henry

[98] It is significant that the temporary banqueting houses are associated with the visits of foreign dignitaries, whilst permanent structures were used for more intimate occasions, when there was less need to impress through expense.

VIII's royal power and right to rule to audiences of foreign ambassadors. In identifying the ways in which this symbolic meal type was utilised for political ends, the following discussion provides explanations for its central place in the ceremonial life of the Henrician court.

The relative expense of entertainments and pageantry, particularly in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, has been noted by others working on the period. John Adamson, for example, compares the £4000 spent on a tournament at Westminster in 1511 to the £2,300 spent on the warship, the *Great Elizabeth*, while Maria Hayward notes that revels and ceremonial were one of Henry VIII's four leading areas of expense in the period from 1509 to 1521 with a total cost of £22,670.[99] This willingness to spend large amounts on ephemeral celebrations has been linked to a growing awareness of their political impact under Cardinal Wolsey's influence.[100] Given the amounts spent on settings and food for sweet banquets, as outlined above, it is clear that these events played a significant role in court ceremony. This is congruent with the symbolic function of dining at court more generally. At a very basic level, food signified precise social rank because of its regulation under sumptuary law.[101] The procedures associated with dining at court constituted

[99] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509 - 1714", pp.100-1; Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Reign of Henry VIII", p.173. The other three areas of expenditure listed are ordinance (£50,739), textiles (£49,984) and plate and jewels (£45, 775). It should also be noted that as textiles and plate were used to furnish ceremonial occasions, these categories are not discrete, but closely interrelated. On the exposure of expensive textiles to risk during court ceremonial which is another aspect of this impulse, see Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle, p.*174.
[100] Peter Happé, "Dramatic Genre and the Court of Henry VIII," in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Susannah Lipscomb (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), pp.276-7. On the recognition of the political potential of court ceremony more generally, see Roy C. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), esp p.5; Sarah Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Ebtertainments for Mary, Queen of Scots," *The Scottish Historical Review* LXXXII no. 2 (2003): pp.194-7.
[101] The number of dishes that could be served at a meal was regulated by the rank and income of the head of the household. Sumptuary regulations of 1517 setting out the number of dishes allowed to people of various ranks are reproduced in *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L Hughes and James F Larkin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961), Vol. I, pp.128-9. Significantly, these

elaborate performances, choreographed to display participants' place within the social hierarchy. Furthermore, the monarch could spend up to a third of the day in dining, which is indicative of its centrality in court life.[102] This contemporary recognition of the importance of the ceremonies surrounding food consumption is reflected in the efforts made to furnish the separate banquet with appropriate foods, entertainments and settings.

There is evidence that a particular aesthetic was associated with diplomatic banquets, and that this was intended to convey messages of wealth and power to attendees. As noted previously, these events often took place at night, and therefore employed artificial light. An emphasis on the brilliance of this lighting recurs in the written sources. George Cavendish's description of a banquet hosted by Wolsey in 1527 notes that 'lights of waxe as bigge as torches' were placed on the cupboard of plate, while the lighting for the rest of the chamber was provided by silver and gilt 'plates' hung on the walls, 'with lighted burning in them and a great fier in the chimney'. Torches were frequently used to light banqueting chambers; the Windsor Herald was paid £13 for 'treen platters for the torches at the banquet' at Gravelines, the account for the 1526 banquet at Greenwich includes 46lb of staff torches, and torchbearers were employed for specific banquets.[103] Torches were the most

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regulations did not apply when 'receiving and feasting of ambassadors and noblemen of outward parts', underscoring the central role of lavish dining in international diplomacy.

[102] Bertelli, *The King's Body,* pp.191-213; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.111; Barbara J. Harris, *Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp.76-80.

[103] *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 3*, p.334. TNA SP1/38, f.114. Sixteen men were employed to hold torches at a banquet at Greenwich in 1517. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 2,* ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1864), p.1097.

expensive form of lighting used at Henrician entertainments and, as such, were a status symbol; bright light was a sign of social privilege.[104]

Brilliant visual effects were reinforced by the interior decoration of banqueting houses. The examples erected for the embassy of Admiral d'Annebault in 1546 were described by Wriothesley as 'richlie hanged, and had rych cubbordes of gold plate all gild, and sett with rych stones and perles, which shone rychlie'.[105] As noted previously, the vessels in which banqueting foods were served were typically made of highly reflective materials including glass and precious metals. Glass, in particular, would have shown brightly coloured sweetmeats and preserved fruits to good effect. The glittering, translucent aesthetic of the banquet must have been enhanced by the sugarwork itself. Sugar naturally refracts light, and later recipes suggest that this quality was harnessed in the production of banqueting foods. Hugh Platt, for example, advises readers on how to make banqueting conceits 'glitter like diamonds'.[106] Furthermore, as noted above, contemporary sources indicate that subtleties and marchpanes were often gilded using gold leaf, lending them the same reflective properties as the metal plate displayed on buffets.

The ability to produce dazzling effects of light at night, when banquets most commonly occurred, is likely to have been intended to give the impression of the host's dominance over and ability to harness nature. This, along with the ephemeral architecture utilised for diplomatic banquets undoubtedly fostered a sense of removal from the everyday. The temporary nature of the architectural settings and investment in lighting them were also testament to the king's wealth. However, as

[104] Anne Daye, "Torchbearers in the English masque", *Early Music* 26, no. 2 (1998): p. 247.
[105] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors from AD 1485 to 1559* (London: Camden Society, 1875), p.173. Although Wriothesley mentions two banqueting houses, other sources cite three. See David Potter, *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540-1547* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 459-60.
[106] Platt, *Delights for Ladies,* recipe 53.

Kent Rawlinson has recently argued, focusing on the visual culture of the Henrician court as a simple demonstration of spending power is limiting.[107] Close attention to the social and political context of the material culture and iconography associated with the banquet reveals that it was used to express much more sophisticated messages than mere evidence of expenditure. This dining practice articulated contemporary ideas of kingship and was designed to emphasise Henry VIII's practice of good government.

The account detailing the expenses of the banquet held on the 6th of May 1526 at Greenwich is particularly interesting in this regard, and suggests that banqueting was considered to be an inherently royal activity. Here, the meal is specifically referred to as a 'banquet royal', and this reflects the fact that the ingredients of banqueting foods and the foods themselves had long been associated with royalty. [108] Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas includes a description of a repast including 'sweet wyn… And roial spicerye, Of gingebreed that was ful fyn, and lycorys, and eek comyn, With sugre that is trye'.[109] When recipes for banqueting foods were published in the seventeenth century, marchpane and sugar paste were often accorded the suffix 'royal', and some recipes were linked to the court.[110] This

[107] Rawlinson, "Architectural Culture and the Royal Image at the Henrician Court", pp.93-4.
[108] On the association of sugar with royalty in the seventeenth century, see Kim F. Hall, "Sugar, Gender and the Circum-Atlantic Performance of Class," in *Feminisms and Early Modern Texts*, ed. Rebecca Ann Bach and Gwynne Kennedy (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp.63-80.
[109] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Mark Allen and John Fisher (London: Cengage, 2011), p.255.
[110] Platt provides a recipe for gingerbread 'used in the court and at gentlemen's houses at festival times', Platt, *Delights for Ladies,* recipe 22., Hannah Woolley and Thomas Ruthven provide recipes for 'paste royal' which feature sugar and cinnamon, Hannah Woolley, *The Queen-like Closet: or, Rich Cabinet stored with all manner of rare receipts for preserving, candying and cookery* (London: R. Chiswell and T. Sawbridge, 1684), p.48. Thomas Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened* (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1655), p.32. A recipe for a sugar paste with musk, also called 'past royall' is found in BL Add. MS 45781 f.22. The anonymous *Closet for Ladies* of 1608, meanwhile, includes a recipe for 'an excellent marmelate which was given Queene Mary for a New-yeares gift.'*The Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (London: Arthur Johnson, 1608), p.43 One of the most

association with royalty is likely to have been the result of both the expense of sugar, which initially confined its use to the court, and the humoral properties attributed to it according to contemporary medical theory. Sugar, according to the humoral system, was considered to be hot and moist; it was therefore easily digested, and liable to 'burn' in heat of the stomach. As a consequence, it was uniquely suited to the 'delicate' constitutions and 'light' bodies of those at the top of the social scale, and the subtle intellectual machinations of courtiers in particular. If eaten by those with the sturdy constitutions that enabled them to engage in hard physical work, sugar could be extremely harmful.[111] Thus, the eating of sugar constituted a biological test, which confirmed the nobility of the eater.

The sixteenth-century practice of serving the royal arms in sugar served to underscore this association, as did the use of rosewater in marchpane paste.[112] Henry VIII wore rosewater as a perfume, and Holly Dugan has argued that the association of this substance with the king's body was intended to draw on its very specific connotations. Rosewater was distilled from damask roses, an exotic product which Dugan considers to have been strongly linked to the Tudor rose. She argues that the king's use of this perfume became a sign of absolute royal power, crucial to

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popular cookery books in the latter part of the seventeenth century was *The Queen's Closet Opened* by W. M. (1655) which claimed to be a collection of Henrietta Maria's medicinal, sugarwork and culinary recipes. On this, see Laura Lunger Knoppers, "Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery", *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2007), pp.464-99. The popularity of this volume emphasises the fact that, in the case of printed books, association with elite figures was no doubt also intended to aid sales.

[111] Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (California: University of California Press, 2002), pp.58-66, 97-8, 184, 87; Heal, "Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England", p.57. These ideas are also reflected in the seventeenth century practice of segregating the rich and poor during feasts, and feeding different foods to different social groups. See Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving : Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.216.

[112] See appendix two.

the performance of royalty, as the scent of roses signified the royal presence.[113] The use of rosewater in sugarwork, and particularly in sugar representations of the royal arms, underscores its regal status and suggests that its manufacture and consumption at court were also intended to facilitate this performance of royalty.

Rosewater is also significant in that it referred to the availability of refined technologies in England. This substance could only be obtained through the process of distillation, which was expensive and complicated. Furthermore, the effective use of distilled flower essences as perfumes relied on the relatively recent adoption of ethyl alcohol.[114] Further analysis of the visual culture associated with the banquet course indicates that this reference is neither isolated nor coincidental; indeed, the display of technological advancement was a prominent theme in the iconography of these entertainments.

The descriptions of the decoration of the banqueting houses erected at Gravelines in 1520 and at Greenwich in 1527 are strikingly similar. Both featured map-like ceilings with the earth, sea, sky and planets. The association with maps, made explicit by Hall with his comparison of the ceiling in the 1527 structure to 'a very mappe or carte' is particularly interesting in that cartography was an emergent and fashionable discipline at the English court and across Europe at this time. With advances in warfare, the emergence of nation states and resultant international competition, monarchs were becoming increasingly aware of the military value of maps, which were eagerly collected.[115] Peter Barber has dated the emergence of this new interest

[113] Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume,* pp.42-68. Dugan also makes the important point that the wearing of perfume on the body, as opposed to burning it during religious ceremonies, was a new development at this time, linked to new conceptions of individuality.
[114] Ibid. pp.49-51.
[115] Henry VIII's 1547 inventory, for example, indicates that he owned numerous maps of the world, as well as maps of Europe, various Italian cities, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Rhodes, Ireland, France and several English counties. *The Inventory of King Henry VIII,* vol. 1, pp.240-1, 287-9, 364.

in England to the 1520s; precisely the time at which the separate banquet course developed.[116]

The interest in cartography was spurred by the contemporary exploration of the globe, the discovery of new lands, and changing ideas of space in the wake of this. This had resulted in a new awareness of extensive global spaces and possibilities for exploration. The economic exploitation of newly discovered territories by the Spanish and Portuguese in mining minerals and the production of spices, and sugar in particular, had demonstrated the benefits of exploration and geographical knowledge for nation states and monarchies. This provides an explanation for the close relationship between the banquet and the map. The ability to 'map', and to consume the exotic foods associated with the banquet, functioned as a sign of a country's international reach, asserting knowledge and control of distant spaces and places.[117] It is important to note that although the mappamundi had been a common feature of pageantry during the reign of Henry VII and the early years of Henry VIII, the types of maps represented on the ceilings of banqueting houses in the 1520s were significantly different from their predecessors. No longer generalised, the new ceiling decorations were now recognisable as maps of specific places. Barber relates this development to the involvement of John Rastell, who sailed on the failed 1517 expedition to colonise North America, and designed the map-like ceiling for the

[116] Peter Barber, "England I: Pageantry, Defense and Government: Maps at Court to 1550", in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D. Buisseret (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.28.
[117] J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, ed. Denis Cosgrave and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.281-2; Peter Barber, "Henry VIII and mapmaking," in *Henry VIII a European Court in England*, ed. David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), pp.145-51. Bernard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), pp.86-91; D. K. Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp.12, 40-45.

1527 banqueting house, which featured the names of the charted provinces.[118] The same impulse is evident in the 1520 banqueting house, with the depiction of men of 'strange' nations, accompanied by descriptions of their countries of origin. The population of the sea with ships and the land with castles in this banqueting house further underscores the theme of exploration, knowledge and dominion. The ships, in particular may also have been related to Henry VIII's policy of rapid naval expansion during the early 1520s; a reminder to foreign, and particularly French, viewers of England's growing sea power.[119]

These ideas were also expressed in the courtly dance associated with banquets and masques, in which Skiles Howard has identified a process akin to cartography. She sees these processional configurations as 'mapping' their festive settings through the tracing of the four directions of the compass.[120] When related to the map-like decorations on the ceilings of banqueting and disguising houses, which the dances mirrored on the ground, the cartographic function of choreographed movement in evoking ideas of colonial exploration is, Howard argues, spelt out unmistakably. It is likely that this was reinforced by the banquets served after the dancing. As exotic products, which by this date were imported from colonies in the new world, sugar and the other spices associated with the banquet conveyed similar messages regarding knowledge of foreign lands. The presence of sugar may also have been intended to refer to the trade alliances that Henry VIII was, at this stage, cultivating

[118] Barber, "England I: Pageantry, Defense and Government: Maps at Court to 1550", pp.27-30.
[119] On the expansion of the navy, see C. S. L. Davies, "The Administration of the Royal Navy under Henry VIII: the Origins of the Navy Board", *The English Historical Review* 80, no. 315 (1965): pp.268-88; David Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and MilitaryHistory* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), pp.74-138.
[120] Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England*, pp.112-3.

with Spain, given that the Spanish controlled much of the trade in sugar.[121] The settings, dancing and foods presented at these diplomatic entertainments were therefore intended to assert the status of England as a European power; a military and trade force to be reckoned with. This is congruent with Henry VIII's aggressive foreign policy during the early part of his reign, and contemporary power struggles throughout Europe.[122]

The iconography of the sugarwork presented during banquets also conveyed specific political messages. This is evident in Cavendish's account of Wolsey's banquet for the French embassy, which took place in the autumn of 1527, and for which the preparations were extensive. Expert cooks were sent for, and

> 'wrought both nyght and day in dyvers subtilties and many crafty devisis where lakked nother gold, sylver ne any other costly thing meate for ther purpose'. The rooms were decorated with 'costly hangynges', beds were placed in chambers, plate was brought in, and carpenters, joiners, masons and painters were employed to 'glorifie' the house. On the day of the entertainment, tables were set around the first waiting chamber and presence chamber, 'bankett wise', with a high table and cloth of estate set up in the presence chamber. The figurative sugarwork presented on this occasion included, 'powlles chirche and steple … beastes, byrdes, fowles of dyvers kyndes… 'castelles with images in the same.. and personages most lyvely made and counterfeit in dysshes/ some fightyng (as it ware) with swords/

[121] Deerr, *The History of Sugar* Vol. 2 p.126; J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.45-58. Spanish sugar production in the Canary Islands was at its height in the period from 1520-1550.
[122] Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* pp.2-5; Richardson, "Anglo - French Political and Cultural Relations During the Reign of Henry VIII", pp.106-7. Glenn Richardson, "Eternal Peace, Occasional War: Anglo-French Relations under Henry VIII," in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp.44-50.

> some with gonnes and crosebowes/'. Moreover, Cavendish draws the reader's attention to one sugar sculpture in particular: 'among all oon I noted/ there was a chesse bord subtilly made of spices plate/ with men to the same/ and for the good proporcyon bycause that frenche men be very expert in that play/ my lord gave the same to a gentilman of fraunce commandyng that a case shold be made for the same/ in all hast to preserve it from prysshyng in the conveyaunce therof in to hys contrie.' The purpose of the entire entertainment was that the French would 'not oonly wonder at hit here but also make a gloryous report in ther contrie to the kynges honour and of this realm.'[123]

In this regard, it is significant that chess was extremely symbolically potent in early modern Europe. An elite, privileged activity, it had been recognised from the fifteenth century as a model of civic order, articulating notions of good government and the monarch's place within the social hierarchy.[124] Wolsey, at this time, was dealing with an extremely delicate situation both in terms of the domestic situation at the court of Henry VIII, and foreign policy. In April 1527, Henry had effectively betrayed his ally, Charles V, by agreeing an Anglo-French treaty of 'Eternal peace', and in May, following the sack of Rome, Wolsey had secured an alliance with the French with the Treaty of Amiens. This, it was hoped, would prevent France from allying with Charles and the two powers excluding England from continental power-broking.[125] In addition, by Spring 1527, Henry was convinced of his need to set aside Katherine of Aragon and remarry in order to get an heir to the throne. Wolsey

[123] Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 68-71.
[124] J. Adams, *Power Play: The Literature And Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp.1-14.
[125] Glenn Richardson, "The Triumph of Peace? (1514-27)," in *Henry VIII, Man and Monarch*, ed. Susan Doran (London: British Library, 2009), pp.79-106.

knew that he would require the support of France in attempting to persuade the Pope to grant an annulment. It was the failure to obtain this annulment by diplomatic means which eventually lead to his downfall.[126]

The stakes, then, were high, and the sugarwork presented at the banquet signalled the wealth of the realm, its trade links, the largesse of the host, and England's ability to compete on a European stage. Wolsey's gift of the sugar chessboard denoted a shared culture of government and nobility, along with Henry VIII and his councillors' abilities to govern the realm effectively; messages which would be transported back to France with it. Furthermore, the association of gift giving with an obligation to reciprocate suggests that Wolsey's intention was that the French recipient would further his cause across the channel.[127]

The subtleties of men fighting with guns as well as crossbows and swords clearly indicate an awareness of modern military technology. The appearance of castles is of further significance as other sources indicate that this was one of the most common subjects represented in figurative sugarwork. The 1526 banquet at Greenwich, for example, also featured a subtlety of 'a dungeon and a manor place, set upon 2 marchpanes, garnished with swans and cygnets swimming about the manor' and a 'tower' set on a marchpane.[128] The language used here suggests potential sources for the appearance of these architectural sculptures. Both

[126] Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990), pp.353-40; S. J. Gunn, 'Wolsey's Foreign Policy and the Domestic Crisis of 1527 – 8', in S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 151 – 60; Richardson, "Eternal Peace, Occasional War: Anglo-French Relations under Henry VIII", pp.49-50.

[127] For a more detailed discussion of the exchange of food gifts, see pp.153-4; On gifts and obligation, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: the Form and Reason for Gift Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Routledge, 1990), esp. p. 53. On this theme in early modern England, see Heal, *The Power of Gifts*; Heal "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses ", p.49. and on the particular efficacy of food gifts in this context, see Heal, "Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England", pp.44-6

[128] TNA SP1/38 f.116 For further examples, see pp. 69, 74, 92, 141.

'dungeon' and 'tower' were terms used for keeps, indicating that they were similar to the quatrefoil forms of the banqueting houses in the grounds of Henry VIII's palaces, The banqueting houses at Nonsuch and Hampton Court (Figure 5 and Figure 6) with their central towers each flanked by four smaller corner towers are reminiscent of quatrefoil turretted keeps, which had been a fundamental feature of castles from Norman times, and throughout the middle ages. The surviving donjons of York castle (Figure 8 and Figure 9) and Tattershall castle in Lincolnshire (Figure 10) and, on a larger scale, the White Tower at the Tower of London, provide good examples of this plan. Traditionally the most secure part of the defensive castle, the donjon also originally provided the monarch's private space.[129]

The reasons for the popularity of castles in sugar sculpture may be deduced with reference to a continental example. The 1468 celebrations surrounding the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in Bruges featured the presentation of a number of 'pastries shaped like castles'. These bore Burgundian ducal banners and the names of subject cities, and, as L. B. Ross has argued, were thus intended to signal possession of the named cities and the military power of the state.[130] The original defensive nature of the donjon reinforces the idea of mastery of the landscape and kingdom. As with the castles and ships painted on the ceilings of larger banqueting houses, these are martial symbols of the king's dominance over, and protection of his land; his ability, that is, to provide good government. The idea of protection is particularly relevant to Henrician England, given that the keep form was also frequently utilised in the coastal defences built later in the reign. The Device Forts were built on the south coast of England in 1539 – 40. They include

[129] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England,* p.35.
[130] Ross, "Beyond Eating: Political and Personal Significance of the Entremets at the Banquets of the Burgundian Court", pp.162-3.

Deal Castle (Figure 11) and Camber Castle (Figure 12), which are notably similar to the Hampton Court and Nonsuch banqueting houses, with their central towers and round projections. Similarly, the artillery towers shown in *The Embarkation of Henry VIII*, of c.1540, (Figure 13) utilise the traditional tower form, but are also highlighted as examples of modern military innovation in contrast to the rambling, medieval Dover Castle in the background. Rawlinson sees this particular image as 'a celebration of the king's joint renewal of the architectural and naval infrastructure of England's coastal defences'.[131] This suggests a similar interpretation for the sugar keeps and guns, and the painted castles and ships which decorated their settings. These signalled technological advancement, martial might, the protection of the realm, and the right of the patron to control it.

Conversely, the fact that the keep was typically the oldest element of an early modern castle complex is also significant. During the modernisation and rebuilding of castles in the sixteenth century, keeps were often retained, despite the fact that their function as places of retreat during attack or siege was largely redundant after the Wars of the Roses. Instead, as an archaic form, they had come to signify the longevity of a family's possession of the estate, the ancientness of the dynasty and an idealised chivalric past.[132] In this context, the traditional castle was evidence of the maintenance of a great household and adherence to the chivalric code of hospitality.[133] The largesse associated with this way of life was neatly encapsulated in the practice of producing sugarwork in the form of castles, and offering these objects to guests.

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[131] Rawlinson, "Architectural Culture and the Royal Image at the Henrician Court," p.111.
[132] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), p.69; Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics, 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987), pp.45-58.
[133] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, p.51

The device of the castle was also personally significant for Henry VIII, as Rawlinson has demonstrated. Henry VII's portcullis badge was intended to refer to Beaufort, and therefore his mother's links to the royal line through John of Gaunt and Edward III, while his rebuilding of Sheen Palace as Richmond was also, Rawlinson has argued, intended to refer to this ancestry. By Henry VIII's accession, therefore, the castle was a recognised symbol of the house of Richmond. Furthermore, Katherine of Aragon's coat of arms featured the castle of Castile.[134] This suggests that the common quatrefoil forms of banqueting houses and sugar keeps evoked Henry VIII and his wife's pedigrees, supporting, by inference, his right to the throne, and that of his heirs. This function is closely related to the 'pedigrees' painted on the interior of the 1520 banqueting house at Gravelines, which, it should be noted, were also intended to aid the negotiations for the betrothal of Princess Mary to the French Dauphin by demonstrating both parties' ancient, and royal lineage. This is particularly significant given that the Tudor claim to the throne was precarious, and Henry VIII was, at this time, still engaged in building up a mythology of continuity and legitimacy of lineage.[135] A preoccupation with tradition was consequently expressed in much of the ceremony and pageantry of his reign, and this is reflected in the visual culture of the sweet banquet.[136]

The assertion of the king's right to rule was amplified by the 'sacred' nature of dining at court. Religious ceremony, as John Adamson has demonstrated, was a crucial

[134] Rawlinson, "Architectural Culture and the Royal Image at the Henrician Court", pp.95-6.
[135] Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems 1460-1571* (Letchworth: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1973), pp.33-4; Richardson, "Anglo - French political and cultural relations during the reign of Henry VIII", p.59.
[136] Sydney Anglo sees this as symptomatic of a lack of cultural innovation, arguing that 'an analysis of English pageantry reveals fluctuation rather than development [and] an essential poverty and vulgarity of theme'. It is likely, however, that traditional forms were intentionally invoked in order to convey specific messages. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp.6-7. On the function and value of tradition in Henrician pageantry, see J Loach, "The Function of Ceremony in the Reign of Henry VIII," *Past & Present* 142 (1994): pp.43-68.

element in the day to day assertion of the king's power on earth, providing a constant reminder of his status as God's representative in the form of a 'liturgy of monarchy'.[137] The rituals associated with dining were particularly expressive in this regard; at public meals the king dined at a separate table which was laid to resemble an altar and conceived of as a sacred space.[138] The sweet banquet contributed to this programme as the items served had Eucharistic connotations. Like the void, banquets incorporated wine and wafers as a central element. Alongside the sugar castles, for example, 1,600 hundred wafers 'of sundry colours' were provided for the 1526 banquet, as well as four gallons of malmsey, three gallons of rumney and 1 ½ pitchers of French and Gascon wine. The sacramental overtones of these items, which were offered by the monarch to privileged guests, cast him in a priest-like role and referred to his divine right to rule. The incorporation of swans and cygnets in the subtlety served at the 1526 banquet also asserted royal privilege. As an animal owned by the crown, the swan signalled the king's difference from the other orders of society, and control over the state's natural resources.[139] This particular event, through the foods served and their representation of symbolic forms, conveyed the

[137] Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509 - 1714", pp.101-2.
[138] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, pp.200-06.
[139] A document entitled 'The laws, orders and customs of swans' from 1482-3 states that all swans owned by those with freehold property worth more than five marks per year were forfeit to the king, and that all unmarked birds, ie. those that had not been claimed by the marking of their beaks, were also royal property. This document is printed in *The Harleian Miscellany, or A collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print,* ed. W. Oldys, J. Malham, and E.O.E. Harley (London: R.Dutton, 1810), pp.291-5. The seventeenth century transcriber of the document states that contemporary laws did not differ much from these in substance. Moreover, throughout the sixteenth century, the marking of swans incurred a fee paid to the crown. See H. Janin, *Medieval Justice: Cases and Laws in France, England and Germany, 500-1500* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2009), Appendix III: Medieval and later laws concering swans pp.190-191

divine right of the Tudor dynasty to rule, their function in protecting the state and, through practices of good government, increasing its bounty.[140]

All of this suggests that diplomatic banquets were used to convey specific political messages. This is particularly noteworthy given the historical context of the 1526 banquet. It was held on the sixth of May, in the run up to the signing of the League of Cognac on the 22nd of May. This was an alliance between France, the Papacy, Venice, Florence and Milan against Charles V, with Henry VIII as its 'protector'. The guest list for the banquet included the Papal, French and Venetian ambassadors; it is clear that it was intended as a meeting between Henry VIII and the ambassadors of those states which supported the treaty, and is particularly notable that no representative of Charles V was included. This event was evidently intended to facilitate discussions leading to the signing of the treaty and Henry VIII's protectorship of it. The iconography of the sugarwork discussed above was clearly designed to emphasise Henry's royal authority and value as an ally. All of this demonstrates that the sweet banquet was a highly symbolic dining practice, capable of conveying complex ideas of kingship and status. This made it particularly useful as an aspect of the entertainments provided for foreign ambassadors.

Intimate Banquets

Unlike other meals, banquets could also provide valuable and rare opportunities to engage with the king in an informal manner. A drawing of around 1548 (Figure 14) shows the standard set-up when Henry VIII dined formally in the privy chamber.

[140] Kevin Sharpe has made a similar point regarding the visual culture of Henry VIII's court more generally: Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor monarchy : Authority and Image in Sixteenth-century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.150.

Here, as we would expect, the king dines alone, under a canopy, and is served by a crowd of gentlemen. Across early modern Europe, court dining was characterised by processions of servers carrying napery and food, strictly hierarchical seating plans, silence from the diners and the reading aloud of edifying passages from classical literature and the Bible.[141] The presence chamber, also known as the dining chamber, was the main site for ceremonial dining, and the king often entertained ambassadors there. However, on these occasions the monarch himself often ate separately in the privy chamber.[142]

The banquet, by contrast, facilitated informality and a degree of privacy. Hall describes one 'goodly banquet' of 1509, for example, at which the king, queen and certain ambassadors were present. During the banquet, Henry VIII 'would not sit, but walked from place to place, makyng chere to the quene and the straungers: sodainly the kyng was gone, and shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after the Turkey fashion…'[143] This description of the king casually moving with little regard for formal hierarchy, disappearing and returning in foreign costume, differs markedly from the ceremony associated with other meals at court. It is likely to have been intended to facilitate political discussion and to cement alliances at the outset of his reign, but this sense of informality remained an important feature of the sweet banquet.

This is supported by contemporary accounts of banquets which explicitly associate them with intimate conversation, as at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Immediately after the initial meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I they retreated together into 'the riche tente of clothe of gold', where they were 'served with a banket' and 'had

[141] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, pp.204-5; Brears, *All the King's cooks*, pp.122-31.
[142] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, p.122.
[143] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.513.

communicacion in the banket tyme, and there showed the one the other their pleasure.' Similarly, in October 1532, during the visit to France when Henry VIII presented Anne Boleyn as his consort, he 'made the French king a costly banquet. At this interview, there was a communication of a joint armie to bee made by them both, against the Turke'.[144] According to Stow, this banquet, at which the king of Navarre was present, also involved discussions regarding the growing power of Charles V and resulted in England and France agreeing to send ambassadors to the Papal court in an attempt to prevent his alliance with the Pope. Finally, 'The banquet having ended at Sandingfield, as is aforesaid, the three kings departed like loving bretherin in great amitie'.[145]

These examples suggest that banquets provided an important site for the demonstration of friendship between the two kings. It is significant that a banquet was utilised for the first meeting between Henry and Francis and one was also intended to furnish the initial meeting with Anne of Cleves. The instructions for her reception in England in 1539 indicate that this meeting was planned to take place in a tent erected on a hill at Greenwich, where wine, fruits and spices were to be presented 'in manner of a banquet'.[146] The use of this particular meal type on these important occasions suggests that it was considered both an appropriate means of honouring high ranking guests and of creating a positive first impression due to the expense of the foods presented and their association with nobility. Furthermore, contemporary accounts suggest that few servants were present at banquets. Servants were instructed to leave the king's pavilion before his arrival, and after setting out the banquet which would furnish his first meeting with Anne of Cleves,

[144] Stow, *The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England*, p.560.
[145] Ibid
[146] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. 14, p.199.

while in 1527, the royal party returned to the banquet chamber to find the banquet 'ready set.'[147] This lack of servants must have been particularly notable at a court where their presence was otherwise constant, enhancing the sense of privacy at banquets and facilitating the delicate discussions which took place during them.

The available evidence suggests that more domestic banquets which did not form part of diplomatic entertainments also took place in very intimate settings. The earliest mentions of banquets, from Hall's *Chronicle*, tend to situate them within royal palaces, taking place either in private chambers, or in the halls where masques took place. The participants were usually the royal couple and members of their households. This type of banquet is likely to have been more spontaneous than the banquets dealt with above, which involved detailed planning by various household departments. Consequently, less information is available regarding them and it is likely that many of the more intimate banquets which took place are not documented. Nevertheless, an analysis of the information that is available demonstrates that these events also had particular social functions.

The private banquet which took place in February 1511 as part of the celebrations surrounding the queen's churching is associated by Hall with a need to escape the 'common people'. This followed a disturbing incident during which spectators stripped the king and his companions.[148] After supper, dancing and a pageant at Whitehall, the king had allowed the nobles and ambassadors to keep the solid gold letters which had been stitched to their garments. Hall writes that when the common people saw this, they 'ranne to the kyng, and strypped him into hys hosen and

[147] See p.35
[148] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.519.It was not unusual for 'common' or 'rude' people to have access to court pageantry. A pageant structure was destroyed by 'rude' people in 1510 and 'all honest persons' were given access to the banqueting house at Greenwich. See Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy,* pp.140, 70.

dublet, and all hys compagnions in likewise… The ladyes likewise were spoyled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and putte the people back, or els it was supposed more inconvenience had ensued. So the king with the quene and the ladyes returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughing and game'.[149] Here, the private banquet serves to reassure its participants, providing a safe, and exclusively aristocratic sanctuary after their public 'hurtes'.

The reassuring function of the private, exclusive banquet in the face of threats to the king is also reflected in a letter written to Lord Fitzwarner shortly after the arrest of Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter for treason in 1538. Here, Robert Warner describes the king as 'thank God… never merrier', having 'made a banquet, at which were the duke of Suffolk and his wife, my lord my master, and my lady, the earl of Hertford and his wife, and my lady Lisle, with other maids that were the Queen's women. They lay all night in Court and had banquets in their chambers'.[150] Due to its expense and, according to humoral theory, suitability for consumption only by those at the top of the social hierarchy, the confectionery served at the banquet is likely to have reinforced a sense of detachment from and superiority to the 'common people'. These private banquets therefore emphasised participants' elite status, and appear to have provided reassurance when that status was threatened.

In contrast to this impulse to seek protection in the exclusive banqueting chamber, these spaces as well as separate banqueting houses could function to facilitate access to the monarch, although this was strictly regulated. The locations of

[149] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.519. Patricia Fumerton has also noted the reassuring function of the separate banquet on this occasion: Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics,* pp.160-61.
[150] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 13*, ed. James Gairdner (London: HMSO, 1892), part 2, pp. 369

detached banqueting houses within Tudor palace complexes are significant in this regard. They were sited either within the privy compound, as at Whitehall (Figure 4) and Hampton Court (Figure 6) or in liminal spaces, where manicured palace grounds seagued into wilderness or park, as at Nonsuch (Figure 5) and Windsor. As Thurley has pointed out, the privy garden functioned as an extension of the royal privy lodgings; the banqueting houses at Hampton Court and Whitehall were therefore located in the heart of this complex.[151] Furthermore, Patricia Fumerton has described the situation of banqueting houses in secluded locations, away from main palaces and houses as facilitating an 'immaculate privacy'. By the late seventeenth century, householders were being advised to build banqueting houses 'at some remote angle of your garden; for the more remote it is from your house, the more private you will be from the frequent disturbances of your family and acquaintance'.[152] Interestingly, all of the small banqueting houses in the privy gardens of Henry VIII's palaces were constructed after 1530, during a period when the Privy Chamber was experiencing unprecedented expansion. Further analysis of this building trend and its context in relation to the changing nature of the Privy Chamber is revealing regarding the function of the banqueting house, and the uses of architectural space more generally at the Henrician court.

The privy chamber, under Henry VII, and in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, had consisted of the king's most private rooms, which were staffed by men of relative social insignificance. This changed in 1518 when Henry VIII appointed a group of favourites to the staff of the privy chamber, noblemen who became known as the *gentilshommes de la chambre*, in imitation of the situation at the French court.

[151] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.92.
[152] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics,* p.114. John Worlidge (1681), quoted in Jennifer Stead, "Bowers of Bliss: the Banquet Setting," in *Banquetting Stuffe: the Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1991), p.128.

Consequently, the department was reformed, and its functions formalised. This resulted in what Starkey has termed an 'institutionalisation of intimacy'; the privy chamber now functioned to facilitate intimate access to the king, crucial for advancement at a court where the monarch's favour was all.[153] This was particularly the case under Henry VIII. With the development of a more centralised government, the king and his closest advisors increasingly controlled the conferral of offices, grants of lands and bestowal of favours. This resulted in a new emphasis on the maintenance of positive personal relationships with the king and his favourites. Architectural space was particularly important in this regard, as the apartment system effectively graded courtiers and visitors in terms of favour and importance depending on how far they were permitted to advance through the sequence of rooms towards the Privy Chamber and the king. This had the benefit of visually and socially underlining the centrality of the monarch to court life, and affirming his absolute power where matters of law were concerned. The privy chamber, therefore, became the focal point of court life, a 'field for rivalry' between royal favourites to which access was highly sought.[154]

The Eltham ordinances of 1526 limited the staff of the privy chamber to fifteen, but this number steadily expanded over the following decade and a half, and by 1539 the privy chamber had twenty eight staff. This was mirrored by architectural expansion, demonstrated by the innovative privy lodgings built at Whitehall in 1531, which were

[153] Starkey, "Intimacy and Innovation".
[154] Hugh Murray Baillie, "Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque palaces," *Archaeologia* 101(1971): pp.172-8; David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986), pp.85-6; Starkey, "Intimacy and Innovation" pp.71-118; Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England,* pp.136-7; Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* p.28; Barbara J. Harris, "The View from my Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on Early Tudor Monarchy", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1997): p.221; Adamson, "The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509 - 1714", p.108. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy,* p.172; An illustrative account of the progress through the apartment system is given in Frederic Madden, "Narrative of the visit of the Duke de Najera to England, in the year 1543-4," *Archaeologia* 23(1831): p.351.

unprecedented in size.[155] They included four rooms separating the privy chamber and bedchamber, which had previously been adjoining, providing more scope for gradations in access. A further five rooms and a gallery beyond the bedchamber afforded more private space. The ordinances of 1540 exacerbated the tension between courtiers' desire for access to the monarch, the need for distinctions in levels of access, and the provision of private space for the monarch. These granted the privy councillors the right to dine in the council chamber in the privy lodgings, resulting in 47 people having regular access to this area, virtually rendering the privy lodgings a public space. At this stage, a new 'secret' lodging appeared at Whitehall, allowing the king a place of retreat and facilitating intimate access for those he wished to admit.[156]

It is significant that the building of small banqueting houses within the privy lodgings and on the margins of royal palace complexes all date from this period of privy chamber expansion. That these developments occurred in parallel has not been commented on by other scholars working in this area, but the banqueting spaces display the same impulse towards intimacy evidenced in the increase of 'secret' space within the palace walls. Their small size speaks of exclusivity, and informal contact with the monarch at the relatively private banquet is likely to have provided not only a valuable opportunity to gain favour and influence policy, but also a tangible signal to other courtiers of access to the king, and power. The situation of the banqueting houses within the privy complex, which was the political centre of court life under Henry VIII, suggests that they formed an extension of the apartment system, perhaps providing an alternative to the Privy Chamber, and facilitating even more intimate access to the monarch. These tensions between public and private,

[155] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, pp.136-9.
[156] Ibid., pp.136-8.

formal and informal suggest that small, intimate banqueting houses functioned to facilitate Henry VIII's politics of favourites by providing highly visible, detached settings which articulated the favour granted to those admitted to them.

Whilst the banquet was utilised by Henry VIII for diplomatic and governmental purposes, a sense of unease is evident in relation to banquets which occurred outside his control. The private nature of the banquet and its political potency are likely to have given rise to this. In 1542, for example, the king dismissed one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber for over familiarity with the French ambassador, including banqueting with him in a park.[157] In the same month, Henry VIII was massing an army with which to invade Scotland as a precursor to war with France, partly as a result of James V's Francophile policies. This would have made association with the French ambassador particularly unwise, especially given the banquet's function as a site for confidential political discussion.

The documents relating to the trial and eventual execution of Katherine Howard on charges of infidelity are also testament to the potentially subversive nature of the banquet. A list of questions to be put to Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk on the queen's early life included 'whether she knew Mrs. Katherine used to banquet and feast out of her house or in the maidens' chamber, and with whom and how often?'[158] The clear implication here is that banqueting may have provided an opportunity for Howard to engage in 'light and wanton' behaviour before her marriage to the king.[159] This is supported by Henry Manox's testimony, in which he stated that Francis Dereham and Edward Walgrave 'used to haunt her chamber

[157] This incident is recounted in a letter from Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 17* ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: H.M.S.O., 1900), p.430.
[158] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol.16* ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: H.M.S.O., 1898). p.656.
[159] Ibid.

rightly and banquet there until 2 or 3am.'[160] In a fragmentary note of her answers, it appears that the Duchess of Norfolk confirmed that Katherine 'would go abroad to banquet half a mile from her house having a good company with her.'[161] It is significant that in this context the specific term 'banquet' was used on several occasions, as there is evidence that banquets were associated with sexual impropriety. The *Homily Against Gluttony and Drunkenness* (published 1571) states that banqueting, as well as causing sudden death, 'brynges men to whoredome and lewdnesse of harte, with daungers unspeakable'.[162] Thomas Salter recommended in 1578 that respectable young women should not be allowed to attend banquets as the 'delicious and sweete meates' and 'lascivious songes' associated with them might 'kindle in their hartes the flames of leude affections.'[163] Similarly, Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* of 1583 states that

> 'In the fields and suburbs of the cities they have gardens, either palled or walled round about very high with their harbers and bowers fit for the purpose. And least they might be espied in these open places, they have their banqueting houses with galleries, turrets, and what not els therein sumptuously erected: wherin they may (and doubtless do) many of them play the filthy persons... those light, lewd and incontinent harlots that run to those places, as fast as ever did the

[160] Ibid., pp.605-13.
[161] Ibid., pp.660 - 71
[162] John Jewel, *The Second Tome of Homilees of such matters as were promised and intituled in the former part of homilees* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1571), pp.206, 08.
[163] T. Salter *A Mirrhor Mete for All Mothers, Matrones and Maidens* (London: Edward White, 1578), p. 25 For more examples of the banquet as a context in which virtue was tested, see Stead, "Bowers of Bliss", pp. 133 - 4

brothels to the stewes [sic]. And truly I think some of those places are little better than the stewes and brothel houses.'[164]

The association with sexual misconduct is likely to have arisen because many of the foods associated with the banquet were, according to humoral theory, considered to be aphrodisiacs, as is made clear in sixteenth and seventeenth-century herbals. Candied ginger, for example, was credited with 'provoking venerie' while dates brought on 'lust of the body very mightily'.[165] Similarly, candied eringo roots were 'accounted excellent Sweet-meats and… provocatives to venerie', sweet almonds had the power to 'increase seed' and cloves also engendered lust.[166] It is likely that the outdoor settings which feature in both the descriptions of Howard banqueting 'abroad' and the 1542 banquet in the park made these events appear doubly suspect due to the contemporary understanding of exterior spaces as more private than interior spaces, and therefore more conducive to subversive activities. As a number of scholars have argued, in sixteenth-century England, indoor space was not private in the modern sense. Walls and doors within buildings were often conceived of as permeable, full of holes providing opportunities for watching and listening. The constant proximity of servants within wealthy houses, and particularly at court, further depleted the opportunities for discretion. As a consequence, secretive activity, both sexual and political, was often associated with the outdoors, where

[164] Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp.136-7.
[165] John Gerard, *The Herbal or General History of Plants* (1633) repr. (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), pp.62, 518.
[166] John Pechey, *The Complete Herbal of Physical Plants* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1694), pp.75, 198, 240. On dates, figs and ginger, see also Robert Lovell, *Pambotanologia Sive Enchiridion Botanicum or a compleat herball containing the summe of what hath hitherto been published either by ancient or moderne authors both Galenicall and Chymicall* (Oxford: William Hall, 1659), pp.133, 59, 86, and Andrew Boorde, *A compendyous regyment, or a dyetary of health* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554), n.p. chap. xxi.

there were fewer opportunities to be overheard or observed, particularly in semi-enclosed garden buildings.[167]

The case of Katherine Howard, in particular, demonstrates the implications of a full understanding of the meanings and connotations of the word banquet in dealing with early modern sources. To the modern reader, the accusations of banqueting levelled against her may appear fairly innocuous in and of themselves. However, the use of the very specific term banquet which implied the serving of aphrodisiac foods late at night in intimate settings is likely to have added considerable weight to the accusations regarding Howard's sexual promiscuity. Further, the frequency with which the word banquet, as opposed to other terms such as dine, sup or feast appears in these documents suggests that those involved in constructing the case against her were fully aware of its connotations, and that by the 1540s these were widely understood at court.

In conclusion, the analysis of the architectural and textual evidence relating to banquet settings suggests that two distinct types of banquet were common at the court of Henry VIII. The ceremonial banquet typically took place in large, temporary and highly decorated structures, while the private banquet took place in smaller, stone or brick garden buildings, or private chambers within the palace proper. The instances of the building of these different types of structure are related to the political situation at court. During the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, an aggressive foreign policy and negotiations for the marriage of Princess Mary resulted in the erection of elaborate structures for the entertainment of large foreign delegations. From the 1530s, however, the difficult situation abroad, along with

[167] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, pp.177-92. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, p.50. Mary Thomas Crane, "Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (2009): pp.4-22.

changes in the privy chamber and the increased influence of the king's favourites, resulted in an emphasis on privacy, the granting of privileged access to the monarch, and the building of smaller, more permanent banqueting houses in private or marginal areas of palace complexes.

The study of private banquets reveals that they were conceived of as reassuring, the very ability to take part in them confirming participants' place at the top of the social hierarchy. The political connotations of these events prompt insights as to conceptions of privacy in early modern England, supporting the idea that outdoor and external spaces were often considered to be more private than indoor areas. The investigation of the spaces in which sweet banquets took place contributes to current discussions surrounding ideas of privacy and hierarchies of space at the court of Henry VIII. The small, garden banqueting house located in the heart of a palace's privy complex is thus revealed as the paradigm of privacy, with access to it indicative of great privilege and power.

In conjunction with dance, the masque and their interior décor, the settings for ceremonial banquets expressed ideas about empire, power and national self definition, which were linked to contemporary advances in mapping, the development of modern geography and improvements in military technology. As such, it is clear that banquets communicated in much more complex ways than through the mere assertion of wealth. Rather, they were an important vehicle for the display of the court's sophisticated use of visual culture. Indeed, banquets became part of that visual culture. The inventory of Henry VIII's goods made after his death in 1547 includes two stained, or painted cloths at Richmond, depicting 'men and women syttinge at a banquette', a hanging depicting 'a kinge bancketing', and a tapestry at Bedington showing 'banqueting of a king and a quene' which was 'old

course and full of holes'.[168] Although these images were undoubtedly intended to convey knowledge of this fashionable and exclusive dining practice, the dilapidated state of the Bedington tapestry foreshadows the decline of banqueting under Mary and Edward VI. Whilst banquets were a feature of Elizabethan entertainments, their form and purpose was markedly different from that of their early sixteenth-century predecessors, as is explored below.

[168] *The inventory of King Henry VIII : Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419. [Vol. 1], The transcript*: pp.240, 333, 47.

Chapter Two: Royal Banquets After 1547

Evidence for the separate banquet is extremely rare under both Edward VI and Mary Tudor, and this is congruent with a general absence of pageantry at the courts of both monarchs. The banquet as utilised by Henry VIII was closely bound up with the personality of the king and performances of absolute power which revolved around access to him. Edward VI was a nine year old minor at the time of his father's death, and during the first years of his reign, the realm was effectively in the hands of the 'Lord Protector', Edward Seymour. He could not, for these reasons, have utilised banquets in the same way as his father. The absence of banqueting during his reign may be further explained by a suspicion of revelry and gluttony under an ill, puritanically minded monarch, which is reflected in dramatically reduced spending in the Revels department.[169] In spite of this, under Edward, a banqueting house was constructed in Hyde Park in 1551 for the visit of a French embassy. It measured 19m by 6.4m (62ft x 21ft), featured a turret and kitchen and was decorated with fresh flowers. It was erected along with three 'standings' or viewing platforms, at a cost of £450, 9s, 7d.[170] This suggests that the banquet was being revived as an element of court ceremony as Edward moved towards regency, but further development of an Edwardian culture of pageantry was curtailed at his death in 1553.

Mary's court was scarcely more festive, and this has been linked by Mary Cole to religious upheaval, the queen's illnesses and the absence of her husband, Philip II.[171] The foods associated with the sweet banquet do feature in records relating to

[169] Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy,* p.302. Edward VI's suspicion of 'Catholic' festivals is also noted in Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, p.167.
[170] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* Vol. IV, p.157. No records have as yet come to light regarding the entertainments offered or foodstuffs served within this structure.
[171] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen : Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), p.18.

Mary's coronation ceremony. An ordinance for the coronation includes a list of fare 'for the Queene the Bisshop and for the Ladye Elizabeth' which includes subtleties featuring a queen, a castle with the arms of the kings of France, Ireland and Spain and the seven cardinal virtues.[172] A bill for spices for the same event indicates large amounts of sugar, fruit, comfits and gold leaf for gilding were supplied.[173] The ordinance, however, does not suggest that these were served as part of a separate banquet, but that the figurative sugar sculptures were presented along with or between the savoury courses. As noted in chapter one, the display of subtleties in this manner dates to at least the fourteenth century and would have been particularly appropriate for coronation festivities with their emphasis on continuity and tradition.[174]

Building accounts provide little evidence for banqueting during Mary's reign. The only banqueting houses recorded are some built at Oatlands under the jurisdiction of the Revels Department in 1554. A letter of the 18th of June describes them as 'shortly required', suggesting that they were erected in connection with the celebration of the marriage between Mary and Philip II of Spain which took place on the 25th of July.[175] No further information regarding them has come to light, but the

[172] BL Add. MS 34320 ff.85v-86r
[173] BL Add. MS 78184
[174] There is a long running debate on continuity versus innovation in early modern English coronation ceremonies. Nevertheless, the two were not mutually exclusive and tradition was important in emphasising legitimacy. On this, see D. Sturdy, ""Continuity" versus "Change": Historians and English Coronations of the Medieval and Early Modern periods," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), pp.228 - 46. On tradition in Tudor coronation ceremonies and Mary's coronation in particular, see Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.3-7, 111-45. On the value of tradition in Tudor royal ceremony more generally, see Loach, "The function of ceremony in the reign of Henry VIII": pp.43-68.
[175] SHC 6729/2/3

involvement of the Revels suggests that these were temporary, tent-like structures.[176]

Banquets at Court During the Reign of Elizabeth I

The evidence for banquets held at royal palaces during Elizabeth's reign is also fairly slim and, in contrast to the reign of Henry VIII, there is little to be found regarding such events in the state papers. However, royal household accounts indicate that banqueting foods were purchased. Although the records of the royal kitchens do not survive in their entirety, an account of household expenses at Whitehall in 1588-9 is almost entirely devoted to large amounts of sugar, spices and fruit.[177]

A number of documented banquets took place in 1559 and are likely to have been intended to facilitate negotiations for Elizabeth's hand in marriage. On the 24th of May, for example, Elizabeth entertained a group of French ambassadors led by Montmorency in the great chamber of one of her palaces, providing supper and, afterwards, 'a banket as goodly as has be[en seen].[178] The first of three 'banqueting

[176] There is little other evidence for banqueting under Mary. Two banquets are described in the 1823 edition of Nichols' *Progresses and Public* Processions. The first, said to have taken place in 1556 at Hatfield for Elizabeth, is described as a 'voidee of spices and suttleties with thirty spyse plates' which was served after a masque. A 1557 'royal banquet' hosted by Mary for Elizabeth is described as consisting of a 'sotteltie of a pomegranate tree bearing the arms of Spain'. These passages are taken from Thomas Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope* (1780) and were found to be spurious in the nineteenth century. Warton claimed that they were from Henry Machyn's diary. Whilst parts of the diary were destroyed by fire in the early eighteenth century, the fact that these entertainments do not feature in any other contemporary documents, the unlikeliness of Machyn witnessing a private entertainment at Hatfield, and Mary's failing health and financial difficulties in summer 1557 undermine the possibility of these events having taken place. See J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London: AMS Press, 1823). Vol. I p.16. On the spuriousness of the passages, see H. E. D. Blakiston, *Thomas Warton and Machyn's Diary*, English Historical Review XI (1896): pp.293-6, and *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* Vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.71-2, 83-5.

[177] TNA E101/432/8

[178] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, p.198.

houses' recorded at Whitehall during Elizabeth's reign may have been prepared for this event, although it is likely that this consisted only of a floral display in the stone gallery.[179] Another banqueting house was erected in July at Greenwich; this example was also decorated with flowers and was supported by fir poles.[180] Here, on the 11th of July, the Queen's Pensioners took part in a tilt, after which the queen, ambassadors, lords and ladies enjoyed supper, a masque, 'and after a grett bankett'.[181] The preparations for Montmorency's visit in 1572 were more elaborate. They included the building by the Revels Department of a canvas 'banketting howse' located in the preaching place at Whitehall, decorated with arms, flowers and foliage, and costing £224, 7s, 6d.[182] It is likely that this was the 'place all breaded and deckt with flowers… and also covered with canvas', where the queen enjoyed a 'bancket' with a group of ambassadors during the visit.[183] A banquet with Montmorency on the 21st of June may have taken place in the same space.[184] These banquets were similar in purpose and scope to the diplomatic banquets which took place under Henry VIII. As an element in a wider programme of entertainments, they spoke of wealth and largesse and are likely to have provided opportunities for political discussion and marriage negotiations amongst their elite guests.

Elizabeth's third banqueting house at Whitehall was erected on the site of the current banqueting house for the visits of the French Embassy and the Duke of Alençon in 1581, and lasted for twenty five years. This was another canvas structure, but supported by 'masts', or wooden posts. Rectangular in plan, it is likely to have

[179] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* Vol. IV p.319.
[180] Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, p.107
[181] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn,* pp.203-4.
[182] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p.26.
[183] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* Vol. II, p.19.
[184] This banquet is mentioned in a contemporary letter from the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Lincoln ibid., p.17.

measured approximately 36.6m (120ft) by 14m (46ft).[185] However, evidence from primary sources suggests that this banqueting house was not used for separate sweet banquets, certainly during the visits of 1581. Henry Goldwell's published account of the entertainments presented during the visit does not mention any such banquets, while a contemporary manuscript in the British museum which details dishes served 'to her majestie and the commissioners of France in the banqueting hous at Whitehall' on the 25th of April 1581 does not mention any subtleties, marchpanes or confectionery.[186] This may be because the function of the banquet had changed by this stage. Sugar 'collations' served during court celebrations had fallen out of favour with the continental aristocracy by the late 1570s.[187] It would therefore have been unlikely for the English to offer such an entertainment to a foreign embassy. Furthermore, as Thurley notes, it would appear that under Elizabeth, the 'banqueting house' had been envisaged as a replacement for the old-fashioned great hall, and therefore had a more general ceremonial use than previous examples, an idea which is supported by its much larger scale than the other Elizabethan banqueting houses, and its relative permanence.[188] The only other known banqueting house constructed at a royal palace under Elizabeth was that built, at the Queen's instruction, at the end of the terrace at Windsor in the early 1580s.[189] This was a small, octagonal wooden structure, lit by mullioned windows, and can be seen both in Henry Hawthorne's plan (Figure 15), and Norden's seventeenth century view of Windsor (Figure 16 and Figure 17).

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[185] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* pp.320-21. The banqueting house is also described by Holinshed. See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p.16.
[186] Henry Goldwell, *A briefe declaratiõ of the shews, devices, speeches, and inventions, done and performed before the Queenes Majestie and the French ambassadours, at the most valiaunt and worthye triumph in Whitson weeke last, anno 1581* (London, 1581); BL Add. MS 34320 f.115e
[187] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, p.212.
[188] Thurley, *Whitehall Palace,* p.68.
[189] Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* Vol. III, pp.325-7.

The small scale and polygonal shape of this building suggest that it may have been used for intimate banquets like those hosted by Henry VIII.

However, more compelling evidence associates the Elizabethan banquet with the celebrations surrounding Christmas and New Year and indicates that on these occasions banqueting foods were served within the palace proper. A bill for 'Banketting frutes necessaryes' for Christmas 1573 includes 'suger for the marchpane stuff… Gowlde leaves to gild the marchpane stuff… Fruts for Banketting' and 'Fruts cou[n]terfete' alongside spices, almonds, rosewater, marmalade, cakes and fresh fruit.[190] Banquets were also an element in the New Year's gift giving ceremonies. In December 1574 the Office of the Works provided 'tables for the banquet and for her Majesty's New Year Gifts' and in preparations for the ceremony in 1602, 'boards for the banquet in the Great Chamber and Presence [chamber]' were set up.[191] The New Year's gift ceremonies involved the receipt of gifts from high ranking individuals and household servants who were then given reciprocal gifts by the queen. Gifts from the queen were often inferior in value to those given to her, and donors gave with the expectation of favours and preferment in return.[192] Gifts for the queen were delivered not by donors themselves, but by their servants, and were recorded by scribes in preparation for being included in the final gift rolls. They were displayed on tables where the queen viewed them, presumably whilst partaking of the banqueting foods which were presented on tables in the same chamber, as suggested by the Works records cited above.[193] Again, banqueting foods are

[190] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,* p.36.
[191] Jane A. Lawson, ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2013), pp.14-15.
[192] Lisa M. Klein, "Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): pp.460-61.
[193] Lawson, ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603*, pp.14-26.

associated with key ceremonial events at court, and are likely to have fostered an atmosphere of festivity.

Displaying these items alongside the gifts conflates the two categories, and indeed Elizabeth did receive banqueting foods as New Year's gifts. Grocers, apothecaries and doctors regularly gave spices, preserves, fruit and sweetmeats such as comfits and lozenges.[194] Traditionally, the queen's Master Cook and, towards the end of the reign, the Master Cook of the Household, gave figurative marchpanes. These give important insights as to the forms of the sugar sculpture at Elizabeth's court. Subjects included models of St. Paul's Cathedral, chessboards, towers and castles, the allegorical figures of justice and charity, the queen's arms, and a 'shippe of sugar plate', demonstrating continuity in iconography with the reign of Henry VIII, and raising the possibility that sugarwork moulds from this period continued to be used in the royal kitchens.[195] A more original design appeared in 1585, when the queen was presented by John Smithson, Master Cook, with a marchpane featuring an owl surrounded by other birds.[196] Marchpanes could be moulded by hand, and this subject may have been devised by Smithson himself, indicating the potential of sugarwork as a vehicle for creative expression. The presentation of sugarwork by professionals involved in its production is typical of the practice of giving occupational tokens, suggesting that the creation of sugar sculptures for the royal table continued to be the preserve of the master cook.[197]

The queen also received gifts of banqueting foods from various gentlewomen, including the laundress Agnes Bylliarde who gave a barrel of oranges and a dish of

[194] Ibid., pp.42-3, 62-3, 81-2, 97-8, 109-10, 24-5, 42, 60, 76, 93, 215, 35-6, 56, 78, 305, 38, 57, 76-7, 95, 415, 33, 53-4, 73, 91, 510.
[195] Ibid., pp. 44, 63, 82, 98, 124, 60, 77, 93, 215, 35, 56, 78, 305, 39, 77, 97, 416, 33, 54, 73, 91, 510.
[196] Ibid., p.357.
[197] Klein, "Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework": p.464.

marchpanes in 1559. Mrs Hampden, wife of the MP Griffith Hampden, gave two boxes of sweetmeats in 1576 while Lucy Morgan, wife of Morgan the apothecary gave boxes of preserved fruits throughout the 1580s.[198] Higher ranking women also gave gifts of banqueting foods. Lady York, a gentlewoman of the privy chamber, gave the queen sugar loaves and barrels of sucket in 1562, 1567, 1568 and 1571. A glass of orange water replaced the sucket in 1567.[199] This reflects the fact that sugarwork was coming to be viewed as a female accomplishment. This development, which is discussed extensively in chapter five, suggests that the preserved fruits and marchpanes given to the queen may, in some cases, have been prepared by female donors themselves. Lisa Klein has outlined the enhanced effectiveness of the hand-wrought gift in cementing social relations and engendering obligation in Elizabethan gift rituals.[200] Although Klein writes about embroidery, it may be that gifts of home-made sugarwork were intended to convey the same 'intimacy, efficacy and authority', functioning as tangible reminders of their donors which were not only used or worn, but consumed bodily by the queen.[201]

Some gifts which particularly caught the queen's eye were not automatically transferred to the appropriate household department after viewing, as was standard practice, but were kept by the queen. These include several gifts of spices, loaf sugar, sugar plate, comfits, conserves, a chessboard marchpane given in 1559 and a 'Chessebourde being made of suger with the Queenis Armes' given in 1567.[202] In 1565, Elizabeth also took 'a Trencher boxe with thre Dossen of ringes of golde of sundry devises' which was given to her by the teller of the exchequer, Sir Henry

[198] Lawson, ed., *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges,* pp.41, 191, 302, 56, 76, 95.
[199] Ibid., pp.58, 77, 121, 39, 56.
[200] Klein, "Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework": p.462.
[201] It should be noted, however, that gifts of sugarwork were relatively rare in comparison with embroidery, clothing and jewellery. The ephemerality of food gifts perhaps rendered them less effective as reminders of generosity.
[202] Lawson, ed., *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges,* pp.42-4, 81-2, 109-10, 24.

Killigrew. The description of the golden 'rings' which are recorded without any weight of metal suggest that this entry in fact refers to a set of the highly gilded and elaborately decorated wooden trenchers which were associated with the sweet banquet. Numerous examples of these trenchers survive, most often in sets of twelve, and sometimes with accompanying storage boxes (Figure 46, Figure 69, Figure 78). They are generally round, although there are some rectangular examples, approximately 12cm in diameter and only a few millimetres thick. One side is always left pain, with the other highly decorated. The themes of surviving examples include moralising stories, the labours of the months, stock characters and fruits and flowers. These are either painted and gilded, or take the form of prints which could be purchased, coloured and pasted onto the trenchers. Their decoration almost always includes text, most often biblical inscriptions or short, witty rhymes. Modern scholarship assumes that banqueting sweetmeats were eaten from the plain side before the trenchers were turned over, and their rhymes sung or read aloud.[203] It is tempting to suppose that the queen took the set of trenchers referred to above, along with the sweetmeats and marchpanes away for use during private banquets in her chambers. Without any evidence to confirm it, however, this idea remains conjecture. What these gifts do demonstrate is that the foods and material culture associated with the banquet were considered to be high status gifts worthy of the queen, with the potential to create obligation and enhance the position of the giver. That the queen kept some of these gifts with her indicates that she, too, found them pleasing.

[203] Hazel Forsyth, "Trenchers and Porringers," in *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style*, ed. Philippa Glanville and Hillary Young (London: V&A Publications, 2002), pp.42-3; Edward H. Pinto, *Treen and Other Wooden Bygones: An Encyclopaedia and Social History* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1969), pp.79-81.

Progress Banquets

Whilst the separate banquet's use in large scale diplomatic entertainments appears to have declined after the 1570s, banquets continued to occur in other contexts. Indeed, the majority of the evidence for the banquets Elizabeth attended during her reign is found in material relating to progress visits to the country houses of her courtiers, the nobility and gentry. Elizabeth made twenty three summer progresses during her long reign, focusing mainly on the South of England and the Home Counties. She visited both towns and individuals, and the ranks of her hosts ranged from members of the Privy Council and other leading courtiers, to country gentry and local MPs.[204] During these visits, the queen was entertained with plays, pageants, orations, music, dance and lavish meals.

Entertainments provided during progress visits had relatively varied audiences; spectators at entertainments and civic entries included Elizabeth's retinue, and important local personages, but also 'common' people. Accounts of progress visits were circulated at court and were often published immediately afterwards by the queen's hosts, leading to further dissemination.[205] Incidences of banquets on progress are known through these accounts, the household records of hosts and documents relating to the work of the royal ushers in preparation for progress visits.

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[204] On the progresses in general, see Ian Dunlop, *The Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I* (London: J. Cape, 1962); Cole, *The Portable Queen;* Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999); Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[205] On audiences and the publication of accounts of progress visits, see Curtis Charles Breight, "Caressing the Great: Viscount Montague's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray, 1591," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 127(1989): p.148; Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Robert Laneham's letter, discussed below, appears to have been intended for circulation at court, see David Scott, "William Patten and the Authorship of "Robert Laneham's Letter"," *English Literary Renaissance* 7, no. 3 (1977): pp.297-306. The account of Elizabeth's entertainment at Elvetham, also discussed below, was published shortly after the visit.

Whilst gifts of banqueting foods feature in visits to civic hosts, these were generally given to courtiers rather than the queen, who received money and plate, and there is little evidence of separate banquets occurring during these visits.[206] This section, therefore, focuses on visits to the houses of individual hosts in seeking to elucidate the ways in which the banquet functioned within the overall aims and iconography of progress entertainments.

It is clear that banquets were often an important element of these entertainments. In 1575, during a progress visit to Lichfield, Francis Walsingham complained that matters of government were not receiving due attention, as 'we are altogether given to banquettinge'.[207] However, evidence from the accounts of the queen's treasurer relating to the progress of 1578 suggests that banquets occurred only during some visits. Several days before the queen's arrival, court ushers visited each of her destinations in order to prepare various chambers for her use, which were furnished with items carried on progress. This almost always included the setting up of a 'dining house', but only occasionally a banqueting house. During the progress to East Anglia which lasted from July to September 1578, for example, there are only records of three 'banqueting houses' being constructed by the royal ushers, at Thomas Kitson's Hengrave Hall, at Lord North's house at Kirtling, and Melford Hall in Suffolk, which belonged to Sir William Cordell.[208] At Kirtling, the cost of setting up

[206] One possible explanation for the lack of banquets during civic festivities is that they were strongly associated with nature and rural rather than urban settings, as is explored below. For evidence of gifts of banqueting foods made by civic hosts, see Felicity Heal, "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses ", pp.46-61; Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p.204. For examples of sugar being gifted to courtiers by civic hosts during progress visits see Cole, *The Portable Queen,* p.102-6.

[207] Mary Hill Cole, "Monarchy in Motion: An Overview of Elizabethan Progresses " in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.33.

[208] Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress,* pp.43, 107, 15. On the routine nature of dining houses, see pp. 99, 24, 30.There is a late sixteenth or early-seventeenth century banqueting house in the grounds of Melford Hall. The erection of the banqueting house by the ushers suggests that either this was judged to be too small to accommodate the progress banquet or, perhaps more likely, that it had not

the banqueting house, building new kitchens and improvements to various rooms was £32, 2s, 4d. North purchased Ten marchpanes for £5, along with £7, 4s worth of sugar and 'Grocerie ware, banketting stuff, salletts, rootes and hearbes' amounting to £39, 21d.[209] This was a significant outlay, and suggests an explanation for the fact that banquets were provided only occasionally. Mary Cole has demonstrated that the level of hospitality offered to the queen was expected to be commensurate with her hosts' social status.[210] Lord North was a wealthy courtier, who had served as a diplomat.[211] Cordell, who had been appointed Solicitor General, Speaker of the House of Commons and Master of the Rolls under Mary, had retained his position under Elizabeth and can be considered to have been a fairly high ranking individual.[212] Thomas Kitson, although previously suspected of recusancy, was knighted during the queen's visit to Hengrave and owed his wealth to his father's career as a merchant adventurer, prudent estate management and his wife Elizabeth's substantial dowry.[213] This indicates that only those who could afford to host banquets were expected to do so.

In addition to the fact that banquets were occasional entertainments, it is likely that some went unrecorded. Published accounts of progress visits often focus on the speeches delivered, with other entertainments mentioned only in passing. Nevertheless, several accounts of banquets offered to the queen whilst on progress

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yet been built. The first record of this structure is on an estate map of 1612 (Melford Hall, uncatalogued).

[209] William Stevenson, "Extracts from the book of howshold charges and other paiments laid out by the Lord North": pp.287-90.

[210] Cole, *The Portable Queen*, pp. 64, 72.

[211] John Craig, 'North, Roger, second Baron North (1531–1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20312, accessed 18 May 2015]

[212] J. H. Baker, 'Cordell, Sir William (1522–1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6306, accessed 18 May 2015]

[213] Joy Rowe, 'Kitson family (*per. c.*1520–*c.*1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2014 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73910, accessed 18 May 2015]

do provide useful insights as to how they functioned as part of the overall scheme of entertainment. Prior to examining the significance of these progress banquets, it is necessary to set them within the context of current debates surrounding the progresses themselves, and the motivations behind the entertainments provided for the queen.

In the 1970s, David Bergeron and Roy Strong argued that Elizabethan pageantry functioned to express a coherent programme of propaganda intended to create a quasi-religious 'cult' surrounding Elizabeth.[214] Later, Sidney Anglo suggested that it failed to communicate in any meaningful political way at all, instead providing a generalised sense of magnificence intended to flatter the queen.[215] Recent scholarship, however, has highlighted the inadequacy of these interpretations, emphasising the complexity of Tudor visual culture, which operated on a variety of levels, and identifying a tension in Elizabethan progress entertainments between satisfying the needs of the queen and those of her hosts.[216] Mary Cole's study of the progresses has argued that they were central to Elizabeth's strategy of government; the chaos that they engendered is seen as focusing attention on the queen and her power over the court, thus enhancing her authority. They also made her visible to her subjects, consolidating her image and authority, and providing opportunities for her to communicate with them and reinforce social ties.[217] Curtis Breight and Zillah Dovey have interpreted progress visits as a means for the queen to manage and limit potential and actual dissent of the part of her subjects. Dovey notes that the

[214] David Moore Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: E. Arnold, 1971). p.11; Roy C. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth : Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), esp. p. 16.
[215] Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), pp.107-28.
[216] For criticism of Strong and Anglo's interpretations, see String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII,* pp.14-15; Susan Doran, "The Queen," in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London and New york: Routledge, 2011), p.46.
[217] Cole, *The Portable Queen*, pp.1-34.

1578 progress visited Suffolk and Norfolk, where there were a number of high ranking Catholic families, and where Bishop Edmund Freke appeared to be reluctant to deal with recusancy. She considers the queen and council's visits to these areas as being part of a strategy intended to deal with such problems.[218] Similarly, Breight suggests that Elizabeth's 1591 visit to one of the Earl of Hertford's smaller houses was intended to 'make him appear small and inconsequential', thus undermining any claim his descendants might make to the throne.[219]

In recent years scholars have acknowledged that progress visits also provided hosts with opportunities to further their own interests, to influence and even critique the queen as well as to flatter her. Their country house settings were important in this regard. Lawrence and Jeanne Stone have argued that the country seat was both an essential qualification for and important sign of elite status, and that the impetus behind the building of the Elizabethan 'prodigy' house was the entertainment of the queen.[220] Thus, within the patronage systems associated with Elizabeth's personal monarchy, gentry and nobles confirmed their local authority by symbolically demonstrating their access to the queen through houses built to receive her. As James Sutton has noted, during progress visits these houses came to function as stages for 'the mutual performance of nobility and monarchy'.[221]

However, Michael Leslie has explored the relationship between queen and hosts with reference to the entertainments' landscape settings. He argues that these deprived the queen of the spatial control afforded by architectural or normal

[218] Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, pp.15-16.
[219] Curtis Charles Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1992): p.36.
[220] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp.295-301.
[221] J.M. Sutton, *Materializing Space at an Early Modern Prodigy House: The Cecils at Theobalds, 1564-1607* (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), p.14.

theatrical settings with their clear boundaries between spaces, audience and performers. In a sense, Elizabeth was held hostage within the country estates where entertainments took place; the estate's owner controlled the action and there were fewer opportunities for her to turn away from it.[222] Whilst this idea is not uncontested, recent research has indicated that progress entertainments could be used specifically to further the interests of Elizabeth's hosts, even when these conflicted with those of the queen herself.[223] For example, William Cecil, Lord Burghley used his entertainments at Theobalds in 1591 and 1594 to promote his own retirement, but was ultimately unsuccessful.[224]

Other studies have emphasised the possibility that courtiers used covert communication and took advantage of the various media associated with entertainments and their dissemination in order to convey specific messages to different audience groups. Breight, for example, argues that the Elvetham entertainment of 1591, which is discussed in more detail below, conveyed very different messages in performance and print.[225] Printed accounts of progress visits were not funded by the crown, and were thus far from constituting a form of royal 'propaganda'.[226] Similarly, Breight argues that Viscount Montague's entertainment for Elizabeth in the same year was intended to simultaneously flatter the queen and

[222] Michael Leslie, "Something Nasty in the Wilderness: Entertaining Queen Elizabeth on her Progresses," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 10(1998): pp.47-72.
[223] Peter Sillitoe refutes Leslie's theory, arguing that in spatial terms Elizabeth was always central during progress visits, although the entertainments themselves could communicate in ways that were critical of the queen. Sillitoe, ""Where the prince lieth": Courtly Space and the Elizabethan Progresses", pp.79-80.
[224] Heal, "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses ", p.52.
[225] Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony".
[226] Gabriel Heaton, "Elizabethan Entertainments in Manuscript: the Harefield Festivities," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.232.

derail her suspicion about her host's Catholicism, encourage Catholics, and promote Montague's honour.[227]

It is clear, then, that Elizabethan progress visits were capable of communicating to varied audiences in complex and ambiguous ways. What the following section aims to explore is the ways in which the sweet banquet contributed to these systems of communication. Due to the fragmentary nature of the records relating to progress entertainments, this study will focus on three key case studies of visits featuring banquets, for which a relatively substantial body of evidence survives. These are the 1575 entertainments at Kenilworth and Woodstock, and the 1591 entertainment at Elvetham.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester's entertainment of Elizabeth at Kenilworth is one of the best known of the progress entertainments. The 1575 revels were on a greater scale than any previous progress entertainments, provide the first example of the continental water fête being deployed in England, and were the first to be disseminated through publication.[228] Two pamphlets were produced shortly after the visit, Robert Laneham's *Letter* (1575), and George Gascgoine's *Princely Pleasures at the Court at Kenilworth* (1576).[229] The *Letter* claims to have been written by a courtier to a merchant friend, and provides an eye witness account of the events.[230] Gascgoine was commissioned to write a number of the speeches and pageants for the entertainment, and the *Princely Pleasures* reproduces these, including an

[227] Breight, "Caressing the Great".
[228] Elisabeth Woodhouse, 'Propaganda in Paradise: The Symbolic Garden Created by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth', *Garden History,* 30 (2008): pp.94-113.
[229] These accounts are published in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources Vol.ume II: 1572 to 1578*, pp.233-332.
[230] The authorship and purpose of the 'letter' have been debated. See Scott, "William Patten and the Authorship of "Robert Laneham's Letter": pp.297-306; Elizabeth Goldring, ""A mercer ye wot az we be": The Authorship of the Kenilworth Letter Reconsidered", *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): pp.245-69.

entertainment which was not performed, possibly having been censored by the queen. With its emphasis on the literary, this text does not deal with dining practices, but is useful in outlining the overall themes of the entertainment.[231]

Elizabeth arrived at Kenilworth on Saturday the 9th of July 1575, and was met with a series of Arthurian devices. A Sybil character greeted her with verses praising her rulership, and a dumb show outlined Leicester's pedigree, tracing his lineage to King Arthur. At the tiltyard gate, a porter then presented Elizabeth with the keys to the keep, and on entering the estate she was welcomed by the Lady of the Lake. The following week's revels included firework displays, bearbaiting, hunting, dancing, gymnastic performances and a dialogue between a Savage Man, Jupiter and Echo. On Sunday the 17th, the local, common people performed a mock marriage ceremony followed by dancing and running at Quintain, after which were supper and a play. According to Laneham, after the play there was 'a most deliciooz and… Ambrosiall Banket: whearof, whither I myght more muze at the deintyness, shapez and the cost: or els at the varietee and number of the disshez (that wear a three hundred)… Her Maiesty eat Smally or nothing'. A masque was intended to be presented along with the banquet, but the *Letter* explains that this was cancelled due to the lateness of the hour.[232]

Gascgoine relates that on the 18th, after returning from hunting, the queen was presented with a pageant device in which she was entreated by Triton to rescue the Lady of the Lake from the evil knight, Sir Bruse sans Pitie.[233] It would appear that this device was not performed as intended. Originally, Leicester was to be the

[231] For a general outline of the circumstances surrounding the production of Gascgoine's text, see E. Goldring, "Gascgoine and Kenilworth: The Production, Reception, and Afterlife of *The Princely Pleasures*," *English Literary Renaissance* 44, no. 3 (2014): pp.363-387
[232] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* Vol. II, p.260.
[233] Ibid., pp.304-7.

rescuer of the Lady, and this fairy queen figure was therefore equated with Elizabeth. Matthew Woodcock has argued that the queen refused to play the part assigned to her, 'preferring instead a narrative that allowed her to unequivocally assert and display her sovereign authority.'[234] At some point afterwards, there was intended to be a performance of another pageant device centred on the theme of marriage. The masque of Zabeta was to be an extended debate on whether Zabeta, one of Diana's nymphs, and an obvious play on Elizabeth, should stay chaste. It included a speech from Iris on the necessity for queens to wed, and ended with Juno, goddess of marriage, claiming victory over chaste Diana. Gascgoine's text claims that this was cancelled due to inclement weather.[235] However, Elizabeth Frye has argued that the queen herself censored it, identifying a shift, with the device of Sir Bruse sans Pitie, to entertainments which centred on the queen's agenda rather than Dudley's.[236] Nevertheless, upon the queen's departure, an edited version was was recited by Gascgoine in the guise of Sylvanus.

Because of the availability of Laneham and Gascgoine's detailed accounts of the events at Kenilworth, the visit has received considerable scholarly attention, and a number of interpretations of its themes and purpose have been suggested. It is clear that marriage was a central motif, and, as noted above, it has been argued that the entire entertainment was an elaborate final attempt to convince the queen to marry her host, Robert Dudley. Thus, the assertion of Dudley's Arthurian pedigree in the opening device marks him out as a suitable marriage partner, and the Savage Man's

[234] Matthew Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments," in *Elizabeth I Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. Carol Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), p.100.
[235] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth,* Vol.II, p.322.
[236] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I The Competition for Representation* (Oxford and New york: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.62. A similar argument is advanced in Helen Cooper, "Location and Meaning in Masque, Morality and Royal Entertainment," in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.42-3.

gifts are conceived as tokens of love. The various pageants, which put Juno and Diana in opposition, weigh up the benefits of marriage for the queen. The mock marriage, with its 'ill-smellyng', ugly thirty five year old bride has been interpreted as a comment on Elizabeth's age intended to persuade her to marry. [237] Marriage, however, was not the only theme of the entertainments at Kenilworth. They were also intended to advocate Leicester's policy of military intervention in the Netherlands. Thus, the figure of the knight Bruse sans Pitie represented Spain, and the Lady of the Lake, imprisoned and threatened with rape, the Netherlands.[238]

What part, then, did the banquet play in this highly communicative entertainment? Undoubtedly, it was intended to enhance Leicester's status, and may be read as part of his strategy to present himself as a suitable marriage partner for the queen. Indeed, the author of the 'Letter' describes how the 'wyne, spyce, deinty viaunds, along with the order, curteizy… and humanitee with which they were presented… plate, muzik… rich arras and sylk' were testament to 'a magnifyk minde, a singular wizdoom, a prinsly purs, and an heroicall hart'.[239] Taking place, as it did, after the mock marriage, the banquet can also be seen as an aristocratic version of the banquets which accompanied both noble and non-noble marriages, discussed in chapter three. Indeed, in this case, whilst the common people enjoyed 'spise cakes',

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[237] Frye, *Elizabeth I The Competition for Representation*, pp.70-72; Leslie, "Something Nasty in the Wilderness": p.55; Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments", p.99; Elizabeth Goldring, "Portraiture, Patronage and the Progresses: Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575" in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.172. The erotic themes of the entertainments are also discussed in William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp.116-20. Philippa Berry, however, argues that the entertainments were not intended as a marriage proposal on Dudley's part, but merely to consolidate his position as the queen's favourite: Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power; Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p.87.

[238] Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p.98; Frye, *Elizabeth I The Competition for Representation*, pp.78-86; Goldring, "Portraiture, Patronage and the Progresses: Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575", pp.176-7.

[239] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth,* Vol.II, pp.280-1.

Elizabeth and her retinue were invited to partake of the equivalent 'dainties' which were appropriate to their status. It is telling that according to the *Letter*, the queen ate little of the banquet presented later that evening and that the masque intended to accompany it was cancelled. As the final entertainment on the Sunday, the banquet occurred just before the 'shift' in the entertainments identified by Frye. Elizabeth's refusal to partake of the banquet can therefore be interpreted as signalling her displeasure at the foregoing entertainments' entreaties to marry.[240] Her reaction to the banquet appears to have triggered the alteration of the devices planned for the following day, so that they conveyed messages more palatable to the queen. While Leslie argues that in the absence of the manipulable spatial barriers which characterised palace architecture it was more difficult for the queen to exercise control during progress entertainments, it would appear that she did have other means at her disposal. Given the importance of hospitality in Elizabethan society in signalling and maintaining both honour and social relationships, her refusal of Leicester's banquet was a pointed message.[241]

The September 1575 entertainments at Woodstock have been read in conjunction with those at Kenilworth in July as they also centred on the themes of marriage and military intervention. Henry Lee, Elizabeth's host, was a client of Leicester's, and there is evidence that Leicester himself was involved with preparations for the visit.[242] The entertainment can be reconstructed from several sources, the most

[240] This displeasure has been noted in Frye, *Elizabeth I The Competition for Representation*: pp.65-72; Leslie, "Something Nasty in the Wilderness ": p.55; Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments", p.100.
[241] The issue of hospitality is discussed more fully in chapter three. On its importance in general, see Heal, "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses ".
[242] His letters to Elizabeth on the 4th and 6th of September indicate that he was at Woodstock in preparation for her visit: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series. The Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth : 1547-1580* ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1856), p.503. On thematic similarities, see Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642*, p.35; Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, pp.100-1; Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London and New york:

useful of which for the study of banqueting is an eye witness account printed in 1585.[243] This can be supplemented by another text by George Gascgoine, his *Tale of Hermetes the Hermit,* which was the first entertainment presented during this visit.[244] The entertainments began when the queen, riding in the woods, came across two knights in combat, observed by a maiden and a hermit. On seeing the queen, the hermit intervened to end the combat, and went on to relate the stories of the various characters. The maiden, Gaudina, princess of Cambaya in the Indies, had fallen in love with the honourable but lowly born knight Contarenus. Her father, hearing of this, had had Contarenus spirited away by an enchantress, and Gaudina had set off in pursuit. In the grotto of the Sybil, she met the knight Loricus who, she was told, was to be her travelling companion until she was reunited with her lover in a place 'wheare men were moste stronge, and women most fayre, the country most fertyll the people most welthy, the gouernment most iust, and the princes most wourthy'. [245] Elizabeth's England, of course, was this prosperous and well governed land.

After the hermit had related his tale, the queen was escorted to a banqueting house high up in an oak tree, decorated with 'ivy & spang[l]es of gold plate'. Inside, on a table in the shape of a half-moon which was covered with grass turfs were '[all] sorts of dainty & those divers dishes belo[n]ging to banquet'. The chamber was further decorated with a round table and chair of crimson velvet, and 'pictures with posies of the Noble or men of great credite'. Here the queen 'addresseth herselfe with merry

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Routledge, 1996), p.69; Goldring, "Portraiture, Patronage and the Progresses", pp.184-6; Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments", p.100.

[243] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources Volume II: 1572 to 1578*, pp.401-75.

[244] Ibid., pp.366-401. The entertainments also included a Latin oration by Laurence Humphrey, the Vice Chancellor and Professor of Divinity at Oxford, which is less relevant here ibid.,pp. 435-74. On the other textual sources relating to this visit, see ibid., pp.359, 71-3.

[245] Ibid., p.377.The hermit also related his own tale and that of Loricus, which both revolved around the themes of obstacles to love.

cheere to banqueting'. During the banquet, the Fairy Queen appeared, making a speech in which she professed her love and admiration for Elizabeth. She then presented the queen and her ladies with nosegays and 'posies' of two verses; the queen's was in Italian.[246] On the twentieth of September, a further entertainment concluded the narrative of Gaudina and Contarenus. The character of Occanon, Gaudina's father, arrived searching for his daughter, and described how his pursuit of her had caused him to neglect his duties of rulership. The Fairy Queen intervened with a speech in praise of duty to the state before love. As a result, Gaudina agreed to return to Cambaya with her father, relinquishing her love for Contarenus, who set off in search of chivalric pursuits.

The banquet here, unlike that at Kenilworth, does not push a specific political agenda in any very obvious way. Although it may be considered celebratory in that it took place after the enactment of the lovers' reunion, it is emphatically not a marriage banquet. Indeed, it may have prefigured the following entertainment in suggesting the possibility of chastity. The half-moon shaped table is perhaps an early reference to Diana in association with Elizabeth. Although the 'moon cult' iconography of Elizabeth as Diana / Cynthia is generally considered only to have emerged in the 1580s, it is clear from the intended Kenilworth entertainment in which 'Zabeta' featured as a nymph of Diana and other examples, that the association between the unmarried queen and the chaste goddess was emerging at this stage.[247] Further, Strong sees Leicester as the instigator of the moon imagery associated with

[246] Ibid., pp.402-7.
[247] Elizabeth was associated with Diana in entertainments at Gray's Inn in 1565 and Oxford in 1566. See Siobhan Keenan, "Spectator and Spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.99.

Elizabeth.[248] As he was involved in the preparations for the festivities at Woodstock, this may be an early example of such iconography and is an indication that he had recognised and wished to signal his acceptance of her rejection of the idea of marriage as presented at Kenilworth earlier in the year.

The queen's reactions to the banquets at Kenilworth and Woodstock suggest that she used these events to signal her response to the entertainments as a whole. By eating little or nothing at Kenilworth, she indicated her rejection of Leicester's suit and the idea of military intervention in the Netherlands, possibly causing Leicester and Lee to alter the programme for the subsequent entertainments. Meanwhile, the description of the queen merrily indulging in the Woodstock banquet is indicative of her approval of the entertainment. This is likely to have been because, as Woodcock has noted, the theme of marriage here was more 'skilfully and subtly presented', and allowed the queen to maintain a 'position of authority and judgement'.[249]

Thematically, the Earl of Hertford's entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham in September 1591 was very different. By this stage, the question of the queen's marriage was irrelevant, and the iconography of the Virgin Queen was fully developed. The political scene was also very different, and, in the wake of the Spanish Armada, the pageants presented at Elvetham dwelt on themes of naval prowess and empire. The entertainment is known through an account which was first published in October 1591 – within a month of the visit itself. Three copies of

[248] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth,* p.48.
[249] Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments", p.102. Although Woodcock reads the entertainment as relating to ongoing negotiations surrounding the Alençon match, Susan Doran has convincingly argued that the entertainments relate to those presented at Kenilworth in signalling acceptance of the queen's rejection of Leicester's proposal of marriage. See Susan Doran, "Juno Versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561 - 1581," *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 2 (1995): p.268. This point is accepted and reiterated in Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, p.26.

this thirty-six page pamphlet are known to survive, at the British Library, Cambridge University Library and Lambeth Palace.[250]

The account describes the great lengths that the Earl of Hertford went to in preparation for the queen's visit, including erecting a large complex of temporary buildings with entertainment spaces, kitchens, and household offices. A 'withdrawing place for her majesty' was decorated inside with ivy, herbs and tapestry, and featured boughs and clusters of hazelnuts on the exterior. A lake was also dug, in the form of a half moon, and featured a snail mount, a fort and a ship isle. On the queen's arrival on Monday the 7th of September, she was met outside the estate by Hertford and a retinue of three hundred men and escorted towards the house. En-route, a poet gave a Latin oration in praise of the queen, its description of her as 'she [who] doth commaund the seas' setting the tone for the rest of the entertainment. Six virgins then led Elizabeth to the house, strewing flowers in her path and singing pastoral verses. Upon arrival, artillery was fired from the lake, and supper was served to musical accompaniment.

On the second day, the queen watched a pageant on the lake featuring Nereus, Triton, Neptune, Oceanus and other sea gods, who defeated Sylvanus. On the 9th of September, music and games were followed by a fireworks display during which the queen was presented with a glittering banquet, 'serued all in glasse and siluer… by two hundred of my Lord of Hertfordes Gentlemen, euerie one carrying so many dishes, that the whole number amounted to a thousand: and there were to light them in their way, a hundred torch bearers.' The sugar dishes presented to the monarch included:

[250] All citations here are from the British Library's second edition copy, which is unpaginated.

‘Her Majesties Armes in sugarworke.

The seuerall Armes of all our Nobilitie in sugarworke.

Many men and women in sugarworke, and some inforst by hand.

Castles, forts, Ordinance, Drummers, Trumpeters, and soldiers of all sorts in sugarworke.

Lions, Unicorns, Beares, Horses, Camels, Buls, Rams, Dogges, Tygers, Elephants, Antelops, Dromedaries, Apes and all other beasts in sugarworke.

Egles, Falcons, Cranes, Bustardes, Heronshawes, Bytters, Pheasants, Partridges, Quailes, Larkes, Sparrowes, Pigeons, Cockes, Oules, and all that flie, in sugarworke.

Snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toades, and all kinds of wormes in sugarworke.

Mermaides, whales, dolphins, cungars, sturgions, pikes, carps, breams, and all sortes of fishes, in sugarworke.

All these were standing dishes of sugar –work. The self same devises were also there in flat-worke. Moreouer these particulars following, and many such like, were in flat sugarworke, and sinamond.

Marchpanes, grapes, oisters, muscles, cockles, periwinkles, crabs, lobsters.

Apples, peares, and plums, of all sorts.

Preserves, suckats, jellies, leaches, marmalats, pasts, comfits of all sorts.’ [251]

The following day, the queen departed after performances of dancing, a speech from the Fairy Queen, and an oration from the Poet lamenting her departure.

[251] "The honorable entertainement gieven to the Queen's Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford," (London: John Wolfe, 1591), n.p.

In performance, the entertainment's focus appears to have been the appeasement of the queen after Hertford's clandestine marriage to Katherine Grey, and a commentary on the Anglo Spanish war which asserted Hertford's potential as a military leader.[252] In 1560, Hertford had married Grey, a cousin of the queen with a strong claim to the English throne, in secret. The couple were imprisoned in September 1561 after Katherine confessed their marriage to Robert Dudley, and in the same month she gave birth to a son. A second son was born in the Tower in February 1562. Katherine died in captivity in 1568, and Hertford remained under guard in the country until his return to court in 1571. Although often at court, he failed to secure any major positions under Elizabeth, and she may well have remained suspicious of him.[253] It is this history that has given rise to Charles Breight's argument that the entertainment was not intended to honour the queen, but as a demonstration of Hertford's power; with its expense, the display of hundreds of armed retainers and frequent artillery fire, Breight contends that it may even have been intended as threatening to the queen. He goes on to argue that the text describing this entertainment further effaced any honour done to the queen and that the inclusion of Hertford's arms on the front of the pamphlet underscored his family's lineage and claim to the throne.[254] As Breight notes, between 1580 and 1588, Hertford's son Thomas had mounted legal challenges to the declaration of his illegitimacy, with the support of his father, renewing his appeals around two months after the Elvetham visit.[255] The publication of the entertainment text, then, with Hertford's arms in prominent position, its emphasis on the lavishness and implied

[252] On this, also see Harry H Boyle, "Elizabeth's entertainment at Elvetham: War policy in pageantry," *Studies in Philology* 68, no. 2 (1971): pp.146-166.
[253] S. Doran, 'Seymour, Edward, first earl of Hertford (1539?–1621)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25161, accessed 11 May 2010]
[254] Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony".
[255] Ibid., p.37.

expense of the preparations and entertainments themselves, implications of royal favour and family honour, may have been intended to support Thomas Seymour's claims to legitimacy.

This interpretation has not gone uncontested, and Leslie in particular has criticized it, seeing the queen's contentment as the *sin qua non* of an entertainment that was, overall, simply an 'ingratiating act' which aimed to win back her favour.[256] Harry Boyle's interpretation of the naval displays as allegories of the Anglo-Spanish war, and the emphasis in the speeches upon Elizabeth as 'the wide Oceans Empresse' also suggest that, on some levels, the entertainment was intended to flatter the queen.[257]

The banquet presented to the queen during the visit has received little scholarly attention, despite its detailed description in the pamphlet. Breight sees it as a mode of honouring the queen which could easily be forgotten; when Hertford's printed arms replaced the queen's ephemeral, sugar arms, the true message of the entertainment was revealed.[258] Undoubtedly, it was intended both to please the queen and, as at Kenilworth, to display her host's wealth. However, as was the case at the Henrician court, banquets were utilised within sophisticated communicative strategies, and this example can be fruitfully interpreted in light of the entertainment's naval themes. Berry sees the satyrs mentioned in one of the songs as representing both the inhabitants of the New World and the Spanish. Further, Elizabeth's characterisation as Cynthia and Nereus' description of India, 'sprinkling endlesse

[256] Leslie, "Something Nasty in the Wilderness": pp.59-62. Similarly, Christoher Haigh interprets the visit as signalling 'political rehabilitation… an old grudge had been forgotten, and a personal relationship re-established', and Philippa Berry considers the entertainment as an attempt to regain royal favour. Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London: Longman, 2001), p.72; Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p.109.
[257] Boyle, "Elizabeth's entertainment at Elvetham".
[258] Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony": p.45.

treasure on this Isle' are rightly interpreted by Breight as expressing a 'colonialist fantasy' of the wealth of distant lands.[259]

Set within the context of English expeditions to explore and colonise the new world in the 1570s and 80s, the banquet does the same job. The sugar, as has been noted previously, was an exotic product, which had been used by Elizabeth's father to signal England's trade links and international standing. England had its own sugar refineries from the 1580s; consequently, this was the first stage at which England could legitimately claim significant involvement in and profit from the trade, making sugar an increasingly potent symbol. Furthermore, with Elizabeth cast as empress of the oceans, her arms and those of her nobility rendered in sugar echo the arms which appeared on contemporary maps as stamps of ownership.[260] Similarly, that 'all the beasts… all that flie… all kinds of worms… and all sorts of fishes' including mythological and exotic creatures were offered up for the consumption of Elizabeth and her court underscores these claims of access and ownership. As with Henry VIII's banqueting chambers, decorated with maps, where courtly dance functioned to chart space, a microcosm was created within the 'low Gallery in the Garden' where the banquet took place, and Elizabeth / Cinthia, in consuming these exotic riches, laid claim to the lands from whence they came.

It is clear, then, that the banquets presented during progress entertainments could be used by the queen as a means of signalling her reaction to the entertainment as a whole, and that they were capable of expressing particular messages which were both historically contingent and closely related to the overall themes and messages

[259] Ibid.: p.29.
[260] In Saxton's 1579 atlas, for example, the royal arms appear on every sheet, and Richard Helgerson has argued that they function to 'proclaim royal sovereignty over the kingdom as a whole and over each of its provinces.' Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp.111-12.

conveyed by the wider programme of entertainments. However, they also worked to convey other specific messages which were relatively consistent throughout the reign. This was achieved through both the spaces in which banquets took place, and the foodstuffs presented at them.

Space was often used symbolically in Elizabethan progress entertainments. James Sutton has argued that at Theobalds, William Cecil utilised internal and external space as a 'stage for monarchy', allowing him to demonstrate his privileged access to the queen during her visits there, and contributing to the legitimisation of the Cecil dynasty. Sutton sees space as a much more effective communicative media in this respect than texts, devices and sports.[261] With this in mind, this section considers how spaces for banqueting generated meaning.

Although many of the entertainments presented during progress visits were semi-public in nature, banquets display an emphasis on privacy. The banquet at Elvetham, for example, was presented 'in a lowe Gallerie in her maiesties priuie garden'.[262] Whilst the fireworks set off from the islands in the lake would have been visible across the estate, it is reasonable to assume that only the queen, her host and selected guests would have been admitted to the privy garden to partake of the banquet. Similarly, in preparation for the queen's visit in 1575, Leicester was concerned with enhancing the privacy of the gardens where banquets are likely to have taken place; the north gate to the garden was blocked up and a keep to the

[261] Sutton, *Materializing Space at an Early Modern Prodigy House*, p.83.
[262] *The honorable entertainement gieven to the Queen's Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford*, n.p.

south remodelled.[263] These gardens are therefore conceived of as sites of privileged access to the queen.

The erection of temporary banqueting houses on estates by the queen's ushers must also have contributed to the way in which, according to Clifford Geertz, progresses functioned to stamp 'a territory with ritual signs of dominance'.[264] The banqueting house, given its suggestion of expensive entertainment, foods which were associated with royalty and access to the queen, was a particularly potent sign of royal presence and these buildings would have functioned as status symbols for hosts. That they were erected only at certain houses suggests that they were a mark of royal favour. As only hosts who had the means to do so were expected to host banquets, they are also likely to have been interpreted as a sign of wealth. There is also some indication that progress hosts themselves erected more permanent banqueting houses in anticipation of royal visits. On the 17th of May 1575, for example, Leicester wrote to Burghley to thank him for helping to attain 'some stone toward the making of a lytle banquett house in my garden.'[265] A stone building such as this would have functioned as a more permanent reminder of the queen's visit and her favour.

The garden settings of the banqueting houses at Elvetham and Woodstock are also significant. Gardens were associated with paradise; in his 'letter', Laneham even describes the garden at Kenilworth as a 'paradys'. In portraits of Elizabeth, gardens frequently appear in the backgrounds, implying that Elizabeth's England itself was a

[263] Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance*, p.67; Elisabeth Woodhouse, "Kenilworth, the Earl of Leicester's Pleasure Grounds Following Robert Laneham's Letter", *Garden History* 27, no. 1 (1999): p.131.
[264] Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power " in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Willentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p.16.
[265] Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*: Vol. 1 p.524.

paradise.[266] Entertaining the queen in gardens, and serving her with foods from the East, where paradise was thought to be located, therefore drew on this symbolic language.[267] Further, the transformation of the landscape through the erection of temporary buildings fostered a sense of theatricality, festivity and removal from the everyday.[268] This was enhanced by the entertainments' disavowal of clock time. Patricia Howard has explored this as a theme of the Elvetham entertainment, in which figures from classical mythology appeared alongside contemporary characters including an English ploughman, and where the songs celebrated springtime despite the entertainment being held in September.[269] The notion of spring in autumn was a common trope of progress entertainments and was intended to refer to Elizabeth's supposedly supernatural powers in relation to nature. This is made explicit in a letter from Leicester to Elizabeth sent in early September 1575 as he was preparing for the entertainment at Woodstock in which he describes the seasons as subservient to the queen.[270] Relatedly, when Elizabeth visited Frances Carew at Beddington in 1599 she was presented with a ripe cherry tree at least a month out of season.[271] This interest in the seasons is, particularly in the later entertainments, likely to have been

[266] Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.179.
[267] Paul Freedman, "Spices and late medieval European ideas of scarcity and value," *Speculum* 8, no. 4 (2005): p.1213; Paul Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp.5, 90.
[268] Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels, "The Visual Arts and Theatre in Early Modern Europe," in *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*, ed. Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), p.15.
[269] Patricia Howard, "Time in Entertainments for Elizabeth I," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (1996): p.472. Similarly, classical figures appeared in the Kenilworth entertainments, and the symbolic elements of the garden design referred to immortality and eternity. See Elisabeth Woodhouse, "Propaganda in Paradise: The Symbolic Garden Created by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth," *Garden History* 30, no. 1 (2008): pp.100-01.
[270] *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic series. The Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth : 1547-1580,* p.503.
[271] Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (New Jersey: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p.24.

related to the common iconography of Elizabeth as Astraea, the virgin who brought the golden age and eternal springtime to earth.[272]

In the entertainments presented at Woodstock, the queen's relationship to nature was most clearly articulated in the setting for the banquet. This was an organic structure, fashioned from an oak tree, covered in flowers and ivy; even the tables on which the banqueting foods were served were covered in grass turfs. The effect of this must have been the suggestion that nature itself had spontaneously reacted to the queen's presence, transforming the landscape to welcome her. The banqueting foods also contribute to this impression. As at Elvetham, these would have included 'Preserues, suckats, jellies… marmelats', which allowed fruit to be served out of season.

Roy Strong has explored the ways in which the uses of gardens in renaissance court fêtes were intended to demonstrate man's mastery over nature and total comprehension of its laws.[273] Entertainments such as that at Woodstock, however, express more than this. Although undoubtedly the banqueting house here was testament to Lee's wealth and ability to order nature, it also referred to Elizabeth's magical affinity with it. In this case, there is no need to 'tame' the natural world as, unprompted, it joyously reacts to the presence of the queen. Similarly, at Elvetham, all the natural elements can be said to have 'reacted' to the presence of the queen, from the water of the lake, created especially for her visit, to the fireworks and artillery which capitalize on air and fire, to the earth itself, which offered up fruits for the queen's consumption at the garden banquet.[274] The emphasis on the queen's

[272] On Elizabeth as Astraea, see Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, p.47.
[273] Strong, *Splendour at Court*, p.76.
[274] Tracy Thong has made a similar point about the harnessing of the elements in progress entertainments. See Thong, "Appropriations of the early modern banquet course and informal meals

mystical relationship with nature is related to the iconography of Elizabeth *as* England, her virgin body analoguous to the paradisiacal *hortus conclusus* of the state. As Jayne Archer and Sarah Knight have pointed out, progress visits such as those described above, and, I argue, banquets in particular, offered opportunities for the performance of this relationship, emphasising Elizabeth's role as the instigator of a new golden age.[275]

Although equally political in nature, the banquets which Elizabeth attended demonstrate a marked shift in comparison to those which took place at the court of Henry VIII. The early years of her reign saw the decline of the diplomatic banquet and, unlike her father, Elizabeth does not appear to have used the banquet to engage in intimate conversation. Instead, the banquets presented to her on progress demonstrate a new emphasis on formality, theatricality and display, although they continued to be used to honour favoured courtiers. These two monarchs had very different approaches to government, the one characterised by affording privileged access to favourites, the other by presenting the monarch as a supernatural, otherworldly and somewhat impersonal figure. Nevertheless, the banquet was utilised by both as part of these strategies.

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in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries", p.164. In emphasising the queen's role in this, I do not mean to suggest that such entertainments were not intended to refer to the power of the hosts also, but that they drew on a specific symbolic language that surrounded Elizabeth.

[275] Jayne Elisabeth Archer and Sarah Knight, "Elizabetha Triumphans", in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2007), p.1.

Banquets After 1603

Elvetham provides one of the last examples of the separate banquet being used to entertain a monarch, and after Elizabeth's death references to these events decline markedly in court contexts. This is exemplified by the evidence in published calendars of state papers relating to the reigns of sixteenth and seventeenth-century monarchs. These are now available online and can therefore be subjected to keyword searches for the term 'banquet'.[276] This method is useful in identifying broad trends in language use, and demonstrates a marked decline in the frequency with which the term 'banquet' was employed in the seventeenth century when compared to the sixteenth. In the state papers relating to the reign of Henry VIII, for example, the term 'banquet' occurs 111 times excluding modern extracts and translations from foreign languages. Of these, twenty one instances are almost certainly separate sweet banquets, in that they are associated with sweet banqueting foods and / or movement to another space after supper and masquing. Seventy instances are ambiguous, in that these could refer to sweet banquets but without sufficient accompanying information it is impossible to be sure, two references to the term banquet clearly refer to something other than the sweet banquet as defined here, and there are eighteen references to banqueting houses.[277] In the equivalent volumes relating to the reign of James I, the term banquet appears thirty six times; in four instances this is a clear reference to the sweet banquet, eight are ambiguous and on twenty two occasions the term refers to the new banqueting house built at

[276] Searches for related terms such as 'marchpane', 'comfit' and 'void' were also carried out and demonstrated a similar pattern of declining frequency in the seventeenth century. As outlined in chapter one, the appearance of the term does not necessarily indicate the occurrence of a separate sweet banquet as defined here, and in dealing in detail with specific examples it has been necessary to establish whether this was the case and to carry out a good deal of contextual research.

[277] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, various editors, (London: H. M. S. O, 1864-1920), 28 volumes, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/letters-papers-hen8 [accessed 09/12/2015]

Whitehall in 1619.[278] This trend is also in evidence in the state papers relating to the reigns of Charles I, where the term banquet appears sixteen times, with no definite sweet banquets, one possible banquet and fifteen references to the banqueting house.[279] In the papers relating to the reigns of Charles II and James II, the term banquet appears in contemporary usage twenty three and two times respectively, and again the majority of these references are to the banqueting house as a space rather than to the banquet as a dining practice.[280] Even allowing for Henry's long reign, this is highly suggestive of the decline of the use of the term, and is likely to indicate a related lapse in the practice of the separate banquet at court.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the practice of banqueting in one form or another did continue. James I attended a feast at Merchant Taylors' Hall in 1607 which included a significant amount of banqueting foods, perhaps indicating that a banquet was served in the banqueting house in the garden there.[281] There is evidence that Henry, Prince of Wales consumed a banquet of 'dried and candied fruits' and biscuit bread on May Day 1612; a Mrs Saul, who provided the fruit, was later questioned due to rumours that the prince had been poisoned by it.[282] In 1620, Prince Charles hosted a ball and a banquet at Denmark House at which 'an

[278] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: James I*, ed. Mary Anne Everett (London: H.M.S.O., 1853-9), 4 volumes, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--domestic--jas1[accessed 09/12/2015]
[279] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I*, various editors (London: H. M. S. O., 1858 – 1897), 23 volumes, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--domestic--chas1?query=&title= [accessed 09/12/15]
[280] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II*, various editors (London, H. M. S. O., 1860-1939), 28 volumes, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--domestic--chas2?query=&title= [accessed 09/12/15]; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James II,* ed. E K Timings, (London: H. M. S. O., 1960-1972) 3 volumes, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--domestic--jas2 [accessed 09/12/2015]
[281] Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, pp.169-80. See also p.135.
[282] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: James I 1611 – 18*, ed. Mary Anne Everett (London: H.M.S.O, 1853) Vol. 83: Nov 1615 pp.332, 334

abundance of sweetmeats' was served, 'but no supper'.[283] Banquets were presented before and after the masque at an entertainment hosted by Viscount Doncaster for the royal family and the French ambassadors at Essex House in January 1621. The sweetmeats served were reported as costing £500, but, as with other seventeenth century court banquets, there are no detailed descriptions of them.[284] In April 1622, James I hosted a banquet for the Emperor's ambassador at Whitehall, at which the 'sugarworks represented a complete army of horse and foot, with drums, ensigns &c.'[285] This diplomatic banquet with its elaborate sugarwork is reminiscent of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey's entertainments of visiting delegations in the 1520s, and provides one of the last examples of the separate, sweet banquet as an event in its own right. Its more typical manifestation at this stage is indicated by the text of Francis Kinnaston's *Coronae Minervae*, a masque which was performed before the royal children in 1635, culminating with a display of books made out of confectionery.[286] This cannot be considered as a separate banquet; rather, the confectionery was a pleasant accompaniment to the main entertainment of the court masque.

The evidence discussed above, whilst indicating that the practice of banqueting at court continued in the early years of the seventeenth century, represents a marked departure from the frequent references to banquets in the sixteenth century. Evidence from the later seventeenth century indicates that when monarchs did

[283] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: James I 1619-23*, ed. Mary Anne Everett (London: H.M.S.O, 1858) Vol. 113: March 1620, p.129
[284] John Chamberlain, *The Chamberlain Letters : A Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626* ed. Elizabeth McClure Thomson (London: John Murray, 1966), pp.277-8.
[285] Letter from the Reverend Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, April 27, 1622, printed in *The Court and Times of James the First; illustrated by authentic and confidential letters, from various public and private collections. Vol. II*, ed. Thomas Birch (London: H. Colburn, 1848), p.306.
[286] Sir Francis Kinnaston, *Corona Minervae. Or A masque presented before Prince Charles His Highnesse, the Duke of Yorke his brother, and the Lady Mary his sister, the 27th of February, at the Colledge of the Museum Minervae* (London: William Sheares, 1635).

partake of banquets, these were presented by civic hosts. The city of Canterbury, for example, presented banquets of sweetmeats to Catherine of Braganza in 1671and similar banquets were presented to William III in 1690 and 1694.[287] The banquet, by this stage, seems to have become an event at which civic hosts could petition for favours and patronage from royal guests.[288] The decline in banquets hosted by monarchs suggests that they was no longer central to any strategy of government, and were not effective in expressing theories of monarchy, the functions which they had fulfilled previously.

There are several reasons for this development. It is well known that the price of sugar dropped significantly in the seventeenth century. London had its own refineries by the 1580s, and its colonies in the West Indies produced sugar from the 1640s. As a result, sugar imports rose five-fold between the 1630s and 1700, and it is estimated that prices fell by 70% between 1640 and 1680.[289] As the price of sugar fell, so did its symbolic importance; now accessible beyond the court, it was no longer indicative of royalty, power or even great wealth.[290] It was less effective, then, in asserting the monarch's status at diplomatic banquets, as at the court of Henry VIII.[291] Progresses were not a feature of the Stuarts' governmental strategy as they had been for Elizabeth, and so there were few opportunities for the lavish country house entertainments which provided the context for banquets in her reign. As the

[287] Edward Hasted, 'Addenda to Volume 12: Minutes of the Records and Accounts of the Chamber', in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*: Vol. 12 (Canterbury, 1801), pp. 612-662, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp612-662 [accessed 13 June 2015]
[288] On gifts from civic hosts, see Heal, "Giving and Receiving on Royal Progresses", pp. 46-61
[289] Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, Vol. 2, p.528; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp.38-39, 159-60; Lorna Wetherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660 - 1760* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.237.
[290] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power,* p.95.
[291] Sugar sculpture continued to appear at Italian court feasts, and at the Papal courts in particular, but in this context, where it was made by leading sculptors, and thus functioned of as evidence of artistic patronage in the service of magnificence. See June di Schino, "The triumph of sugar sculpture in Italy, 1500 - 1700", in *Look and Feel: Studies in Texture, Appearance and Incidental Characteristics of Food : Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1993,* ed. H. Walker (Totnes: Prospect, 1994), pp.203-6. Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture,* pp.190-97.

masque took on increasing political importance at court, the banquet was relegated to secondary status, and this is reflected in the lack of detailed descriptions of banquets, their settings and the forms of sugar sculpture in seventeenth-century sources.

Although banquet foods were sometimes served during masques, the sweet banquet was less and less an event in its own right and by the reign of Charles I the term 'banquet' had all but disappeared from the lexicon of dining at court. Moreover, James I's permanent banqueting houses at Whitehall were constructed for increasingly public festivities including ambassadorial entertainments. They were the antithesis of both the earlier temporary examples and the intimate banqueting houses which provided the settings for confidential political discussion.[292] The events of the civil war and the interregnum must also have played a significant part in the decline of the sweet banquet. A dining practice which had appeared dated and which occurred rarely in the years preceding these events was unlikely to have been revived with the restoration. All of this suggests that in continuing to trace the history of the banquet in early modern England, we must move away from the court. Indeed, the analysis of sources connected to the homes of the nobility, gentry and even the 'middling' sorts in the seventeenth century demonstrates that the banquet, far from dying out, was appropriated and adapted by these groups, and remained a pervasive cultural practice.

[292] This shift is also noted in Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957), pp.29, 129-30.

Chapter Three: Banquets Beyond the Court

There is no doubt that people who did not regularly have contact with the court were aware of the sweet banquet as a dining practice. Recipe books dealing with sugarwork, which occasionally provided explicit instructions for setting out banquets, were relatively cheap and often ran to numerous editions, indicating that they were widely disseminated.[293] Scholars have interpreted the proliferation of such books in the seventeenth century as evidence of the dissemination of the practice of banqueting.[294] Work by Tracy Thong and Christopher Meads has established that the concept of the banquet was familiar to theatre audiences and that by the late sixteenth century it had become a common trope in drama. Thong argues that the evidence from plays is indicative of 'a lived reality in which income level and social background pose no barrier against people of different conditions seeking to emulate aristocratic dining rituals as far as their means allowed.' [295]

In spite of this, it has yet to be conclusively established whether banquets actually took place outside court settings and progress visits, or if the textual and theatrical cultures associated with banqueting simply allowed people to demonstrate knowledge of an elite cultural form, without actually practising it. Recipe books may have been purchased not for practical use, but because their owners were interested

[293] Examples which include instructions on setting out banquets include Gervase Markham, *The English Hous-Wife* (London: George Sawbridge, 1664), and John Murrell, *A Delightful Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (London: T. Devve, 1621).

[294] On confectionery recipe books in general, see Lynette Hunter, "'Sweet secrets': from Occasional Receipts to Specialised Books: the Growth of a Genre," in *Banquetting Stuffe: the Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1991), pp.36-59; on the idea that this reflects actual practice, see Sara Louise Mueller, "Women, Performance and the Household in Early Modern England, 1580 - 1660", pp.87-98; Gilly Lehmann, "Reading Recipe Books and Culinary History: Opening a New Field," in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550 - 1800*, ed. Sara Pennell and Michelle Di Meo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.104-5.

[295] Thong, "Appropriations of the Early Modern Banquet Course and Informal Meals in the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries"; Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth*. Thong, 'Performances of the Banquet Course in Early Modern Drama', p. 123

in the high status foods and techniques that they described. [296] They may also have been intended to display an awareness of banqueting foods to visitors, and thus have been conceived more as objects for display. Likewise, the banquet as a dramatic trope signals an awareness of this dining practice which could have been gained by reading these books as well as the published accounts of progress banquets discussed in the previous chapter. If banquets were utilised outside of court settings and royal entertainments, at what date were they disseminated? How far down the social scale were they adopted? This chapter provides answers to these questions through the analysis of a range of sources, including banqueting houses, manuscript recipe books and household accounts, and provides strong evidence that the sweet banquet did spread beyond the court in practice as well as representation. Indeed, it was a pervasive dining practice, and was particularly common in country house settings. With reference to contemporary ideas surrounding hospitality and sociability, this chapter argues that the appropriation of the banquet was more than a simple attempt to emulate elite dining practices, and served a number of important social functions.

Banquet Settings

The most visible existing evidence of the culture of banqueting beyond the court comes from banqueting houses, some of which survive on the roofs and in the gardens of sixteenth and seventeenth-century aristocratic and gentry homes. Written descriptions, references in inventories and building accounts, building plans,

[296] Sara Pennell and Michelle Di Meo, "Introduction," in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550 - 1800*, ed. Sara Pennell and Michelle Di Meo (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.3.

estate maps and views of country houses provide further evidence of banqueting houses which are no longer extant, or which were never built. One of the difficulties with the analysis of the spread of the sweet banquet based on this architectural evidence is that banqueting houses may have had multiple functions, being used for other types of meals, devotional practices, or for viewing the surrounding gardens.[297] However, the use of the term 'banqueting house' in the written sources, along with the very specific contemporary definition of the term banquet as outlined in chapter one, suggest that the housing of the sweet banquet was perceived as the primary function of spaces described as such, even if they were sometimes used for other activities.

Further difficulties arise, however, in the analysis of the archaeological remains and images of garden buildings which are not specifically referred to as banqueting houses. Banqueting houses are often difficult to distinguish from other types of garden building common in the period, such as belvederes, summer houses, lodges and hunting stands. Paul Woodfield has attempted to devise a set of criteria for the identification of banqueting houses. He argues that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, garden banqueting houses were located within the formal gardens surrounding the house, being separate enough to facilitate informal seclusion, but remaining visible from the house. In banqueting houses dating from the seventeenth century, he identifies evidence of increased removal from the house, with these structures now being located on the margins of the formal gardens or beyond.[298] There are difficulties with this chronology, and it could be argued that

[297] The difficulties in identifying banqueting houses have been noted: Paul Woodfield, "Early buildings in Gardens in England," in *Garden Archaeology*, ed. A. E. Brown (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1991), p.124. On the multiple functions of banqueting houses, see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p.106.
[298] Woodfield, "Early buildings in Gardens in England", pp.124-6.

both types of setting occur throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; [299] nevertheless, private settings, at a greater or lesser remove from the main house would seem to be indicative that garden buildings were conceived of as banqueting houses, as is explored below. Woodfield further identifies a preoccupation with prospect in banqueting houses. They tend to be set on mounts, or, if on level ground, are elevated by means of semi-basements, which may have been used for food preparation.[300] However, this emphasis on views is a common feature of other garden buildings, and is therefore problematic in identifying banqueting houses where other criteria are not present. Woodfield argues that there is no typical size for banqueting houses, whilst others have described the forms they take as almost infinite in their variety.[301] However, those structures associated with aristocratic and gentry houses which are specifically described as banqueting houses in contemporary written sources do have a number of other features in common.

I have identified a number of written references to buildings specifically described as banqueting houses associated with the country houses of the nobility and gentry which date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these, four references, to banqueting houses at Hill Hall, Ingatestone, Petworth and Nottingham give little or no indication of their appearance.[302] As these banqueting houses are no longer

[299] For example, Henry VIII's banqueting house at Nonsuch was located far from the main palace, beyond the 'wilderness' and grove of Diana, while Robert Lyming's seventeenth century plans for a banqueting house at Blickling indicate that it was intended to be close to, and visible from, the house: See Figure 27.
[300] Woodfield, "Early buildings in Gardens in England", pp.125-6.
[301] Ibid., p.126. Paula Henderson, "The Architecture of the Tudor Garden," *Garden History* 27, no. 1 (1999): p.60; Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540 - 1640* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), pp.105, 251-2.
[302] The banqueting house at Hill Hall was extant by 1632 and set on an arch. See BL Add. MS 53726 f.86. The banqueting house at Ingatestone appears in an inventory Essex RO D/DP F215 and D/DP P8 The banqueting house at Petworth is described in a 1574 'vewe' of the estate as being made of brick and 'greatlie decaied'.*The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)*, ed. G. R. Batho (London: Royal Historical Society, 1962), p.106. The temporary banqueting house at Nottingham, which seems to have been built by Thomas Manners, Earl of

extant, it is impossible to ascertain what they looked like. More explicit descriptions of banqueting houses at Gorhambury and Theobalds survive. The banqueting house at Gorhambury was built around 1610 by Nicholas Bacon. It was described in the late seventeenth century by John Aubrey, who had visited Gorhambury in the 1650s. He notes a pond with an island, on which was 'a curious banqueting-house of Roman architecture, paved with black and white marble; covered with Cornish slatt, and neatly wainscotted'.[303] According to a parliamentary survey of 1650, William Cecil's garden at Theobalds featured a 'faire banqueting house built upon stone pillars in the fashion of A halfe round archt over… sett round with 12 Roman emperors heads, made of white marble'.[304] Recent research indicates that the sculptures were purchased for Cecil in Venice.[305] It is particularly interesting to note that both of these banqueting houses are associated with classical ornament, and that this was a typical feature of banqueting house architecture, which is discussed in more detail in chapter four. Unfortunately, the Gorhambury and Theobalds banqueting houses do not survive, and no further information as to their appearance has as yet come to light.

Two sets of structures described as banqueting houses in the written record do survive, at Hardwick Hall (Figure 18) and Longleat House. Detailed building accounts for Hardwick indicate that one of the turrets on the roof was intended as a 'banqueting house'. The plastering acocunts from April 1595 to 1598 include a payment of 9s, 7d to John Bynne for 'shutting the Roff of the banketting house', while mason's accounts for April 1592 to August 1596 include a July payment to 'Nayll and

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Rutland, was taken down in 1542. See *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, K. G. Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, Vol. IV (London: H. M. S. O, 1905), p.337.

[303] Aubrey, John, *Aubrey's Brief Lives* ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949), p.15.

[304] TNA E317/Herts., No.26, f.36.

[305] Donna Kurtz, "The Concept of the Classical Past in Tudor and Early Stuart England," *Journal of the History of Collections* 20, no. 2 (2008): p.192.

Malary' for erecting a terrace 'uppon the Leads betwyne the banketting house uppon the Leads and the turret over the banketting house'.[306] There are six chambers on the roof at Hardwick, four of which are located on the West and East and are furnished with elaborate heraldic overmantels which contain symbols associated with Hardwick and the Cavendishes. The turrets to the North and South are larger. The first room to be encountered on ascending the leads is the North turret. Here, the plasterwork is plain and the room is dominated by large windows. The South turret seems the most likely candidate for the 'banketting house'. It is elaborately decorated with plaster strap-work and heraldry, on which traces of pigment remain (Figure 21, Figure 24). As is explored below, the use of elaborate ornament was a typical feature of banqueting houses. Here, the large windows have wide ledges which may have provided seating for banquet participants. The windows themselves provide panoramic views of the surrounding landscape and Hardwick Old Hall. This room is particularly warm as it receives the sun all day, and so could presumably have been quite comfortably utilised for evening banquets.

At Longleat, the building specification of 1568 or 1569 stated that of the eight turrets on the roof, four were to have 'lytle stares wonne fro the roofe so as they may serve as banketting howses'.[307] Some of these survive; square structures, they have domed roofs and windows on three sides (Figure 25).

At around the time that these were being built, Sir Arthur Champernowne designed a banqueting house which was to sit on an island in the pond at Sir Richard Carew's house in Anthony, Cornwall. Carew's account of the design of the banqueting house

[306] *The Building of Hardwick Hall, Part 2: The New Hall, 1591 - 98*, Vol. 2 (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1984), pp.232, 61.
[307] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p.105.

describes many of the key features of this architectural form, and is worth quoting at length:

> I carried once a purpose to build a little wooden banqueting-house on the island in my pond…
>
> The island is square, with four rounds at the corners, like mount edgecumb. This should have been planched over, and railed about with ballustrades. In the midst there should have risen a boarded room of like fashion, but lesser proportion, so as to leave sufficient space between that and the rails for a walk round about. This square room should within side have been ceiled roundwise, and in three of the places where the round joined the square, as many windows should have been set; the fourth should have served for a door. Of the four turrets, shut out by this round, one should have made a kitchen, the second a storehouse, to keep the fishing implements, the third a buttery, and the fourth a stair for ascending to the next loft; which next loft should have risen on the flat roof of the lower, in a round form, but of lesser size again, so as to leave a second terras, like the other; and as the square room below was ceiled round, so should this upper round room be ceiled square to the end, that where the side walls and ceiling joined, three windows and a door might likewise find their places.[308]

This account describes the setting of the banqueting house within a pond, as at Gorhambury, and also emphasises the need to be able to walk both around it and on

[308] Richard Carew, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall* (London and Plymouth: J. Faulder and Rees and Curtis, 1811), pp.253-4. This banqueting house is also described in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p.106.

its terraces. The Hardwick building accounts also refer to terraces, suggesting a key element of the banquet involved walking and taking in views. Views are also highlighted in Carew's account, with its description of multiple windows and an elevated terrace. The design is also typical; the clever 'device' of the hidden shapes of the internal rooms was no doubt intended to surprise and impress banquet participants. The square plan, with its circular projections is very similar to the 'tower' banqueting houses at Hampton court (Figure 7), and, like them, was no doubt intended to refer to luxury and lineage. Carew's description likens it to Mount Edgecumbe, the seat of the Earls of Mount Edgecumbe, which was built between 1547 and 1553. With this comparison, he explicitly situates his intended banqueting house within a tradition of country house building, and an aristocratic milieu. The banqueting house was to be made of wood, suggesting that even if it had been built, it would not today be extant.

Other buildings described as banqueting houses survive as plans. John Smythson's plan for a banqueting house at Clifton in Nottinghamshire (Figure 26) shows striking similarities to Richard Carew's projected banqueting house. The design dates from c.1632 and is likely to be linked to a visit from Charles I in the same year, for which the stables were extended according to designs by Smythson. It conforms to the now familiar square 'tower' plan with round projecting towers, however, in this case, the central chamber is conceived of as an octagon. Like Carew's banqueting house, it features windows on three sides and a door on the fourth. Steps lead up to the door, again suggesting that the banqueting house was elevated in order to enhance the views from it. The dimensions noted on the plan indicate that it was to be a small space, measuring 16ft square. It also seems to have been removed from the house, being reached via a walk set with trees.

Robert Lyminge's design for a banqueting house at Blickling Hall (Figure 27), which dates from c.1610 – 20, has little in common with these 'tower' banqueting houses, but may be similar to the 'Roman' architecture of the example at Gorhambury. Here, a crenelated façade is ornamented with pillars, one of which bears the figure of Hercules. The central feature of the façade is a classicizing arch with pediment, entablature and pilasters, reached by a renaissance-style balustraded stair. However, although this structure is described as a 'banqueting house' on the plan, it appears to be less of an inhabitable architectural space than an elaborate seat. That this was a conventional form for banqueting houses is suggested by a similar enclosed stone seat at Kenilworth (Figure 28), which Girouard has linked to Leicester's 1575 letter to Burghley thanking him 'for stone toward the making of a lytle banquett house in my garden'.[309] Lyming's design makes the relationship to the main house explicit, in that the arch of the seat is described as fronting 'the house garden'. This banqueting house was intended to be visible from the main house, and vice versa.

Smythson's 1609 plan of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter's house at Wimbledon (Figure 29 and Figure 30) includes a structure labelled as a banqueting house in a sunken garden in front of the main house. As Paula Henderson has noted, this is also similar in plan to the banqueting houses at Hampton Court, being square with further square projections on each side. It is, in fact, a Greek cross inscribed on a square, a clever 'device' like that found in Carew's projected banqueting house.[310] The situation within the sunken garden suggests that although this banqueting house was

[309] Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. 1 p.524; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture,* pp.204, 478.
[310] Henderson, "The Architecture of the Tudor Garden": p.67.

relatively close to the main house, privacy and a sense of detachment were being fostered.

John Aubrey described the garden banqueting house at Sir John Danvers' House in Chelsea in 1691.[311] He noted 'the windows whereof are painted glass: over this roome are flatt Leads from whence you enjoy the prospect of the garden & c. This building is of Brick and is a graceful Tower to your view of the garden.'[312] Again, the emphasis is firmly on views, and the banqueting house, which is visible in Aubrey's drawing of the garden at Danvers house (Figure 31), evokes the typical keep form with its four turrets.

John Thorpe's plan for a banqueting house in the gardens of Sir Christopher Hatton's house at Holdenby, (Figure 32) built between 1580 and 1587, provides a different model. This is a much larger structure, with four levels and perhaps the first axial hall in England.[313] The square turrets echo the turrets found on other banqueting houses, and again there is an emphasis on both glazing and height, which can be assumed to have facilitated views of the estate.

The analysis of these 'firm' banqueting houses suggests a number of criteria which can be applied to other surviving garden buildings in order to ascertain the likelihood of them being conceived of or used as banqueting houses. Typical stylistic features of these structures include the use of classicizing architectural ornament and / or interior decoration as at Theobalds, Gorhambury and Blickling. An alternative model seems to have been that of the medieval tower or turret, as at Anthony, Clifton, Wimbledon and Danvers House. This type of banqueting house also tended to

[311] Danvers House was pulled down in 1696 and the banqueting house is not extant.
[312] Bodleian MS Aubrey Z ff.56-7.
[313] Mark Girouard, "Elizabethan Holdenby", *Country Life* 166 (1979): p.1399.

feature clever or surprising designs incorporating hidden shapes.[314] Banqueting houses were also characterised by elevated positions and substantial glazing which provided views of the surrounding estate. They were typically situated in gardens or on roofs and removed from the main house either by distance or by the use of garden features such as staircases and ponds which formed 'barriers' and promoted privacy, a characteristic discussed more fully in chapter four. Finally, they were associated with paths and raised terraces which facilitated both views and walking.

These criteria, in combination with references to buildings called 'banqueting houses' in contemporary documents and the work of other scholars, have facilitated the identification of over seventy certain or probable banqueting houses built in England before 1700. Howard Colvin's *History of the King's Works* has been particularly valuable in this endeavour, as it utilises primary sources in documenting the building of banqueting houses at court, whilst Paula Henderson's *Tudor House and Garden* includes a useful gazetteer of rural and urban houses built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which also lists garden buildings including banqueting houses. Historic England's database of listed buildings has also been used, although many of the structures listed as 'banqueting houses' here date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are likely to have functioned as garden follies rather than dedicated banqueting spaces. There are also a number of extant garden buildings not included in the Historic England lists as banqueting houses which conform to the criteria outlined above. In addition to the buildings themselves, other important sources have included contemporary building accounts, inventories, descriptions, illustrations and plans.

[314] This has also been pointed out in Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp.251-2.

The structures identified as banqueting houses have been mapped (see appendix one). I have included both banqueting houses which are currently extant, and those which appear only in the written and / or visual record. Only examples which were actually built have been mapped. In addition, a number of structures often referred to as 'banqueting houses' in the secondary literature have been excluded as these do not conform to the criteria laid out above. These include, for example ,Thomas Tresham's 'triangular lodge' at Rushton in Northamptonshire which, in light of its religious architectural ornament and significant distance from the main house is likely to have been used mainly for devotional purposes, and Lyveden New Bield, also built by Tresham.[315] Like the lodge at Rushton, the architecture here was based on religious symbolism. Although its purpose is likely to have been recreational, the inclusion of sleeping quarters suggests that it is more akin to a lodge than a dedicated banqueting house associated with the sweet banquet in particular.

Many banqueting houses were conceived of as temporary structures, or made of perishable materials such as wood, and therefore do not appear in the written record, so it is highly likely that many more were built than appear. However those that do give important insights as to the chronology and dissemination of the practice of banqueting. The majority of banqueting houses were located in gardens, rather than on rooftops; of those examples where the location can be ascertained, fifty two were garden structures, with only ten on roofs.[316] Of the total number of banqueting houses, only fourteen were built by royal patrons, indicating that, whilst this architectural form may have originated at court, it was quickly adopted in other settings. This is borne out by the chronology of the building of banqueting houses.

[315] On both of these buildings and their religious symbolism, see Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp.232-9

[316] This is likely to be linked to the gendered nature of the banquet; see pp. 228-9.

By 1550, twelve of the banqueting houses considered here had been built (see Figure 33). Of these, seven were built for royal patrons. The greatest concentration of banqueting houses at this stage is in London and the surrounding areas, where they first appear in the 1520s, supporting the previously outlined chronology that sees the separate banquet being adopted as a court entertainment in this decade. Banqueting houses outside London are still largely clustered in the South East, indicating that geographical proximity to the court aided in their spread.

By 1600 (Figure 34) the picture is very different, with twenty nine known banqueting houses being constructed in the period from 1550, the vast majority of which had been built by non-royal patrons.[317] The greatest concentration remains in the counties surrounding London. By this stage, eight banqueting houses had been built in London itself, three in Surrey, three in Kent, two in Essex and one in Hertfordshire. They also appear in the wealthy counties of Wiltshire (three banqueting houses by 1600), and Somerset (one). But they had also spread up the country's central North-South Axis. Two banqueting houses had been built in Northamptonshire by 1600, with the same number in both Warwickshire and Derbyshire. One banqueting house had been built in Yorkshire, at Manor Lodge in Sheffield, and examples also appear in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.

The proliferation of banqueting houses in the late sixteenth century is also documented in contemporary written sources. Philip Stubbes' 1583 description of the 'banquetting houses with galleries, turrets & what not els therein sumptuously erected' which were common in city gardens has been cited previously.[318]

[317] It should be noted that it is often impossible to date banqueting houses except by century. Where no more specific evidence is available an informed guess has been made based on relevant textual sources and architectural style.
[318] His comments are quoted in full on p.62.

Meanwhile, John Stow's 1598 survey of London notes that there 'are builded many fayre summer houses, and as in other places of the suburbs some of them like midsomer pageants, with Towers, Turrets and Chimney tops'.[319] The concept of the banqueting house is likely to have been disseminated in the latter part of the century due to the queen's progress visits, when the royal ushers erected banqueting houses at the houses of her hosts, providing examples which could be emulated. As is explored below, the sweet banquet was a key site of elite sociability, and visits between friends and family are also likely to have contributed to the spread of this architectural form.

The trend slowed in the period between 1600 and 1650 (Figure 35) with nineteen known banqueting houses being built, mainly in counties with earlier banqueting houses. The greatest increase in numbers is seen in Yorkshire, where three new examples appear. Very few banqueting houses were built in the later seventeenth century (Figure 36), before the form was revived in the eighteenth century as a type of garden folly.[320] This data, whilst undoubtedly partial, suggests that banqueting houses reached the height of their popularity amongst those wealthy enough to construct them in the mid-to-late sixteenth century. They appear to have decreased in popularity in the early-to-mid-seventeenth century, which may be partly explained by the events of the civil war and Interregnum, along with the falling price of sugar which rendered them less potent as status symbols. By the time of the Restoration, it would seem that the type of private sweet banquet which took place in banqueting

[319] Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, p.136; Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.144. These comments support the idea that surviving and recorded banqueting houses represent only a fraction of those that were actually built. Both of these comments also reinforce the connection between banqueting houses, towers and turrets.

[320] Examples of this phenomenon can be found in the grounds of Fountains House in Yorkshire, with its late eighteenth century 'banqueting house' and an 'octagonal tower' which provides a very convincing emulation of the polygonal Elizabethan examples. It is likely that these were intended to give an impression of the longevity of the estate and the dynasty's occupation of it.

houses was no longer a fashionable entertainment in aristocratic circles, and had died out completely at court.

The proliferation of banqueting houses (Figure 37) provides evidence for the dissemination of the concept of the sweet banquet amongst the social classes which could afford to construct ornamental buildings for pleasure; that is to say the very wealthy. The chronology outlined above indicates that banqueting houses were at their most popular during the precise period when the banquet was an important element of progress entertainments. However, as a fashionable architectural form in their own right, and one which could have been put to a variety of uses, banqueting houses do not necessarily provide evidence that banquets were actually taking place. For these reasons, it is necessary to examine other sources, and household accounts in particular, in order to ascertain whether the presence of a banqueting house on an estate is indicative of the practice of banqueting.

Written Evidence

Household accounts relating to aristocratic and gentry households provide an obvious starting point in the search for evidence of banquets. If these events were taking place, they can be expected to list payments for the associated goods and services. Household papers also frequently list the 'strangers' or guests present at particular meals, and sometimes include bills of fare. This evidence can be supplemented by fragmentary material relating to banquets which appears in contemporary letters, diaries and inventories. Surviving manuscript recipe books provide valuable indications of the practice of sugarwork in aristocratic and gentry

households. When read in conjunction with the evidence from banqueting houses, these sources shed a great deal of light upon the purpose of sweet banquets, their expense and frequency. They are also indicative of certain key themes and activities associated with these events, suggesting that they were conceived of by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century aristocratic men and women as important opportunities for self-fashioning and the performance of elite identities. When considered in light of the wider historical context, this evidence goes some way towards providing an explanation for the spread and popularity of the sweet banquet between 1550 and 1700.

However, it should be noted that there are difficulties associated with these sources; they tend to be fragmentary, incomplete, and often refer obliquely to payments for banqueting foods. Many of the entries in categories such as 'grocery' or 'spice', which can be expected to include banqueting foods, are not itemised, and refer to other bills. For example, at Blickling Hall, a payment of £1 5s 6d was made on 21st December 1686 'to Mr Goodwyn as by his bill'.[321] Because 'Goodwyn' appears elsewhere in the household accounts supplying sugarwork, it is tempting to assume that this payment was for banqueting foods, but, as the bill does not survive, this is impossible to verify. However, one loose leaf which is tucked inside another Blickling Hall account book may be indicative of these bills more generally. This is a short bill, on a single sheet of paper, from the 28th of September 1687, which reads as follows:

Suger	01-14-01 ½
48 cloves	00-04-4

[321] NRO Lothian MS NRS 21415, f.112

½ li Whit ginger 00-00-4

01-16-9 ½ [322]

Although it is not clear how long a period these spices were intended to last, this is a substantial amount of money. The account book as a whole lists very few payments for sugar or other spices. These are presumably grouped under general payments for groceries. Similarly, a late sixteenth-century household book from Wollaton Hall provides little evidence in itself of the consumption of banqueting foods. However, three loose bills for spice have survived between the leaves of this document. The first is an account of money paid for spices, including 20lb, 7oz of sugar on the eighth of November 1599, with the total bill coming to £6. On the twelfth of November, a further £6, 6s, 1d was spent on spices, including over 30lb of sugar. A third bill, from December 1599 lists 12s, 6d spent on two sugar loaves out of a total bill for spice and wine which came to £11, 7s 10d.[323] These documents demonstrate significant consumption of banqueting foods which is not evidenced in the main account books. If this is the case with other household accounts, and it would seem to be, as many refer to other bills and account books, then we can assume that those spice payments listed in the main accounts represent only a fraction of what was purchased in actuality.[324] However, household accounts do provide some evidence of the occurrence of banquets, particularly when read in conjunction with other evidence from the same household. Having outlined some of the difficulties and limitations associated with these sources, this section will use the information

[322] NRO Lothian MS MC184/3/7, unfoliated, loose sheet.
[323] UoN Middleton MS MiA 76/19, loose sheets
[324] For example, at Naworth Castle in 1620, a payment of fourteen shillings was made 'for sweetmeats… per bill': *Selections from the Household books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, (London and Durham: Surtees Society, 1878), p.146; A 1576 – 1604 account book from Lacock Abbey also lists payments for confectionery 'by a bill': WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8: "The howsholde booke for Sir Robert Stapleton, Knight" (uncatalogued), ff. 113v, 15, 28, 39, 39v, 45.

available to investigate the extent and reasons for the dissemination of the sweet banquet, both in houses with close links to court and those further down the social scale.

Evidence for Banqueting in Households with Close Links to Court

Some of the most compelling and detailed evidence for banqueting in households with close links to the court during the sixteenth century comes from Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire (Figure 38). Lacock, a former Augustinian nunnery, was acquired in the wake of the dissolution of the monasteries by Sir William Sharington. Originally from a minor Norfolk gentry family, Sharington rose under the patronage of Thomas Seymour. He came to have close links to the court, being appointed Groom of the King's Robes in 1540, the same year in which he acquired Lacock. In 1542, he became joint constable of Castle Rising, Norfolk, and in 1546 he was appointed as under-treasurer of the Bristol mint. From 1540, Sharington embarked on a programme of improvements at Lacock, including the addition of a tower, on the top floor of which is a room which seems to have been designed for banqueting (Figure 39). Although there are no textual sources which firmly identify this structure as a banqueting house, its form and the furniture within it strongly suggest that this was its intended function.

Sharington's tower takes the form of an octagonal turret on the roof of the main house, having clear parallels in the rooftop turrets at Longleat (Figure 25) and the octagonal chamber in the banqueting house at Clifton (Figure 26). It is reached via a

balustraded terrace on the leads, as at Hardwick (Figure 20) and Anthony, and is glazed on seven sides. The architectural style is markedly classicizing, as at Gorhambury and Blickling (Figure 27), and inside is an original marble table carved with the figures of Apicius, Ceres and Dionysos (Figure 40 and Figure 41). The combination of ancient cook and collector of recipes, Apicius, Ceres, goddess of agriculture and fertility, and Dionysos, god of revelry, strongly suggest that this space was intended for eating and drinking.[325] The tower is reached via a processional route which leads from the reception rooms behind the hall up a staircase to the short lobby. An ornamental door (Figure 42) provides access to another, much smaller staircase leading to the attic-level gallery over the stone gallery. From here, another staircase leads to the walk along the leads to the banqueting room. Its small size and location on the roof indicate that this was a space for the exclusive sweet banquet. It is the highest structure at Lacock, and was therefore intended to be highly visible.

A good deal of previously unstudied archival material relating to Lacock Abbey has recently been acquired by the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. In this collection are some household accounts dating from the later sixteenth century, and a number of recipe books which were kept by the ladies of the household in the seventeenth century. There are few relevant documents from William Sharington's lifetime. However, the investigation of the documents which do survive provides an opportunity to assess whether, in this case, the presence of a banqueting chamber signals the actual practice of banqueting. If so, is it possible that the building of the tower in the 1540s and its presumed use for banquets fostered a familiarity with this

[325] A similar point is made in Henderson, "The Architecture of the Tudor Garden": p.60.

form of dining amongst members of the household, resulting in the sweet banquet becoming an ongoing element in the 'culture' of the house?

The Lacock papers include household accounts covering the years 1576-1604 which contain a number of payments for banqueting foods, concentrated in the late 1590s. In 1598, when the family were in London, pepper, sugar cinnamon, green ginger and candy oil were purchased. [326] Another list from the same year includes payments for pepper, raisins, currants, prunes, ginger, turnsole, cloves, mace, nutmeg, gum tragacanth, dates, almonds, a loaf of sugar, cinnamon, bisket and caraway. The total came to £3, 4s, 17d, with the sugar loaf being the most expensive item by far at 13s, 10d.[327] The sugar loaf, gum tragacanth and almonds, the main ingredients for marchpane, suggest that sugarwork was being carried out on-site. Items bought in February 1599 include kissing comfits, amber comfits, figs, almonds, rose water, hypocras, sucket and bisket bread.[328] It is likely that these purchases were associated with the marriage of Mary Mildmay and Francis Fane in the same month. Payments made for banqueting foods at other times, including wafers, candy, comfits and large amounts of sugar indicate that the consumption of confectionery occurred throughout the year.[329] Given the amounts of banqueting foods purchased, it is certainly possible that banquets were taking place at Lacock at this time.

[326] WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8: "The howsholde booke for Sir Robert Stapleton, Knight" (uncatalogued), f.103.
[327] Ibid., f.118.
[328] Ibid., f.122.
[329] For example, wafers, spices, wine and 3lb of sugar were purchased on the 25th of October 1598, sugar and sugar candy were bought in the week ending the 17th of November 1598, comfits appear in the accounts for November 1599, significant amounts of sugar were bought in April 1599, and pepper, almonds and 6lb of sugar are entered in August 1601. It is also probable that a many payments for banqueting foods do not appear in this account book, being 'by a bill': ibid., ff. 113v, 15, 28, 39, 39v, 45.

The recipe books associated with the Abbey, which are examined for the first time here, also support the idea of a culture of banqueting. A seventeenth-century example inscribed with the name Anne Talbot provides convincing evidence of the practice of sugarwork. The first 199 recipes are for confectionery items, with the exception of one medicinal recipe for a syrup for consumption. The confectionery recipes include fruit preserves, cakes, creams, fools, jumbals and marchpane. The remaining 43 recipes are for medicinal waters and ointments.[330] The sugarwork recipes here are particularly interesting as sixty five of them are marked in the contents with symbols which are likely to indicate favourite recipes, or those which were particularly successful (Figure 43 and Figure 44). Three different marks are used; a star (most common), a dot within a circle and a dot within a circle with lines extending from it. Marks of selection in recipe books are common at this time, but the use of varied and relatively complex symbols here suggest a more elaborate system which served to differentiate the recipes. Although it has not been possible to identify any pattern in their deployment which might shed light on what they meant, the symbols do suggest that the recipes were being put to practical use.[331] One such recipe, marked with a star, is 'to make a marchpane' (see appendix two).[332] This is a very comprehensive recipe, and is longer than most, including those found in printed recipe books. It includes detailed tips on timings and the techniques to be used, and indicates that only silver dishes should come into contact

[330] This is indicative of the conceptual links between sugarwork and medicine which are dealt with in chapter five. Of these, recipes, numbers 32 to 43 have been added in a different hand. They include two recipes attributed to 'my old aunt Talbot'. WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8: Anne Talbot's Book of Sugarwork and Preserves, f.6.

[331] Interestingly, Sir Hugh Plat employed a similar language of symbols in the annotation of his library of books of secrets. See Ayesha Mukherjee, "The Secrets of Sir Hugh Platt," in *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800*, ed. Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin (Surrey and Burlington: 2011), p.77.

[332] The other marked recipes are for various fruit preserves, jellies, biscuits, creams, candies and jumbals.

with the ingredients.[333] What is particularly interesting here is a marginal note which attributes the recipe to 'my grandmother'. This provides support for the idea that sugarwork was being practiced at Lacock in the early seventeenth century.[334] It also demonstrates that such recipes were being passed down amongst the female members of the author's family.

A number of other recipe books associated with Lacock feature banqueting foods. A series of loose leaves bound together and bearing the date 1696 also includes a marchpane recipe whilst a similar seventeenth-century collection contains confectionery and medicinal recipes.[335] A late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century book of preserves includes a recipe for 'marchpane cakes'.[336]

Other evidence supports the idea of the practice of sugarwork at Lacock. On Sir William Sharington's death in 1553, he was succeeded by his brother, Henry Sharington. He had four children, including a daughter, Grace, who later became Lady Grace Mildmay and was a renowned confectioner. In 1603, James I visited the home of Lady Grace and her husband Sir Anthony Mildmay. A contemporary account of this visit describes tables 'covered with costly banquets wherein everything that was most delicious for taste proved more delicate by the Arte that made it seem beauteous to the eye: the Ladye of the house being one of the most

[333] . WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8: Anne Talbot's Book of Sugarwork and Preserves (uncatalogued). See appendix two.
[334] On the evidence of the handwriting, this book can be dated to the late seventeenth century. There were two Anne Talbots associated with Lacock in the late seventheenth and early eighteenth centuries. Anne Lawley married Sharington Talbot, son of Sir John Talbot, in 1683. Anne's will of 1702 lists her as being 'of Lacock': TNA PROB 11/464/172. Anne Ivory (nee Talbot, 1665 – 1720) was the half sister of Sharington Talbot and married Sir John Ivory of County Wexford. It seems likely that Anne Ivory would have taken recipe books with her when she left Lacock on her marriage. As Anne Talbot née Lawley continued to reside in the parish after until her death, it seems more likely that the recipe book would have belonged to her, but this is by no means certain.
[335] WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8, A Collection of Confectionery and Medicinal Recipes (uncatalogued).
[336] WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8, A Book of Preserves (uncatalogued), f.15.

excellent confectioners in England'.[337] Although Mildmay was by this stage living in Northamptonshire, if, as seems likely, the practice of confectionery was taught to girls at home by female relatives or servants, these activities may indicate that confectionery was taught at Lacock.[338]

The architectural evidence suggests that the sweet banquet was adopted here at a relatively early date.[339] Although there is little supporting evidence relating to the exact period in which the banqueting chamber was constructed, the appearance of banqueting foods in the household accounts, recipes for confectionery which were passed down and clearly used, and the fact that a renowned confectioner was brought up at the Abbey all suggest that by the late sixteenth century, banqueting was an established element of the house culture. In this case, then, further investigation reveals that the presence of a banqueting house is indicative of the practice of banqueting.

More early evidence of banquets taking place in aristocratic households comes from Belvoir Castle, seat of the Earls of Rutland. The household accounts indicate that in 1542, at around the same time that Sharington's banqueting chamber was being built, Sampson Alsebrook was paid for 'takinge downe the banket house' in Nottingham.[340] This was clearly a temporary banqueting house, which may have been constructed in connection with the appointment of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland as constable of Nottingham castle in 1542. Although Manners had left for the borders on 9th August, it is quite possible that the banqueting house was dismantled some time after the event. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any

[337] Lucy Aiken, *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1822), p.104.
[338] On the teaching of confectionery, see pp.173-4, 218, 223-4
[339] It should be noted that there are very few descriptions of sugar banquets taking place outside the court overall.
[340] *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland*, Vol. IV: p.337.

further evidence regarding the construction of the banqueting house, its specific location or the event it was designed to house. Given its urban setting, this may have been a more public form of celebratory civic banquet, similar to the Lord Mayor's Feasts.

Further evidence of banqueting from the Belvoir household accounts includes a 1600 payment for 'banquetting sweete meates for dyner for his L[ordship's] table, my Lady, the Erle and Countes of Bedford being there, iiii*li*, ix*s*; and for quinces and sweet conserves for the kytchin, xxxiiis; and the hire of glasses, iis. Vjd ----- vj*li* iiij*s* vj*d*.[341] In this context, the hired glasses are likely to have been specialist sweet-meat glasses. Although this extract displays a certain ambiguity in language, with the banqueting foodstuffs bought for a 'dyner', listing them under the particular category of 'banquetting' may suggest a separate event, which is likely to have occurred after dinner. Although these references to banqueting are brief, they clearly demonstrate a knowledge of the vocabulary and concept of the sweet banquet, as well as the specific foods and tablewares associated with it at relatively early dates and fairly far from London.

A painting of William Brooke, Lord Cobham and his family also demonstrates an awareness of the banquet (Figure 45). The painting dates from 1567 and is now in the collection of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat House. Here, the Cobham family are gathered around a table which is furnished with a number of exotic commodities. In the right foreground is a dish of ragged comfits, while the other dishes contain fruit. The large platter in the centre foreground contains pears, apples, grapes and walnuts. All of these items were considered to be 'banqueting stuff'. Furthermore, it is possible that the represented fruits were sculpted in sugar or marchpane like the

[341] Ibid., p.429.

walnuts, pears, apples and lemons 'reddy made of marchpane stuff' which appear in the accounts of the Office of the Revels at court.[342] The *Secrets of Alexis*, which contains the first recipe in English for sugar paste describes how it can be used to make 'all manner of fruits', while John Murrel, writing in 1617, advises his readers on making marchpane cherries and strawberries. [343] This, in addition to the wine glass on the table in the Cobham portrait, and the metal dishes on which the fruits and comfits are served, strongly suggest that the meal was intended to be recognised as a sweet banquet by viewers with knowledge of these events.

The banquet was, of course, indicative of wealth, fashionability and access to court culture, but it is also likely to have been particularly significant for William Brooke, Lord Cobham. Elizabeth I had been entertained at Cobham Hall in 1559 and 1573. On the first occasion, Brooke had erected a spectacular banqueting house in the gardens, made out of a lime tree.[344] The association of the banquet with the queen's progress visits suggests that in having his family depicted with banqueting foods, Brooke was consciously alluding to the fact that he had been honoured with visits from the queen, and the hospitality he had provided on these occasions.

The exotic items on the table may also relate to Cobham's position as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to which he had been appointed in 1558. In this capacity, he controlled five key ports on the South coast, and oversaw and levied taxes on foreign imports, including sugar. The exotic items on the table, therefore, were a key source of income for Cobham and a reminder to viewers of the high office he held. It is interesting to note that the parrot on the table and monkey on a dish, themselves

[342] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p.55.
[343] Ruscelli, *The Secrets of Alexis,* p.61; John Murrel, *A Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (London: The Widow Helme, 1617), recipe 77.
[344] This is described in John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (London: Humfrey Lownes and Robert Young, 1629), p.610; See also A. Scott Robinson, "Six Wills Relating to Cobham Hall," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 11(1877): p.200.

exotic commodities, are situated as though they, like the fruits and sugar, are objects for comsumption. Lady Cobham wears a ship pendant, set with precious stones, which were also exotic imports, again emphasising the theme of maritime trade.

The setting and the presence of the children indicate that the banquet here is not conceived of as a real event, but is imagined.[345] The classicizing architectural background, which juxtaposes a column base and top of a building with cornice and frieze, is clearly invented, included perhaps as a reference to Cobham's learning and familiarity with continental culture. It has also been suggested that the architectural setting reflects the style of improvements made at Cobham Hall in anticipation of the Queen's visits.[346] This serves to emphasise the symbolic potential of the banquet. Rather than the painting being a depiction of a real event, for Lord Cobham, the image of the sweet banquet was an effective means of demonstrating his wealth, aristocratic status and access to the queen. The painting also suggests that these events were becoming a recognisable aspect of visual culture beyond the court.

A spreading familiarity with the foods associated with the banquet is also indicated by documents associated with Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire, where banqueting foods make appearances in the household accounts at fairly early dates. Grimsthorpe was the house of Katherine, dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who was the daughter and heir of William Willoughby, Lord Eresby. Although the duchess was a high status individual with close links to court, the Berties were unusual, in that Katherine's husband, Richard Bertie had been her gentleman usher before their marriage in around 1552. They thus occupied a somewhat ambiguous social position, and when

[345] Children are unlikely to have been present at banquets due to their political nature and the fact that they often took place late at night.
[346] Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530 - 1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), pp.99-100

Richard attempted to prove his title as Lord Willoughby in 1572, he was unsuccessful. During the 1560s, there is evidence for spices and wafers being sent to Grimsthorpe from London. Accounts for 1561, for example, list the purchase of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, mace and bisket.[347] In the same year, a payment was made for 'wafers against the Lord Admiralles coming', whilst in February 1562, 20d was spent on 'wafers when my master and her Grace dyned with Dr. Keyns'.[348] A payment for £21, 19s and 6d was made to a London grocer in March 1562; purchased items included figs, raisins, fennel seeds, marmalade, cakes, green ginger and sucket, whilst in August that year 1d was spent on 'wafers to make marchepaines', providing clear evidence for the production of sugarwork at Grimsthorpe.[349]

Given the banquet's expense, high status connotations and the humoral properties of banqueting foods, it may be that in this context the sweet banquet, if offered to guests, was being used to support the Berties' claim to high status and the Willoughby title in particular. Katherine died in 1580 and her son Peregrine Bertie was recognised as Lord Willoughby of Willoughby, Beck and Eresby in 1581. Bertie was a successful soldier and was the queen's commander-in-chief in the Netherlands from 1587 – 1589. It would appear that in this capacity he did a good deal of entertaining. In March 1588 £14 was spent on 'spicery and comfitures' and £9, 12s on 'bancketting stufe'. By the end of the following week, only 6s and 4d worth of stock remained in the spicery,and 5s worth of banqueting stuff.[350]

[347] *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster Preserved at Grimsthorpe* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1907), p.464
[348] Ibid, p.471.
[349] Ibid., pp.470-72.
[350] Ibid., pp.476-77.

The accounts from Hardwick Hall indicate the consumption of banqueting foods in the 1590s and 1600s. The accounts for February – March 1606 include a payment of 6s 4d to 'Mrs Spurling' for sweetmeats, and comfits were bought in Spring 1598, September 1600, February 1603 and January 1605.[351] A payment was made by 'My Lady' in October 1604 of 12d for gilding marchpanes.[352] As noted previously, marchpanes provided centrepieces for banquets, and gilding them added significantly to their expense. Interestingly, there are no payments for marchpanes themselves in the surviving Hardwick accounts. This suggests that these items were being made in-house, an idea supported by the large amounts of sugar which appear in the accounts.

Material relating to the manor house at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire provides further evidence for banquets beyond the court. Ashby was, during the sixteenth century, the principal house of the Earls of Huntingdon. There are several early modern garden buildings here, some of which are likely to have been banqueting houses.[353] The household accounts include detailed lists of 'banqueting stuff' purchased. For example, on September 11, 1634, a payment of £20, 13s, 7d was made to a confectioner for 'banqueting sweetmeats served in at my lady Elizabeth's

[351] Chatsworth, Hardwick MS 23, ff.180, 29,42, 97, 142; Chatsworth, Hardwick MS 10a, f.32.
[352] Chatsworth, Hardwick MS 23, f.136 v.
[353] The exact date(s) of these buildings are unclear, however recent archaeological work by English Heritage has suggested that they were built in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. See Sarah Newsome et al., *Ashby de la Zouch Castle, Leicestershire: A Multidisciplinary Investigation of the Castle Garden*, English Heritage Research Department Report Series (English Heritage, 2008). At least one seems to have been extant by 1596, when the probate will of Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon mentions 'the little turret on the East side of the garden', which contained stills, suggesting that at this stage it was being used as a still-room: Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, p.138. Paula Henderson has identified the other two garden buildings as banqueting houses. See Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden,* p.160. These are the two large towers at the Eastern and Western corners of the garden. The third is the central building in the Eastern sunken garden, which bore a striking resemblance to the banqueting house at Long Melford in Suffolk, which is also a two-storied, polygonal building constructed in brick. Both the structure in the Eastern corner and that in the Eastern sunken garden are contenders for the 'turret' still-room mentioned in the 1596 will.

wedding and other times not entered before'.[354] In 1673, a bill for confectionery included cherries, currant cakes, raspberry cakes, apricot paste, quince cakes, dried raspberries, 'puffs', muscadines (grapes), orange blossom, long muscadines, 1lb of marchpane 'royal', jumbals, oranges, lemons, comfits and plums. The total came to £5, 17s, 6d.[355] In conjunction with the garden buildings, this strongly suggests that banquets took place at Ashby.[356]

The foregoing evidence demonstrates that banquets occurred beyond court within twenty years of their emergence, at the homes of high status individuals with close court links. The remote locations of houses such as Hardwick did not preclude the practice of banqueting; if the raw ingredients for confectionery and sculptural sugarwork could be purchased, these items were made in-house. It is clear that these households adopted not only the foods associated with the banquet, but also its material and visual culture. The following section explores whether this can also be said of households slightly lower down the social scale, with more limited means and without close links to court.

Evidence for Banqueting in Households without Links to Court

The dissemination of knowledge of the sweet banquet slightly lower down the social scale is hinted at in the household accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall

[354] *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings esq. of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouche*, Vol. 1 (London: H. M. S. O., 1928), p.376.
[355] Ibid., p.404. The Ashby manuscripts were sold to the Huntingdon Library in California in the early twentieth century and have yet to be fully catalogued. The R.C.H.M report, necessarily, provides transcriptions of only a small number of the 100,000 or so documents which make up this archive, so the information provided here can only provide a snapshot of consumption at Ashby.
[356] Banquets may have been a feature of a lavish entertainment held at Ashby in 1607 for the visit of Alice Spencer, Lady Derby. John Marston wrote a masque for this event, which is discussed in James *Knowles*, "*Marston*, Skipwith, and the *Entertainment* at *Ashby*," *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 4 (1993): pp.137-92. The text does not mention banquets, so if they did occur, it would appear that they went unrecorded.

in Lancashire. They suggest a gradually developing familiarity with the foods associated with banqueting in the seventeenth century. The Shuttleworths were a gentry family who had been based at Gawthorpe since the fourteenth century. Their household accounts from 1582 to 1618 survive. The earlier accounts show that relatively few spices were being bought, mainly in London, and do not suggest that sugarwork was being produced or that banquets were taking place.[357] As Joan Thirsk has noted, this appears to have changed after the family spent a year renting a house in Islington in 1608-9.[358] The household expenses here include, for the first time, significant amounts of sugar.[359] In February 1609, a payment of two shillings was made to Thomas Leaver, the 'comfett maker', and the family's increased consumption of sweetmeats continued after they returned to Lancashire.[360] A bill for July 1610 lists nutmegs, currants, prunes, cinnamon, pepper, raisins, dates, coriander seed, poppy seed, 'dragons blood', wafers, rice, nutmeg, marmalade and loaf sugar.[361] If 'dragon's blood' refers to gum tragacanth, which was also called 'gum dragon', this may suggest the practice of sugarwork at Gawthorpe at this time. Other payments indicate that sugar, sugar candy and sweetmeats continued to be bought throughout the period for which accounts survive. By 1617, the consumption of banqueting foods had increased significantly, as demonstrated by a list of 'the

[357] Unitemised payments for spices include 6 shillings, 10d in 1582, £8 in 1591, £2, 18 shillings in 1593, £5, 11 shillings in 1597. Itemised lists show that spices were bought in December 1601, November 1602, December 1604, December 1605 and June 1606. Very little sugar was purchased. *The Household and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall* ed. John Harland (London: Cheetham Society, 1856), pp.5, 67, 82, 111, 15, 40, 48, 59, 70, 73.
[358] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), pp.85-6.
[359] 6lb of sugar was purchased in December 1608. None appears in the December lists of spices for 1601, 1604 0r 1605. Harland, *The Household and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall*, pp.178, 40, 59, 70.
[360] Ibid., p.182.
[361] Ibid., pp.189-90.

usuall p[ro]porc'on of spices yearely bought in London at Michaelmas terme'. This includes 18lb of powdered sugar and 4lb of Jordan almonds.[362]

It is particularly significant that the foods associated with the banquet were adopted by the family during a prolonged stay in London, and continued to be procured from the capital. This suggests that while they were well known in an urban context, they were only beginning to become familiar in the rural north in the early seventeenth century, and to those who did not have close links to court. It also supports the evidence from Lacock Abbey which indicates that banqueting foods were purchased in the capital in suggesting that that the presence of the country gentry in London was a key catalyst for the dissemination of these items. The fact that banqueting foods continued to be shipped to Gawthorpe from London indicates that their presence in the country house was conceived of as evidence of the family's cosmopolitan connections.

Further confirmation of the dissemination the sweet banquet beyond court circles is provided by documents relating to Blickling Hall in Norfolk. Blickling was acquired by Sir Henry Hobart in 1616, and he employed Robert Lyminge to remodel it. Lyminge had previously worked at Robert Cecil's Hatfield House, and can therefore be expected to have been familiar with aristocratic architectural fashions. However, his patron at Bickling, although a successful lawyer who was involved in local politics, did not move in court circles. The only surviving drawing relating to Lyminge's work at Bickling is the proposal for a banqueting house (Figure 27). Household account books relating to Bickling in the seventeenth century demonstrate that banqueting foods were purchased, and provide some evidence for banquets taking place. The earliest of these covers 1677 – 1679. It includes a payment to Mr. Goodwyn for

[362] Ibid., pp.212-13.

'candying sugar apples, lemons, gallipotts, glasses, oranges lemons…[and] candying of citrons' in the week ending 28th December 1677. [363] The candied apples and lemons may refer to the type of fruit sculpted in marchpane paste described above, or to preserves. Gallipotts were a type of earthenware pot used by apothecaries for storing ointments.

Another household account book relating to Blickling includes a payment to Goodwin for 'sugar for sweetmeats' of £2, 13s 2d, a very substantial amount which suggests that these items were being made in bulk on-site.[364] Several other smaller payments for sugar, comfits and groceries appear in this account.[365] The account book for 1686-8 provides further evidence for banquets here. In February 1686, 2lb of almonds and 4oz of 'gum dragon' or gum tragacanth, were purchased.[366] Both of these were key ingredients in marchpane paste, and 4oz is a substantial amount of gum tragacanth, capable of stiffening large amounts of sugar.[367] Comfits and more almonds were purchased the following week whilst in August 1687 twelve sweet-meat glasses were purchased, with another twelve being bought in early September. The week after this second consignment of glasses was paid for, £1, 12s, 2d was paid 'by bill to Mr Briggs for soape and vinegar, 12 pound of raisins and other spices.'[368] The payments for sweet-meat glasses indicate a familiarity with the material culture of the sweet banquet and the purchase of spice and the ingredients for sweet-meats suggest that banqueting foods were being made here. Although the banqueting house designed for Blickling was not built, it is indicative of a desire to host banquets here. Both the proposed banqueting house and the substantial

[363] NRO Lothian MS 4365, f.20.
[364] NRO Lothian MS NRS 21415, f.33v. This payment dates from September 1685
[365] NRO Lothian MS NRS 21415, f.43, f.49, f.80, f.112, f.120
[366] NRO Lothian MS MC184/3/7, unfoliated.
[367] Today, 15g of gum tragacanth can be used to stiffen 500g of sugar. Based on this, 4 ounces could be used to produce almost 4kg, or 8lb 6oz of marchpane paste.
[368] NRO Lothian MS MC184/3/7, unfoliated.

purchase of the ingredients for banqueting foods imply significant financial outlay. It is therefore clear that the hosting of banquets was considered to be a worthwhile financial investment even in households with no court links.

Similarly, early seventeenth-century accounts from Gorhambury in Hertfordshire, along with the banqueting house there, suggest the possibility that banquets took place. The surviving household accounts date from 1637-9, by which time Edward Radcliffe, the 6th Earl of Sussex was the tenant. He lived there with his wife, Eleanor Wortley, who is assumed to have managed the household at the time. The lists of guests at Gorhambury suggest that the Sussex household had few links to the court.[369] Nevertheless, the accounts for the spicery indicate that ingredients for sugarwork, including 25lb of powdered sugar, 1lb of almonds, wafers and gum tragacanth were used in the week ending the 6th of January 1639.[370] The date here is significant, particularly as this is the only reference to gum tragacanth in the accounts, and may indicate that banqueting foods were made only for twelfth night celebrations.

It is clear from the evidence discussed above that the sweet banquet was adopted slightly later in country houses whose inhabitants lacked opportunities to participate in court banquets. However, banqueting was an important element of gentry culture by the early seventeenth century. It is significant that it was particularly associated with country house contexts, even when banqueting foods were first encountered in London. This is likely to have been because of the symbolic connotations of the banquet discussed in the previous chapters. As a dining practice situated within

[369] Lionel M. Munby, *Early Stuart Household Accounts* (Hertfordhire: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1986), pp.v, xxvii.
[370] Ibid., pp.98-99. The Gorhambury accounts are particularly revealing in that they do not only list items bought, but also quantities used and amounts remaining at the end of each week. In this case, although the gum tragacanth, sugar and almonds had been in store from before the Christmas season they were not used until the week of epiphany.

gardens, with Edenic connotations which referred to the fertility of the realm or estate, it was clearly well suited to rural settings, and the country house in particular.

Banquets Beyond the Country House

The foods associated with the banquet were also served at urban, civic events such as the Lord Mayor's feast and the London livery company feasts. William Harrison's *Description of England* (1577) mentions the 'marchpane wrought with no small curiosity, tarts of divers hues and sundry denominations, conserves of old fruits, foreign and homebred suckets, codiniacs, marmalades, marchpane, sugarbread, gingerbread, Florentines… and sundry outlandish confections, altogether seasoned with sugar' which furnished merchants' feasts.[371] This is borne out by the records of the London livery companies. Numerous banqueting foods were purchased for the entertainment of the royal family at Merchant Taylors' Hall and the dinner book of the Worshipful Society of Drapers includes frequent mentions of marchpane and other confectionery.[372] These foods sometimes appeared in the context of separate, exclusive banquets like those held at court. The master and selected guests from the Skinners Company, for example, were made a banquet by the Clarenceux Herald in 1560 which consisted of spiced bread, fruit, marmalade, suckets, comfits, hippocras, Rhennish wine, claret and beer.[373] On Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1632, the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company 'repayred to the hall where there was

[371] William Harrison*, The Description of England,* ed. Georges Edelen (New York: Dover, 1994), p.129.
[372] Charles M Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors,* pp.169-80; Sarah Milne *The Dinner Book of the Draper's Company of London* (forthcoming, 2016)
[373] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, p.237

prepared a small banquett of fruite and plomes'.[374] Although this event seems to have taken place in the main hall, some livery company headquarters boasted banqueting houses, as at Merchant Taylors Hall where, by 1621, there was a banqueting house in the garden.[375]

The practice of banqueting and construction of banqueting spaces in livery company halls at this date fits well with a trend, identified by several historians and archaeologists, for increasing room specialisation and architectural embellishment in the years between 1560 and 1640. Notably, this period also saw the introduction of parlours, which provided exclusive spaces for the elite within livery companies to carry out political business. This has been linked to an increased interest in conveying the guilds' civic authority and the hierarchies within these institutions through architecture which regulated access to certain spaces on status grounds.[379] Related to this was a growth in the perceived significance of hospitality within livery companies and an increasing tendency to utilise the ceremonies associated with dining to denote internal hierarchies.[380] Moreover, as Lena Orlin Cowen and Felicity Heal have noted, the members of livery companies were well aware of the connotations of high status foodstuffs. Their analysis of company records has demonstrated that the consumption of venison within companies was used to

[374] Quoted in Jasmine Killburn-Toppin, "Crafting Artisinal Identities in Early Modern London: The Spatial, Material and Social Practices of Guild Communities c.1560-16402," (PhD Thesis, Royal College of Art, 2013), p.310.
[375] Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, p.34.
[379] Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c.1500 – 1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp.93, 104-6; Katherine Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York c.1350-1630*, (Oxford: British archaeological Reports, 2000), pp.85-7; John Schofield, "The Topography and Buildings of London" in *Material London c.1600* ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.311-12; Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civil Identity in Early Modern England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.106-8; Kilburn-Toppin, "Crafting Artisinal Idenitities in Early Modern London", pp.139-40.
[380] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.116-20; Kilburn-Toppin, "Crafting Artisinal Identities", pp.170, 219-26; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, pp.110-12

express hierarchy and underline group identity, whilst its distribution beyond the company underscored its traditional patronage role.[381]

All of this suggests that the exclusive sweet banquet, with its emphasis on high status foods and intimate spaces is likely to have been utilised to similar ends. Although this study has focused on court and country house contexts, the urban evidence is, therefore, ripe for investigation. The institutional context of the livery companies as well as previously identified cultures of commensality and the existence of drinking and dining societies at the universities and the Inns of Court in this period also suggests that the existence of the sweet banquet in these contexts merits exploration.

The study of the sweet banquet in urban contexts may affect the emulative interpretation of its spread from court to country house advanced here. The status of London as a trading hub, and the urban merchant classes' early access to banqueting foods through import and retail may well indicate that these groups drove the spread of this dining practice and its adoption by the nobility and gentry.

The role of civic feasts in fostering awareness of banqueting foods beyond social elites is illustrated by a letter of the seventh of December 1618 from Francis Phelips to his father in law George Sawyer who was resident at Cawston, near Norwich. In it, he mentions that a relative is working as a henchman for the mayor, and has 'sent his brother the remaines of a castle of marchpane w[hi]ch wold have amazed the young man to have seene while it stoode but now mayst please his taste'.[382] Little is known about Sawyer or Phelips, but given the contents of the letter it is likely that

[381] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.139-40; Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, pp.37-42
[382] NRO MC 254/5/9.

they were of the 'middling' sort or minor local gentry. This suggests a widespread awareness of the foods associated with the sweet banquet, a familiarity which may have encouraged people to make banqueting foods and appropriate the banquet as a meal type within their homes.

Further evidence of banqueting in 'middling' homesis provided by Henry Machyn's diary. In 1555 he attended a banquet at Henley, which was hosted by his neighbour, the widow of Master Lentall, and attended by other neighbours.[383] There is no suggestion of any aristocratic connection here, indicating that by the mid-sixteenth century the banquet had been adopted by the urban middle classes in London.[384] The anonymous *Bachelor's Banquet* (1603) also gives an insight as to banqueting in such contexts. This was a popular text, which was widely disseminated and describes the difficulties husbands might face in dealing with their wives. One of the chapters describes how the husband, wanting to entertain some friends at short notice, sends a servant to his house to ask his wife to prepare a banquet.[385] This suggests that the banquet had become a common element of urban, middle class sociability within the home as well as in institutional contexts.

The forgoing discussion has established that the concept and practice of banqueting spread relatively quickly beyond the court. The use of banqueting foods at civic celebrations suggests that they played a role in the commensality that defined these events and played a useful role in asserting the host's wealth and largesse.[388] Further analysis of the sources mentioned above provides important insights with regard to the banquet's function as an element of elite sociability, hospitality and

[383] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, p.99.
[384] On Machyn's social status, see p.144.
[385] *The Bachelor's Banquet* ed. Faith Gildenhuys (Ottowa: Dovehouse Editions, 1993), p.89.
[388] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp.116-20; Gervase Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 4 (1994): pp.430-446.

important life events, and the motivations for its adoption within these specific contexts.

Banqueting, Sociability and Commensality

It is clear that in gentry and 'middling' contexts, banquets were considered to be particularly appropriate for the entertainment of high ranking guests. Hannah Woolley, writing household manuals aimed at the 'middling' sort in the later seventeenth century, informs her readers that they will have 'frequent occasions for banquets in the entertaining of persons of quality'.[389] The steward's accounts from Haddon Hall also support the idea that banqueting foods were associated with the presence of guests. Amongst the generally modest entries for spices is a payment on the 11th of August 1549 of 6s 4d for 'dyuers kynds of spycs agenst Mr Cavendysshes coming to Haddon ffor the use of my mast[e]r'.[390] It is not clear who Mr Cavendish is, but the appearance of this name may be related to the fact that William Cavendish, husband of Bess of Hardwick, had been buying land in Derbyshire since 1547, and purchased the nearby Chatsworth Estate in 1549. The wording in this brief entry suggests that the spices were an element of hospitality, and that this was exclusive; they were to be used specifically by the master.

Household accounts from Wollaton Hall also demonstrate that banqueting foods were largely consumed in the presence of important guests. A household book for 1587 – 8 is particularly useful in this respect. It lists items purchased, received, used

[389] Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion, or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (London: Edward Thomas, 1675), p.112.
[390] W. A Carrington, "Selections from the Stewards' accounts preserved at Haddon Hall for the years 1549 and 1594," *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 16(1894): p.69.

and remaining by week, including banqueting foods such as marmalade, comfits, rosewater and 'biskets'. These items were only eaten when important guests were present. The largest amounts of banqueting foods were consumed at Thurland House on the 22nd of June, 1588.[391] On this occasion, Francis Willoughby dined with the Archbishop of York, Sir Thomas Manners, Mr. Edward Stanhope and 'dyvers other gents w[i]th their retyne[rs]… w[i]th many comers and goers'.[392] Other occasions of significant sugar consumption coincide with the visits of Thomas Manners, on June 22nd, 1587, and the Duke of Rutland on July 22nd, 1587, when 2lb of sugar was used, along with other spices, marmalade, sucket, 'bisket bread' and comfits.[393] When no guests were present, sugar, spices and other banqueting foods were rarely consumed. The sweet banquet, then, was a social occasion, specifically suited to the entertainment of high ranking guests, and is likely to have played a role in early modern patronage networks.

The consumption of banqueting foods and the occurrence of sweet banquets was also associated with particular times of the year, and banquets during the Christmas season were the norm. In 1560 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester purchased thirty shillings worth of 'banqueting stuff… against Christmas', whilst the first almonds and gum tragacanth appear alongside sugar in the Lacock accounts in December 1598.[394] At Grimsthorpe, wafers were provided 'uppon twelfe daye' in 1562, whilst the most detailed bill for banqueting foods in the Bickling Hall accounts dates from

[391] It is likely that that Francis Willoughby lived at Thurland House in Nottingham whilst Wollaton Hall was being built.
[392] UoN Middleton MS MiA 69, f.41v.
[393] Ibid., ff.8v, 12r.
[394] *Household Accounts and Disbursement books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1558 - 1561, 1584 - 1586* ed. Simon Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.145; WSHC Lacock MS (2664) Box 8: "The howsholde booke for Sir Robert Stapleton, Knight," f.118.

January 1676. [395] The custom of holding banquets on twelfth night appears to have originated at court in the early sixteenth century. As noted previously, Henry VIII hosted twelfth night banquets in 1513, 1514, and 1516.[396] A 1523 account of the household of the Princess Mary records that two gilders were paid for 'the gilting of divers subtleties; for the banquet at Epiphany'.[397]

The Christmas season was the primary time of year for the provision of hospitality and twelfth night was the main occasion for entertainment. Gentry and noble households welcomed large numbers of visitors at this time, and provided meals for their tenants and the local poor. This provided an opportunity for the lord to demonstrate his magnanimity and good government in public. Felicity Heal has suggested that for this reason the emphasis here was not on the hospitality offered to the lord's peer group but to those lower down on the social scale.[398] However, the provision of banqueting foods for Christmas celebrations in the sources mentioned above suggests that they were provided only for the host's social equals and superiors. It is highly unlikely that these expensive, spiced dishes were provided to all guests. The quantities in the accounts make this unfeasible, and sugar was considered to be inappropriate for those who performed manual work for a living. Private, sweet banquets were therefore provided for visiting family members, nobles and gentry. This would have allowed hosts to capitalise not only on opportunities to demonstrate their power, wealth and largesse to their tenants, but also to their peers.

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[395] *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster, preserved at Grimthorpe*, (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1907), p.471. Wafers could be used for communion, but were also associated with marchpanes. Here, they are listed alongside 400 oranges, the fruit supporting the idea that some form of banquet took place: NRO Lothian MS 4365, f.20.
[396] See p.22
[397] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. 3,* p.1407.
[398] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England,* pp.70-74. Heal notes that the 3rd Duke of Buckingham entertained 319 people at dinner on Epiphany 1508 and 279 to supper. The Duke of Norfolk feasted 399 on twelfth night 1527.

There is evidence that the development and spread of the separate banquet, offered only to high status guests, contributed to a perceived decline in traditional English hospitality. This has been explored by Heal, who notes the emergence, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, of a discourse concerning the decay of hospitality, and the tendency of the elite to provide private, luxurious and morally questionable entertainments to their equals as opposed to fulfilling their duty by providing charity and feasting their tenants.[399] In 1574, William Camden explicitly linked this to banquets, writing of the 'riotous Banquetting and prodigal bravery in building' which led to the 'great Decay of the glorious Hospitality of the Nation'.[400] The fashionable, exclusive banquet was conceived of as the opposite of, and threatening to, traditional, magnanimous open feasting. This comment is also revealing regarding the perceived spread of the banquet; it was becoming a well-known cultural form. The evidence from household account books discussed above, in suggesting that banquets were becoming a typical feature of twelfth night feasts, supports the idea that nobles were moving away from participation in communal feasting. This may well be a reflection of the increased 'separation' between the classes which occurred in the later sixteenth century, and which is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

The sweet banquet was also associated with the celebration of significant life events. Unlike Christmas feasts, the celebrations surrounding christenings and marriages traditionally included only the family's peer group, and banqueting foods came to play a significant part in these events from the mid sixteenth century.[401] Machyn mentions several christening banquets in his diary. He describes the 1559

[399] Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England": pp.66-93.
[400] Quoted in ibid., p.81.
[401] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England,* pp.80-81.

christening of 'ser Thomas Chamburlayn['s son]' which was followed by 'waffers, spys-bred, comfetted, and dyver odur bankettes, dysses, and epocras and muskadyll [in great] plente'.[402] He also mentions the 'grett bankett' which followed the christening of Anne, the daughter of the herald William Harvey, and the 'grett bankett at master Necolles plase' after the christening of his daughter.[403]

It is clear from the description of the banquet following the christening of John Chamberlain that Machyn understood a 'banquet' to consist exclusively of sweet foods, hippocras and wine. That he was not closely connected to the court, but was a member of the urban, merchant class demonstrates that by the mid sixteenth century the concept of the banquet was sufficiently well known to this social group to have needed little in the way of explanation.[404] Machyn describes the banquet following the Harvey christening as 'a grett bankett as I have seen', indicating that he was present at it. As Ian Mortimer has noted, Machyn's chronicle is full of personal references to his friends and local events, suggesting that he was also present at the other two christenings which he describes as involving banquets.[405] The banquet following the christening of Master Nicholls' son took place in the family home, implying some level of exclusivity. However it seems likely that the urban christening banquets which Machyn experienced involved significantly more people than evening country-house banquets which, based on the size of banqueting houses and surviving sets of banqueting trenchers, typically involved around twelve participants.[406]

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[402] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn,* p.216
[403] Ibid, pp.89, 305.
[404] Ian Mortimer has suggested that Machyn intended his manuscript to be read by others: Ian Mortimer, "Tudor chronicler or sixteenth-century diarist? Henry Machyn and the nature of his manuscript," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (2002): p.997.
[405] Ibid., pp.992-3.
[406] It is not clear who 'Master Necolles' was.

Machyn's presence at these christening banquets is significant, as it suggests a key mode of dissemination for the concept of the sweet banquet. Both Sir Thomas Chamberlain and William Harvey had close links to court. Chamberlain was a diplomat, and John, Duke of Finland, Sir Robert Dudley and Elizabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton served as godparents at the 1559 christening of his son. From this evidence, it would appear that the banquets which accompanied christenings were one of the key ways that knowledge of this dining practice was spread from those who had experience of life at court to those with whom they came into contact in urban contexts. Furthermore, Machyn was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and his awareness of banqueting foods may also have been developed through attending Company events.

The fact that he specifically recorded the banquets he attended and the foodstuffs served is also significant. Mortimer has suggested that the chronicle itself is a work of 'urban middle-class ambition', designed to consolidate his relatively tenuous position as part of the urban merchant class. In writing the chronicle, he was emulating members of established merchant families.[407] The inclusion of descriptions of banquets in the work can be seen as part of this project. As an expensive form of entertainment, with elite connotations, knowledge of the banquet was clearly bound up with social status.

[407]Mortimer, "Tudor chronicler or sixteenth-century diarist?", p.997. Mortimer convincingly demonstrates that Machyn and his brother Christopher were not originally from London but Leicestershire. As a newly arrived merchant, and one with little education, as demonstrated by the poor handwriting and inconsistencies in spelling in the manuscript, Machyn may have been looked down on by other merchants who belonged to long established London families.

Other sources support the idea that the banquet was a standard element of christening celebrations.[408] The accounts of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland include a 1598 payment of the significant sum of £5, 5s 'for a banquett at the christening of the young ladye'.[409] The satirical *Batchelors Banquet* of 1603 refers to the 'cost and trouble' caused by the fine things expected at a christening, including 'sugar, biscuits, comfits and caraways, marmalade and marchpane, with all kinds of sweet suckets and superfluous banqueting stuff'.[410] Papers from Belvoir castle indicate that banqueting foods were still associated with christenings in the middle of the seventeenth century. In June 1654, a payment to 'Mr. Clement Austen, a comffett maker in the Strand for the Lady Marye's chrisseninge' amounted to £4, 13s, 4d', again, a substantial sum of money.[411] The household account book of Dorothy Folkes, preserved in the Norfolk County Record office provides evidence that a version of this practice continued to the end of the century.[412] In 1693, she paid £10 for nurses for a new baby and for wine and cakes at the christening; the following year she paid £4 for wine and cakes at the christening of a daughter, Betty.[413]

Banqueting foods were also a key feature of wedding celebrations beyond the court at relatively early dates.[414] This association may have developed out of the practice of presenting a 'bride cake' at wedding celebrations. An instructional manuscript,

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[408] For a general discussion of food at christenings, see Layinka Swinburne and Laura Mason, ""She Came from a Groaning Very Cheerful..." Food in Pregnancy, Childbirth and Christening Ritual," in *Food and the Rites of Passage*, ed. Laura Mason (Totnes: Porspect Books, 2002), pp.73-4.
[409] *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)*, p.31.
[410] *The Bachelor's Banquet*, pp.61-2.
[411] *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, K. G. Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, Vol. IV, p.538.
[412] Relatively little is known about the Folkes, but Dorothy's husband, Martin Folkes (1640 – 1705) was a bencher of Gray's Inn.
[413] NRO MS 4367 n.p.
[414] For a general discussion of foods served at early modern wedding celebrations, see Ivan Day, "Bridecup and Cake: The Ceremonial Food and Drink of the bridal Procession," in *Food and the Rites of Passage*, ed. Laura Mason (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2002), pp.43-7.

'for to serve a lord' thought to date from around 1500 describes how to make a 'feste for a bryde'.[415] The was to include four courses, with the first three being accompanied by 'soteltes' representing a lamb, an antelope and an angel respectively. The final course consisted of cheese and warm bread and was accompanied by 'a cake, and a wife lying in childe-bed with a scriptour saing in this wyse, "I am coming toward your bryde. Yf ye dirste ony loke to me ward, I wene ye nedys muste.'[416] It is possible that the woman in child-bed was sculpted in sugar or marchpane paste.

In addition to the evidence of banqueting foods being purchased for the 1599 wedding at Lacock, discussed above, a 1524 household account book from Middleton Hall in Warwickshire lists 'spycs bought for the weddynge' of Mary Harbotel, including cloves, saffron, pepper, prunes, cinnamon and 27lb, 13oz of loaf sugar costing fourteen shillings. The total amount spent on spices for this event was £4, 2d.[417] The overall household sugar consumption for the year was just over 110lb; the wedding feast represents a significant proportion of this.[418] In June, 1552, Catherine Tyrell, a stepdaughter of Sir William Petre, was married to Richard Baker at Ingatestone Hall in Essex. A cook was drafted in from London for this occasion, and the accounts include the purchase of 'an hundred marchpane bread', gold leaf and turnsole for making jelly, all of which came to 3s 10d.[419] As Sir William Petre was a principal secretary to the king, it may be assumed that he had come into contact with banquets at court, and there was also a banqueting house in the

[415] Furnivall, *Early English Meals and Manners*, pp.358-60. On the dating of this text, see ibid., p.lxxii.The original manuscript was in the possession of Arthur Davenport in 1868.
[416] Ibid., pp.359-60.
[417] UoN Middleton MS MiA 15, f.10v.
[418] Mark Dawson, "Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-century Gentry Household," History (PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 2007), p.187.
[419] F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary : Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London: Longman, 1961), p.145; F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Food and Pastimes* (London: Ernest Benn, 1964), p.52.

grounds of Ingatestone.[420] The use of a cook from London highlights the cosmopolitanism associated with sugarwork. The accounts from Ashby show that on the 11th of September, 1634, a payment was made 'To Mr. Allmeyre, the confectioner, for banqueting sweetmeats served in at my lady Elizabeth's wedding and other times not entered before, £20, 13s, 7d'.[421] The Lady Elizabeth referred to here was the youngest daughter of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon.

There is also evidence that banqueting foods were provided for the weddings of non-elites who had connections with wealthy households. In January 1559, Margaret, Countess of Rutland paid 6s, 8d for 'certen thinges bought at the banket at Flowers marriage'[422] It is not clear who 'Flowers' was, but the Belvoir witches, who were tried in 1618 – 19 had the surname Flower, and had worked as servants for the Earl and Countess of Rutland[423]. The continued association of the name with Belvoir suggests that several generations of the family worked there. That a banquet was provided for a servant's marriage suggests another way in which awareness of this dining practice spread across the social scale.

There is also some evidence that banqueting foods were associated with funerals. John Taylor, in *The praise of the Hemp-seed*' (1630) describes the 'dainties' made by comfit-makers to be served 'After a christing, or a funerall'. A receipt in the Allen and Hall family papers in Norfolk lists a payment of £4 for 'thinges towards a banquet delivered for [Robert Prentice's] buriall' in April 1638.[424] It is unclear who Robert Prentice was, but given the specificity in the use of the term 'banquet' at this time,

[420] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary,* p.243.
[421] *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings esq. of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouche*, Vol. 1, p.376.
[422] *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, K. G. Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, Vol. IV, p.387.
[423] Anon. *The Wonderful discoverie of the witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Joan Flower near Bever Castle: executed at Lincolne, March 11. 1618* (London: I Barnes, 1619), n.p.
[424] NRO NAS 1/1/6/174.

this is likely to have involved confectionery and fruits. Research by Clare Gittings indicates that such events were common. She cites several examples found in funeral accounts from Southern England, including one funeral held in 1641 in Abingdon. Here, the banquet included 60lb of comfits, 40 dozen cakes, dried and fresh fruit, almonds and marchpane. The total cost of the banqueting foods was over £11.[425] During the commonwealth, the Common Council of the City of York banned funeral banquets, being concerned about 'the great expence of wyne, cakes and banquettinge at funerals in these times of scarcyty'.[426] Peter Brears considers these funeral banquets as a particularly effective means of marking the social status of the deceased, and notes that provision was often made for them in wills.[427]

The evidence discussed above indicates that banquets were central to elite sociablility, and were particularly associated with the key life events of christenings, marriages and funerals. That entertainment at these occasions tended to be confined those of a similar social status to the host rather than being offered as open hospitality is significant due to the links between hospitality, reciprocity and obligation in early modern England.[428] Food gifts were a common feature of sixteenth century society. This has been investigated in depth by Felicity Heal, with reference to the theories of Marcel Mauss. According to Mauss, gift exchange derives its importance within society from its fundamental reciprocity; the giving of gifts gives rise to the obligation to give in return. This is closely bound up with ideas of social hierarchy; to give is to assert one's largesse and superiority; consequently to receive without giving back would be to accept inferiority. The cycle, therefore, is self-

[425] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1984). p.156.
[426] "Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee of York and the Ainsty", in *Miscellanea*, ed. A. Raine (York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1953), p.27.
[427] Peter Brears, "Arvals, Wakes and Month's Minds: Food for Funerals," in *Food and the Rites of Passage*, ed. Laura Mason (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2002), pp.87-114.
[428] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England,* p.19.

perpetuating.[429] As such, the gift is distanced from market transactions, which are disinterested and instantaneous; gifts are distinct from those things which can be bought or sold. In sixteenth and seventeenth century England, food was politically symbolic, and the ability to provide generous hospitality was seen as a key indicator of nobility. This gave rise to the frequent use of food gifts. As is well known, venison was often exchanged in this way. It could not be bought or sold, only hunted by land-owners and gifted to their friends, family, patrons and clients. As a consequence, it was indicative of nobility and access to high level patronage networks. Food gifts offered temporary group membership to the receiver, often presenting the opportunity to eat rare or restricted foods, and demanded reciprocation, articulating shared identities and building and maintaining relationships. [430]

Banqueting foods, including loaf-sugar, subtleties, marchpanes, comfits and preserves were a common form of gift. Their use at court has been noted above, and they were also exchanged in non-court contexts. In 1546, for example, the Mayor and City of London gave the Admiral of France twenty sugar loaves, forty shillings worth of 'comfitts and confections, 12 marchpanes… 12 gallons ipocras…' and 'fruits of all kinds' as well as meat, fish, poultry and a cup of gold.[431] A 1563-4 account of payments made for gifts given to the French ambassador by the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London includes eleven gallons of hypocras, 53 ½ lb of sugar, 'biscuits, caraways, long comfits and subtleties with the boxes, barrels and carrieage thereof…, 6 marchpanes of 3lb the piece garnished with fine gold and

[429] Mauss, *The Gift*, pp.90-96.
[430] Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England."
[431] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.,* Vol. 21 ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: H.M.S.O., 1908), p.696.

conceits and cinnamon comfits' amongst other gifts of meat, poultry and wax.[432] The banqueting foods came to £8, 17s, 2 ½ d out of a total bill of £38, 1s, ½ d. The York house books record that the city regularly presented gifts of loaf sugar, marmalade, suckets and comfits to important visitors to the city from the mid sixteenth to the early seventeenth century.[433]

Given banqueting foods' associations with royalty and nobility, their expense and relative rarity, they functioned particularly well in asserting membership of a select, high status group, and thus constructing bonds between giver and receiver. The dual representative value of sugarwork, in that both the material and the forms it was shaped into had particular connotations made it a particularly effective gift. Furthermore, the skill and time required in creating elaborate sugar sculptures and, in particular, their uniqueness and the fact that they were made for individual events, with the expectation that they would be eaten, destroyed or given away is likely to have distanced them conceptually from commodities. The difficulties in buying or selling such things further underscore their reliability as indicators of social status in early modern England.

That banquets themselves were only offered on occasions when guests were present also suggests that one of their key functions was to create obligation. The guest who consumed the host's expensive banqueting foods would later be expected to reciprocate in some way, be it through hospitality or patronage. Thus, the banquet contributed to the establishment and maintenance of patronage networks, and bound people to their peer group. The foods served at the banquet also contributed

[432] *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century,* ed. B.R. Masters (London: London Record Society for the Corporation of London, 1984), p.124.
[433] Robert Davies, *Walks Through the City of York* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1880), pp.183, 266-72.

towards the definition of that group. As discussed in chapter one, the ability to eat banqueting foods, which were fundamentally unsuited to those who did physical work for a living, confirmed the eater's elite status. The expense of the spices and sweetmeats indicated that this nobility was supported by wealth. The fact that banqueting foods were often imported to country houses from London, and that the banquet had originated at, and continued to be associated with the court were indications of cosmopolitanism and access to court culture; potentially even access to royal patronage. The banquet, then, made strong statements about and affirmed elite identity whilst emphasising membership of the social group at important, transitional moments in the lives of group members. As is explored in chapter four, it was also utilised by its hosts to communicate their knowledge of the European renaissance and provided a means by which people engaged with contemporary debates about the nature of art.

Chapter Four: Status and Artifice

The preceding chapter has demonstrated that banquets did take place beyond the contexts of royal courts and progress visits in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and that by the seventeenth century the concept of the banquet was well known, even in circles with few court links. As a dining practice which had originated in the royal household, it was undoubtedly fashionable, its expense useful in demonstrating wealth and, as we have seen, a key site for sociability. However, the banquet's continued popularity into the seventeenth century, and the desire to demonstrate knowledge of it suggest that it had further significance. As this chapter explores, the banquet provided opportunities to demonstrate elevated social status. It allowed participants to display elite forms of knowledge and refined manners, and to engage with contemporary philosophical debate. As is explored below, this was achieved, in large part, through the conception of the sweet banquet as a means of reviving the classical past.

The Banquet as Symposium

Contemporary sources indicate that the banquet was consciously intended as a recreation of the ancient symposium. This association is made clear in the preface to Thomas Elyot's *Bankette of Sapience*, first published in 1539. Elyot describes how, in the spring, 'in whome is any sparke of gentylle courage, requireth to solace and bankett with mutual resort, communicatyng together their fantasyes and sundry devyses, which was not abhored of the moste wyse and noble philosophers, as may

appiere to them that have wytsaufed to read the workes of Plato, Xenophon and Plutarche, whyche they named symposia, callyd bankettes in Englyshe.'[434] Elyot was both a humanist and a courtier; it is conceivable that he made the link between the banquet and the symposium independently. However, the social practises and visual aesthetic associated with the sweet banquet suggest that it was widely understood as an emulation of the ancient symposium. Elyot outlines the sources of knowledge about the symposium in sixteenth century England with his list of ancient authors: Plato, Xenophon and Plutarch, all of whom produced symposium literature.[435] Plato and Xenophon's *Symposia* are imagined symposiac dialogues, whilst Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Wise Men* is a collection of philosophical sayings.

These ancient works define symposia in opposition to public, civic meals, (*deipnon*) as exclusive events focused on 'drinking together'. The typical group size was fourteen to thirty, and participants reclined on couches. The symposium centred around politics and pleasure and, in the early modern period, was understood to have been an aristocratic entertainment. The exclusivity of the banquet, and its separateness from other, more public forms of feasting, discussed above, can be seen as mirroring the symposium. Further analysis indicates that the sweet banquet's similarities to the ancient symposium were neither incidental nor

[434] Thomas Elyot, *The Banket of Sapience Gathered oute of Dyuers and Many Godlye Authoures.* (London: John Daye, 1539), Prologue, n.p. In this introduction, Elyot also draws a clear distinction between 'dinner', 'supper' and the banquet.

[435] On the availability of these sources at the time, see Sears Jayne, *Plato in Renaissance England* (Dordecht, Springer, 1995), pp.85-8; Martha Hale Shackford, *Plutarch in Renaissance England* (Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1929), pp.22-4; For a broader discussion of the sources for the recreation of ancient dining practices in the Renaissance, see Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, esp. pp.16-48; Katherine M. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.4-5. Although the sweet banquet as a recreation of the symposium has not been studied before, it has been recognised that societies connected with the Inns of Court, universities and London taverns were concerned with reviving classical cultures of revelry and used Xenophon and Plutarch as sources. See Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.5, 60

superficial. The classicizing aspects of the literary, visual and material cultures associated with the banquet are examined below, revealing efforts to mimic ancient dining practices and to evoke their settings, in detailed and authentic ways.

Symposium literature, and particularly the sources cited by Elyot, place learned discussion at the heart of ancient symposia, so much so that they have been characterised in later scholarship as being defined by erudite conversation.[436] This table-talk was recreated at the sweet banquet with the aid of books of witty sayings and aphorisms designed to prompt conversation. These books, which were published throughout the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, represent an attempt to revive classical symposium literature, as exemplified by Plutarch's *Symposium* which takes the form of a collection of sayings for use at table.[437] The texts' association with the sweet banquet is made expicit in that they often feature the term 'banquet' in their titles. Examples include Elyot's *Bankette of Sapience*, Anthony Mundy's *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588), W. B.'s *Philosophers Banquet* (1609), Archibald Armstrong's *Banquet of Jeasts*, (c.1630), and Henry Harflete's *A Banquet of Essayes, fetcht out of famous Owns confectionery* (1653).[438]

The association between banquets and erudition is further underscored in that the authors of these works compare the sayings within them to the foods associated with the banquet. Elyot, for example, instructs his readers to 'beholde sentences sundry and dyvers, whyche I doo applye unto bankettynge dyshes, made and seasoned by Sapyence her selfe, and served forthe to the table by theym whyche dyd wryte or

[436] Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, pp.1-2.
[437] 'Wit' was considered to be a virtue in early modern England, and was particularly associated with male sociability in connection with the Inns of Court, the universities and taverns. See Phil Withington, "Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England" in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.53, no.3 (2011): pp. 651-54
[438] Elyot's *Banket* was the most popular, running to at least five editions between 1539 and 1564.

pronounce them.'[439] The subtitle of the 1614 edition of the *Philosopher's Banquet* describes it as 'newly furnished and decked forth with much variety of many severall dishes', and Armstrong warns his readers not to expect a banquet of food, as 'in the stead of dainties you shall find Dicteria: for Junkets, Ioci: and for curious sallets, Sales.'[440]

There is also evidence that the metaphorical association of banqueting foods with witty sayings could be expressed in more explicit ways. Early modern recipe books instruct their readers to make letters from sugar paste, raising the possibility that these may have been used at banquets to spell words or to suggest conversational themes.[441] John Murrel even instructs that these should take the form of 'faire capital Romane letters', again underscoring the classical connotations.[442] A recipe in the anonymous *Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen* describes how to make 'a walnut, that when you crack it, you shall find Biskets and Carrawayes in it, or a pretty posey written'.[443]

The connection between literature and the banquet is also reflected in a set of oblong banqueting trenchers in the collection of the Bodleian library (Figure 46). These are typical of other sets in that they are highly ornamented, and decorated with rhymes, but their case is particularly noteworthy as it is designed to emulate the binding of a book. In this way, the rhymes on the trenchers are likened to the contents of a book, and this is perhaps a witty reference to the published books of 'banquets' of sayings. This association between the banquet and learned culture is

[439] Elyot, *The Banket of Sapience,* Prologue n.p.
[440] Archibald Armstrong, *A Banquet of Jeasts* (London: Richard Royston, 1630), p.3.
[441] Hugh Platt, *Delights for Ladies,* recipe 18; Thomas Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened* (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins 1655), p.21. These authors do not describe the ways in which these items may have been used, so any speculation with regard to this is necessarily conjectural.
[442] John Murrel, *A Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen*, recipe 89.
[443] *The Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen*, p.33.

typified by a published account of a masque and banquet presented to the royal children in 1635. The masque included a pageant of the seasons, followed by a dialogue on education between the allegorical figures of Minerva and Time. It culminated with the presentation of a banquet of books filled with sweetmeats, including 'Cato in bisket cakes, and sugar plates in Plato. Erasmus full of preserv'd raspices… damesons in Damascenus and preserv'd lemons here in Levinus Lemnius'.[444]

The following analysis of the culinary, material and literary cultures connected with the banquet indicates that the fostering of erudite conversation was a means by which people in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England attempted to authentically recreate ancient symposia. The examination of the visual and material culture associated with the banquet further demonstrates this concern with the accurate evocation of the ancient world. The banqueting houses in the grounds of country houses and inventories of goods kept within these buildings provide compelling evidence of conscious efforts to create classicizing dining spaces as well as some of the earliest indications of the reception of classical architecture and interior decoration in England.

The 'ambulatory' in the grounds of Horton Court in Gloucestershire takes the form of a Florentine loggia and was built by the diplomat and courtier William Knight between 1517 and 1521 (Figure 47). That such spaces were used for banquets is suggested by Florio's 1598 definition of the loggia as 'a faire hall, a dining chamber, a terrace or walking place, a banquetting house' and a sixteenth-century painting of the myth of Phaeton (Figure 48), which features figures dining in a loggia very similar

[444] Kinnaston, *Corona Minervae*, n.p.

to that at Horton Court.[445] The loggia form, as Henderson has noted, is reminiscent of the ancient Greek stoa, traditionally the setting for philosophical discussions, making it a particularly appropriate setting for the banquet / symposium with its focus on erudition.[446] Dating from approximately twenty years later, Sharington's banqueting chamber at Lacock (Figure 39) takes the form of a renaissance style ocagonal tower which was reached via a balustraded walk across the leads and topped with a further balustrade. The use of renaissance ornament here highlights Sharington's involvement with the Somerset circle at around the same time that the tower was built. He was at the intellectual centre of a classicizing 'academy' which revolved around Edward Seymour in the late 1540s. As such, the use of classical ornament at Lacock displayed not only his awareness of continental trends, but also his close links to court. [447]

Later banqueting houses also referred to classical models. As noted above, the banqueting house at Gorhambury was described in the early modern period as being 'Roman' in style, and William Cecil employed classical ornament at Burghley House and in the banqueting house at Theobalds.[448] The monumental, barrel vaulted Roman staircase here, (Figure 49) led to the banqueting spaces on the roof, and was the only example of its kind in England at the time.[449] The use of highly ornamented Roman architectural forms emphasised the move from the public

[445] John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues* (London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1611), p.288.
[446] Paula Henderson, "The Loggia in Tudor and Early Stuart England: the Adaptation and Function of Classical Form," in *Albion's Classicism : the Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, 1995), p.134.
[447] D. Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), p.53; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance 1485-1649* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp.21-2.
[448] See p.107
[449] Jill Husselby, "The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House," in *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils*, ed. Pauline Croft (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p.41.

spaces below to the private roofscape, and also the privileged nature of this ascent. It is also likely to have set the scene and raised anticipation for the recreation of the classical symposium at banquets held on the roof. Similarly, the doorway to the banqueting house at Melford Hall (Figure 50) is framed by a classicizing portico, which again seems to have emphasised the shift from the everyday, contemporary world, to that of the symposium. Even the enclosed garden seats described as banqueting houses in contemporary sources demonstrate a marked emphasis on the classical. The focal point of Lyming's design for Blickling (Figure 27) is an arched entranceway, approached via a balustraded stair, flanked by pilasters and surmounted by an entablature and pediment. To its left is a column supporting the figure of Hercules brandishing a club. Similarly, the garden seat / banqueting house which survives at Kenilworth (Figure 28) features Doric pilasters and scallop shell alcoves. Finally, William Brooke's family portrait depicts the banquet taking place within an idealised classicizing architectural setting.

The garden settings of many banqueting houses, including those at Horton Court, Gorhambury, Kenilworth, Melford and Blickling are also significant in terms of the emulation of classical culture. The garden as *locus amoenus* was seen as an ideal location for intellectual discourse, or the 'mind's banquet'.[450] In the author's dedicatory epistle to the 1618 English translation of Pierre la Primaudaye's *French Academie*, the volume is described as 'a dish of divers fruits which I gathered in a Platonicall garden or orchard, otherwise called an Academie, where I was not long since with certaine young Gentlemen… discoursing together of the institution in good manners, and of the means how all estates and conditions may live well and

[450] For a discussion of this, see Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1979), pp.52-64.

happily.'[451] Not only is the garden here the site for such discourse, but the insights it generates are characterised as a 'dish of fruit'; fruit, of course, being one of the principal foods of the garden banquet, and banqueting foods in general with their witty and sometimes literary forms, being strongly linked to erudite discussion. The setting of banqueting houses within gardens, then, can be seen as part of a project to promote this form of discourse.

The analysis of the markedly classicizing interior decoration of a number of surviving banqueting houses suggests that it was intended to fulfil the same function. Within the loggia at Horton Court, for example, are four stucco roundels which show Hannibal of Carthage, Augustus, Nero and Atilla the Hun (Figure 51 and Figure 52). Nicholas Cooper has argued that Augustus represents the type of the virtuous ruler, with Nero cast against him as evil ruler, while Hannibal and Atilla the Hun similarly contrast 'good and bad outsiders'.[452] The roundels are carved in contrasting styles; Nero and Augustus are highly reminiscent of classical coins and medals, with naturalistic detailing in the faces and classicizing drapery. Hannibal and Atilla are rendered differently, with Hannibal forward facing, and both treated in a more stylised, gothic manner. This is a sophisticated decorative programme, which demonstrates the well-travelled patron's knowledge of fashionable Italian models.

William Knight had plenty of opprtunity to gain first-hand knowledge of these, having spent part of his early career in Italy. He was in Ferarra studying law in 1501 and travelled to Rome in 1506. His subsequent diplomatic activities saw him travel to the low countries, France and Switzerland, and in 1526-7 he again travelled to Rome,

[451] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French academie Fully discoursed and finished in foure bookes.* Ed. R. Dolman and P. W. (London: Thomas Adams, 1618), Author's epistle, n.p.
[452] Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.20-21.

tasked with obtaining a dispensation allowing Henry VIII to remarry.[453] The roundels here also provide evidence of an awareness of contrasting styles. It is particularly interesting that the gothic style has been employed on the representations of the non-Roman figures. The roundels, representing famous, opposing historical figures, with their manipulation of various styles, may have been intended to prompt conversation, or may simply have created an atmosphere of authenticity in relation to the recreation of ancient cultural practices.

A similar impulse is evident in the installation of the imported busts of Roman emperors in Cecil's banqueting house at Theobalds. The Countess of Arundel's 'Pranketing room' at Tart Hall provides another example of the use of portrait busts of ancient figures in banqueting spaces. In 1641 it contained four 'curious marble head statues'. The pranketing room was a hybrid space which served as both a collectors' cabinet and banqueting chamber, and the statues can be assumed to be classicizing busts.[454] The representations of classical figures may also have been intended to provide instructional examples to their viewers. This is particularly appropriate at the homes of Knight, Cecil and the Countess of Arundel, all prominent courtiers. The display of this form of decoration also made statements about status in that the busts inhabited the space of the banqueting house alongside the banquet's living participants, inviting comparisons between them and these ancient statesmen.

The interest in classicism is also evident in the tables which furnished banqueting chambers. As we have seen, the marble table at Lacock (Figure 40 and Figure 41)

[453] Richard Clark, 'Knight, William (1475/6–1547)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15738, accessed 18 May 2015]

[454] Juliet Claxton, "The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room: 'An Inventory of all the Parcells or Purselin, glasses and other Goods now remayning in the Pranketing Roome at Tart Hall, 8th Sept 1641'", *Journal of the History of Collections* 22, no. 2 (2010): p.187, appendix p.32.

is decorated with classical figures. The carved figure of Apicius is particularly interesting. His *De re Coquinaria* was well known in the renaissance and Latin editions published throughout Europe. Although it is not clear that its recipes were used in a practical way, the idea of Apician cookery was fashionable in elite cirles.[455] This again points towards a desire to foster an atmosphere of authenticity in the recreation of classical dining practices. Furthermore, evidence from contemporary descriptions and inventories indicates that marble tables were a standard feature of banqueting spaces. A table of 'touchstone', or black marble featured in the banqueting house at Theobalds in 1598, while a structure on a mount in the garden at Chatsworth, which Girouard has identified as a banqueting house, contained a table of alabaster in 1601.[456] The banqueting house at Long Melford contained a marble table in 1635, while 'One large ovall Table of blacke and white marble' is recorded in the banqueting house on the mount at Hampton Court Palace in an inventory of 1659.[457]

These stone tables contrast with the wooden trestle tables used for dining in medieval palaces and great houses, which could be folded up and easily moved, reflecting the varied uses to which rooms were typically put.[458] This underscores the idea that dining was considered to be the principal purpose of the banqueting house. Moreover, the specific use of marble, which could be carved with classical figures as at Lacock, suggests a conscious desire to emulate classical interiors.

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[455] Robert Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and other Gastronomic Interjections,* pp.83-4.
[456] TNA E317/Herts/26; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p.106; *Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick* (London: National Trust, 2001), pp.29-30.
[457] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture,* p.106. TNA SP18/203, ff 67-81
[458] Margaret MacDonald Taylor, *English Furniture from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (London: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1965), pp.73-4; Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth century* (London: Furniture History Society, 1977), pp.217-23; Elizabeth Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House* (London V & A, 2006), p.25.

An interest in classical visual culture is also evident in the tableware associated with the banquet. A silver-gilt standing bowl dating from the 1580s (Figure 53) may have been used for serving wine or spice at banquets.[459] It takes the form of an Italianate tazza, and the interior of the bowl is decorated with classicizing strap-work surrounding an embossed classical bust (Figure 54). This decoration mirrors the sculpted busts found in banqueting chambers and would have added another layer of authenticity to the project of recreating ancient dining practices. A partial set of banqueting trenchers, now in the British museum, is decorated with classicizing figures. One of the group (Figure 55) features personifications of truth, honour and chaste love, identified by Latin inscriptions which would have provided banquet participants with opportunities to demonstrate their knowledge of this ancient language. Both Truth and Honour are depicted as semi-nude women, and honour wears a laurel wreath, whilst Chaste Love is a nude cupid figure. The figures represent an attempt to emulate the classicizing nudes of the Northern Renaissance.[460]

Surviving prints designed to be pasted onto trenchers also demonstrate an interest in classical literature. A set in the British Museum is derived from Marcus Gheeraerts the elder's illustrations for Aesop's fables (Figure 56). In sixteenth-century England, as elsewhere in Europe, the *Fables* were widely used in the teaching of Latin, and were recommended by Thomas Elyot and other educational theorists.[461] Their appearance on banqueting trenchers is likely to have given banqueting participants opportunities to demonstrate their access to a fashionable, humanist education.

[459] V&A Catalogue entry LOAN:GILBERT.537-2008 http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O156616/standing-bowl-unknown/ [accessed 18 May 2015]
[460] A label bearing the text 'A Durer 1490' is pasted to the back of the trencher. Although likely to be an optimistic nineteenth-century addition, the similarity to Northern renaissance nudes is notable.
[461][461] P.I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p.163.

There is also evidence that the texts on trenchers were intended to emulate specific ancient dining customs, as understood in renaissance England. In 1589, George Puttenham made the connection with the ancient world explicit, describing the rhymes on them as 'Epigrams' which the ancient Greeks had 'put vpon their banketting dishes of suger plate, or of march paines, & such other dainty meates… they were called *Nenia* or *apophoreta*, and neuer contained aboue one verse, or two at the most, but the shorter the better, we call them Posies, and do paint them now a dayes vpon the backe sides of our fruite trenchers of wood'.[462] Puttenham describes how, in the classical context, 'euery gest might carry [the sugar dishes which on which the epigrams appeared] from a common feast home with him to his owne house'.[463]

His sources here are Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, collections of witty epigrams of no more than two lines.[464] Ancient *apophoreta* were short poems intended to accompany gifts which were given to guests at dinners and taken home with them; the literal translation of *apophoreta* is 'things taken away'. This suggests that trenchers, with their posies / apophoreta were given to banquet guests to take away with them. A trencher taken away from a banquet may have provided a reminder of a transient event, and also of obligation to its host. This would also provide an explanation for the pristine condition of surviving trencher sets and the fact that very few individual trenchers survive without sets. Perhaps if they were given away at the end of banquets, they were more vulnerable. They would not have had the protection of their boxes and, decontextualized, may have been perceived as less

[462] George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), p.47. The association of marchpanes with ancient Greece is misplaced; sugar was virtually unknown in the ancient world. Interestingly, Puttenham was Thomas Elyot's brother in law.
[463] Ibid.
[464] Nenia may be a mis-transcription of *xenia.* Although *nenia* is a Latin word, meaning funeral dirge, the grouping and definition of the two types of epigrams suggests that Puttenham had Martial in mind. Furthermore, *nenia* is a singular form, whilst *xenia* is plural, as is *apophoreta*.

valuable. Those trencher sets which survive may have done so simply because they were never used, and dispersed.

Puttenham's idea that the epigrams were written on sugar plate is interesting. Sugar was largely unknown in the ancient world, but Martial's epigrams *are* traditionally associated with food gifts. The term *xenia* was used by Vitruvius to describe paintings of food gifts traditionally given by the host to guests, and Martial instructs his readers to 'send these poems to your guests in place of gifts.'[465] The idea that the epigrams were written on sugar plate or marchpanes may have come about because sugar was commonly given as a gift in the sixteenth century, and similar short texts were often a feature of sweet banquets, as at Woodstock in 1575 with the two-verse 'posies' which were presented to the ladies.[466] Subtleties could also be accompanied by short texts, as is demonstrated by the wedding feast subtleties described in the manuscript *Ffor to serve a Lord,* each of which was accompanied by a two-line rhyme.[467] Dining practises associated with the sweet banquet, then, including giving sugarwork and trenchers as gifts, and the use of 'posies' and epigrams on trenchers and to accompany banqueting foods, were intended to emulate specific ancient practices. Moreover, knowledge about these practices was drawn directly from ancient sources.

The emphasis on literary and refined knowledge is connected to changing attitudes to education in early modern England. The centralisation of the state under the early Tudors, along with the development of modern diplomacy in the early sixteenth century had seen increased demand for educated statesmen. Nobles hoping to

[465] For a discussion of the association between the epigrams and gift-exchange, see Sarah Blake, "Martial's Natural History: The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* and Pliny's Encyclopedia," *Arethusa* 44, no. 3 (2011): p.358.
[466] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth Vol. II*, p.407.
[467] Furnivall, *Early English Meals and Manners*, pp.358-9.

serve in government positions now required not just martial might, but literary, linguistic and legal skills.[468] The same period saw the publication of educational treatises throughout Europe. Works by Juan Louis Vives, Erasmus and, in England, Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* provided instruction on the education of noblemen. They advocated a humanist, liberal arts curriculum, and Elyot in particular recommended the study of ancient history with its examples of good and bad government.[469] The visual culture associated with the banquet provided opportunities to demonstrate precisely this form of education. The discussion of busts of ancient rulers, epigrams dealing with court culture and government, classicizing architectural settings and the conception of the banquet as a modern symposium confirmed attendees' status as governors, participating in a pan-European courtly culture of revived antiquity.

The Banquet and Social Status

The sweet banquet signalled its participants' elevated status in a number of other ways. The analysis of the architecture, foods, texts and objects associated with banqueting reveals that they were highly concerned with signalling the separateness of those who had access to them from the rest of society. This section investigates

[468] Warren Boutcher, "Humanism and Literature in Late Tudor England: Translation, the Continental Book Trade and the Case of Montaigne's Essais," in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp.244-5; J. H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History* (London: Longmans, 1961), pp.63-9; Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp.63-70, 99-155.

[469] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London: Thomas Bertheleti, 1531). The third book is made up of ancient examples of good and bad governance. One anecdote, which warns against luxurious dining when food is in short supply, appears to reference the contemporary practice of banqueting. It sees Augustus indulge in 'a secret souper or banket, havynge with hym sixe noble men his frendes and sixe noble women… [they] fared sumptuously and delicately the city of Rome at that tyme being vexed with skarcitie of grayne: he therefore was rente with curses and rebukes of the people' f.229.

how this was achieved as well as providing an explanation for the emphasis on elite withdrawal with reference to the specific social and political contexts in which the banquet emerged and spread.

The locations of banqueting houses in the gardens or on the roofs of country houses are symptomatic of this desire for separation. Access to them was contingent on surmounting spatial barriers, from walls and moats to the labyrinthine routes which led to rooftop chambers. At both Hardwick and Lacock, for example, the ascent to the banqueting rooms requires the negotiation of complex routes from the main reception rooms through smaller, private staircases which lead only to the banqueting spaces and, in the case of Lacock, passing through an attic space above a long gallery. It would be impossible to get to the banqueting rooms without a guide, or prior awareness of the route. These barriers emphasised the move away from the public spaces of the house, and also the privileged nature of access to the sweet banquet. The country house was hierarchical in nature, and access to certain spaces was regulated by both gender and social status.[470] With the creation of rarefied banqueting spaces, to which high status guests could only gain access by invitation from their hosts, another layer of distinction was added. Title and wealth were no longer enough; the banqueting house facilitated the measuring of status through social relationships.

The elevated situation of many banqueting houses also conveyed clear messages with regard to status. One of the key advantages of situating banqueting houses on roofs or mounts was the view. Providing guests with a view of the host's land was

[470] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, pp.72-3; Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, pp.29-32; Alice T. Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," *Assemblage*, no. 18 (1992): pp.43-4. Helen Hills, "Theorizing the Relationships between Architecture and Gender in Early Modern Europe," in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), pp.3-22.

clearly an effective way of drawing attention to his wealth and nobility. More than this, though, elevated position and access to views were luxuries, associated with royalty because of the traditional positioning of royal apartments on the upper floors.[471] It therefore emphasised the high status of host and guests and implied mastery of the landscape. This is typified by Sidney's description of Basilius's lodge in the *Arcadia*, the elevated height of which 'gives the eye lordship over a good large circuit'.[472]

It has also been suggested that the development of the sweet banquet reflects changing ideas of personhood in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Patricia Fumerton has linked the importance of views from banqueting houses as well as the separateness of the sweet banquet to the development of new concepts of individual subjectivity, which are also evident in the development of single point perspective systems.[473] These ideas are encapsulated in the roofscape at Burghley house. At Burghley, banquet participants, on ascent to the roof, would have emerged into the prospect room, a highly glazed space which offered panoramic views of the surrounding landscape. However, doorways from the prospect room provide access to a roofscape dotted with smaller structures (Figure 57), which may have been used to display sugarwork, and which were reached by terraced walks along the leads.[474] All along these walks, balustrades and heraldic ornament provide frames through which the surrounding countryside can be viewed (Figure 58 and Figure 59). These devices further heighten the sense of individual perspective, and the viewer's dominance of the landscape.

[471] Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, pp.152-3.
[472] Philip Sidney *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* 8th ed. (London: Simon Waterson, 1633), p.52
[473] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, pp.127-8.
[474] Jill Husselby considers these structures to be 'tête a tête banqueting houses'. Husselby, "The Politics of Pleasure", p.41.

However, banqueting houses were not only intended as viewing platforms, but also as objects for the gaze of the household, guests and passersby. At Melford Hall, for example, the banqueting house is not only visible from the major reception rooms within the main house, but is also located at the edge of the garden, where the main highway through the village of Long Melford passed the estate. Its elevation ensured it was visible to passersby. Similarly, the banqueting chamber at Lacock (Figure 38) is the highest structure in the abbey complex, and therefore extremely prominent. Whilst these spaces and the events which took place within them were intended to be exclusive, it seems that their hosts nevertheless wished a wide audience to be aware that they had the capacity to host banquets.

The foods associated with the banquet, and the ways in which they were served and consumed also emphasised the separateness of its participants, fostering what Fumerton has termed 'an aesthetics of culinary detachment'.[475] As has been noted, confectionery recipes do not appear alongside those for other foods in early cookery books, but are contained in separate sections and separate books. Evidence from household account books indicates that banqueting foods were conceptually distinct from other foods from the moment of purchase. Whilst we might expect to find confectionery listed in the account books which deal primarily with food, instead it often appears in separate bills, or in books of accounts which do not deal with food at all. For example, the day book of Lady Anne Stanhope, a widow whose husband had been executed in the wake of Edward Seymour's downfall, survives. It includes payments for textiles, transport, medicine and sugar, but not for food other foodstuffs.[476] Similarly, a 1572-4 household account book from Wollaton includes substantial payments for spices alongside those for wages, apparel, husbandry,

[475] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics,* p.124.
[476] BL Add. MS 34785

travel, reparations, rewards and household stuff.[477] There are very few payments for food in this account, suggesting that banqueting foods belonged to a separate category from other foodstuffs.

The distinctiveness and refinement of both banqueting foods and those who produced and consumed them was emphasised by the elaborate, expensive and exotic ways in which these foods were prepared, stored and served. Evidence from advice books suggests that by the seventeenth century, involvement with the production of sugarwork had become an indicator of one's place within the household hierarchy. The *Compleat Servant Maid*, published in 1677 and attributed to Hannah Woolley, outlines the duties of the women of the household in relation to sugarwork. Only the lady of the house, the housekeeper and waiting gentlewoman were involved with making banqueting foods; this was not an arena in which chambermaids, nursery maids or even cook maids participated. Even upper ranking servants would, in all probability, have undertaken the more laborious and less creative tasks, such as grinding the almonds and loaf sugar for subtleties and marchpanes, which had to be done by hand, with the mistress overseeing and participating in the more pleasurable and creative elements of the process.

Age hierarchies were also significant, with sugarwork, according to Woolley, being one of the last skills young girls were taught by their mothers: 'having qualified them for reading, you should so practise them in their pens… & all the productions of the Needle… and in due time let them know how to Preserve, Conserve, Distil; with all those laudable Sciences which adorn a compleat gentlewoman'.[478] That sugarwork

[477] UoN Middleton MS MiA 57 ff.8v, 36v, 75r, 82r
[478] Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion* (London: Edward Thomas, 1675), p.9.

was taught to older girls only after they had mastered writing and embroidery is again indicative that it was a badge of privilege within the household.

The hierarchical nature of household tasks is also reflected in the frontispiece from Wooley's *Accomplisht Ladys Delight* (Figure 60). It shows various individuals engaged in the tasks mentioned in the subtitle; preserving, physic, beautifying and cooking. It is particularly interesting to note how the women carrying out different tasks are dressed. The cooks working in the kitchen wear relatively plain, high collared dresses and their heads are covered. However, the lady engaged in preserving, one of the key disciplines of sugarwork, looks very different. She wears a fashionable dress with elaborate sleeves and a low neckline. Her hair is dressed, and this is also the only image in which the central figure is sitting down. The furnishings of the room in which the sugarwork takes place are also relatively luxurious. There is a tasselled curtain at the window and the table, unlike those in the other images, is covered with a fringed cloth. All of this indicates that sugarwork was a pursuit suited to the fashionable, glamorous lady of leisure. Thus, access to the preparation of banqueting foods provided a visible indicator of one's place within the female household hierarchy and the division of labour marked the lady of the house as gentle.

The tableware used at banquets was also highly specialised, and distinct from that used in other dining practices, again emphasising the differences between the banquet and other meals, and its participants and other 'sorts' of people. Highly decorated banqueting trenchers, which were instantly visually distinct from the plain wooden trenchers used at other meals, are an obvious example. Similarly, in England forks were originally used exclusively for eating sweetmeats. A number of 'sucket forks' and forks for use with green ginger appear in inventories from the

fourteenth century onwards. The fact that they were specifically associated with confectionery suggests that they were rare, luxury items.[479] A fork in the Ashmolean museum dating from 1599 has an agate handle and silver mounts which are engraved with complex foliate decoration (Figure 61). It is inscribed 'Demorees 1599', which may refer to the surname of the fork's owner. A slightly earlier sucket fork in the museum of London bears the letters A N on the finial, which may have been the owner's initials (Figure 62 and Figure 63). Similarly, the earliest surviving English hallmarked fork, which dates from c.1632-3 bears the crests of Frances Montagu and her husband, John Manners, later the eighth Earl of Rutland, whose family seat was Belvoir Castle (Figure 64).[480] The inscribing of forks with names and heraldic motifs suggests that owners were keen to claim and be associated with these objects, and that they played a part in elite identity formation. Possession of, and the ability to use a fork correctly would have been signs of access to sweet banquets, and therefore elite culture. The correct use of the fork, as part of a move towards ever more complex dining etiquette, can also be seen as a demonstration of the new 'civility' and elite separateness. The fork functions to separate the diner from the food, but also from the hands of other diners.

As we have seen, banqueting foods were often served in glass, or on spice plates made from precious metals.[481] Glass was strongly associated with the banquet from its emergence in the early sixteenth century. Although examples of glass banquet-ware from this period do not survive, a rare late seventeenth-century sweetmeat glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum gives an idea of their appearance (Figure 65). The bowl is mounted on a wineglass stem, which emphasises the delicacy of

[479] Alison Smith, 'Family and Domesticity', pp.146-7 See also p.32
[480] The family seat was Belvoir castle where, as we have seen, sweet banquets took place. See pp.128-9, 149, 151.
[481] See p.32

the glass and would also have shown the jewel-like colours and translucency of suckets and preserved fruits to good effect. Similarly, whilst relatively few metal spice plates survive, an engraved silver-gilt set from the 1570s demonstrates that these could be highly decorated (Figure 67). The arms on these examples indicate that they once belonged to William Cecil, Lord Burghley.[482] Their decoration includes central scenes from the Old Testament stories of Abraham and Isaac. The outer bands feature sea monsters and mermaids, which would have been particularly appropriate given the exotic foods served at banquets, and foliate decoration. A similar theme is evident in a silver sweetmeat dish in the form of a stylized rose (Figure 67), the rim of which is decorated with scallop shells.

It is also likely that foods were served at the banquet in boxes. Contemporary inventories list numerous sugar and spice boxes.[483] That some boxes were used for serving rather than storing banqueting foods is suggested by their elaborate decoration and precious materials. An English mother of pearl casket dating from c.1600 (Figure 68) may have been used to serve banqueting sweetmeats.[484] Mother of pearl, which came from the West Pacific, would have been a particularly appropriate material in which to serve exotic sugar and spices. That the casket could be presented closed again emphasises the value of the sweetmeats inside, and mirrors the enclosed, private nature of the sweet banquet as a whole. The association of tableware made of precious materials with banqueting is marked.

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[482] Timothy Schroder, "Lord Burghley's Silver Spice Dishes", *Apollo* 159 (2004): pp.3-12.

[483] Examples of spice boxes can be found in "Inventory of the goods of the Countess of Leicester, made in 1634-5, from the original roll on vellum," in *Ancient inventories of furniture, pictures, tapestry, plate &c. illustrative of the domestic manners of the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London: I. E. Adlard, 1854), p.8; A spice box is mentioned in an inventory of 1540, printed in Chaloner W. Chute, *A History of the Vyne in Hampshire* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1888), p.54; *The Unton Inventories: Relating to Wadley and Faringdon, co. Berks., in the years 1596 and 1620, from the originals in the possession of Earl Ferrers. With a memoir of the family of Unton* ed. John G. Nichols (Berkshire Ashmolean Society, 1841), pp.26, 27.

[484] As is suggested in the catalogue entry available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78504/casket-unknown/ [accessed 29 March 2015]

This is exemplified in Anne Talbot's marchpane recipe (appendix two) which stipulates that only silver vessels should come into contact with its ingredients. This again underscores the conceptual distancing of banqueting confectionery from other food types.

The specialised material culture associated with the banquet, from fruit trenchers, spice plates and comfit boxes to sweetmeat glasses and forks speaks of a proliferation of different types of tableware and an elaboration of table manners.[485] By the late sixteenth century, refined manners had become an important way for courtiers, nobles and the gentry to demonstrate their high status. This was achieved through codes of conduct which emphasised self-restraint and physical separation from others.[486] These are set out in the books of manners which began to be published in England in the sixteenth century, and which indicate an increased interest in the concept of 'civility' at around the same time that the sweet banquet was adopted by the aristocracy.[487] Relatedly, scholars have identified the emergence in this period of forms of tableware which could be 'performed'. Flora Dennis, for example, has examined several surviving sets of sixteenth-century knives, thought to be French, which bear sections of words and music for polyphonic benedictions and graces. She suggests that these may have been performed at

[485] Smith, "Family and Domesticity", pp.148-9.Similar arguments have been made in relation to the development of various types of maiolica and glass tableware in Italy. See Richard A. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica", *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1989): pp.23-6. Valerie Taylor, "Banquet Plate and Renaissance Culture: A Day in the Life", *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 5 (1995): pp.621-33.

[486] The classic study of this process is Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. For more recent work dealing with these developments, see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy ot Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp.186-92.

[487] Erasmus' *De Civilitate Monum Puerilium* was translated into English as *A Lytell Booke of Good Manners for Children* by Robert Whittington in 1532, and the same author published a translation of Cicero's *De Officis* in 1534. Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* was published in 1561, and translations of Della Casa's *Treaties of the Manners and Behaviours* and Stefan Guazzo's *The Civil Conversation* appeared in 1578 and 1571 respectively.

table, by groups of diners or professional musicians.[488] There is also evidence that Italian *istoriato maiolica* was used to prompt learned conversation about the classical scenes it bore after meals.[489] Dennis argues that the 'performative' nature of dining objects was designed to induce 'either elegance or error'.[490]

Banqueting trenchers provide an excellent example of performative objects in this mode. Their witty verses could have been read aloud, as a form of after-dinner entertainment.[491] Salter's reference to the 'lascivious songs' which accompanied banquets suggests that the rhymes, which often deal with themes of love and marriage, could be sung.[492] Discussion of trenchers' images and verses, would, in many cases, have required elite, sophisticated knowledge. As noted above, they often refer to classical literature. One early seventeenth century set, the 'Twelve wonders of the World' (Figure 69) indicates that they were also concerned with signalling knowledge of contemporary elite culture. The verses were written by John Davies for Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, and were intended specifically to be used on trenchers at new years' celebrations around 1600.[493] They were published in 1608, and musical settings for them were published by John Maynard in 1611, suggesting that they were intended to be sung.[494] The trencher set illustrated here dates from c.1620. The characters depicted and described in the verses are a courtier, a divine, a soldier, a lawyer, a physician, a merchant, a country gentleman,

[488] Flora Dennis, "Scattered Knives and Dismembered Song: Cutlery, Music and the Rituals of Dining", *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): pp.156-75.
[489] Ibid., p.176. Richard Goldthwaite has noted that maiolica was a relatively cheap form of tableware; its popularity on the tables of the rich in renaissance Italy is therefore explained not by expense but by the opportunities it afforded for the display of refined manners and 'literary erudition'. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica", pp.1-32.
[490] Dennis, "Scattered Knives and Dismembered Song".
[491] Mary E. Hazard has suggested that the term 'roundelay' is derived from the practice of banquet guests singing the verses on roundels. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, p.59.
[492] Thomas Salter, *A mirrhor mete for all mothers, matrones, and maidens*, p.25.
[493] As outlined in the catalogue entry, available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78997/twelve-wonders-of-the-world-set-of-roundels-unknown/ [accessed 25 May 2015]
[494] G. Watson and I.R. Willison, *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature Vol. II 600-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.1354.

a bachelor, a married man, a wife, a widow and a maid. The verses themselves bear numerous allusions to elite culture. The courtier's verse (Figure 70) describes the duplicity of life at court:

> 'Long have I lived in Court, yet learned not all this while
> To sell poor suitors, smoke: nor where I hate to smile;
> Superiors to adore, inferiors to despise,
> To fly from such as fall, to follow such as rise;
> To cloak a poor desire under a rich array,
> Nor to aspire by vice, though 'twere the quicker way.'

That of the country gentleman (Figure 71) describes noble pastimes such as hawking and hunting and reflects on principles of good government:

> 'Though strange outlandish spirits praise towns, and country scorn,
> The country is my home, I dwell where I was born:
> There profit and command with pleasure I partake,
> Yet do not hawks and dogs my sole companions make.
> I rule, but not oppress; end quarrels, not maintain;
> See towns, but dwell not there t'abridge my charge or train.'

The soldier's (Figure 72) and the widow's (Figure 73) verses refer to classical mythology:

> 'My occupation is the noble trade of Kings,
> The trial that decides the highest right of things;
> Though Mars my master be, I do not Venus love,
> Nor honour Bacchus oft, nor often swear by Jove;

Of speaking of myself I all occasion shun,

And rather love to do, than boast what I have done…'

'Though I no more will have, I must not love disdain;

Penelope herself did suitors entertain.'[495]

The verses' disdain for life at court and praise for the country would have been particularly suited to the country house settings in which banquets took place at this date, and may have been intended to foster debate. In discussing them, banquet participants would have had opportunities to demonstrate their in-depth knowledge of the aspects of aristocratic culture referred to in the trencher texts. Their performance also required literacy, and, if the verses were to be sung, the ability to read music. Like the knives analysed by Dennis they not only provided opportunities for the demonstration of knowledge, refinement and therefore social status, but could also test these qualities, and potentially expose imposters.

The opportunities afforded by the banquet in demonstrating this status were particularly valuable as the period in which this dining practice emerged was characterised by a sense of class instability, and widespread anxiety regarding a perceived increase in social mobility. This originated at the court of Henry VIII, where, as noted above, the centralization of government also resulted in increased opportunities for educated men who were not of noble birth; men like Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. In addition, the period after the dissolution of the monasteries saw large amounts of land exchange hands, providing opportunities for new families to acquire this essential status marker. Like her father, Elizabeth I appointed 'low

[495] Each roundel depicts a character with verses outlining their occupation and temperament. These include a courtier and a country gentleman. For a printed edition of the trencher verses, see John Davies, *The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies*, Vol. II (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), pp.65-71.

born' men as councillors, and although this practice died out in the 1570s, James I's inflation of the honours system maintained a sense of large numbers of people coming up in the world.[496]

This impression was not confined to court society, and there was a perception, underpinned by fact, that the numbers of the gentry were rapidly increasing between 1540 and 1640.[497] England was particularly vulnerable to class instability because of the presence of the gentry, a group categorized not by blood or title but by the characteristic of 'gentleness'.[498] It was thus much easier here than elsewhere in Europe to lay claim to elite status. This is demonstrated by William Harrison's 1577 comment that wealthy yeomen 'do buie the lands of unthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the universities, and to the Ins of the Court, or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, doo make their sayde sonnes by that means to become gentlemen.'[499] As a result, elites became increasingly concerned with signalling their difference from the rest of society by physically and conceptually separating themselves from it.[500]

It is particularly significant that the banquet became popular beyond the court during the precise period (1540 – 1640) when this perception of class mobility was most

[496] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp.16-20, 399-40; D. M Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors 1547-1603* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), p.100.
[497] Frank Wigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), pp.6-7; David Starkey, "The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts c.1350-1550", p.227.
[498] J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), p.163.
[499] Harrison*,The Description of England*, p.117-8. There has been a good deal of debate as to whether the perceived increase in social mobility was reflected by reality in early modern England. Whilst Stone and Stone have argued that the elite at this time was not heavily infiltrated by wealthy merchants and yeomen, Keith Wrightson has shown that economic change was not a myth. New farming techniques, the growth of commerce and increased urbanisation meant that there were more opportunities to accumulate capital, and new groups were becoming wealthy. Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?*; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities : Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (London: Penguin, 2002).
[500] Sharpe, *Early Modern England,* p.168; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp.270-81; Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility.*

marked. The banquet was particularly effective in signalling elite separateness because it gave its participants opportunities to perform their status and belonging to an exclusive group. The acts of moving to the banqueting space and engaging with the foods, objects and interior décor they found there signalled not only wealth, but access to particular, elite forms of education, an awareness of a pan-european culture of revived antiquity, refined manners, and inherent nobility. As Dennis has pointed out, in an environment in which class lines appeared to be blurred, and it was increasingly easy to purchase the material signs of social status, it became more and more difficult to perform them.[501]

Mimesis and Representation

The foregoing discussion of the banquet as an emulation of the ancient symposium, which consistently adopted classicizing visual culture from the 1520s onwards is of further significance in that it undermines commonplace ideas of England as culturally isolated from continental Europe in the sixteenth century and its visual art as insular, backward looking and 'gothic' in character. Characteristic of this are descriptions of English art in the renaissance period as 'unsophisticated', 'mediocre', 'monotonous' 'limited to portraiture', isolated from wider European developments, and of the English as uninterested in art before 1600.[502] Such attitudes stem from certain assumptions about sixteenth-century England. The first is that England was culturally isolated from continental Europe and thus a 'peripheral artistic space' in

[501] Flora Dennis, " Resurrecting Forgotten Sound: Fans and Handbells in Early Modern Italy," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, ed. T. Hamling and C. Richardson (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate 2010), p.198.
[502] Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, p.3; Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530 - 1850* (London: Penguin, 1988), p.27; R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585-1685* (London: Macmillan, 1999), p.90; Sharpe, *Early Modern England*, p.288.

contrast to Italy, which is considered to have been the centre of artistic innovation.[503] As a result, scholars such as Linda Levy Peck and Roy Strong see the English shaking off this cultural isolationism only at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and J. A. Sharpe writes that 'the Elizabethan court was in many respects still medieval in its tastes, and outside of having their portraits painted courtiers showed little interest in painting', indeed 'Elizabethan visual art was characterised by a fairly even level of mediocrity'.[504]

Aside from cultural isolation and a lack of engagement with the classical renaissance, Tatiana String also notes that many scholars have doubted that the English had a concept of 'art', in the modern sense.[505] As such, Tudor visual culture has, until relatively recently, been considered to have been geared towards the accumulation of expensive things, and the demonstration of wealth, pedigree and 'magnificence' rather than any aesthetic concerns. Related to the concept of magnificence is the idea, propounded by Strong and Frances Yates, that the key function of royal art was the establishment of monolithic 'cults' of power surrounding monarchs, leading to the conception of Tudor art as an early form of propaganda.[506] Thus, Sidney Anglo discourages the modern scholar from assuming any sophistication on the part of the Tudor viewer, whilst Steven Orgel states that

[503] Tatiana C. String, "The Concept of 'Art' in Henrician England", *Art History* 32, no. 2 (2009): pp.291-93

[504] Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.18; Sharpe, *Early Modern England,* p.288; Roy C. Strong, *Splendour at Court*, p.213.

[505] String, "The Concept of 'Art' in Henrician England", p.292

[506] Roy C. Strong, *Gloriana : The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987); Roy C. Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy : Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995)Vol. I; Roy C. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*; F.A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the 16th Century* (London: ARK Paperbacks, 1985).

connoisseurship was only known in England from the first decade of the seventeenth century.[507]

These attitudes stem in large part from the idea that the Reformation and campaigns of iconoclasm under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I led to the wholesale decline of the visual arts in England. The controversy surrounding visual images in sixteenth-century England centred on the second commandment which, in the 1611 edition of the King James Bible, states that 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth' (Exodus 20:4). Even before Henry VIII's break from Rome, this had generated significant debate in print, largely spurred by developments on the continent. John Ryckes' *Image of Love*, for example, which dealt with the dangers of idolatry, was published in English in 1525 while Thomas More defended the use of religious imagery in his *Dialogue Concerning Tyndale* (1529). Martin Bucer's *Das Einigerle Bild* was translated as *A Treatise Declaring and Showing That Images are not to be Suffered in Churches* and printed in 1535, and both Cranmer and Latimer preached against idolatry. Three dimensional sculptures were the target of these early concerns; overly life-like, it was feared that their deceptive realism might result in them being worshipped as idols. Under Edward VI, iconoclasm became official policy with the royal injunctions of 1548 which ordered the removal of all images from churches, although religious imagery once more became permissible under Mary. The situation changed again under Elizabeth; the edicts of 1559 ordered the removal of imagery from churches

[507] Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship,* p.3; Stephen Orgel, "Idols of the Gallery: Becoming a Connoisseur in Renaissance England," in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p.251.

and Patrick Collinson sees evidence of the emergence of ‘total inconophobia’ in the popular print of the 1580s.[508]

In spite of all this, some recent research has sought to re-evaluate the position of Tudor art and wider visual culture, and new attention has been paid to court ceremony. Scholars have identified a culture of art appreciation which was not diminished by the reformation, challenging ideas of cultural isolationism and art as ‘propaganda’ and arguing for an early and learned reception of classical culture in England.[509] The impact of official attempts to censor religious imagery has been questioned, and it has been established that it continued to appear in homes and in print. It is increasingly clear that popular iconoclasm, edicts, sermons and printed material fostered a widespread awareness of the debates surrounding visual representation. Indeed, String considers the reformation to have made way for new, secular concepts of art and the development of connoisseurship in courtly contexts, and Tarnya Cooper has argued that the theological ambiguities surrounding visual imagery led to the development of a particularly English style of portraiture which

[508] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Margaret Aston, "Iconoclam in England: Official and Clandestine," in *The Impact of The English Reformation, 1500 - 1640*, ed. Peter Marshall (London and New york: Arnold, 2007), pp.167-191; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400 - 1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); C.M.N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge University Press, 1989); John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535 - 1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

[509] String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII;* String, "The Concept of 'Art' in Henrician England".String convincingly argues for the validity of the study of art appreciation in Henrician England, and provides evidence of high levels of visual sophistication, which were not diminished by the Reformation. Marguerite Tassi, whilst arguing for ambivalence around, and even fear of visual imagery, acknowledges the production, discussion and ‘love’ of visual images in Elizabethan England: Marguerite Tassi, *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2005), pp.29-33. Tarnya Cooper argues that the Reformation did impact upon English art, but instigated new ways of thinking about visual representation. Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon centre for studies in British Art, 2012); S. Foister and T. Batchelor, *Holbein in England* (London: Tate, 2006), undermines the idea that England was culturally isolated from the continent. Donna Kurtz, "The Concept of the Classical Past in Tudor and Early Stuart England,"; Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson, "Introduction," in *Early Modern Visual Culture; Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.1-12.

disavowed illusionism in order to allay the deceptive power of images.[510] Further analysis of the visual culture of the banquet also calls into question the idea of a lack of a concept of 'art' in early modern England, instead revealing a complex engagement with ideas of mimesis, artifice and representation.

At the most basic level, changes in the iconography of sugarwork suggest that it was not considered appropriate to represent religious subjects in this media after the reformation. Up to the 1540s, religious iconography was commonly represented in sugar. A very rare surviving late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century mould for sugarwork representing Saint Catherine of Siena survives in the Museum of London (Figure 74) and may have been used to produce confectionery for religious festivals. A display of sugarwork for the wedding feast of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour in 1536 included representations of St John, the conception of the Virgin and her coronation with the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, images of Mary and Martha, Adam and Eve and the transfiguration of Jesus along with 'Fourteen other subtilties at the pleasure of the maker.'[511] However, descriptions of subjects depicted in sugarwork at banquets and suggestions of forms in which to make sugarwork in advice books do not mention religious subjects after c.1540.

That this change should have occurred at the same time as Henry VIII's break with Rome suggests that it was a direct result of the ambivalence regarding religious imagery in post-reformation England. Interestingly, as can be seen from Burghley's spice plates, (Figure 66) with their engravings of Biblical scenes, religious imagery did not disappear from the banquet table entirely. Timothy Schroder has analysed

[510] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550 - 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England*; String, "The Concept of 'Art' in Henrician England."
[511] BL Add. MS 9835 ff.22

these dishes in relation to the reformers' interpretation of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac as the embodiment of faith, suggesting that the spice dishes subtly advertised Burghley's adherence to Protestantism.[512]

It is likely that other items of religiously themed banquet-ware were intended to demonstrate the piety of banquet hosts, and possibly their specific religious affiliations. A set of three trenchers in Norwich castle museum features Biblical scenes and scriptural quotations. The subjects depicted are Jonah and the Whale, The Last Judgement and Dives and Lazarus.[513] The Dives and Lazarus trencher (Figure 75) shows the rich man enjoying a lavish meal while Lazarus languishes outside. The setting of the meal, in an open pavilion with classicizing columns, is suggestive of banquet settings and it is possible that the meal would have been interpreted as a sweet banquet by contemporary viewers. The verse on the trencher seems to condemn luxurious banqueting:

> The Lazar pore on yearth had paine:
>
> But after deathe hath joy and reste:
>
> The glotten riche had pleasures vaine
>
> And after deathe hathe hell posseste

Indeed, the topics dealt with in religiously themed trenchers consistently express unease at the displays of wealth, conspicuous consumption and gluttony associated with banqueting. One luxurious set of rectangular trenchers, (Figure 76) painted with

[512] Schroder, "Lord Burghley's Silver Spice Dishes," p.10.
[513] On these trenchers, see Tara Hamling, "Old Robert's Girdle: Visual and Material Props for Protestant Piety in Post-Reformation England," in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2012), pp.135-64.

foliate decoration and highly gilded, bears Biblical inscriptions giving advice on good Christian living. The inscriptions on one of the set read:

Wo be unto you that ryse up early to geve yourselves to dronkenes, and set all your myndes so on drynckynge, that ye sytte swearynge therat untyll yt be nighte. The Harpe, the Lute, the Tabour the Drumslade, the Trumpet the Shalme and plentye of wyne are at your feastes, but the worde of the Lorde, do ye not beholde, neyther consydre ye the works of hys handes. Esaie the Prophete i the.5.Chap.
(In central rectangular reserve)

Take hede that your harts be not overwhelmed wyth feastynge and dronkenship. Luke.21.
(In top border)

Be no wyne bybber. Eccl.31.
(In left border)

Thorowe glotonye many peryshe. Eccl.30.
(In right border)

Thorowe feastynge many have dyed but he that eateth measurably plongeth lyfe. Eccl.37.
(In lower border)

These are typical, and other examples of surviving trencher sets with biblical inscriptions often include a death's head as a memento mori on one of the trenchers

(Figure 77 and Figure 78). Such inscriptions and images may have been intended to remind banquet participants to indulge moderately, provide charity to the poor and may, like the other aspects of the material culture associated with banquets, have been intended to prompt discussion.[514]

Moreover, as Tara Hamling has demonstrated, narrative scenes taken from scripture, like that on the Dives and Lazarus trencher (Figure 75), continued to be acceptable in domestic settings after the Reformation, being considered less likely to prompt idolatry than images of isolated figures, or images in places of worship.[515] It should not be surprising that the banquet could be a site for pious reflection and discussion. As noted above, the wafers and wine served at banquets had Eucharistic connotations.[516] Further, just as royal banquets during Henry VIII's reign contributed to the quasi-religious performance of kingship and affirmed his right to rule, so the country house banquets hosted by the nobility and gentry can be seen as confirming their place in the natural order of things as ordained by God. This was particularly significant in a country where the anointed ruler, from whom all worldly power derived, was also the head of the church. Thus, the sweet banquet played an important role in affirming the social order in country as well as court contexts.

The disappearance of religious iconography in three dimensional sugarwork, despite its remaining an important aspect of the overall visual culture of the sweet banquet, can be explained with reference to the controversy surrounding sculpture in post-reformation England. As sculptural works of art, which were often realistically coloured, these objects are likely to have embodied some of the ambiguities which

[514] Hamling interprets the religiously themed wall paintings at Pittleworth Manor in Hampshire, including a scene of Dives and Lazarus in the dining chamber, similarly. Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp.133-4.
[515] Ibid., pp.48-9.
[516] See p.51

led to hostility towards three dimensional representations of saints and the holy family in other media. However, these very uncertainties, linked as they were to sugarwork's potential for visual deceit, appear to have made it an ideal medium through which wider debates about artistry and the nature of visual representation could be explored.

This is particularly evident in the case of subtleties which, as objects specifically designed to look like something else, were engaged in complex forms of visual trickery.[517] As we have seen, they were made to represent a wide variety of objects, and there is evidence that they were designed and understood to refer explicitly to processes of representation in a variety of media. George Cavendish describes the subtlety of St Paul's cathedral presented at Wolsey's 1527 banquet as so 'well counterfeited as the paynter should have paynted it uppon a cloth or wall'.[518] Descriptions of the experience of viewing art are extremely rare in sixteenth-century England, and it is interesting that Cavendish compares the subtlety to a two dimensional art form, as opposed to sculpture in another material; it is not clear why the subtlety should resemble a painting. What this does desmonstrate, however, is an interest in weighing up the success of representations in different media.

An interest in the juxtaposition of different materials is also evident in recipe books' suggestions for the forms that sugarwork could take. John Murrel's *Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (1617) is particularly telling in this regard. He provides instructions for making collops (chops), bacon, buttons, beads, chains, snakes, snails, frogs, shoes, slippers and keys from sugar paste. Particularly notable here is the attention to detail with which he describes how to make these items look realistic.

[517] *Curye on English*, p.215
[518] Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p.70

Buttons, for example, were to be incised with ridges 'like the threds of silke buttons'.[519] The various items described by Murrel, both man-made and natural, suggest a juxtaposition between the artificial and the organic. That the confectionery was intended to convincingly mimic a wide range of materials, including cloth, metal, leather, meat and skin is indicative of an interest in the representative powers of sugar paste, and a desire to display the ingenuity of the confectioner.

Relatedly, certain central motifs associated with the banquet were reproduced using a variety of media. At Lacock Abbey, for example, the underside of the tabtetop in the banqueting chamber is festooned with foliage, grapes, pears, lemons and other fruits (figure 41). Given their position, these carvings provided a mirror image of the real fruits on the banqueting table. Fruit also featured in the decoration of banqueting houses. Holinshed describes Elizabeth I's banqueting house at Whitehall as being decorated with baskets of gilded fruit, which were hung from the ceiling.[520] As we have seen, fruit was a standard subject for sugarwork. One recipe, 'To make all kinde of turned work in Fruitage hollow' demonstrates the care that was taken to make these sugar fruits look realistic. The reader is instructed that after making the fruits using moulds, they 'must colour them after their natural colours.'[521] The variety of media in which fruit was represented in the banqueting house, from sculpture in stone to sugarwork and fruit in its natural state no doubt facilitated comparisons between these techniques and the relative success of the artists who utilised them. The contrast between real and artificial fruit may also have

[519] Murrell, *A Daily exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen,* recipe nos. 75-78.
[520] E.K Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), Vol.1, p.16
[521] Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, p.26; similar recipes can be found in seventeenth-century recipe books compiled by Anne Glydd and Elizabeth Freke: BL Add. MS 45196, f.15 and BL Add. MS 45718, f.21v.

been considered to be more aesthetically pleasing than a simple display of natural products. This is reflected in the description of the bower of bliss in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, which was decorated with grapes, some of which 'were of burnished gold/ So made by art, to beautify the rest'.[522]

Flowers were also represented in a variety of media at banquets. Again, real flowers frequently decorated banqueting houses. In 1572, the banqueting house where the Queen entertained Montmorency was 'all breaded and deckt with flowers'.[523] Documents in the Folger Shakespeare library demonstrate that the Office of the Revels bought in huge amounts of flowers, including roses and honeysuckle, for the decoration of the banqueting house in Hyde Park in 1551.[524] Flowers are also the most common motif on banqueting trenchers, and many surviving sets feature elaborate foliate decoration (Figure 76, Figure 78). A particularly interesting record notes that the Office of the Revels purchased 'Flowers wrought w[i]t[h] needle w[o]rke wherof iij were presented to her Ma[jes]tie the residue garnished maskers heads'.[525] As we have seen, banquets often accompanied masques, so this suggests another media for comparison. Flowers also featured in sugarwork. One method involved the preservation of the real flower by heating it in a sugar solution, causing the sugar to replace the water in the plant's cells.[526] Alternatively, flowers for the banquet could be recreated using a paste that incorporated the flowers

[522] Quoted in Elisabeth Woodhouse, "Spirit of the Elizabethan Garden," *Garden History* 27, no. 1 (1999): p.12. Woodhouse also notes the similarity between this and Holinshed's description of the gilded fruits in the 1581 banqueting house at Whitehall.
[523] This banquet is mentioned in a contemporary letter from the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Lincoln printed in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, Vol. 2: 1572-1582 (London: Royal Manuscripts Commission, 1888), pp.19-20; Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I p.305.
[524] FSL MS L.b.276
[525] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p.8.
[526] Hugh Platt, for example, provides recipes for preserving 'whole Roses, Gilloflowers, Marigolds &c. and for for candying 'Rosemary flowers, Rose leaves, Roses, Marigoldes &c. with preservation of colour' Platt, *Delights for Ladies,* recipe nos.7,9.

themselves. Lord Ruthven's *Ladies Cabinet* provides a recipe for paste of violets, which involved crushing the flowers in a mortar, steeping them in rosewater and gum tragacanth and then shaping them in moulds. This, he notes, 'will be of the very colour and taste of the flowers and then gild them and so you may have every flower in his own colour and taste; better for the mouth than any painted colour.'[527]

It is interesting that Ruthven emphasises that the paste flowers taste, as well as look the same as the originals. In this sense, the project of mimesis extends beyond the visual, to the other senses. Wendy Wall has noted the complexities inherent in this type of mimicry, and particularly the difficulties in ascertaining the status of the paste violet in relation to the original. If the reconstituted version incorporates the original, it is not quite a copy.[528] Instead, perhaps, artifice renders the paste violet more valuable than the original. This is highlighted in the instruction to gild the flowers. In this, any project of perfect mimesis is undermined; there can be no mistaking art for nature. This may also have functioned to dispel any danger of the man-made flower competing with God's creation. Scholars have argued that sixteenth-century English painters incorporated devices such as textual inscriptions and emblems in their work in order to highlight its representational status and therefore negate any danger of idolatry.[529] Gilding, as well as the reproduction of motifs in various media and the texts which often accompanied sugarwork and featured on banqueting trenchers, can be seen to fulfil the same function. The decoration of the banqueting table and chamber can therefore be considered as a project which facilitated the exploration of mimesis and its limitations.

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[527] Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, pp.30-31. Platt also offers a similar recipe: *Delights for Ladies,* recipe no. 14.
[528] Wendy Wall, "Distillation: Transformations in and out of the Kitchen," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p.97.
[529] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait,* pp.19-37; Tassi, *The Scandal of Images*, pp.52-3.

Sugar was a particularly appropriate media for this investigation of the processes of representation as it was perceived as an 'artificial' counterpart to honey, which was considered to be a more 'natural' sweetener, and therefore less valuable.[530] Furthermore, the processes involved in making confectionery; the boiling of sugar and setting of sugar-plate, witnessed its transformation from solid to liquid to solid again.[531] This mimicked the processes involved in alchemy, as did the distillation of the alcoholic flower waters which were also served at the banquet.[532] Indeed, as Jayne Archer has shown, compilers of contemporary recipe books accepted the links between alchemy and the production of sugarwork, even figuring the housewife as the 'ideal chemist' because of her supposed closeness to nature and because her household work allowed her to cultivate the necessary skills. This is exemplified in the recipe books, including Plat's *Jewel House of Art and Nature* (1594), Ruthven's *Ladies Cabinet* (1654), and a seventeenth century manuscript recipe book compiled by Sarah Wigges, which contain both alchemical / chemical and confectionery recipes, underscoring the conceptual links between these disciplines.[533] It is clear that the same interest in the transformation of natural substances through artifice was expressed in confectionery as in alchemy.

The preoccupation with artistry is also reflected in the fact that many of the typical forms in which sugarwork was presented called for the dramatic scaling-down of that

[530] Elizabeth Spiller, ed. *Seventeenth-century English Recipe Books: Cooking, Physic and Chirurgery in the Works of Elizabeth Talbot Grey and Althea Talbot Howard*, The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), Vol. 3 p.xvi.
[531] For a useful summary of the chemical processes involved in making confectionery, see Laura Mason, *Sugar-plums and Sherbet, the Prehistory of Sweets* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2004), pp.45-64.
[532] This point has also been made by Wall, "Distillation: Transformations in and out of the Kitchen", p.92., and Gilly Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?," in *Food in the Arts: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1998*, ed. H. Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1999), pp.125-6.
[533] Jayne Elisabeth Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England: The Manuscript Receipt Book (c.1616) of Sarah Wigges", in *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Kathleen Perry Long (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.191-216. The issue of gender in relation to sugarwork is discussed in chapter five.

which they represented. This is particularly evident in the turrets, towers and dungeons made of marchpane paste which mirrored the architectural forms of banqueting houses, which were themselves scaled-down versions of medieval keeps.[534] Banquet participants were therefore able to view this distinctive architectural form, and consume it, whilst inhabiting it. In this sense, this sugar banqueting house within a banqueting house, in the grounds of a larger house forms a *mise en abyme*, and makes constant reference to its own status as representation. Similarly, some banqueting trenchers such as the Dives and Lazarus trencher (Figure 75) may have been intended to depict banquets. They thus provide a mirror image of their context, juxtaposing small scale imagery and lived reality.

Sugarwork and the other forms of representation associated with the sweet banquet can therefore be seen as analogous to contemporary painted miniatures, which are considered to have provided their viewers with a sense of mastery.[535] In the case of sugar architecture, this is expressed in the viewer's ability to handle, encompass and consume the miniature building, in direct contrast to the ways in which full scale architecture is physically experienced, particularly the sprawling, permeable early-modern country house. Susan Stewart has linked this to the 'invention of the personal', the new emphasis on individual as opposed to collective subjectivity, which, according to Fumerton, also finds expression in the size and location of full scale banqueting houses, and the opportunities they afforded to view the surrounding landscape.[536] In this sense, the banqueting house as miniature, like the ability to preserve fruits and flowers and thus consume them at sweet banquets

[534] See p.48.
[535] Fumerton has also likened sugarwork to the miniature. Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics,* p.125. On the idea that the miniature affords its viewer with a sense of mastery, see Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), p.69.
[536] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics,* pp.127-8.

outside their natural seasons, or the practice of creating sculpted flowers from real, pounded flowers, is indicative of the ability to dominate and even to surpass nature. The miniature form has also been interpreted as increasing the relative significance of the object because of the concurrent increase in labour which small scale reproduction demands.[537] With this emphasis upon effort, small-scale sugarwork again highlights its status as art as opposed to nature.

The banquet's exploration of processes of mimesis and the juxtaposition of art and nature suggests that it encouraged banquet participants to reflect on the nature of artistic representation. In its comparisons between real and artificial fruits and flowers and full-scale and miniature architecture, as well as the fact that sugarwork constantly refers to its own status as representation, the visual culture of the banquet was concerned with asserting a split between reality and its representation. Furthermore, the representational status of sugarwork, however realistic, would inevitably be revealed as it was broken and consumed during the banquet. The aesthetic of the banquet, in common with that of contemporary painted images, should be interpreted as containing 'the limits of mimesis'.[538] That this dining practice placed such emphasis upon these issues indicates that it was a means through which people engaged with contemporary debates about visual imagery.

It is clear that the sweet banquet provided important opportunities for people to assert their social status against a background of what appeared to be rapid social change in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England. The banquet facilitated the visual and physical separation of elites from the rest of society, and allowed them to display their refinement through fine manners, skill in using new forms of tableware,

[537] Stewart, *On Longing,* pp.38, 172.
[538] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p.19.

and the demonstration of a fashionable, humanist education. It is significant that an interest in classical and European models is seen in small-scale, relatively ephemeral works of art. The foregoing discussion of the banquet as an attempt to emulate ancient dining customs and visual culture demonstrates that attention to overlooked cultural practices can reveal a very different story to the standard narrative of England as culturally isolated and artistically unsophisticated in the wake of the reformation. In this case, elite patrons in sixteenth century England are shown to have engaged deeply with the classical past and renaissance culture. Furthermore, complex ideas about mimesis, the nature and limits of visual representation were explored through the sugarwork displayed at the sweet banquet. In the country house context it was women who produced the confectionery for these events. Did the banquet, then, provide them with a means to explore these ideas, and opportunities to demonstrate agency and creativity?

Chapter Five: Gender and the Practice of Sugarwork

It is well known that sugarwork was considered to be women's work in early modern England. Although, as we have seen, the production of banqueting foods at court was initially the preserve of professional, male cooks, sugarwork was simultaneously being made on an amateur level by women. As early as the 1530s, Lady Honor Lisle was sending conserves to influential women at court as part of a bid to gain her daughters places in the queen's household.[539] She also sent Henry VIII gifts of quince marmalade and conserve of damsons, which, according to correspondence, he liked 'wondrous well' and requested more of.[540] Elizabeth also received gifts of sugarwork from 'gentlewomen'.[541]

There is evidence that banquets themselves quickly came to be associated with, and often hosted by women. As early as 1519, Queen Catherine hosted a 'sumptuous banket' for Henry VIII.[542] A 1539 letter from John Husee to Lady Lisle described a banquet hosted by the king for 'most of the great ladies'.[543] By mid-century the production of banqueting foods was associated with women in non-court settings. In Machyn's description of the banquet he attended at Henley in 1555, he makes it clear that it was women who had provided the sweet-meats: 'the gentyllwomen had hordenyd a grett tabull of bankett dyssys &ffrut as marmelad gynbred gele comfett

[539] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*, p.219; *The Lisle Letters*, Vol. 4 ed. Muriel St Clare Byrne (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), p.185.
[540] *The Lisle Letters*, Vol. 5, pp.6, 33, 730.
[541] In 1559 she received a marchpane from Margaret Fawkenstone, whose identity is uncertain. During the 1560s, Lady Anne York, a gentlewomen of the bedchamber, gave several gifts of sugar loaves and sucket, and the new year's gift rolls list several other instances of 'gentlewomen' giving sweet meats and candied fruit. The only banqueting foods given by men were by professional cooks. Lawson, ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603*, pp.41, 58, 77, 121, 39, 56, 76, 91, 356, 95.
[542] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p.599
[543] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 14* ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: H.M.S.O., 1894), Part I, p.468

suger plet & dyver oder' (the gentlewomen had ordained a great table of banquet dishes and fruit as marmalade, ginger bread, jelly, comfetts, sugar plate and diverse others'). [544]

The links between medicine and sugarwork provide an explanation as to why the latter discipline came to be associated with women. Medicine within the early-modern household was considered to be the preserve of the lady of the house; the care of the family was an aspect of her maternal role, and the provision of medicinal care to the local poor was a form of charity. Women were also considered to be closer to nature, and therefore more able to manipulate it than men, rendering them particularly effective medical practitioners in the domestic context.[545] Food production and medicine were inextricably linked. According to Galenic theory, all foods had humoral properties and thus, to some extent, functioned in maintaining the balance of health. If the humours became unbalanced, treatment using ingestible substances might effect a cure. Sugar itself had originally been used as a medicine in England, and was still included in many medicinal recipes. Many of the delicacies served as the banquet such as syrups, conserves and comfits were also used therapeutically.[546] In the country house context, therefore, it was women who had the necessary skills and knowledge to furnish the banquet with sweetmeats.

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[544] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, p.99

[545] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995). p.232; Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters 1570 - 1620 " in *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500 - 1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp.96-103; Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England", pp.193-4, 96-7; Whaley, *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe 1400 - 1800*, p.153.

[546] Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and other Gastronomic Interjections,* pp.99-102; Wendy Wall, "Just a Spoonful of Sugar: Syrup and Domesticity in Early Modern England", *Modern Philology* 104, no. 2 (2006): pp.156-9; Catherine Field, ""Many Hands Hands": Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books", in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2007), pp.52-3; Spiller, ed. *Seventeenth-century English Recipe Books*, pp.xvii-xxv.

Women were also considered to be more partial to the taste of sugar and sweetmeats than men. Numerous contemporary sources give voice to this popular assumption. The *Bachelor's Banquet* (1603), for example, describes how 'dainty dames' filled their pockets with sweetmeats at christenings, whilst Edmund Gayton describes how 'Ladies waterd ('bout the Mouth) to see and tast' figures 'in Marchpane wrought' at a banquet in 1636.[547] These assumptions are also reflected in the practise of giving food gifts amongst the gentry and in the context of civic celebration where the nature of gifts seems to have depended upon the gender of the recipient. Men typically received gifts of meat, fish, wine and bread, whilst women often received banqueting foods or their ingredients. In 1603, for example, the York Corporation, after dining with Lord Sheffield, presented him with a butt of sack, whilst his wife received five loaves of superfine sugar, a marchpane, 6lbs of comfits, two boxes of marmalade, bread and pears.[548] In the same year, William Perkins' advice on dealing with a difficult landlord included the suggestion that the (male) reader should present him with gifts such as 'a capon… a pigge… a goose' whilst his wife should give the landlady 'spiced cakes, with apples, pears, cherries and such like'.[549] Similarly, Ilana Ben-Amos' study of gifts in Giles Moore's seventeenth-century daybook reveals that he tended to be given geese, capons and pigs, whilst he sent sugar to women.[550]

By the seventeenth century, the production of banqueting foods was considered to be a necessary accomplishment for high status women. In 1629, John Parkinson noted that 'it pleaseth gentlewomen to bestowe their time and charge' in preserving

[547] *The Bachelor's Banquet*, p.62; Edmund Gayton, *Epulae Oxonienses. Or a jocular relation of a banquet presented to the best of Kings, by the best of prelates, in the year 1636, in the mathematick library at St. John Baptists Colledge* (Oxford: W. Hall, c.1661).
[548] Davies, *Walks Through the City of York*, p.270.
[549] Quoted in Heal, "Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England", p.53.
[550] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving,* p.212.

and candying fruit, while an unnamed early seventeenth century source described 'many honourable women' as being 'very expert' in confectionery.[551] Throughout the century, a large number of recipe books dealing largely or exclusively with sugarwork were published, and, uniquely in Europe at the time, these were all aimed at women. One of the earliest, Gervase Markham's *English Hous-wife*, which was first published in 1615, notes that without the skill to produce foods for the banquet, the reader would be considered 'lame, and but half an housewife'.[552] Other examples include Hugh Plat's *Delights for Ladies* (1605), the anonymous *Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (1608), John Murrell's *A Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (1617) and Lord Patrick Ruthven's *The Ladies Cabinet* (1639). By the late seventeenth century, recipe books were being written by female experts, the most prolific of whom was Hannah Wolley who produced at least six titles in the 1670s and 80s, many of which ran to numerous editions.[553]

Seventeenth-century manuscript recipe books also support the idea that sugarwork was a primarily female activity. These commonly consist of medicinal and confectionery recipes, and sometimes a smaller number of cookery recipes. Although these books were contributed to by men, they appear to have added medicinal recipes and the extracts from other works typical of commonplace books rather than information pertaining to sugarwork. One receipt book in the British Library, for example, includes both medicinal and sugarwork recipes. The medicinal

[551] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, p.580; Aiken, *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, Vol. 1, p.104.
[552] Markham, *The English Hous-wife* (1664), p.87.
[553] There are some difficulties with Woolley's bibliography; a number of works attributed to her appear to have been written by other authors, suggesting that her 'celebrity' status was thought to encourage sales. On this, see Margaret J. M. Ezell, "Cooking the Books, or the Three Faces of Hannah Woolley," in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550 - 1800*, ed. Michelle Di Meo and Sara Pennell (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.159-78. On the development of the confectionery recipe book in print more generally, see Hunter, "'Sweet Secrets': From Occasional Receipts to Specialised Books: the Growth of a Genre", pp.36-59.

material, whilst providing evidence of a number of contributors, is written in secretary hand, and often in Latin, pointing towards male authorship. At the back of the book, the confectionery recipes, including one for marchpane paste, are in a single Italic hand, presumed to be that of a lady.[554] Recipe books which focus specifically on sugarwork tend to be inscribed with women's names, and feature recipes attributed to other women. Anne Talbot's recipe book is typical, and many similar examples survive.[555] Women's diaries, such as those of Lady Margaret Hoby and Lady Anne Clifford record that they produced sugarwork, and gave and received it as gifts.[556]

Having outlined the association of sugarwork with women, and some of the reasons for this, this chapter aims to further explore sugarwork as a feminine activity through the investigation of both textual and material sources. Recently, early modern women's household work has been subject to much scholarly attention. A number of historians have ascribed complex meanings to this type of work, suggesting that it provided opportunities for the assertion of authority, creative self-expression,

[554] BL Egerton MS 2214 The assumption that the italic hand belongs to a lady is expressed in the British Library's manuscript catalogue. Although not uncontested, the association of italic writing with women is suggested by Martin Billingsley's 1618 comment that italic was taught to women because it was considered to be easier to learn, and therefore more suited to women's inferior intellect. Although Suzanne Trill has shown that some women wrote in a variety of hands, including secretary and gothic, the association of the italic hand with women is supported in Jonathan Goldberg and James Daybell's studies of early modern women's writing. Suzanne Trill, "A feminist critic in the archives: reading Anna Walker's *A Sweete Savor for Woman* (c.1606)," *Women's Writing* 9 (2002): pp.199-214. J. Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford University Press, 1990), pp.138-9; James Daybell, "'I wold wyshe my doings myght be... secret' Privacy and the Social Practices of Reading Women's Letters in Sixteenth-century England," in *Women's Letters across Europe 1400 - 1700: Form and Persuasion*, ed. Jane Couchman and Ann Crab (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), p.148; James Daybell, *Women Letter-writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.94.

[555] WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8 (uncatalogued): "Anne Talbot's Book of Sugarwork and Preserves"; Wendy Wall, "Literacy and the Domestic Arts," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): p.397; Michelle Di Meo, "Authorship and Medical Networks: Reading Attributions in Early Modern Manuscript Recipe Books", in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550 - 1800*, ed. Michelle Di Meo and Sara Pennell (Manchester and New york: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.25-46.

[556] Margaret Hoby, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby,* ed. Joanna Moody (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001), pp.26, 27, 56, 66, 104, 05, 64, 94; Anne Clifford, *The Diary of Anne Clifford 1616 – 1619*, ed. Katherine O. Acheson (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), pp. 47, 75, 92, 119.

resistance to patriarchy, and the exercise of female agency. This chapter examines whether such claims can be made in regard to sugarwork.

The Virtuous Housewife: Sugarwork and Household Authority

Scholars have investigated the practice of medicine in the early modern household, arguing that it provided opportunities for women to demonstrate their authority, and to participate in scientific discourse.[557] Because of the overlap between sugarwork and medicine, it seems likely that it would have conferred a similar sense of authority on its practitioners. Many of the books containing sugarwork and medicinal recipes present their contents as 'secrets', aligning them with the esoteric, often alchemical knowledge and trade secrets which other books of secrets claimed to reveal. Alison Kavey regards this as empowering for early modern women, allowing them to participate in the male project of controlling nature, if only within the domestic context.[558] Elizabeth Spiller notes that sugar was considered to be particularly effective in this regard; its inherent artificiality marking it out as a substance which could affect nature.[559] Furthermore, the production of sugarwork utilised many of the techniques involved in the production of remedies, and both disciplines shared features, such as the refining of raw ingredients and overseeing changes in status, with alchemy and chymistry. Indeed, Elizabeth Archer has argued that the early

[557] Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England"; Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine" pp.89-107; Peter Parolin, "Preparing Food, Producing Gender on Early Modern Stages", in *Feminisms and Early Modern Texts*, ed. Rebecca Ann Bach and Gwynne Kennedy (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp.44-5; Wall, "Distillation", p.99; A similar argument is made with regard to practices of beautifying, which were included in recipe books alongside sugarwork and medicinal recipes: see Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England*, pp.191-216;
[558] Allison Kavey, *Books of Secrets: Natural Philosophy in England 1550-1600* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp.96-125;
[559] On sugar and artificiality, see p.190; Spiller, *Seventeenth-century English Recipe Books*, p.xvi.

modern housewife's closeness to nature and expertise in medicine and cookery granted her scientific authority.[560]

Evidence suggests that some women consciously embraced these ideas, and chose to express the authority conferred through their household activities in their portraits. One such example is Lady Grace Mildmay, who was involved in the practice of both sugarwork and medicine. Mildmay's practice of sugarwork is discussed in chapter three, and hermedicinal practice is known about through her surviving receipt books which indicate that it was both extensive and sophisticated.[561] Her portrait (Figure 79), now lost, highlights her production of distilled waters which were key components in medicine, were consumed at the banquet and featured as an ingredient of banqueting foods. Here, the sitter's hand rests upon a receipt book, (Figure 80) drawing the viewer's attention to its diagrams of stills, which are similar to those which appeared in contemporary printed books dealing with medicine, alchemy and sugarwork (Figure 81).

Through the inclusion of the recipe book, the portrait emphasises the sitter's skill in sugarwork and medicine, as well as the charitable, caring role that the contemporary viewer would have associated with these activities. By this stage, distilling was a fashionable interest for the gentry, and a still-house had become an essential feature of a gentleman's estate, so the stills in the image may also be read as a statement of

[560] Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England"; on this, also see Gilly Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?", in *Food in the Arts: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1998*, ed. H. Walker (Totnes: Prospect, 1999), p.126; Wall, "Distillation", pp.91-2. It has also been argued that women were increasingly excluded from officially practicing medicine with the development of the male medical establishment in the seventeenth century and, in particular, the incorporation of the Society of Apothecaries. See Spiller, *Seventeenth-century English Recipe Books*, pp.xvii - xviii.

[561] See p.123; Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic, The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

fashionability and gentle status.[562] However, these practices, and sugarwork in particular, also provided women with opportunities to demonstrate their status in another, equally unexpected arena. In a society in which women rarely held property in their own right, there is strong evidence that the practice of sugarwork was used to assert economic control within the household.

Recipe books containing sugarwork and medicinal recipes were often compiled shortly before or after marriage. The fact that these books were collaborative works, with recipes collected from relatives and friends, may indicate that they were intended to strengthen and maintain social and familial ties after a young woman left home to join her new husband.[563] Further, putting attributed recipes into practice is likely to have fulfilled a nostalgic function, bringing memory into play and fostering a sense of connection or closeness with the person who originally provided the recipe. The association of these books with marriage also suggests that they formed part of a non-monetary 'dowry' of skills, knowledge and accomplishments from which husbands were expected to benefit.[564] Furthermore, it was mainly cookery and confectionery rather than medicinal recipes that were collected in this way prior to marriage, suggesting that these were considered to be of particular economic value.[565]

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[562] J. Thirsk, "The Fashioning of the Tudor-Stuart Gentry", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72, no. 1 (1990): pp.70-71; C. Anne Wilson, "Stillhouses and Stillrooms," in *The Country House Kitchen 1650 - 1900: Skills and Equipment for Food Provisioning*, ed. Pamela Sambrook and Peter Brears (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing in association with The National Trust, 1996), p.136.

[563] Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England:", pp.191, 205. Sara Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England", in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity / Trent Colloquium* ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), pp.241-2. On the collaborative nature of recipe books, see Di Meo, "Authorship and Medical Networks", pp.25-46; Field, ""Many Hands Hands"; Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances, Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp.103-14; Pennell and Di Meo, "Introduction", pp.12-13.

[564] Pennell, "Perfecting Practice?", p.241.

[565] Di Meo, "Authorship and Medical Networks", pp.36-40.

This is supported by evidence that in the middling and lower gentry contexts, sugarwork was conceived of as a thrifty activity, which could save the household money. Woolley, for example, advises her reader that 'frugality will persuade you to learn these excellent arts [of preserving and candying] for in the constant use of the product therof, you will save much for sweetmeats, you will make much cheaper than you can buy them, and much more commendable'.[566] Such sentiments have been linked to the class instability outlined in the chapter four, figuring the housewife as partly responsible for the household's continuing profitability, and the maintenance of social position.[567] Indeed, one of the key impulses in the cheaper printed recipe books was the promotion of frugality, even self-sufficiency which would give rise to an idealised form of domestic order.[568]

The role of the exchange of recipes and confectionery as gifts in social and patronage networks also provides an explanation for the value of sugarwork as a housewifely skill. This is exemplified by Lady Honor Lisle's use of gifts of conserves in her campaign to gain her daughters places in the queen's household. [569] Printed recipe books also suggest the appropriateness of sugarwork gifts. Platt's *Delights for Ladies* includes instructions for 'an excellent conceit upon the kernels of dry walnuts' which may be presented 'to any friende you may have for a Newyeeres gift'.[570] In 1684 Hannah Woolley recommended an elaborate 'rock in sweetmeats' which she had 'taught to a young Gentlewoman to give for a Present to a Person of

[566] Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion*, p.112.
[567] Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, pp.25-8. Wall places this in opposition to works produced for a higher status, more urban audience in which sugarwork was conceived of as a leisure activity.
[568] Pennell and Di Meo, "Introduction," pp.11-12. It should be noted, however, that this vision was somewhat at odds with a reality in which the purchase of foods at market was often cheaper than producing them in the home. See Spiller, *Seventeenth-century English Recipe Books*, p.xxiv.
[569] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*, p.219; St Clare Byrne, *The Lisle Letters*, Vol. 4, p.185.
[570] Platt, *Delights for Ladies*, recipe 66.

Quality.'[571] Writing in the 1590s, John Harrington noted that 'The queen's majestie tastede my wifes comfits, and did muche praise her cunninge in the makinge. Send no more: for other ladies' jealousie workethe againste my Mall's comfits, and this will not comforte her.'[572] This suggests that such gifts of sweetmeats were a recognised means of gaining favour with high status individuals. Through these associations, it becomes evident that a wife skilled in sugarwork could be of great assistance to her husband both socially and financially.

Woolley's comments make it clear that by the late seventeenth century, sugarwork was seen as so essential to the gentle household that there was no question as to *whether* it should be consumed, only how it should be produced or procured. The preoccupation with thrift complicates the idea of a devaluation of women's household work in the seventeenth century which has been posited by Susan Cahn. This, she argues, involved a shift from women as recognised contributors to the household economy to housework being perceived as worthless. Further, an increased separation between the feminine spaces within the house and the masculine without is said to have resulted in it becoming less acceptable for women to venture beyond the home in order to sell produce.[573] Despite this, there is evidence that sugarwork could be a means for women to make money and provided opportunities for them to demonstrate their authority through the prudent management of resources within the household.

[571] Woolley, *The Queen-like Closet*, p.242. For more examples of confectionery gifts, see p.72 and Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp.59-61. Herbert argues that such gifts were capable of strengthening bonds between women, but only when given between elite peers. She contends that gifts of sugarwork and other banqueting foods given by lower class women were often viewed with distrust. However, given that non-elite women gave Elizabeth I gifts of sugarwork over the course of her reign, this would not appear to have been widely acknowledged in practice.
[572] Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. III p.247.
[573] Susan Cahn, *Industry of Devotion: The Transformation of Women's Work 1500 - 1660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

One of the most interesting features of sixteenth and seventeenth-century household accounts is that the ingredients for sugarwork are often listed as being purchased specifically for women. At Haddon Hall, mace was purchased 'for my Lady' just prior to Christmas 1564, whilst at Gawthorpe Hall seven ounces of sugar was supplied 'for my younge m[ist]ris' in October 1612, at a cost of 15s, 9d.[574] The Naworth Castle accounts show that in 1618, banqueting foods including raisins, currants, powdered sugar, mace, cloves, liquorice, aniseed, cinnamon, Jordan almonds, pepper, a loaf of sugar, wet sucket and candied ginger were bought by Elizabeth, wife of William Howard at a cost of £14, 16s, 2d. In 1633, powdered sugar, refined sugar and flanders sugar were bought in large quantities in London 'for my Ladie', the total coming to £34, 13s, 9d.[575] Similarly, the Cecil household papers note the purchase of a pound of Jordan almonds 'for My Lady' in January 1661.[576] This provides further evidence for the practice of sugarwork by women. These examples also suggest that the lady of the house controlled the distribution of the foods associated with the sweet banquet. The management of these resources would have underscored her economic value to the household and marked sugarwork and medicine as her particular areas of authority.

Lower down the social scale, there is evidence that women's practice of sugarwork benefited households through its sale for profit. Because women tend to be missing from the written record, it is often difficult to trace their economic activities, but some evidence of this does survive. The Grimsthorpe accounts for 1561, for example, include a payment to 'a wife of Lowth which made wafers against the Lord

[574] Carrington, "Selections from the Stewards' accounts preserved at Haddon Hall for the years 1549 and 1594", p.84; *The Household and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall*, p.203.
[575] *Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, pp.94, 329.
[576] Hatfield, Cecil Papers, CFEP Accounts 129/11

Admiralles coming'.[577] Two of the wives of the officers of the Worshipful company of Drapers supplied the wafers which typically accompanied marchpanes for a company feast in 1576.[578] The sixteenth century Huntstanton accounts include a payment of four pence 'to Willys Wiff for a lb. of dates'.[579]

There has also been some suggestion that women supplied sugarwork for use as stage props. Wendy Wall, for example, interprets the presence of three marchpanes in an inventory of props owned by the Lord Admiral's Men in 1598 as evidence of a demand for housewifery in the theatre business.[580] Sara Mueller also suggests that guilds bought sugarwork from women for use in theatrical events.[581] However, although it is clear that marchpanes and other sugarwork featured in plays, neither cites any evidence that these were supplied by women. Whilst confectionery items were used as props in court masques, it seems likely that the 'marchpanes' which featured in commercial productions would have been made of a cheaper and more durable material. This is supported by a reference in Richard Brome's *The Antipodies* (c.1640) to the 'pasteboard marchpanes and… wooden pies' which served as theatrical props.[582] It seems likely, then, that rather than buying banqueting foods from women, theatres would have had them replicated by property makers.

The royal household, however, did pay women for the supply and production of banqueting foods. Bills for banqueting in preparation for the 1572 Christmas

[577] *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster Preserved at Grimsthorpe,* p.464.
[578] Forsyth, "16th Century", p.107.
[579] Daniel Gurnsey, "Extracts from the Privy Purse Accounts of the Lestranges of Huntstanton from AD 1519 to AD 1578", *Archaeologia* XXV(1834), p.537.
[580] Wall, *Staging Domesticity,* pp.159-60.
[581] Mueller, "Women, Performance and the Household in Early Modern England, 1580 - 1660", pp.125-7.
[582] Quoted in Meads, *Banquets Set Forth*, pp.65-6. Meads also questions whether expensive banqueting foods would have appeared on stage.

festivities at court include a payment of 20s to Thomas Blagrave for 'mowldes to cast the frutes & fishes in & to weeme[n] that tempred the stuf & made up the same'.[583] Skill in distilling also had commercial value; in 1578 John Fraunckwell and his wife were paid for working as 'stillers of waters' for the royal household. Their fee of £40 was one of the highest commanded by any artificer and was matched only by the royal stationer.[584] As referred to above, a Mrs Saul was interrogated in 1615 regarding a banquet she had provided for the late Prince Henry.[585] She is described as keeping 'a confectioners shop in Holborn', and 'the wife of Edwin Saul, confectioner'. However, the same text that describes her husband as a confectioner refers to the confectioners shop as *hers.*[586] This, in addition to the fact that it was Mrs Saul who was questioned about the banquet suggests that she oversaw the production of sugarwork in the shop and that this lent her considerable authority, to the extent that the shop could appear to belong to her rather than her husband.[587] Interestingly, after this example, the evidence for women supplying and making sugarwork in return for money disappears. Given the paucity of the evidence in general, it may simply be the case that such activities went unrecorded and, of course, there may be further evidence which has not yet come to light. However, given the neat correlation of dates, the lack of records of women making sugarwork

[583] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p.37.
[584] *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal household, made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary*, ed. John Nichols (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), p.257.
[585] See p.99. The questioning of Mrs Saul was conducted as part of the investigation into the murder of Thomas Overbury.
[586] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I 1611-18*, Vol. 83: November 1615, pp.332, 334. The first document is a note that Mrs Saul should be questioned, the second is a record of the interrogation.
[587] Janine M. Lanza, "Women and Work," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allyson M. Poska and Katherine A. McIver (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.291. Lanza argues that working in a husband's shop could confer considerable authority on a woman in this period.

for profit after c.1615 does support Cahn's argument regarding the devaluation of women's work in the early seventeenth century.

After the restoration, however, this activity re-emerges. In the 1670s, for example, a woman was paid for supplying a pound of sugar and a white loaf to Blickling Hall. [588] It is Hannah Woolley though, who provides the ultimate example of sugarwork as economically valuable. She writes of 'so many gentlewomen forced to serve, whose parents and friends have been impoverished by the great calamities viz. the late wars, plague and fire, and to see what mean places they are forced to be in, because they want accomplishments for better, being forced to serve as chamber-maids because they have not the accomplishments of a waiting gentlewoman or housekeeper'. Woolley specifically cites skill in sugarwork as the key to finding an elevated position. [589]

In light of the above evidence, it is clear that the practice of sugarwork afforded women economic and medicinal authority and highlighted their caring role within the early modern household. There were other perceived benefits associated with women's domestic practice of sugarwork, and it was particularly connected with avoiding the sin of idleness. In the early modern period, idleness was of great concern, with the devil considered to make work for idle hands; indeed, James Kearney considers it to have been a 'fixation' of sixteenth and seventeenth century England.[590] Thus, John Fitzherbert's 'lesson for the wife', which appeared in his *Boke of Husbandry*, first published in 1523, warned of the dangers of this sin:

[588] NRO MS 4365, f.52r.
[589] Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion,* p.204.
[590] James Kearney, "Idleness," in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.571-3.

> ‘alwaye be doinge some good werkes; that the dyvell may fynd the ever occupied. For as in standynge water are engendered wormes, ryght too in an ydle body are engendered ydle thoughts. Here mayste thou se that of ydelnes commeth damnation, and of good warkes and labeur cometh salvation’[591]

Susan Cahn has suggested that the time consuming production of banqueting foods was considered to be an ideal way for the affluent housewife, who had servants to do most of the housework, to avoid being idle.[592] Contemporary texts confirm the labour-intensive nature of sugarwork.[593] Ruthven’s preface to his readers informs them that his task as author is to ‘encourage and requite your ladiships Pains and Patience (vertues, indeed, of absolute necessity in such brave employments; there being nothing excellent that is not withal difficult) in the profitable spending of your vacant minutes.’[594]

John Harrington’s 1615 characterisation of the virtuous wife makes the idea of sugarwork as a means of avoiding idleness explicit:

> ‘Her idle time and idle coin she spends
>
> On needle works, and when the season serves
>
> In making dainty junkets and conserves’.[595]

[591] John Fitzherbert, *The boke of husbandrye* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1540), p.60r
[592] Cahn, *Industry of Devotion,* p.101.
[593] See p.208
[594] Thomas Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened* (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1655). preface - n.p.
[595] Harington, *To His Wife of Women’s Virtues* quoted in Kim F. Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century," in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, ed. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dympna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.175.

Harrington's text is particularly interesting as it aligns sugarwork with embroidery as a suitable activity for the avoidance of idleness. Much has been written on the moral imperatives for embroidery in early modern England. Needlework was characterised in contemporary conduct literature as an 'index of feminine virtue', an activity that, with Lucretia and Penelope as exemplars, kept women chaste, within the home, silent, and occupied, dispelling the spectre of idleness.[596] All of this suggests that sugarwork should also be considered as a manifestation of the virtue of its practitioners, figuring them as busy, thrifty housewives and providing opportunities to display the specialist skills necessary to fulfil their medicinal and charitable roles.

The Creative Housewife: Sugarwork and Self-expression

Recent scholarship on early modern household work, including embroidery, has suggested that it could also provide scope for creative self-expression. Through functioning as 'texts', the products of women's work are considered to have communicative, and even subversive potential in affording women who were otherwise counselled to be chaste, silent and obedient, with a means to express their opinions.[597] Recipes for sugarwork in particular have been considered to encourage creativity because one of the recurring features in recipes for figurative marchpanes

[596] Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, "Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1591), pp.217-8; Frye, *Pens and Needles,* p.127; Ruth Geuter, "Embroidered Biblical Narratives and their Social Context," in *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700, 'Twixt Art and Nature*, ed. Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp.57-9; Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, p.84; Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, pp.74-5.

[597] On household work and female agency in general, see Pennell, "The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England c. 1650 - 1750", pp.42-3; Sara Pennell, "'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998), p.212; Wall, "Literacy and the Domestic Arts", p.387. On embroidery and agency, see Frye, *Pens and Needles,* pp.116-151; Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*: esp pp.79-84.

and conceits is that their form is left to the reader to decide.[598] The marchpane recipe in Anne Talbot's book (appendix two) provides a typical example of this, with its instruction to 'work up your stuff with your sercht suger into what shape you please'. Furthermore, accounts of banquets, such as that held at Eltham in 1591, suggest the near infinite forms that sculptural sugarwork could take. Printed and manuscript recipe books which include suggestions for subject matter indicate that marchpanes could be fashioned into anything and everything, from gloves, buttons, keys and letters to Biblical and mythological figures and fantastical landscapes.[599]

The links between sugarwork and needlework and their related potential in facilitating self expression are made explicit in depictions of the old testament figure of Esther in English women's embroidery. The story of Esther was the most popular subject to feature in women's figurative needlework of the seventeenth century. Elizabeth Frye has suggested that this is because Esther, as a woman who interceded with a monarch in order to save her people, provided a model of a woman whose 'actions and words carried vast political significance'.[600] Esther, being at once vocal and virtuous, provided a justification for female political speech.[601] Moreover, in embroidering scenes from the story of Esther, women seem to have consciously updated them, dressing figures in Stuart costume and thereby lending them increased contemporary significance.[602] Ruth Geuter links this to civil war

[598] Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England" p.215; Field, ""Many Hands Hands"", pp.50, 59; Parolin, "Preparing Food, Producing Gender on Early Modern Stages," p.49; Wall, "Distillation ", p.94.
[599] Elizabeth Freke's recipe book includes instructions to make 'all sorts of conceits in marchpane stuff as pyes, beasts, birds, basketts' and advises readers to 'make it in what fashion you please'. BL Add. MS 45718, f.18v. Platt provides recipes for 'letters, knots, marks, escutcheons, beasts, birds and other fancies' Platt, *Delights for Ladies*: recipe 18. For further descriptions of the variety of forms for sugarwork recorded in recipe books, see pp.190-1.
[600] Frye, *Pens and Needles*, pp.120-1, 45-51.
[601] Michele Osherow, "Crafting Queens: Early Modern Readings of Esther", in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Carol Levin and R. O. Bucholz (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp.141-55.
[602] Frye, *Pens and Needles*, p.121.

politics, suggesting that women identified with Esther as a minority figure facing a strong enemy, but also that her contemporary association with Henrietta Maria led to royalist women embroidering Esther / Henrietta Maria as an expression of their political sympathies.[603]

Importantly for this study, Esther's intercession with king Athasueras takes place, according to the 1611 version of the King James Bible, at a 'banquet of wine' (Esther 7:2), and the evidence from seventeenth-century embroidered pictures indicates that the women who produced them interpreted, or 'updated' this as a sweet banquet. Thus, embroidered panels in the Burrell collection (Figure 82, Figure 83) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 84) and embroidered caskets in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 85 and Figure 86) and Museum of London (Figure 87) depict Esther and Athasueras banqueting in outdoor pavilions which mirror early modern banquet settings. In the cabinet from the Metropolitan Museum, the foods depicted look very much like the fruit and confectionery served at banquets. On the table are pink, green and taupe items that may be intended as fruits – strawberries perhaps – and nuts, while the long items on the table resemble ragged comfits.

As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, banquets often facilitated political negotiation. Furthermore, women could attend these events, host them and contribute to them through the production of figurative sugarwork which could communicate specific political messages. It is unsurprising, then, that early modern women lent Esther's manipulation of Athasueras contemporary relevance by setting it within the early modern context of the sweet banquet. Given that Esther provided a model of a politically active female figure, these images may posit the banquet as a potential site for women's legitimate political activity. At the same time, however, the

[603] Geuter, "Embroidered Biblical Narratives and their Social Context", pp.65-6.

depiction of the sweet banquet in embroidery allowed women to demonstrate their wifely skills in relation to two important accomplishments at once; needlework and sugarwork, rendering such images doubly effective in referring to their makers' virtue and skill.

In addition to providing an arena for self-expression, the practice of embroidery functioned as a symbol of social and economic status. Its materials were expensive, its practice required leisure and the pattern books which provided instruction in needlework were marketed to appeal to aspirational ideas of status.[604] Sugarwork, as is explored below, shared all these features and functioned to delineate class hierarchies in much the same way.

The leisured housewife: Sugarwork and status

It has been argued that due to increasing social mobility, economic threats to larger estates, and the resultant anxieties surrounding status issues explored in chapter four, women's work, or lack of it became a status symbol for their husbands. The traditional tasks of housewifery, such as cooking and cleaning, were therefore seen as 'below the station' of the high status wife, and more appropriate for servants.[605] Time-consuming and decorative, sugarwork, like embroidery, was an ideal activity to fill the vacuum, with the added advantage that the resulting sweetmeats and textiles could be displayed as evidence of 'leisured' pursuits. John Partridge's recipe for a 'marchpaine', which, if kept dry, would 'last many yeares', and Platt's recipe for

[604] Susan Frye, "Staging Women's Relationships to Textiles in Shakespeare's Othello and Cymbeline", in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p.215; Frye, *Pens and Needles*, p.129; Parker, *The Subversive Stitch,* p.11.
[605] Cahn, *Industry of Devotion*, pp.99-101; Wall, *Staging Domesticity,* pp.21-25.

'paste of Noilie' to be moulded into shapes and Jumbolds, both of which would 'last all the yeere', underscore their potential for display.[606]

Several scholars have linked these trends to the emergence of printed recipe books focusing heavily on sugarwork, from the 1570s onwards. These books tended to be highly ornamental, with elaborate frontispieces, decorative borders and, as Wall notes, little in the way of indexing systems which might aid the busy housewife in locating specific recipes. Furthermore, recipes in printed books were often associated with high status contexts and individuals. [607] Domestic work was therefore presented as a form of enjoyment, and a site for class-based fantasy.[608] In this way, sugarwork could become a method of demonstrating social status, and, potentially, a tool of social advancement. This also provides an explanation for the popularity of manuscript receipt books in the seventeenth century. As Pennell and Wall have argued, these hand-written books should be seen in opposition to print culture with its wider readership, and well known recipes.[609] Although some women employed professional amanuenses in producing recipe books, many were written and inscribed by the owners themselves.[610] As recent studies have shown, whilst it would appear that girls from a fairly wide social spectrum were taught to read, only

[606] John Partridge, *Treasurie of Commodious Conceits and Hidden Secrets* (London: Richard Jones, 1591), n.p.; *Platt*, *Delights for Ladies,* recipes 15, 16.
[607] See footnote 110; Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.152; Elaine Hobby, "A Woman's Best Setting Out is Silence: The Writings of Hannah Wolley," in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. Gerald Maclean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.179-200. Wall, "Literacy and the Domestic Arts," p.394; Wall, *Staging Domesticity,* pp. 26, 49.
[608] Wall, *Staging Domesticity,* p.49; Wendy Wall, "Reading the Home: The Case of *The English Housewife*", in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.171-81.
[609] Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? ", pp.239-40. Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p.12.
[610] Wall, "Literacy and the Domestic Arts", pp.395-412.

those from aristocratic, gentry or elite merchant backgrounds were taught to write.[611] Thus, the ability to compile one's own recipe book was a more potent symbol of status than the ownership of a printed version.

Unlike printed recipe books, manuscript collections do not attempt to assert status through the attribution of recipes to high ranking individuals. As several studies have shown, attributions in these cases are to family members and friends of all ranks.[612] In the case of sugarwork recipes, many are attributed to older female relatives. Elizabeth Freke's book, for example, includes a marchpane recipe from Mrs Frek, presumably the author's mother-in-law, while Anne Talbot's marchpane recipe (appendix two) was 'from my gran mother'.[613] This suggests that sugarwork recipes were passed down within matrilineal lines, and it is likely that the skills to execute them were also taught by older female relatives within the home.[614]

Both manuscript and print recipe books dealing with sugarwork are notable in that they assume a great deal of knowledge regarding complicated techniques, such as the different 'heights' or temperatures to which sugar should be heated. In order to be able to use them successfully, then, women would have required a certain amount of prior knowledge. The passing down of this knowledge from mother or grandmother to daughter was an indication of continued gentility. Not only could the current generation afford the resources required for instruction in sugarwork, but the

[611] David Cressy, "Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. David Cressy (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), p.313.
[612] Pennell, "Perfecting Practice?"; Sara Pennell, "Making Livings, Lives and Archives: Tales of Four Eighteenth-century Recipe Books", in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550 - 1800*, ed. Sara Pennell and Michelle Di Meo (Mancherster: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.234 check Michelle Di Meo comes to a similar conclusion regarding medical recipes Di Meo, "Authorship and Medical Networks", pp.25-46.
[613] BL Add. MS 45718 f.18v; WSHC Lacock MS (2664) box 8 (uncatalogued): "Anne Talbot's Book of Sugarwork and Preserves", see appendix two.
[614] For more on this see pp.223-4.

mother's skill demonstrated that she too had benefited from the same education. Grant McCracken has argued for the importance of patina in early modern England; that is, the visible agedness of valuable objects, which, with its implication that such objects had been passed down through the generations, demonstrated not only that a family was wealthy enough to own them, but that they had been for some time. This was a definition of true gentility in a society in which the nouveau riche seemed ever more capable of competing with those of noble birth and accumulating expensive goods.[615] Skill in sugarwork functioned in a similar manner. Although sweetmeats and sugar sculptures were created afresh for each banquet, they nevertheless provided testament to the longevity of the skill of sugarwork within a family; to several generations of wealth, and therefore authenticated status.

Clearly, then, the practice of sugarwork provided a means for female creativity and opportunities for women to assert their status. Further research indicates that the production and consumption of sugarwork was associated with specialised spaces, which had a number of features in common. The following section evaluates the evidence linking sugarwork with these spaces, taking account of recent developments in social and architectural history in establishing the significance and function of such areas within the country house. Given sugarwork's association with femininity, can the spaces in which it was consumed and displayed also be considered to be gendered? If so, did they provide space for the exercise of feminine agency?

[615] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp.32-9.

The Closet, the Childbed Chamber and the Banqueting House: Sugarwork and the Gendering of Space

Contemporary written sources indicate that the space most closely associated with the production of sugarwork in the early modern house was the closet of the lady of the house; indeed, these were sometimes specifically referred to as sweet-meat closets. In a 1556 inventory of Loseley House in Surrey, William More lists 'glasses for conserves… barrels for sukket… round and square trenchers' and 'a mold for pastree' amongst the contents of 'my wyfs closet'.[616] A 1634-5 inventory of the goods of the Countess of Leicester lists the contents of 'the sweete-meate closet', which appears to have been located off or adjacent to her bedchamber. It contained clothing, embroidery, linens, books and looking glasses, as well as the material culture associated with the sweet banquet; fruit dishes, glasses for serving sweet-meats, loaf sugar 'and divers other trifles'.[617] Two inventories of Donibristle House, the Countess of Home's Scottish residence, which date from the 1620s and 30s also list items kept in the lady's closet. These include a pestle and mortar, gallipots, a syllabub pot with dishes, glass trenchers, drinking glasses, two glass stills, sweetmeat glasses and posset pots.[618] Markham's *English Hous-wife* contains instructions on the 'ordering or setting forth of a banquet', and advises the housewife that before sending forth the marchpanes, preserves, marmalades, comfits, fruit and wafers 'you shall order them in your closet'.[619] The storing of sugarwork in closets is

[616] John Evans, "Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth", *Archaeologia* xxxvi(1855), p.292.
[617] "Inventory of the Goods of the Countess of Leicester, made in 1634-5", pp.11-12.
[618] Donibristle House, Fife, NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1202; Countess of Home, Moray papers NRAS 217 box 5 no.9. With thanks to Michael Pearce (University of Dundee) for these references and transcripts of the inventories. Mary Sutton, the Countess of Home was English and kept a house in London. Closets devoted to sweet foods and the material culture of banqueting are very rare in Scottish inventories, suggesting that the banquet was not commonly adopted here; private correspondence with Michael Pearce.
[619] Markham, *The English Hous-wife*, p.97.

also evidenced in John Crowne's *The Married Beau* of 1694 with the question, posed to Mrs. Lovely: 'wou'd you lock me up in your Closet, if you did not reckon me among your sweet-meats?'[620] Recipe books were also kept in closets; Johanna St John's will of 1704 indicates that this is where she kept her volumes dealing with sugarwork and medicinal recipes.[621] All of this clearly indicates that the closet was used for both making and storing banqueting foods. Delicate processes such as hand-moulding and, in particular, gilding, would have been suited to the closet rather than the kitchen, which was a transitory space, beset by comings and goings, and generally accessible from outside, making sugarwork susceptible to drafts and damp.[622] The closet, being a relatively secluded space generally located deep within the interior of the house, was protected from these factors.[623]

The Donibristle inventories also indicate that stills were kept in closets. Similarly, a 1611 inventory of Thomas Hanbury's house at Buriton includes a still, kept in a closet which is assumed to have been under female jurisdiction.[624] In 1710, Elizabeth Freke made an inventory of the closet off her bed chamber, which contained numerous distilled waters along with the still itself.[625] The still-house or room is recognised as a common feature of early modern houses, yet it has rarely been linked to the closet.[626] These sources demonstrate, however, that processes of distillation as well as the practice of sugarwork took place in closets. Relatedly, in the early seventeenth century, the still-room at Hengrave was the site of the

[620] Wall, *Staging Domesticity,* p.51.
[621] Field, ""Many Hands Hands"", pp.55-6. The term 'cabinet' was virtually interchangeable with 'closet'. See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp.129-30.
[622] Pennell, "'Pots and Pans History'" pp.203-4, 207.
[623] For a basic definition of the early modern closet, see Girouard, *Life in the English Country,* p.56.
[624] Sasha Roberts, "Shakespeare 'creeps into the womens closets about bedtime': Women Reading in a Room of their Own", in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices / Bodies / Spaces*, ed. Gordon McMullan (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.36.
[625] BL Add. MS 45718 f.3
[626] Wilson, "Stillhouses and Stillrooms", pp.129-43.

production of 'biskett cakes, marchpanes, herbs, spicebreads, fruits, conserves etc.'[627] This suggests that the terms closet and still-room were used synonymously.[628] Previous scholarly work done on still-rooms, which has tended to focus on receipt books, medicine and alchemy, and that done on female closets, which has emphasised privacy versus publicness, reading and writing practices and eroticism, can therefore be fruitfully integrated.

The closet developed in England in the sixteenth century, reaching a peak of popularity in the 1590s, a decade which has been described as 'obsessed' with closetedness and enclosure, and it remained a common architectural term throughout the seventeenth century.[629] A sense of seclusion was a defining feature of the closet; access to them was restricted as they typically adjoined bedchambers. Whilst Girouard sees the early modern closet as the only truly private space in the early modern house, Alan Stewart has called for this characterisation to be revised, arguing that the these spaces were frequently used for carrying out political and business transactions. Withdrawing to the closet was thus a public act, and the events that took place within it had public significance.[630] Whilst this interpretation convincingly undermines the idea of strict oppositions between public and private in the early modern period, it is important to note that closets were gendered; elite men and women had separate closets, and women's closets have been interpreted differently. Whilst Stewart sees the male closet as a politically active, even social space, the female closet is considered to be more truly private; a place where a

[627] Gage, *History of Hengrave*, quoted in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p.208.
[628] This is implied in Laura Lunger Knoppers, *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.154.
[629] James Knowles, "Infinite Riches in a Little Room: Marlowe and the Aesthetics of the Closet", in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices / Bodies / Spaces 1580 - 1690*, ed. Gordon McMullan (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.3; Orest Ranum, "The Refuges of Intimacy", in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), p.228.
[630] Alan Stewart, "The Early Modern Closet Discovered," *Representations* 50 (1995): pp.76-100.

woman read or prayed alone, its material culture of locks and enclosure closely bound up with the chastity of its inhabitant.[631]

An investigation of the closet / still-room as a site for sugarwork, however, undermines the idea of the female closet as a site of utter seclusion. Work on the recipe books associated with still-rooms has indicated that they were collaborative works, 'living manuscripts' which were gradually added to over time by various hands.[632] At the very least, the compilation of such a volume involved collecting recipes from relatives and friends. As Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin have argued, the exchange of these recipes is likely to have created networks and facilitated 'the sense of a shared community of privileged knowledge'.[633] The language used in some examples suggests that not only were recipes shared, but that they were executed collaboratively.[634] The teaching of sugarwork could also take place in the closet, as is suggested by a child's drawing which appears in a recipe book including confectionery recipes (Figure 88). This drawing shows a woman engaged the production of sugarwork, suggesting that a child was present with her in the closet, observing her as a precursor to learning this skill. This idea is supported by Hannah

[631] Ibid., p.82; Knowles, "Infinite Riches in a Little Room", p.9. Roberts, "Shakespeare 'creeps into the womens closets about bedtime'", pp.37, 55; As a result of this utter privacy, Roberts sees the feminine closet as having the potential to facilitate self-expression, agency, and even empowerment. Although very little work has been done to suggest that feminine closets were also transactive spaces, H. L. Meakin does note one occasion where Lady Bacon conducted household business in her closet, suggesting the presence of servants. H. L. Meakin, *The Painted Closet of Lady Anne Bacon Drury* (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p.42.

[632] Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England" p.204; Field, ""Many Hands Hands"" p.51; Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household", *Centaurus* 55, no. 2 (2013); Pennell, "Perfecting Practice?" p.242; Wall, "Literacy and the Domestic Arts", p.396.

[633] Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin, "Introduction," in *Secrets and Knowledge in Science and Medicine 1500 - 1800*, ed. Elaine Long and Alisha Rankin (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p.5.

[634] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.106.

Woolley's contention that parents should personally teach female children how to 'preserve, conserve, distil'.[635]

The fact that the sweetmeats, and particularly the representative sugar-sculptures made in these spaces appeared at banquets which, as we have seen, could facilitate political negotiation and cement alliances between men further suggests that the influence of these 'closeted' activities extended beyond the private sphere. Relatedly, closets were the spaces in which people stored their most treasured possessions including, books, pictures, jewellery, mirrors and clothing and, of course, the table wares associated with the sweet banquet.[636] Such objects have been extensively studied in relation to 'self-fashioning', suggesting that this process could take place within the closet, and that the practice of sugarwork could also contribute to the crafting of public personas.[637]

This is underscored by Grace Mildmay's portrait (Figure 79). It is likely that Mildmay commissioned this work herself. The costume, which indicates a date in the 1610s, is similar to that in contemporary portraits of widows, and as Sir Anthony Mildmay died in 1617, it may be that Lady Grace intended to present herself as a virtuous widow. Furthermore, the portrait appears to be set within a closet. Although it is very difficult to make out the architectural space in the available reproduction, the presence of the recipe book does suggest such a location. The table, covered with

[635] Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion*, p.9
[636] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p.174.
[637] On the potential for objects in general to contribute towards identity fashioning, see Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*; Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson, "Introduction," in *Early Modern Visual Culture; Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p.2; Maureen Quilligan, Peter Stallybrass, and Margreta De Grazia, eds., *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.5; On clothing, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). pp.2-4. On books, see Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*; and Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance,* p.162. On interior decoration, see Sara French, "A Widow Building in Elizabethan England: Bess of Hardwick at Hardwick Hall", in *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison Levy (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), pp.175-6.

its tasselled cloth or carpet, is also markedly similar to those in the closets where women are depicted preserving on the frontispieces of contemporary household manuals (Figure 60). The closet / still-room and the painted portrait are thus revealed as key sites for the fashioning of the public self. Rather than being defined by complete withdrawal, the feminine closet, like the male, was at once an intimate, educational, social and transactive space within which women fashioned their public identities; any privacy it afforded was firmly embedded in ideas of community.

The themes of intimacy and sociability are also evident in a second space associated with sugarwork, the childbed chamber. This was a temporarily designated space most often located in a bedchamber. Like the closet, it was defined by enclosure, in this case effected through the erection of hangings which blocked windows and doors, and the restriction of access; men were generally excluded from this space.[638] It was here that lying in took place, a process which took around a month, lasting from the birth of the child until the mother was churched.[639]

Recently it has been demonstrated that the various items of material culture associated with lying in, from linens to hangings, nightwear and specially ordered foodstuffs, were intended to demonstrate social status.[640] What is particularly significant here is that the foods associated with the child-bed chamber were the same as those served at the sweet banquet. In 1664, for example, Margaret Cavendish wrote disapprovingly of the expense and vanity of lying in, which involved

[638] Janelle Day Jenstad, "Lying-in like a Countess; The Lisle Letters, the Cecil family, and a Chaste Maid in Cheapside," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 2 (2004): p.375.
[639] Adrian Wilson, *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Limited, 2013), pp.170-81; Wilson, "The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation".
[640] Jenstad, "Lying-in like a Countess".

> ‘getting, making, and buying expensive and costly childbed linen, swaddling cloths, mantles and the like, as also fine beds, cradles, baskets, and their furniture for their chambers, as hangings, cabinets, plates, artificial flowers, looking glasses, skreens, and many such like things of great cost and charge, besides their banquets of sweet-meats and other junkets, as cates, wafers, biskets, jellies and the like’.[641]

That these banquets occurred in practice is demonstrated by the 1617 household accounts of Gawthorpe Hall which contain a note of foods purchased for the mistress’s lying in. These included various spices, fresh and preserved fruits, comfits, sucket and marchpanes.[642] It is likely that the foods were intended to be consumed by female guests to the chamber, particularly at the ‘gossips’ feast’ which took place during the mother’s lying in period, after the christening of the child.

Undoubtedly, expensive banqueting foods contributed to the assertion of status at such social occasions. However, Janelle Jenstad’s work suggests that they may have communicated in more complex ways. She has demonstrated that it was the provenance of the various items of material culture displayed in the child-bed chamber that conveyed status. These objects were borrowed from peers and patrons, and demonstrated access to particular social and patronage networks.[643] Given that sugarwork recipes also had provenance in that they were often attributed to friends and relatives, and that these attributions are likely to have been discussed during the social events at which they were served, it is probable that they functioned similarly. Because of their feminine connotations, banqueting foods would also have

[641] Margaret Cavendish, "A Letter, 1664", in *Major Women Writers of Seventeenth-century England*, ed. James Fitzmaurice, et al. (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997), p.162.
[642] *The Household and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall*, p.212.
[643] Jenstad, "Lying-in like a Countess", pp.382-3.

contributed to the definition of the childbirth chamber as an exclusively feminine space, reinforcing its temporarily gendered nature.

As has been discussed previously, sugarwork featured in women's preparation for marriage and in wedding celebrations.[644] It significant that banqueting foods recur during what the early modern period considered to be the most important moments in the female life cycle; marriage and child birth; viewed as deeply feminine, these foods also contributed to a definition of woman-hood which centred around the achievements of marriage and maternity.

The association of sugarwork with the clearly gendered spaces of the closet and childbirth chamber prompts us to ask whether the banqueting house, where most of the sugarwork made in the closet/still-room was ultimately to be displayed was similarly gendered. There is some evidence that these structures were considered to be under female jurisdiction. As we have seen, banqueting houses are often located on the roofs, or in the far reaches of the gardens of country houses; their sites are defined by marginality. In the early modern context, such marginal spaces are often identified with femininity. Both Alice Friedman and Mary Hazard have explored the gendered division of space in the early modern country house, and have concluded that women were associated with the upper floors; more secluded spaces than the lower floors where the semi-public business of estate management took place; Friedman explicitly lists the banqueting house as an 'approved' space for the upper class woman.[645]

[644] See pp.149-51
[645] Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze", pp.44-5; Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, p.160.

Whilst this is congruent with the rooftop locations of banqueting houses, these spaces are generally accessed by steep, narrow staircases; surviving examples include those at Lacock, Wollaton and Burghley. It is extremely doubtful that women would have been able to reach these spaces, particularly given that high status women's dress included farthingales until the 1580s, which were superceded by bum rolls and a wide-hipped silhouette, features that remained fashionable into the seventeenth century. There can be no question, therefore, of rooftop banqueting houses being feminine spaces.[646] However, the majority of banqueting houses were located in gardens, an area which women had legitimate cause to inhabit.[647] The garden had been considered to be under female jurisdiction from the medieval period, and it has been argued that, in contrast to the hierarchical country house, by the mid sixteenth-century, gardens offered a space of relative parity between men and women.[648] Thus, the Sidneys' steward at Penshurst was likely to have been referring to a structure in the garden when he informed Sir Robert in 1608 that 'There is yet nothing done of the painter tmy Ladyes banqueting house'.[649]

Further, the first axial hall in England appeared at a banqueting house at Holdenby in the 1580s (Figure 32).[650] Traditionally, the Hall, as the main ceremonial space within the house, ran parallel to the house facade, and was approached by means of a screens passage which functioned to restrict access. The axial hall, however, being perpendicular to the facade, is the first space the visitor encounters. This

[646] One notable exception being Hardwick, where the staircase leading to the banqueting spaces provides ample space for female ascent, perhaps in order to cater to its female patron.
[647] See p.119.
[648] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500 - 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.238; Jennifer Monroe, *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p.11; Alexander Samson, "Locus Amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 1 (2011): pp.14-15; Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston and Henley: Kegan Paul, 1982), p.48. Herbert, *Female Alliances,*pp.56-7, 86.
[649] Monroe, *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature*, p.106.
[650] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p.116.

undermined the ceremonial nature of the hall, causing it to function as an entrance hallway. Subsequent examples of axial halls were built for female patrons, and historians have associated them with the desire to shift status to the rooms above the hall; those that women traditionally occupied.[651] The axial hall at Holdenby, then, may indicate that banqueting houses were, on some occasions, designed to allow women to participate fully in the entertainments which took place within them.[652]

If banqueting houses were, in some cases at least, considered to be feminine, is it possible that they, like the closet / still-room, provided sites for the exercise of female agency? The association of women with the liminal spaces of the house has traditionally been seen as a patriarchal method of distancing them from masculine business and reinforcing their maternal and decorative functions.[653] However, recent research has demonstrated that the division of space within the household was complex and fluid, and it has been suggested that marginal spaces, particularly those located beyond the confines of the house, could provide scope for the inversion of hierarchies and exercise of agency.[654] Their decoration and architectural ornament may also have functioned to define these spaces as feminine. Susan Frye has argued that the needlework displayed in high status women's rooms

[651] Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze", p.53; John Gurney, "Lady Jane Berkeley, Ashley House, and Architectural Innovation in Late-Elizabethan England," *Architectural History* 43, (2000), pp.113-6.
[652] It should be noted that the Holdenby banqueting house is an unusual example, as it is much larger than most country house banqueting houses, which tend to have only one or two small chambers.
[653] Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze", pp.40-61; Helen Hills, "Theorizing the Relationships between Architecture and Gender in Early Modern Europe," in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), pp.3-22; Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study in Landscape and Legitimacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p.79.
[654] Mary Thomas Crane has argued that outdoor areas and structures located beyond the confines of the 'patriarchal' house offered scope for self-expression and increased freedom. Crane, "Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England", pp.4-22. See also Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp.16-38; Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze", p.44; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*, pp.7-10. Longfellow, "Public, Private and the Household in Early Seventeenth Century England", pp.313-34; Rod Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.5-6.

at this time functioned in the construction of identity through its iconographically expressive potential and associations with female virtue. Further, she notes that in such cases, the architectural elements of the rooms often look like embroidery, reinforcing their status as feminine spaces and highlighting the virtuous activities of their inhabitants.[655]

It is notable that the architecture of banqueting houses often mirrors the forms of sugarwork. The designs for tarts illustrated in Robert May's 1665 work *The Accomplish't Cook* (Figure 89) are remarkably similar to the semi-heraldic and curvilinear patterns found in banqueting house ornament. The exterior features of the twinned banqueting houses at Campden Manor provide examples of this phenomenon (Figure 90). Furthermore, the knot gardens which surrounded banqueting houses display the same aesthetic, as is demonstrated comparison between a surviving seventeenth century wafer mould (Figure 91) and designs for knots in Thomas Hill's *Gardeners Labyrinth* (1594) (Figure 92). Francis Bacon made this connection explicit with the comment in his essay on gardens (1625) that knot gardens were 'but toyes: you may see as good sights many times in tarts.'[656] The replication of the visual features of sugarwork produced by women in the decoration of banqueting houses and gardens underscores the characterisation of these spaces as feminine.

The National Portrait Gallery's narrative portrait of Henry Unton (Figure 93) provides further evidence that the banqueting house was conceived of as a feminine space. This painting was commissioned around 1596 by Unton's wife Dorothy to

[655] Frye, "Staging Women's Relationships to Textiles in Shakespeare's Othello and Cymbeline", pp.233-6.
[656] Francis Bacon *Essayes or Counsels Civil and Morall: of Gardens* ed. Richard Whately (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1899), p. 167

commemorate him after his death. It includes a number of vignettes of notable episodes which took place during his lifetime, including a dining scene in the right foreground (Figure 94). Close analysis suggests that this is intended to represent a sweet banquet. Although it is impossible to make out the foods on the table, a servant in the background leans over the table proffering a sweetmeat glass (Figure 95) which is markedly similar to the earliest surviving examples of these vessels (Figure 65). The sweetmeat glass was used exclusively at the sweet banquet at this date. Furthermore, in the foreground of the scene is a masque, typical of those which accompanied banquets.

What is particularly interesting about this depiction of the banquet is its use of space. The steps leading to the banqueting chamber suggest that it is intended to be elevated. This is clearly a space which a woman could inahbit, and it is occupied by, amongst others Dorothy Unton, the image's patron. Dorothy (Figure 96) appears at the head of the table, while her husband Henry is in its centre, surrounded by other guests, possibly family members. Here, the scale of the figures has been used to denote their relative importance, from the small and socially insignificant servants and masquers, to the medium banquet guests and finally the Untons themselves who are the largest figures in the scene.[657] It is significant that Dorothy Unton is depicted at the table's end and that it is she, rather than her husband who receives a paper which Strong interprets as an explanation of the masque from the presenter, whose role was to describe and clarify the device.[658] Dorothy is therefore placed in a position of authority, presiding over the banquet and the interpretation of the

[657] Roy C. Strong, "Sir Henry Unton and his Portrait: An Elizabethan Memorial Picture and its History", *Archaeologia* XCIX(1965), p.55.
[658] Ibid., p.70.

masque. All of this supports the idea that the banqueting house was a space of relative freedom and parity for women.

It is clear from inventories that Dorothy Unton had the means to produce sugarwork for events such as that depicted in the portrait. An inventory of Farringdon taken in 1596 demonstrates that at the time of commissioning the painting, Dorothy kept a 'cubborde of boxes' in her closet, which may have been a spice cabinet as these typically included numerous drawers.[659] Three stills are recorded in the 'well house'.[660] Although there is not a great deal of evidence for sugarwork here, the 1596 inventory was drawn up for probate on Henry Unton's death, and so deals with primarily with his goods rather than those considered to belong to his widow. An inventory drawn up in 1620 is more interesting in this respect. It lists the 'Jewels, Plate and other Ornaments' which belonged to Dorothy in her own right.[661] Amongst the contents of her closet at Farringdon were a gilt sugar box and 'divers' glasses, while the closet at Astwell contained porcelain fruit dishes.[662] Another sugar box was located in 'my Ladies Cubbert', at Farringdon and there were four stills belonging to her in the still house here.[663] This provides clear evidence of the presence of sugar and the material culture associated with the sweet banquet as well as the capacity to produce distilled waters. Thus, Dorothy Unton, like Grace Mildmay, appears to have consciously chosen to make reference to her own practice of sugarwork in commissioning her portrait by having a sweet banquet included in the composition.

[659] *The Unton Inventories*, p.11.
[660] Ibid., p.13.
[661] Ibid., p.17. By this date, Dorothy was married to George Shirley.
[662] Ibid., pp.26, 30.
[663] Ibid., p. 27.

Within the context of female patronage, it is clear that skill in sugarwork functioned as a form of visual shorthand which, in portraiture, referred to female sitters' busyness, charity, fertility, ability to run an ordered household and social status. This is suggestive of the importance of the production of confectionery as a feminine accomplishment which was utilised by women in the fashioning of their public identities. It also underscores the status of the banqueting house, the closet and the painted portrait as creative spaces.

It should not be forgotten, however, that early modern English society was deeply patriarchal. Further investigation demonstrates that this was reflected in the social practices, and visual and literary cultures associated with the banquet, which sometimes functioned to exclude women, and to characterise them as inferior, and fundamentally 'other'.

Patriarchy at the Banquet

Whilst women may have furnished the banquet with sweetmeats, sources indicate that these were often conceived of as facilitating exclusively male sociability. Harrington's virtuous wife, for example made her junkets and conserves 'To welcome in kind sort *his* dearest friends'[664] and the disobedient wife in *The Bachelor's Banquet* complains about being made to 'drudge about to prepare banquets for [her husband's] companions.'[665] Again, the wife's willingness or otherwise to produce sugarwork provides an index of her relative virtue.

[664] Quoted in Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces", p.175 (emphasis added).
[665] *The Bachelor's Banquet*, p.89

The focus on the entertainment of men at banquets is borne out in manuscript sources. The Wollaton household accounts of 1587-8 show that banqueting foods, including fruit, sugar, marmalade, sucket, biskett bread and comfits were used exclusively for the entertainment of male guests and, as noted above, the banqueting spaces here, which are located on the roof, would have been impossible for women to access.[666] This is symptomatic of women's general lack of economic control in early modern England. Whilst they may have preserved fruits and fashioned sugar into fanciful shapes, controlled the distribution of sweetmeats within the household and even sold them, these foods and presumably any profit they made ultimately remained the property of their husbands, to be used by them as they saw fit.

The material culture associated with the banquet could also be explicitly misogynistic. One set of sixteenth century banqueting trenchers, for example, is inscribed with verses which dwell on the dangers of women who speak out of turn and attempt to usurp men's roles, concluding that 'younge mens wives will not be taught / And old mens wives bee good for naught' (Figure 97).[667] The presence of such sentiments within the banqueting house, where they are likely to have been read aloud, suggests that whilst sugarwork, the closet and the banqueting house may have provided arenas for the expression of female agency and identity, it was necessary to underscore the restricted nature of this. Similarly, the roundels at Horton court, like the busts in the banqueting house at Theobolds provide only male cultural models, indicating that the political business conducted in the banqueting house was an exclusively masculine concern.

[666] UoN Middleton MS MiA 69, ff.4r, 8v, 9v, 12r, 18r, 31r, 41v.
[667] Owen Evan-Thomas, *Domestic Utensils of Wood XVIth to XIXth century* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1973), p.66.

Indeed, primary sources demonstrate that women's accepted role at banquets was that of adornment and that they, like the banqueting foods, were considered to be available for male consumption.[668] In the epistle to Plat's *Delights for Ladies*, women are characterised as being interchangeable with banqueting foods: 'Of sweetes the sweetest I will now commend, / To sweetest creatures that the earth doth bear.'[669] Nicholas Breton's *Works of a Young Wit* of 1577 includes a poem based on the premise that the narrator, after attending a banquet in the presence of 'a troupe of dames', returns home with a selection of comfits. In the morning, he consumes the comfits and 'as I tooke of every one a tast, / My evening dames came to my morning minde… I thought I could in kinde, / Compare the comfits with the women right'. The following stanzas compare orange, coriander and ginger comfits and 'biskets' with 'fayre', 'gallant', 'bitter', 'plump' and 'pretty' dames. The ginger comfit, in particular, is likened to a woman 'whose looks, mought set his mouth and hart on flame, / who would desire to tast her thoroughly'.[670]

It is interesting to consider the differences in the woman-as-sweets trope in light of the audiences these works were aimed at. Plat, writing for a female audience, implies that sweetness is a praise-worthy quality, associated with refinement and even saintliness, and focuses on the luxury ingredients and creative potential of sugarwork. Breton, however, conceives of both women and banqueting foods as passive, and equally available for male consumption. This idea is expressed succinctly in seventeenth century gingerbread moulds in the shape of women's bodies (Figure 98). At banquets, the gingerbread could be handled, passed around,

[668] Tracy Thong also considers women's role to have been adornment. Thong, 'Appropriations of the Early Modern Banquet Course', pp.110, 136
[669] Platt, *Delights for Ladies*, Epistle, np. This point has also been made by Kim Hall: Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces", p.168.
[670] Nicholas Breton, *The Workes of a Young Wyt* (1577), pp.30-39.

possessed and consumed by male banqueters, functioning as a metonym for the female body.[671] The idea that women who attended banquets were objects for male consumption is also reflected in the broader characterisation of the banquet as markedly erotic, noted above.[672]

Moreover, the language associated with banqueting foods serves to highlight their decorativeness and triviality. In literary sources, banqueting foods are described as 'superfluous', 'odd and needless trifles'. [673] In Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, first printed in 1597, Capulet offers his guests a 'trifling foolish banquet'.[674] Given that women produced and were likened to banqueting foods and the events themselves had markedly feminine associations, the repeated use of such language can be interpreted as undermining female cultural production by characterising it as insubstantial. There is also evidence that women themselves considered the practice of sugarwork as a trifling distraction from more intellectual pursuits, which was intended to keep women silent and obedient. Thus, Sarah Field writes:

> My Sexs forbids, I should my Silence break,
>
> I lose my jest, cause women must not speak.
>
> Mysteries must not be, with my search Prophan'd,
>
> My closet not with Books, but Sweat-meats cram'd,…
>
> My Pen if ever us'd imploy'd must be,

[671] A similar argument has been made regarding the use of textiles on stage. See Frye, "Staging Women's Relationships to Textiles in Shakespeare's Othello and Cymbeline", p.221.
[672] See pp.63-4. Banquets in plays were also presented as sexually charged. SeeThong, "Appropriations of the Early Modern Banquet Course and Informal Meals in the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries", pp.113-20.
[673] *The Bachelor's Banquet*, p.62.
[674] William Shakespeare, "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet" in *The Complete Oxford Shakespeare*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 2:1, 121.

In lofty Themes of useful Housewifery,

Transcribing old Receipts of Cookery[675]

However, it was not merely the superfluous nature of banqueting stuff that lent it to comparisons with women. Further investigation reveals a more complex rhetoric within which women's association with banqueting foods aligned them with the distant places from which the ingredients for sugarwork were procured, marking them out as culturally 'other'. A great deal of emphasis was placed upon the 'exotic' nature of banqueting foods. This is particularly notable in Plat's epistle to the Delights for Ladies, in which he refers to sugar as 'Barbarian canes'. Similarly, Thomas Ruthven's *Ladies Cabinet* includes a section on the various types of sugar and their uses, emphasising their origins in Brazil and the African coasts.[676] The 1607 account of banqueting foods bought for the visit of James I to Merchant Taylors Hall includes 'venis apricocks' 'plums of Arabia', 'apples of Damasco' and 'Plums Damesine'.[677] Many recipes for marchpanes, referred to by Harrison as 'outlandish confections', call for 'Jordan' almonds, whilst the rosewater used to bind and scent them was made from damask roses, originally brought back by crusaders from Syria and which through the process of distillation and association with travel, had become a symbol of English domination of the orient.[678]

The visual culture associated with the banquet was also intended to refer to distant places. As we have seen, banqueting houses were decorated to resemble maps.[679] Thomas Ruthven's *Ladies Cabinet* of 1655 also demonstrates that banqueting foods

[675] Sarah Field (née Fyge, later Egerton) "The Liberty" (c.1687) printed in Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson, eds., *Early Modern Women Poets (1520-1700): An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.498-9.
[676] Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, p.27.
[677] Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors,* p.174.
[678] Harrison, *The Description of England*, p.129; Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p.53.
[679] See pp.44-6

were intended to look exotic, with its recipe for 'quidony [jelly] of raspices' which, he promises his reader, 'will be a very orient colour'.[680] Similarly, oriental substances featured in the material culture associated with the banquet. Crushed pearls appear in many marchpane recipes, and exotic materials including mother of pearl were used for the vessels designed to serve banqueting foods at table (Figure 68). A late sixteenth century Venetian knife and fork set, (Figure 99) of the sort that were imported to Britain and used for the consumption of sweetmeats, has handles made of coral, which was associated with Africa. The association of coral and pearl with the banquet is significant. As Kim Hall has noted, both materials were linked in contemporary literature with female beauty; coral lips and pearl-like teeth were common tropes.[681] Again, the female body and the sugarwork presented on the table are conceptually linked, and both are conceived of as available for male consumption.

The threads of exoticism and eroticism came together in a masque which preceded a costly banquet on the 3rd of March 1522. Here, a 'castle' inhabited by female virtues was defended by ladies 'tired like to women of Inde' from a group of knights, including the king. Notably, the castle was defended using comfits and rosewater as missiles. Eventually, English masculinity triumphed over what Dugan terms as feminine, 'erotic Indian-ness', qualities neatly encapsulated in the banqueting food props.[682] All of this suggests that the banquet should be considered as an expression of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England's 'fascination with distant

[680] Ruthven, *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, p.25.
[681] Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.251.
[682] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p.631. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p.44. This was not the first occasion in which women were 'exoticized' at entertainments accompanying banquets. At a dance following a banquet at court in 1509, two women, including the king's sister Mary, appeared wearing headdresses 'like the Egypcians… Their faces, neckes, armes & handes, covered with fyne pleasaunce blacke… so that the same ladies seemed to be nygrot or blacke mores.' Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p.514.

lands and foreign cultures.'[683] In this regard, the banqueting house as a small, ornamental space in which maps, exotic commodities and wonders of art and nature were displayed is revealed as analogous to the cabinet of curiosities. Indeed, the countess of Arundel's 'pranketing room' fulfilled both these functions.[684] Like the maps which decorated banqueting house interiors, the process of surmounting spatial barriers in order to reach them may also be interpreted as a metaphor for the process of exploration and the discovery and domination of distant geographical spaces. These aspects of the banquet are suggestive of a form of proto-orientalism, prefiguring the feminisation of the East in the service of later colonialism, and marking it as territory ripe for mastery by the English.

Based on the foregoing discussion, is clear that sugarwork afforded women economic and moral authority within the early modern household. It functioned as a vehicle for female creativity, was utilised by women to express their status and virtue, and had an important role in the maintenance of social networks. The study of the architectural spaces related to the production and consumption of confectionery undermines the concept of clear divisions between public and private and indicates that there were 'feminine' spaces in the early modern house, which facilitated the exercise of female agency. However, as tempting as it may be to see women in early modern England as empowered, engaging in political discourse and busily asserting their status through their accomplishments, it is necessary to consider the possibility that such female agency was limited. Indeed it should be seen as just as ephemeral as sugarwork itself, and as capable of reinforcing patriarchal gender stereotypes. Sugarwork had connotations of frivolity and

[683] Walter S. H. Lim, "The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia: Framing the Issues," in *The English Renaissance, Orientalism and the Idea of Asia*, ed. Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.15.
[684] See p.234

superfluity and the banqueting house and the sweetmeat closet, whilst providing spaces for women, could simultaneously put them in their place.

Conclusion

All of this emphasises the value of studying the seemingly ephemeral, marginal and decorative practices of early modern culture. What may at first appear a mere pleasant diversion; a curious quirk of an earlier society is revealed as central to the functioning of that society, and expressive of its most fundamental ideas and world-view. This is succinctly expressed in a letter from Thomas Wriothesley to Cromwell of the 19th of February 1539. In it, he describes a court entertainment, with a supper, a tilt, masques, and finally a banquet, at which, he writes, 'there are trifles mingled with things of weight'[685].

The ubiquity of the separate sweet banquet in early modern England has not previously been recognised. Upon its emergence at the court of Henry VIII in the 1520s, it quickly became a standard feature of diplomatic entertainments and a key element of the king's strategy of government. Under Elizabeth I it was adapted to reflect her personal iconography. It became an important aspect of progress entertainments, functioning as a gift given to the queen by her wealthiest subjects and providing her with a means to signal her approval, or otherwise, of the entertainments they provided. The progresses were a key catalyst in the dissemination of the concept of the banquet, and banqueting houses on country estates quickly came to denote their owners' wealth and access to the queen.

From the 1540s, the banquet was adopted as an element of country house hospitality, and it quickly spread lower down the social scale. Indeed, as an elite person, or a member of the gentry, one would expect to partake of a banquet at every major social event. Banquets were an important part of the celebrations

[685] Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. 14 Part 1, p.127

surrounding marriages, childbirth and christenings and twelfth night. They were incorporated into funeral feasts and became the standard way to entertain high ranking visitors at country houses. Indeed, by the early seventeenth century, the proliferation of known banqueting houses was such that it must have been surprising to visit a country house and not find one somewhere on the estate. In this context, the banquet provided hosts and guests with opportunities to demonstrate group membership, cement relationships and to engender obligation within the context of patronage networks. As such, the banquet is revealed as having been central to elite sociability.

There is also evidence that the sweet banquet was appropriated lower down the social scale. They were used by the middle classes to entertain friends and neighbours and the food and drink associated with banqueting was provided even for the poor on celebratory occasions. References to banqueting saturate popular forms of literature, plays, recipe books and household manuals. There was a widespread awareness of the specific tablewares associated with the banquet and images of this dining practice became an element of the visual culture of the royal palace and the country house.

The pervasiveness of the sweet banquet can be explained, in part, because it expressed and affirmed some of the most important and closely held ideas about the nature of society in this period. Banqueting at court articulated the concept of the king's right to rule and demonstrated his practice of good government. It is no accident that Henry VIII chose the setting of the sweet banquet for his first meetings with Francis I and Anne of Cleves. More generally, the consumption of banqueting foods confirmed the inherent nobility of banquet participants, and their elevated place in the natural order of society, as ordained by God. For early modern people,

the banquet provided evoked an idealised chivalric past at a time when social change and class instability seemed to threaten this order.

This study has also revealed that the banquet had a range of tangible social functions which could be exploited by the host and their guests. Moving to the banqueting house implied a level of intimacy and informality which made it the ideal site for political negotiation and relationship building. Access to this structure, and the ability to surmount barriers, both social and physical, which this implied, provided a means by which royal favour as well as separation from the rest of society was articulated spatially and visually. Once inside, participants were provided with opportunities to demonstrate refined manners, their elite educational backgrounds and knowledge of a pan-European culture of revived antiquity. The banquet therefore implied high levels of social capital and became an important tool in the fashioning of elite identities. Banqueting and the practice of sugarwork as a feminine accomplishment were utilised by women to express their housewifely virtue, and provided a means by which they articulated their authority within the household. Whilst affording women creativity, agency and some economic control, the banquet was also a tool of a patriarchal society, its connotations of triviality, frivolity and exoticism marking them out as inferior and 'other'.

The study of the sweet banquet is indicative of the value of exploring dining practices in early modern England. Here, this meal-type becomes a prism through which many aspects of early modern society can be viewed. New light is shed on the spatial politics and ceremonial functions of the Tudor courts and early modern country houses, and the rituals associated with dining are revealed as an important element in the performance of authority. This study has contributed to current discussions surrounding the concepts of the public and the private in sixteenth and

seventeenth-century England, revealing that even seemingly intimate spaces had public significance and the events which took place within them had substantial political impact. The study of the banquet furthers our knowledge of early modern theories and practices of gender, providing insights as to the means by which women claimed authority and the ways in which a patriarchal society attempted to limit this. The exploration of the material, visual and literary cultures associated with banqueting provides a rare insight as to English attitudes to art in a period for which there are few written sources. In doing so, it contributes to a reassessment of Tudor visual culture, providing evidence of an early and learned reception of the classical past and an interest in the visual arts which was not diminished by the reformation. It is particularly significant that these interests are predominantly expressed in an ephemeral social practice, rather than in what are now termed the 'fine' arts of painting and sculpture. This suggests that in attempting to find evidence of a 'renaissance' in sixteenth-century art, scholars have been looking in the wrong place all along.

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Images



Figure 1: Tent design for the Field of the cloth of Gold, c.1520, British Library Cotton Ms. Augustus III. 18.



Figure 2: Unknown artist, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, c.1545, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace, Surrey.

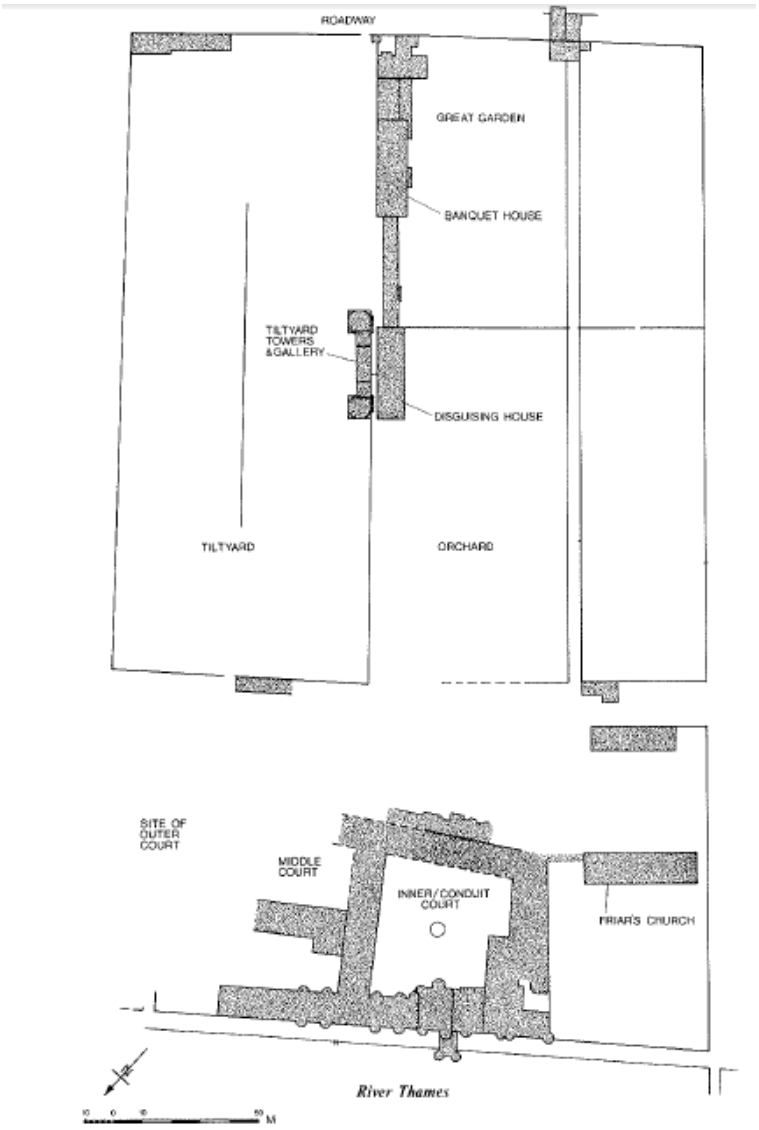


Figure 3: Plan showing layout of manor and gardens at Greenwich c.1547, from Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1993, plan 2.

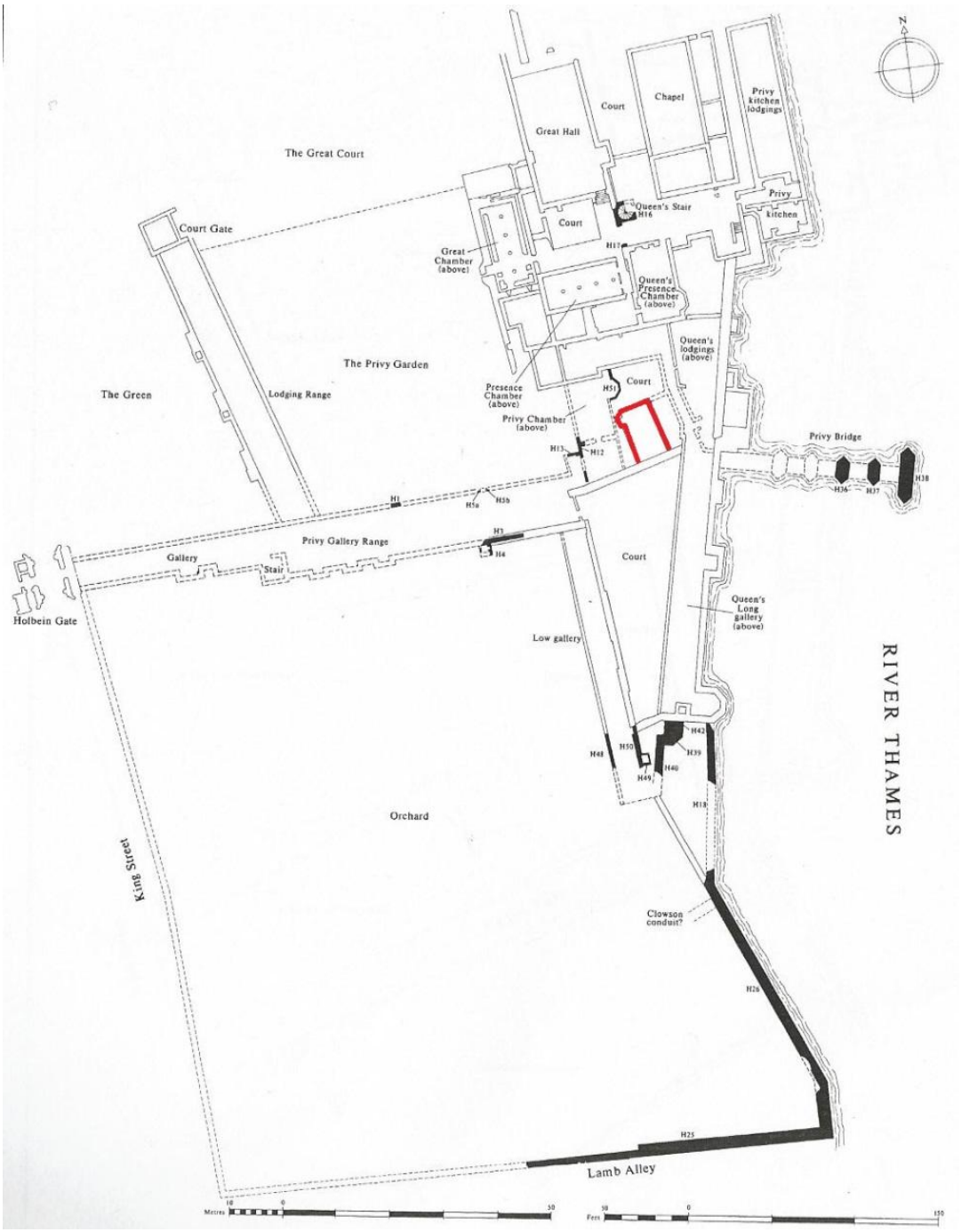


Figure 4: Plan of Whitehall Palace in 1530-2 with banqueting house highlighted in red, from Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240 – 1698,* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1999, p. 63.

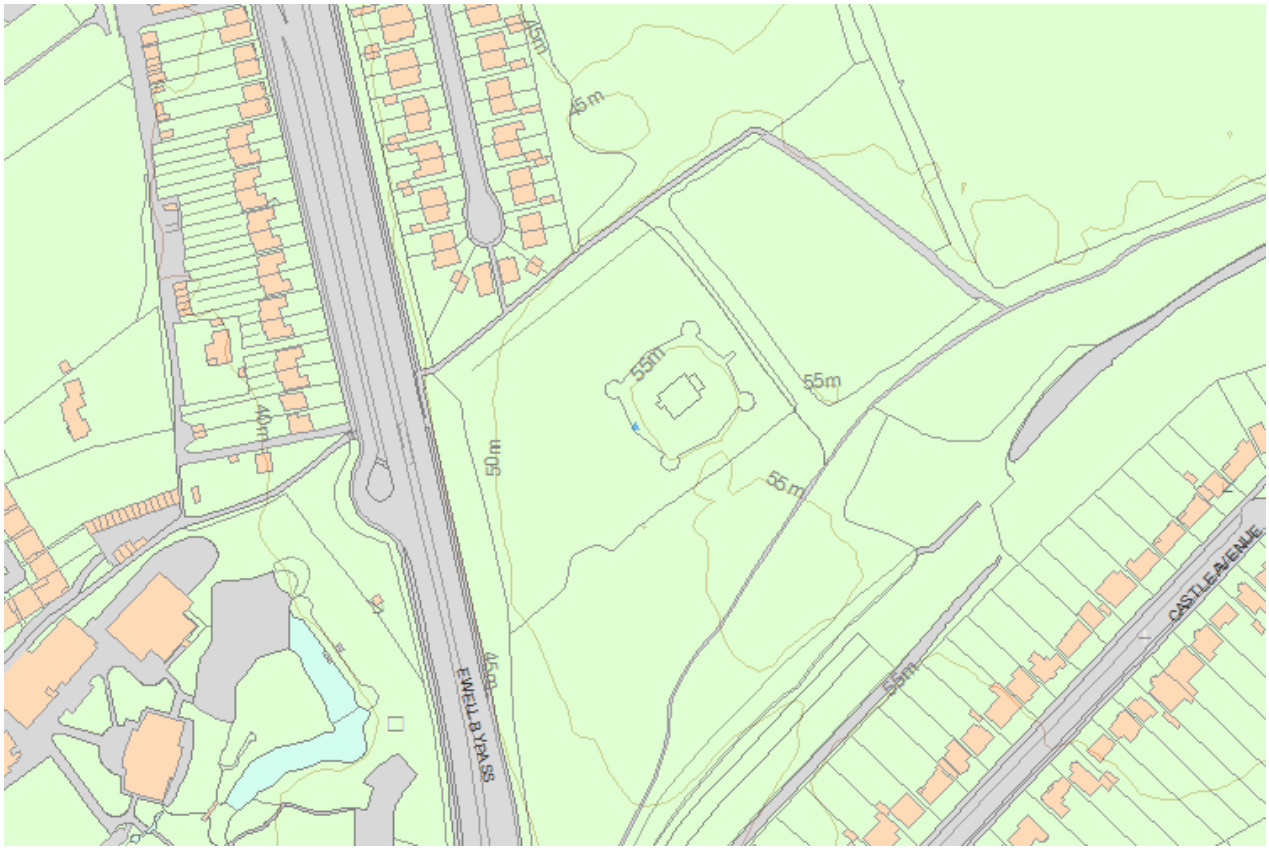


Figure 5: Detail of Ordinance Survey map Parish of Epsom and Ewell, showing location of remains of quatrefoil banqueting house in Nonsuch park, Historic England list entry no.1028608 available from historicengland.org.uk [accessed 28.03.15].

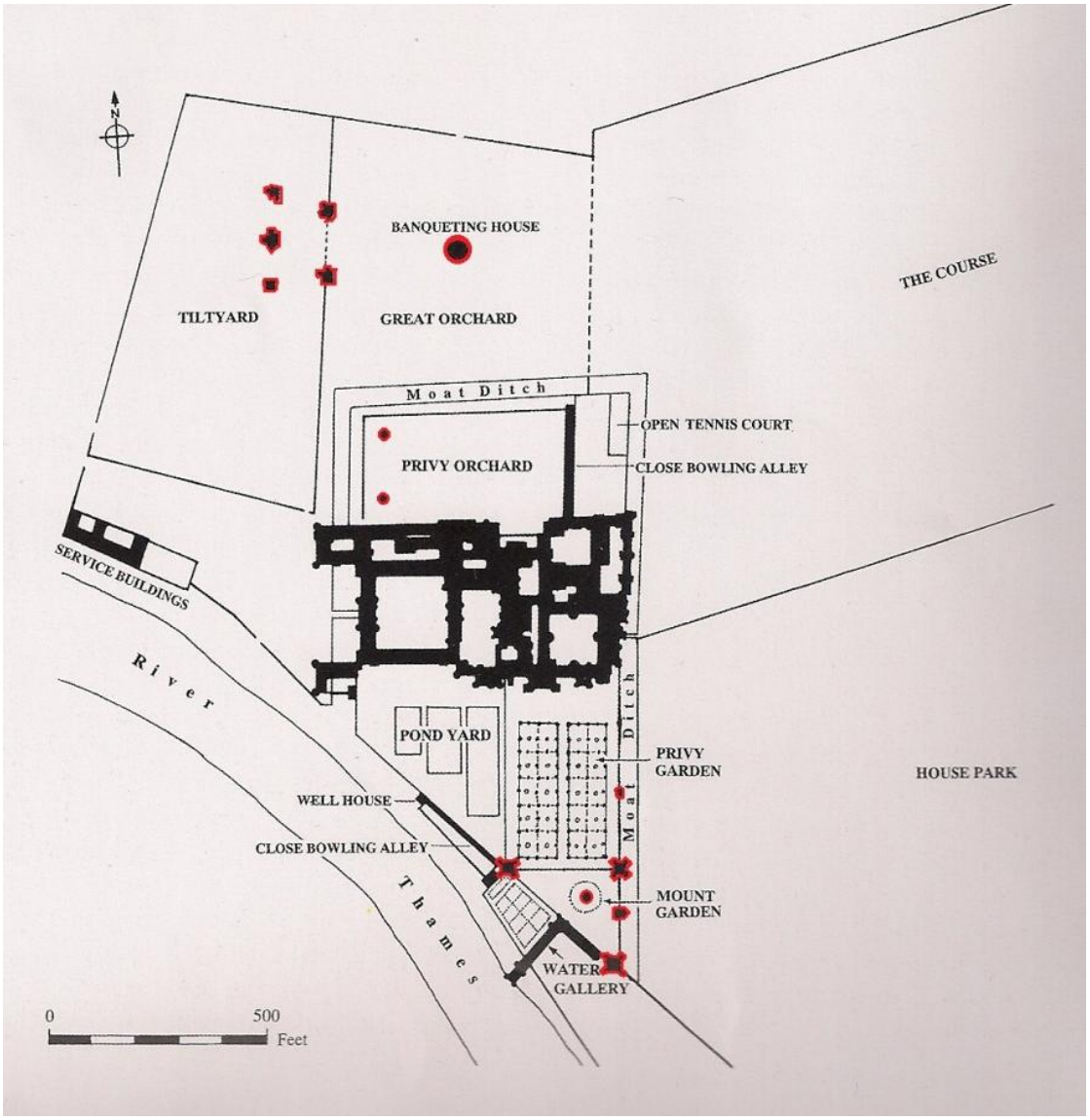


Figure 6: Hampton Court, Surrey, block plan showing the layout of the manor and gardens in 1547, banqueting houses highlighted in red, from Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1993, plan 6 (highlighting added).

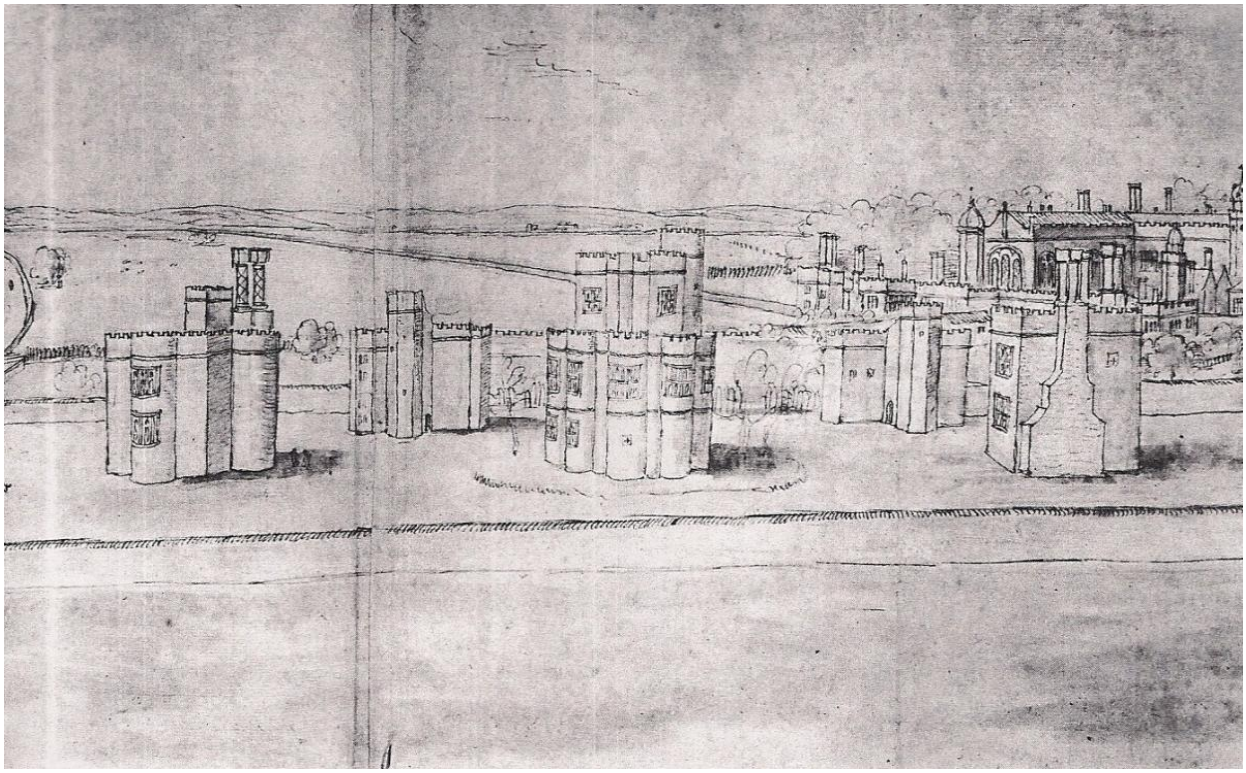


Figure 7 Detail, Antonis Van der Wyngaerde, *Hampton Court from the North*, 1558, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

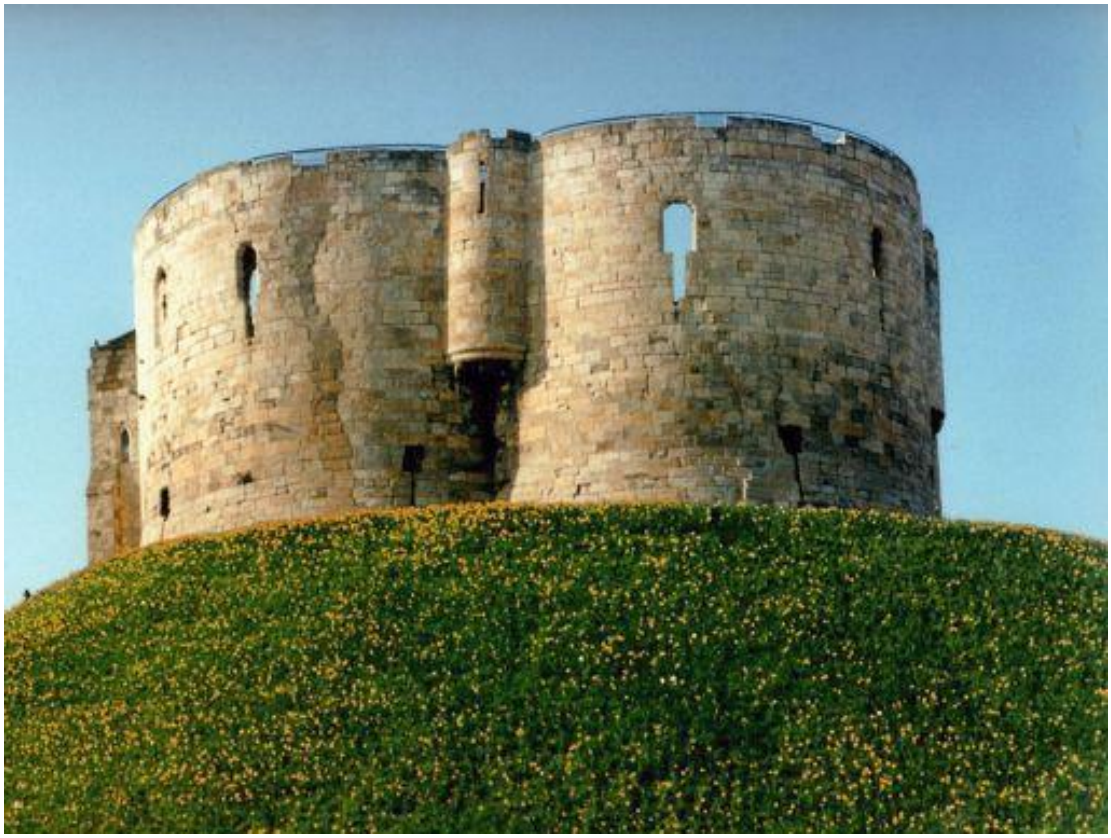


Figure 8: Clifford's Tower, York, 1244 – 1312, rebuilt 1642-3.

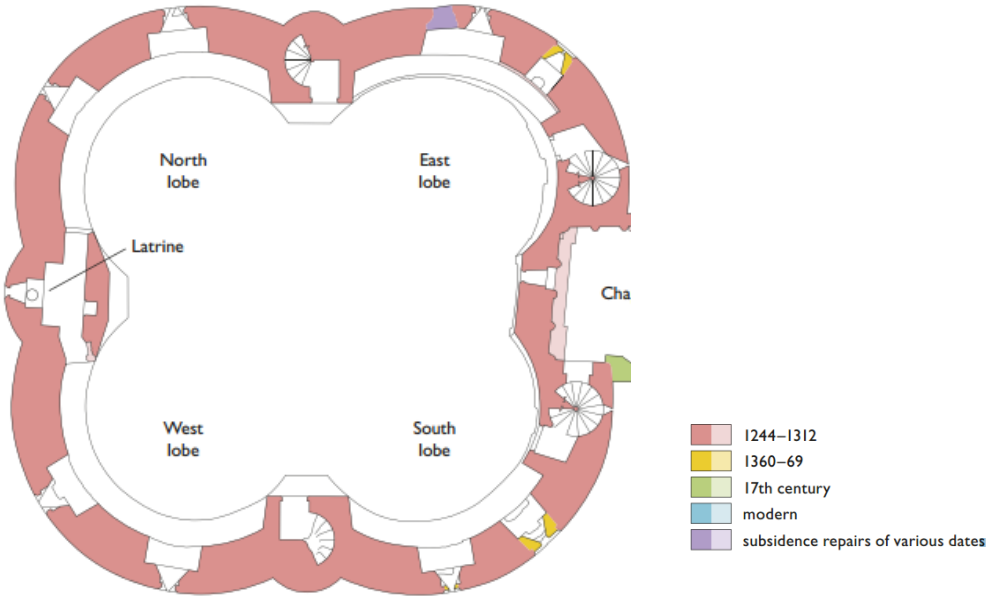


Figure 9: English Heritage, Plan of Clifford's Tower, available from english-heritage.org.uk [accessed 28.03.15].



Figure 10: Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, 1434-1447.



Figure 11: Deal Castle, Kent, 1539-40.



Figure 12: Camber Castle, Kent, 1539-40.



Figure 13: Unknown artist, *The Embarkation of Henry VIII at Dover,* c.1520-40, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace, Surrey.



Figure 14: Circle of Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII Dining in his Privy Chamber*, c.1548, British Museum, London.

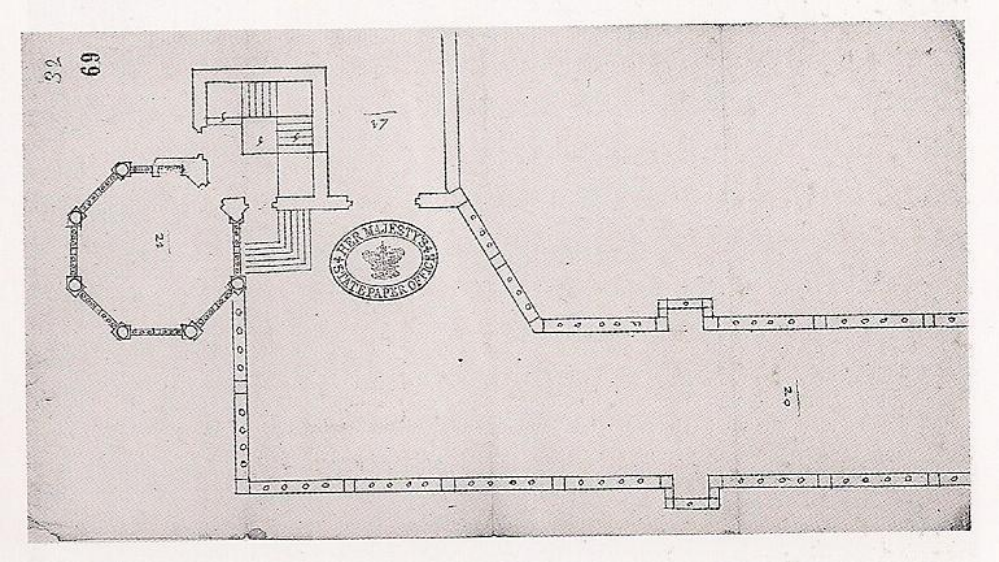


Figure 15: Henry Hawthore, *The platte of the gallerye at Winsor*, 1576, TNA, MPF 1/150, detail showing banqueting house.

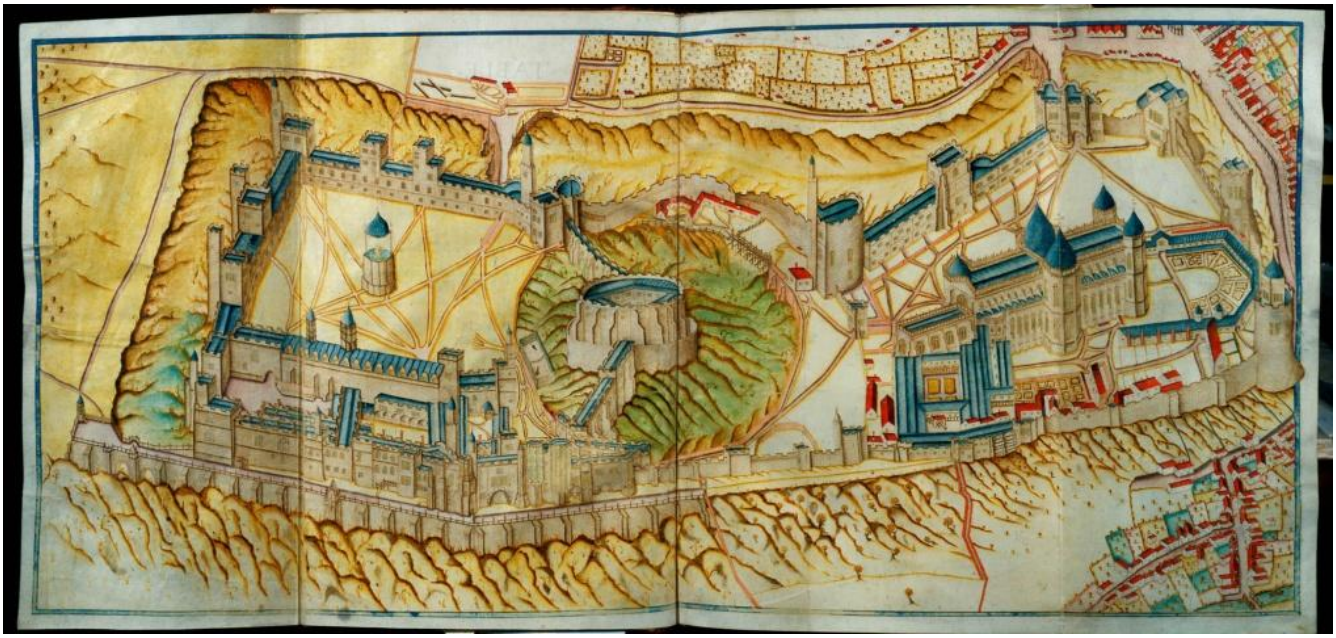


Figure 16: John Norden, View of Windsor from the North, in *A Description of the Honor of Windesor*, 1607, Royal Collection, London.



Figure 17: Figure 16, detail showing banqueting house.



Figure 18: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97. The south turret is to the left.



Figure 19: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, staircase leading to the leads.



Figure 20: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, walk leading to south turret.

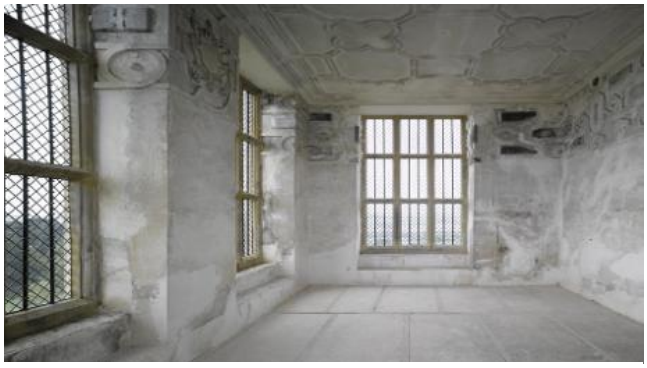


Figure 22: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, south turret interior.



Figure 21: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, south turret, interior, detail of plasterwork frieze.

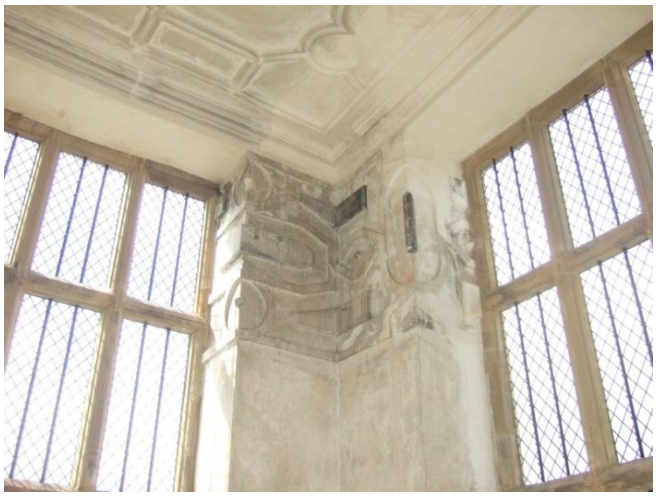


Figure 24: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, south turret, interior, detail of plasterwork frieze.



Figure 23: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590-97, south turret, interior, detail of plasterwork frieze.



Figure 25: Rooftop banqueting house at Longleat House, Wiltshire, c.1560s.

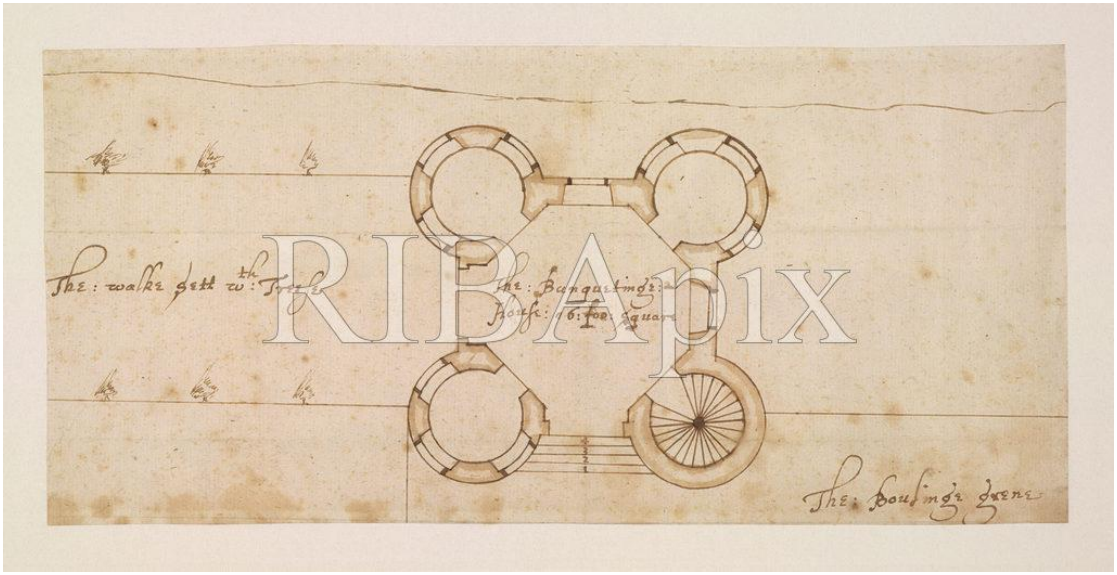


Figure 26: John Smythson, Plan for a banqueting house at Clifton Hall, Nottinghamshire, c.1632, Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection, London.

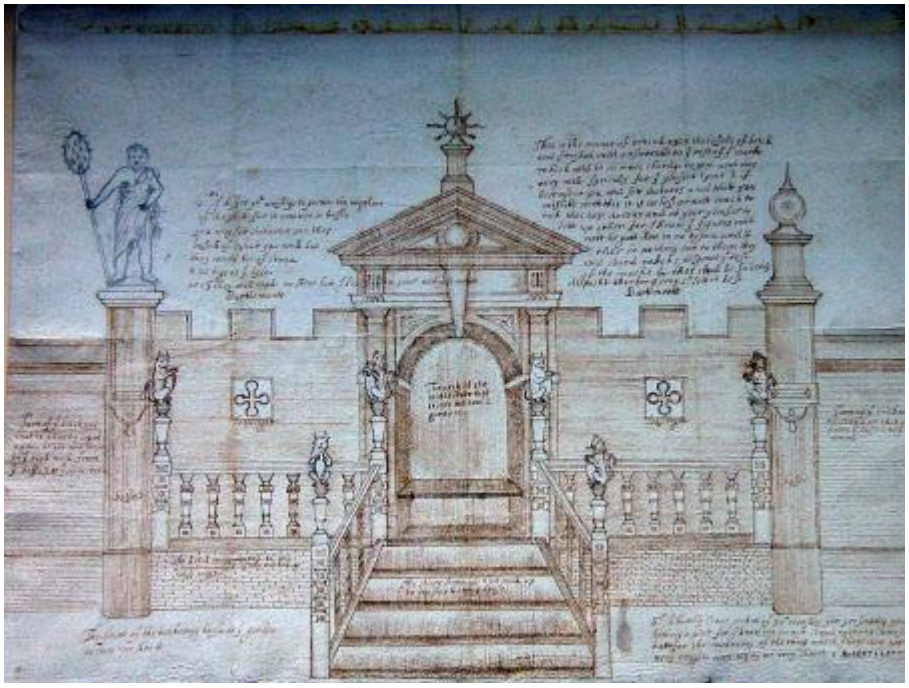


Figure 27: Robert Lyminge, design for a banqueting house at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, c.1620-29, National Trust.



Figure 28: Garden seat / banqueting house, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, c.1575.

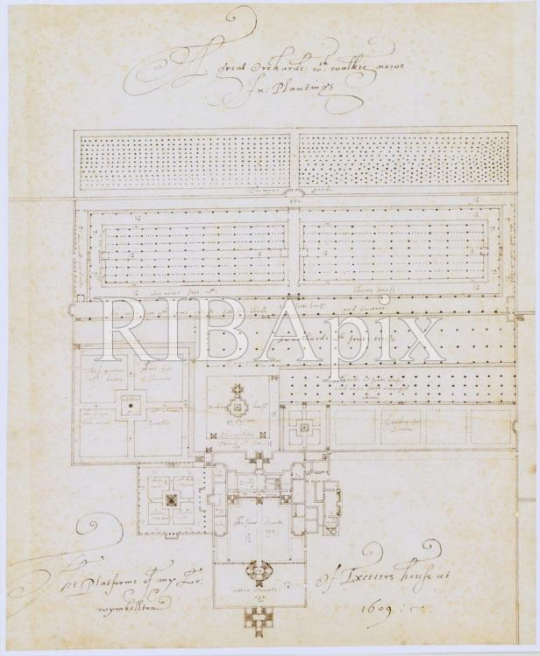


Figure 29: Robert Smythson, plan of Wimbledon house and grounds, 1609, Royal Institute of British Architects, Library Drawings Collection, London.

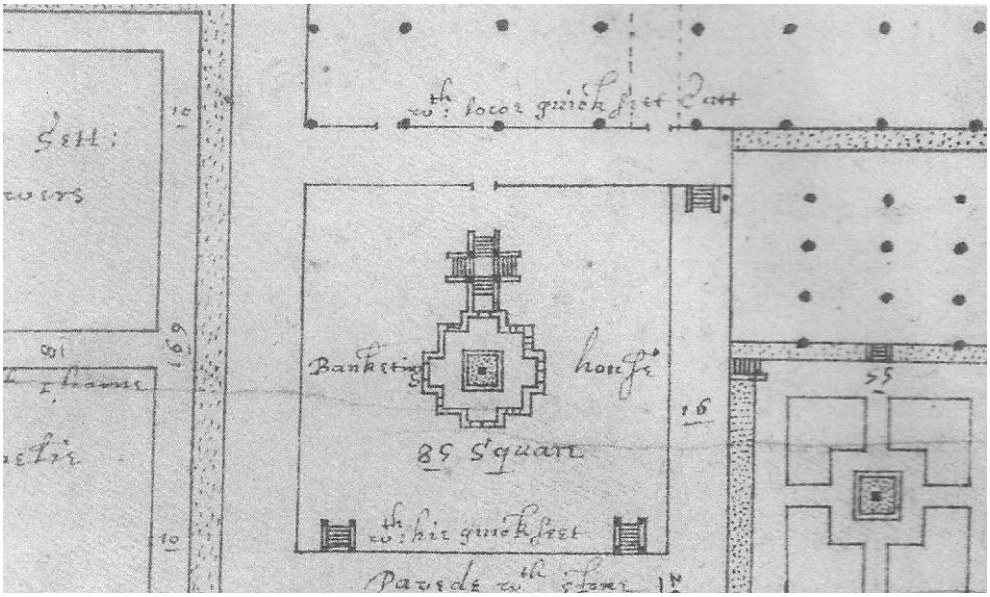


Figure 30: Figure 29, detail of banqueting house.



Figure 31: John Aubrey, Drawing of Sir John Danvers' garden at Chelsea, 1691, banqueting house visible at top. Bodleian MS Aubrey Z.

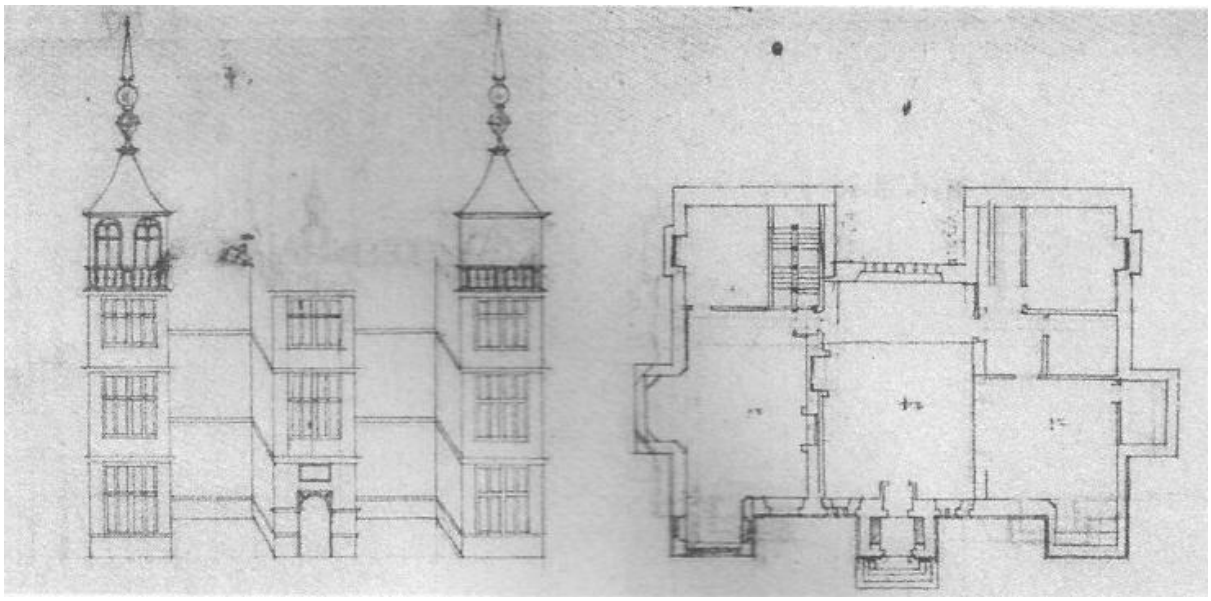


Figure 32: John Thorpe, Elevation and Plan of Banqueting House at Holdenby, 1580s, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

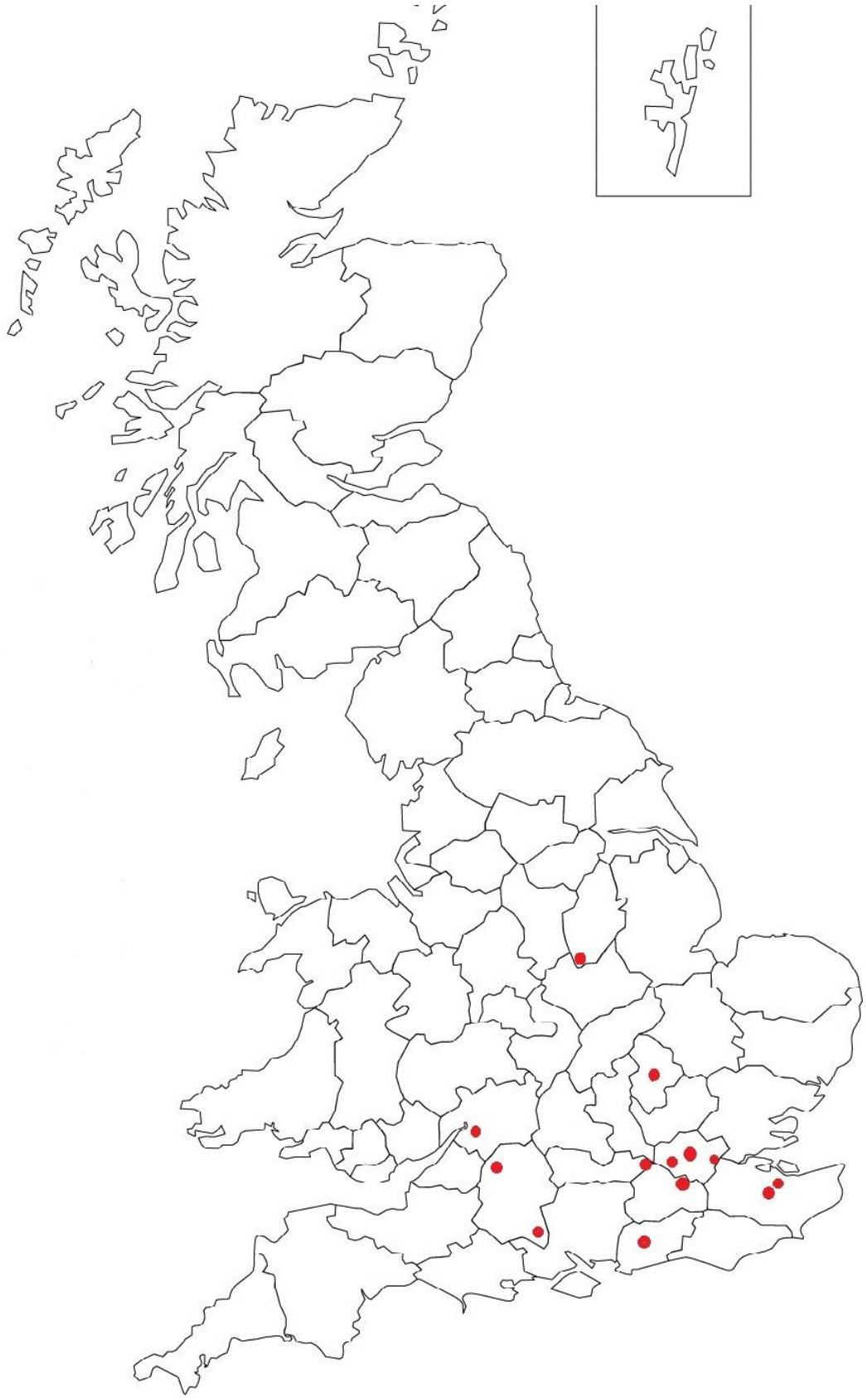


Figure 33: Banqueting houses build in England before 1550. See appendix one for a list of banqueting houses.

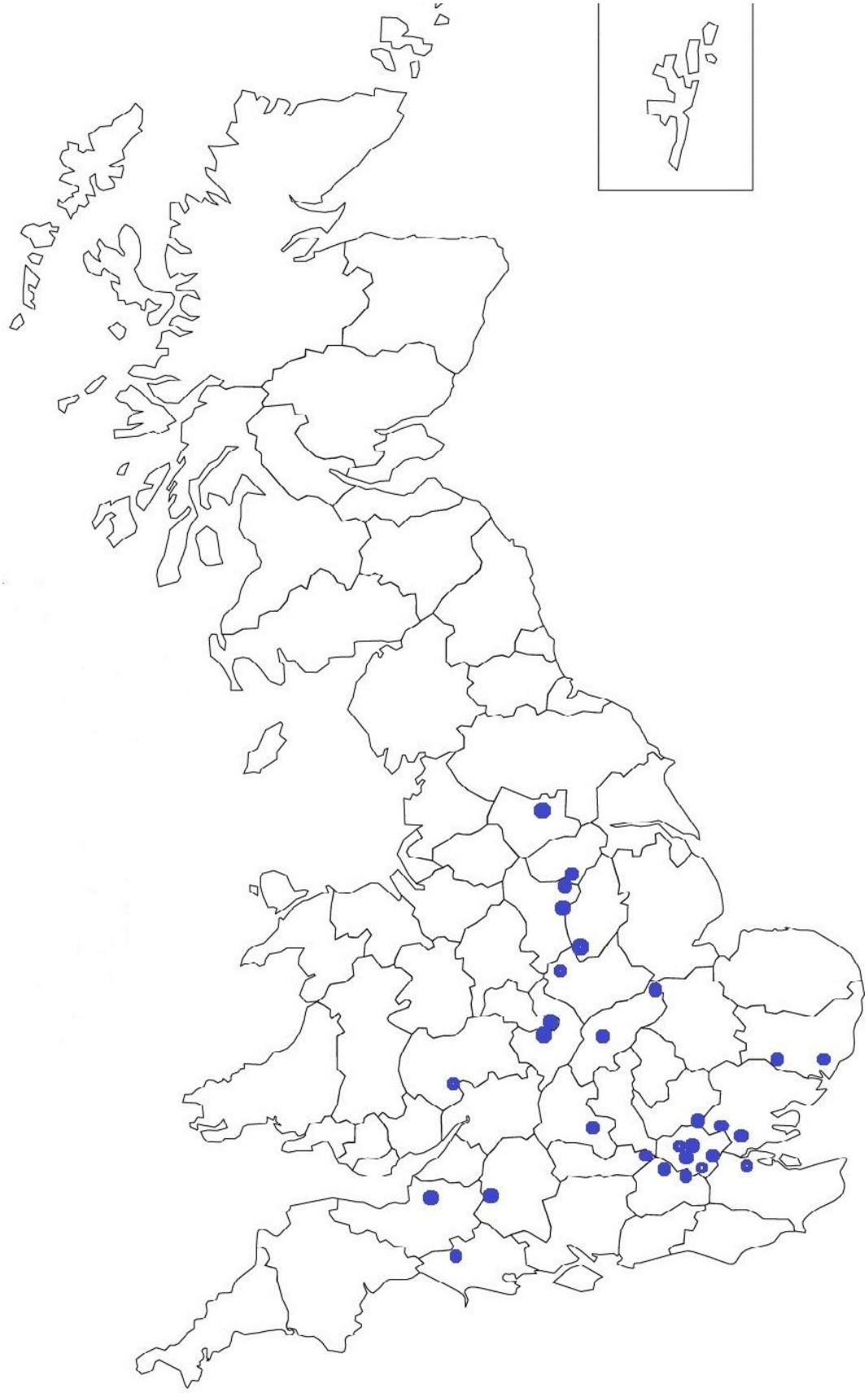


Figure 34: Banqueting houses build in England 1550-1600. See appendix one for a list of banqueting houses.

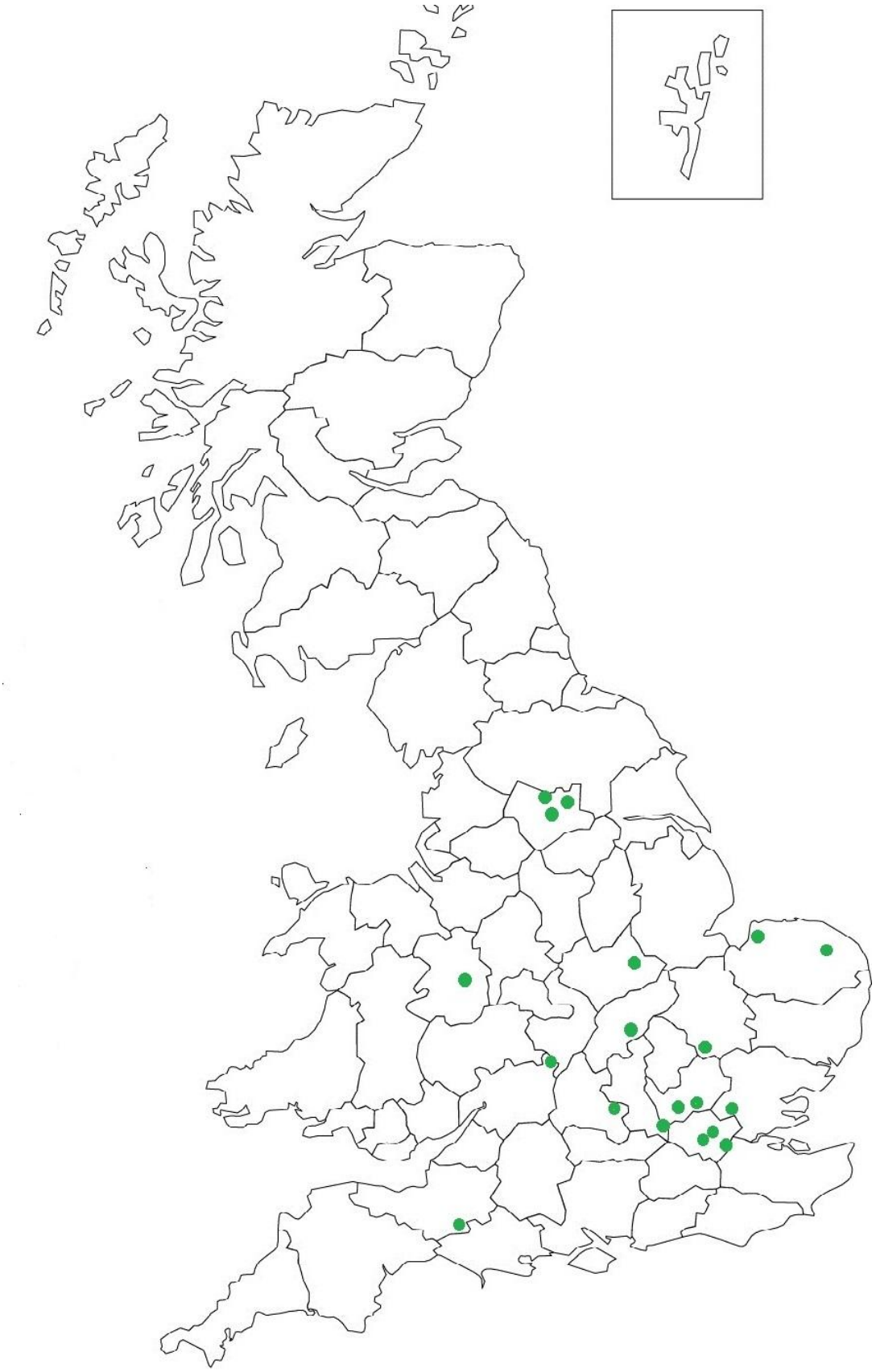


Figure 35: Banqueting houses build in England 1600-1650. See appendix one for a list of banqueting houses.

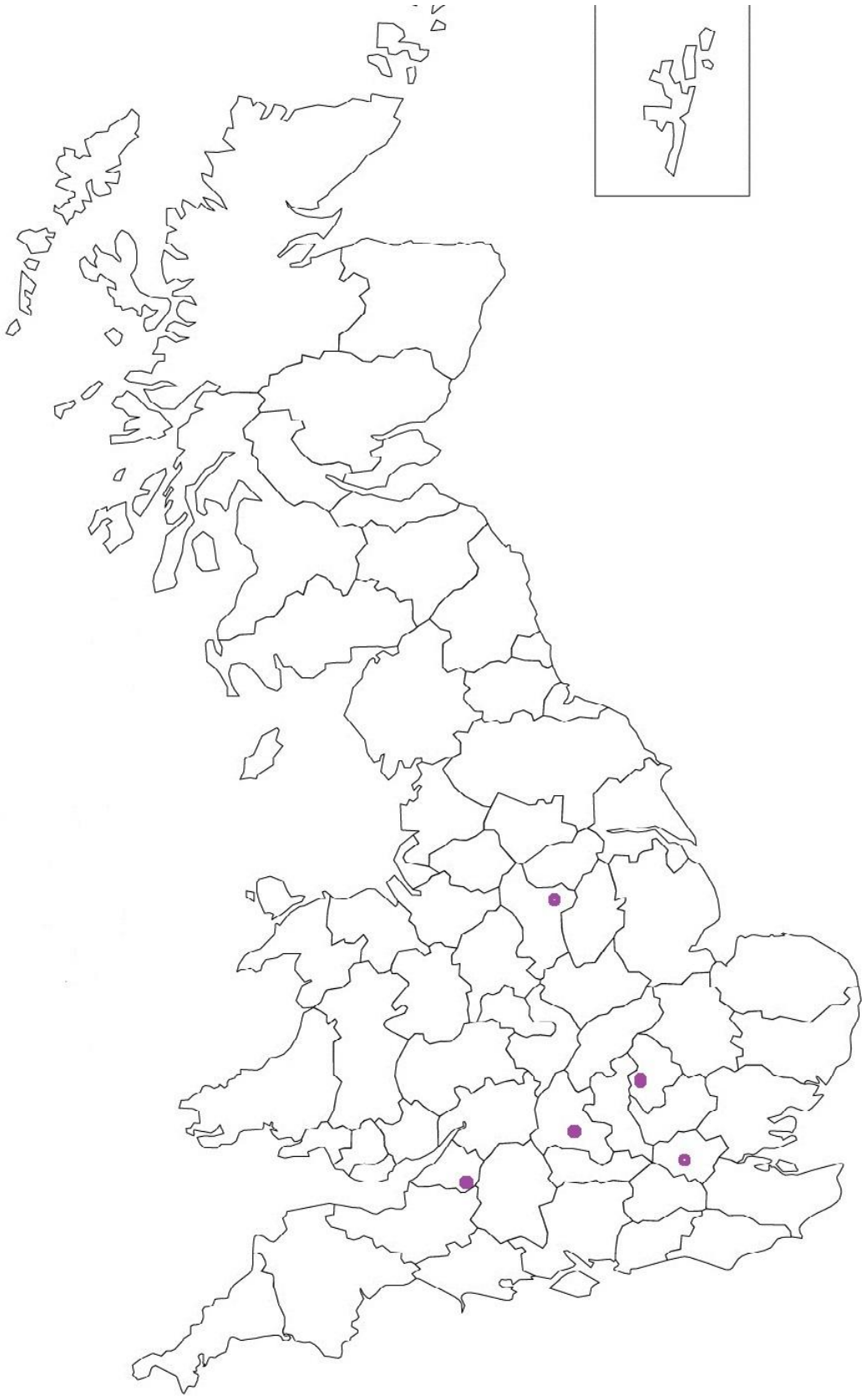


Figure 36: Banqueting houses build in England 1650-1700. See appendix one for a list of banqueting houses.

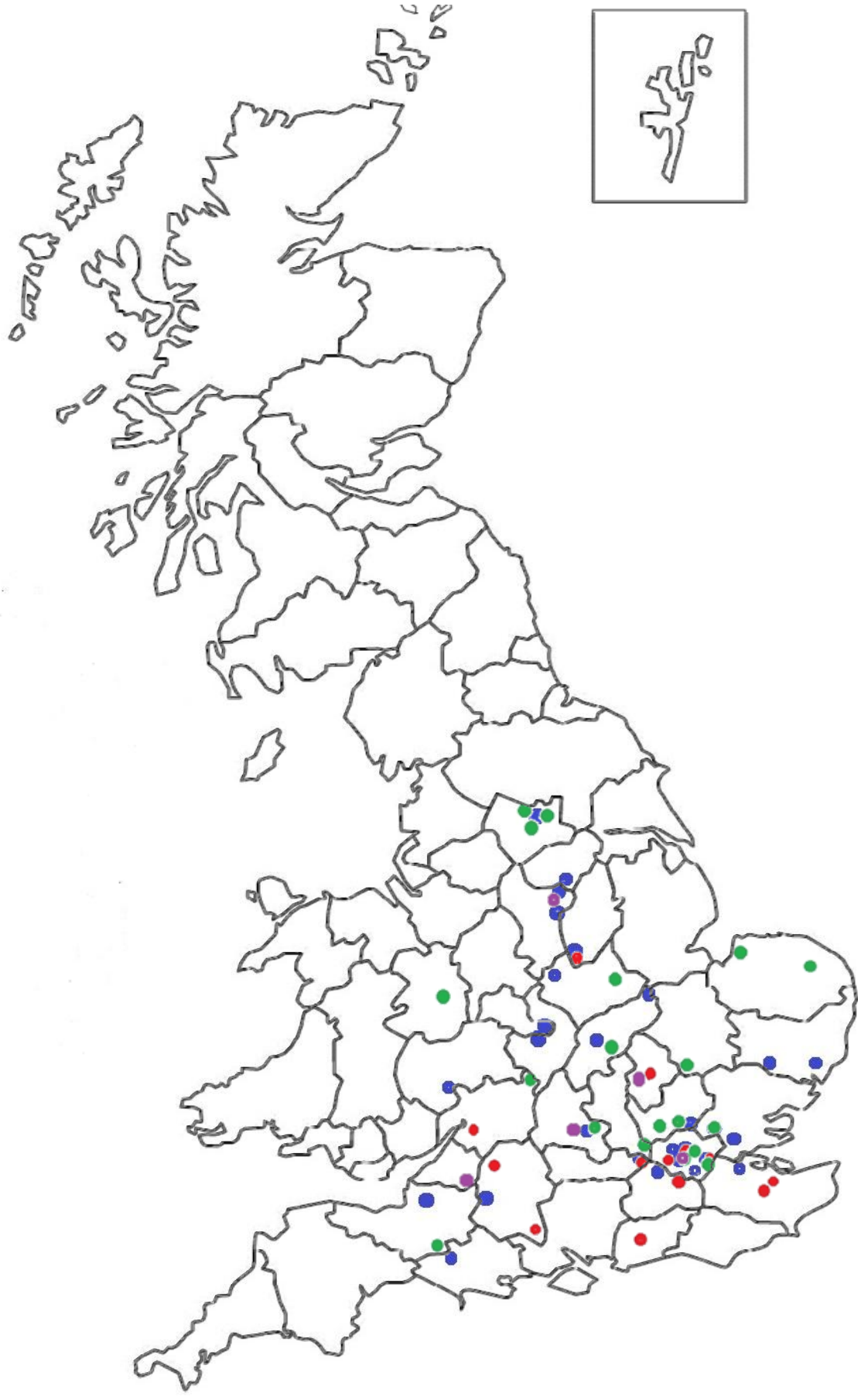


Figure 37: Banqueting houses built in England 1500-1700. See appendix one for a list of banqueting houses.



Figure 38: Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, remodelled 1540s.



Figure 39: rooftop walk to banqueting house, Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, remodelled 1540s.



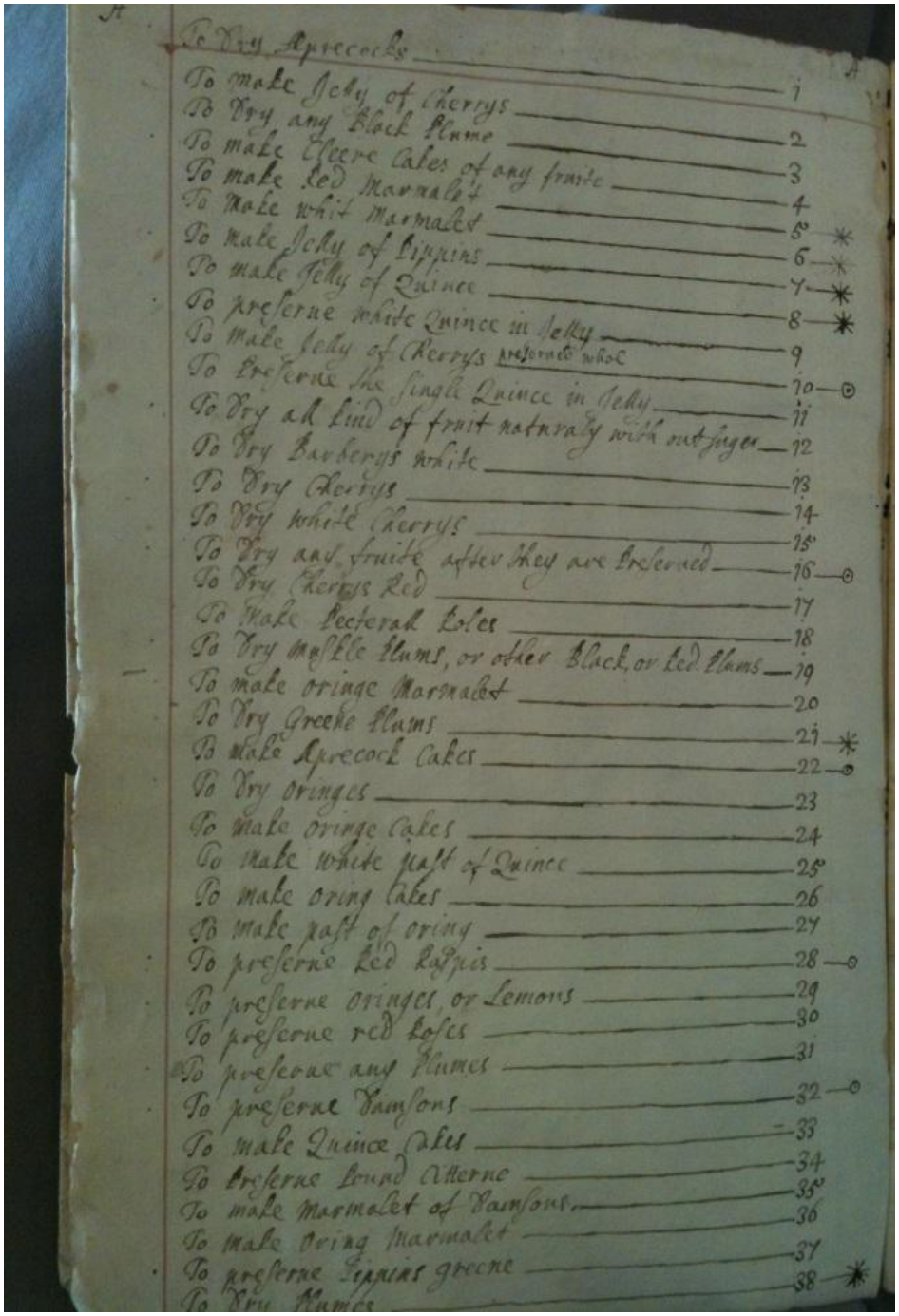
Figure 40; Marble table inside banqueting chamber at Lacock Abbey, c.1540s.



Figure 41: Carving on marble table inside banqueting chamber at Lacock Abbey, c.1540s.

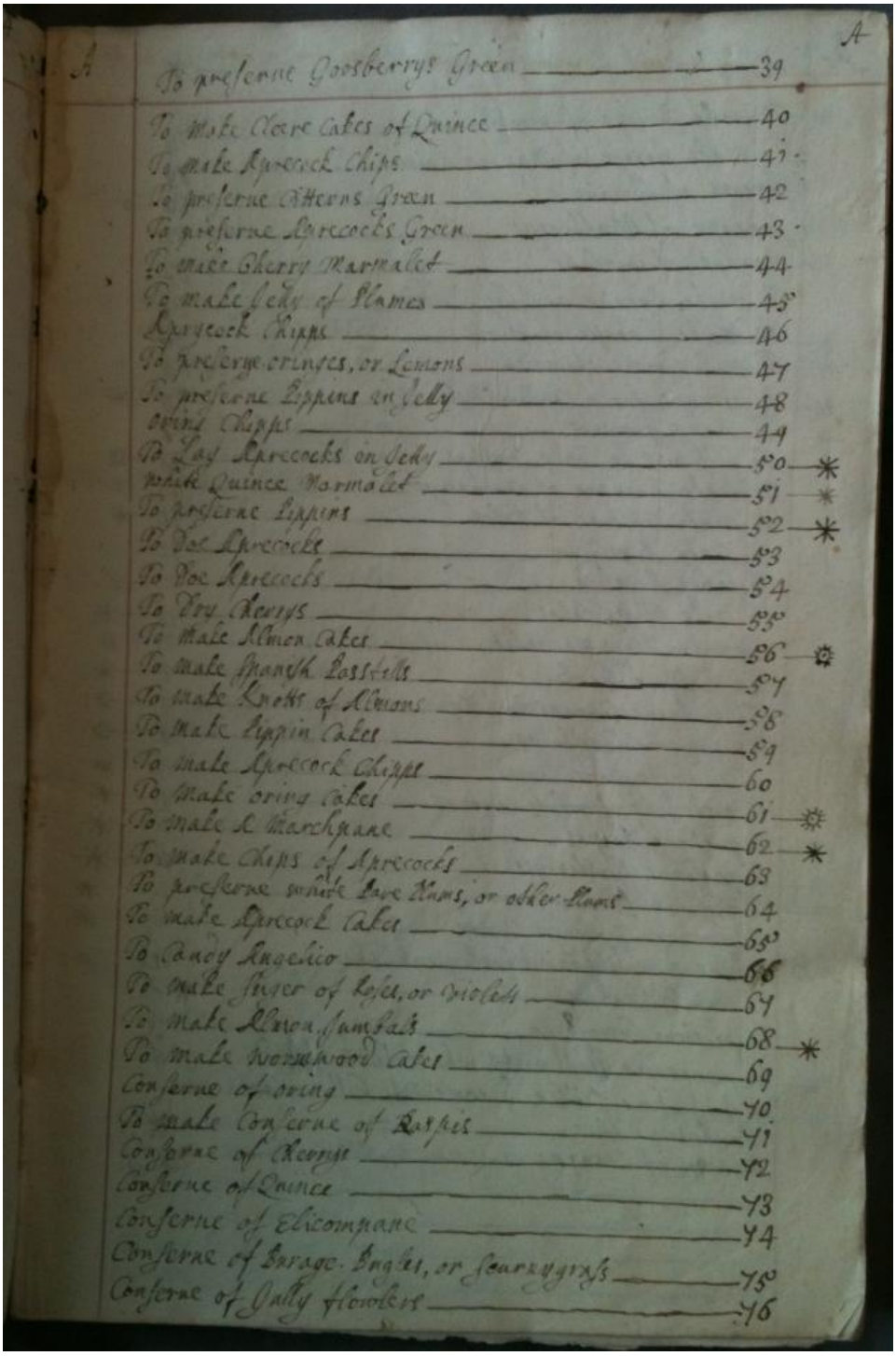


Figure 42: Door leading to route to the roof, Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, remodelled 1540s.



To Dry Aprecocks
To make Jelly of Cherrys 1
To Dry any Black Plume 2
To make Cleere Cakes of any fruite 3
To make Red Marmalet 4
To make whit Marmalet 5
To make Jelly of Pippins 6
To make Jelly of Quince 7
To preserue white Quince in Jelly 8
To make Jelly of Cherrys vnperfect white 9
To Preserue the Single Quince in Jelly 10
To Dry all kind of fruit naturaly with out Sugar 11
To Dry Barberys white 12
To Dry Cherrys 13
To Dry white Cherrys 14
To Dry any fruite after they are Preserued 15
To Dry Cherrys Red 16
To Make Pectoral Roles 17
To Dry Muscle Plums, or other Black, or Red Plums 18
To make oringe Marmalet 19
To Dry Greene Plums 20
To Make Aprecock Cakes 21
To Dry oringes 22
To make oringe Cakes 23
To make white past of Quince 24
To make oring Cakes 25
To make past of oring 26
To preserue Red Raspis 27
To preserue oringes, or Lemons 28
To preserue red Roses 29
To preserue any Plumes 30
To preserue Damsons 31
To make Quince Cakes 32
To Preserue Round Alberne 33
To make Marmalet of Damsons 34
To make oring Marmalet 35
To preserue Pippins greene 36
To Dry Plumes 37
38

Figure 43: Contents page, Anne Talbot's book of sugar-work, seventeenth century, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 2664/8.



A

To preserve Goosberrys Green ——— 39

To make Cleare Cakes of Quince ——— 40
To make Apricock Chips ——— 41
To preserve Cittrons Green ——— 42
To preserve Apricocks Green ——— 43
To make Cherry Marmalet ——— 44
To make Jelly of Plumes ——— 45
Apricock Chipps ——— 46
To preserve orinjes, or Lemons ——— 47
To preserve Pippins in Jelly ——— 48
orinj Chipps ——— 49
To Lay Apricocks in Jelly ——— 50 *
white Quince Marmalet ——— 51 *
To preserve Pippins ——— 52 *
To Doe Apricocks ——— 53
To Doe Apricocks ——— 54
To Dry Cherrys ——— 55
To make Almon Cakes ——— 56 ✡
To make Spanish Bisketts ——— 57
To make Knotts of Almons ——— 58
To make Pippin Cakes ——— 59
To make Apricock Chipps ——— 60
To make orinj Cakes ——— 61 ✡
To make a Marchpane ——— 62 *
To make Chips of Apricocks ——— 63
To preserve white Damsons, or other Plums ——— 64
To make Apricock Cakes ——— 65
To Candy Angelico ——— 66
To make Sirrop of Roses, or Violets ——— 67
To make Almon Jambals ——— 68 *
To make Wormwood Cakes ——— 69
Conserve of orinj ——— 70
To make Conserve of Barbies ——— 71
Conserve of Cherrys ——— 72
Conserve of Quince ——— 73
Conserve of Elicompane ——— 74
Conserve of Borage, Bugles, or Scurvygrass ——— 75
Conserve of Jully flowers ——— 76

Figure 44: Contents page, Anne Talbot's book of sugar-work, seventeenth century, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 2664/8.

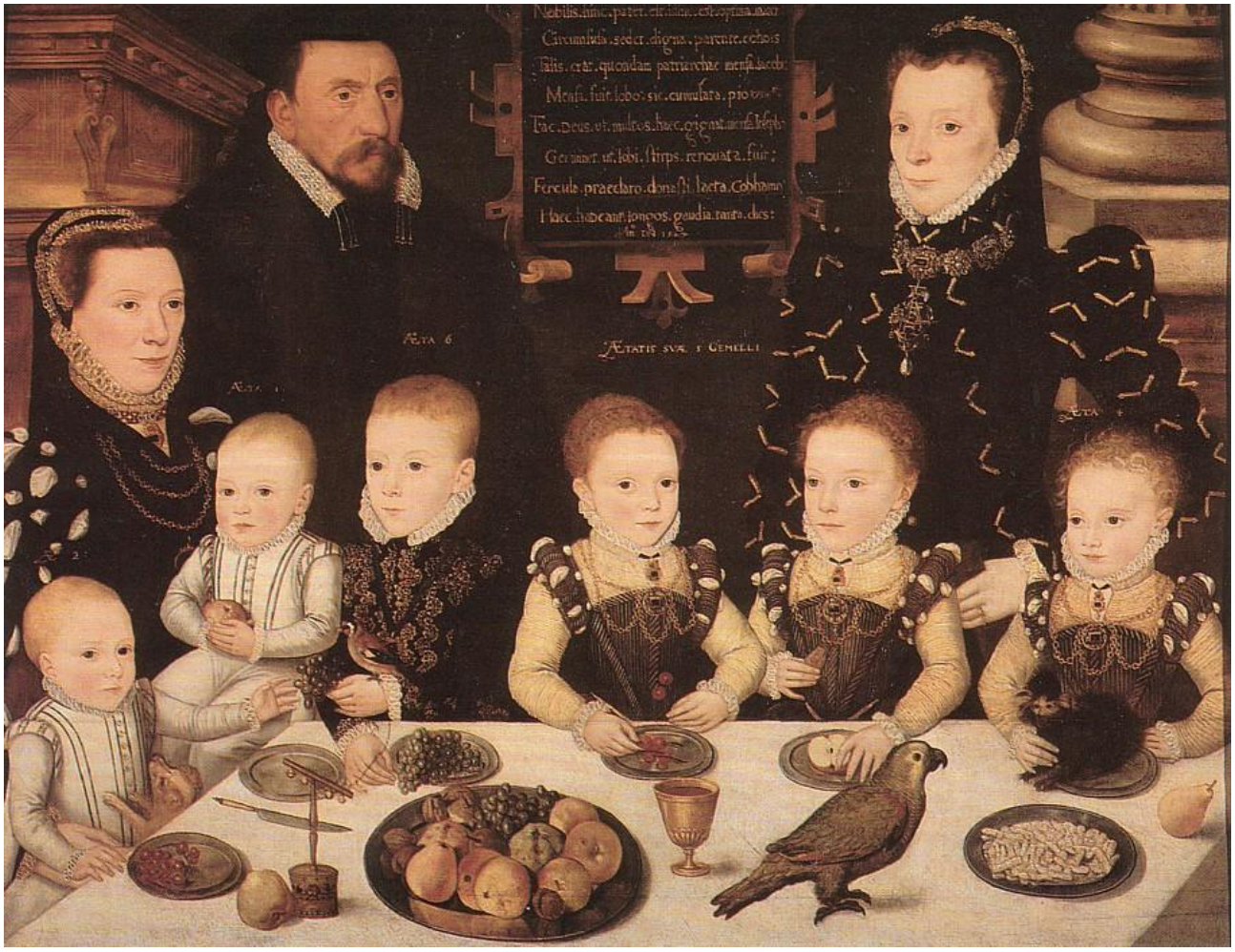


Figure 45: Unknown artist, William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham and his family, 1567, Longleat House, Wiltshire.



Figure 46: Twelve trenchers in a box bearing the ‘ER’ cipher for Elizabeth I, English, 1599, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

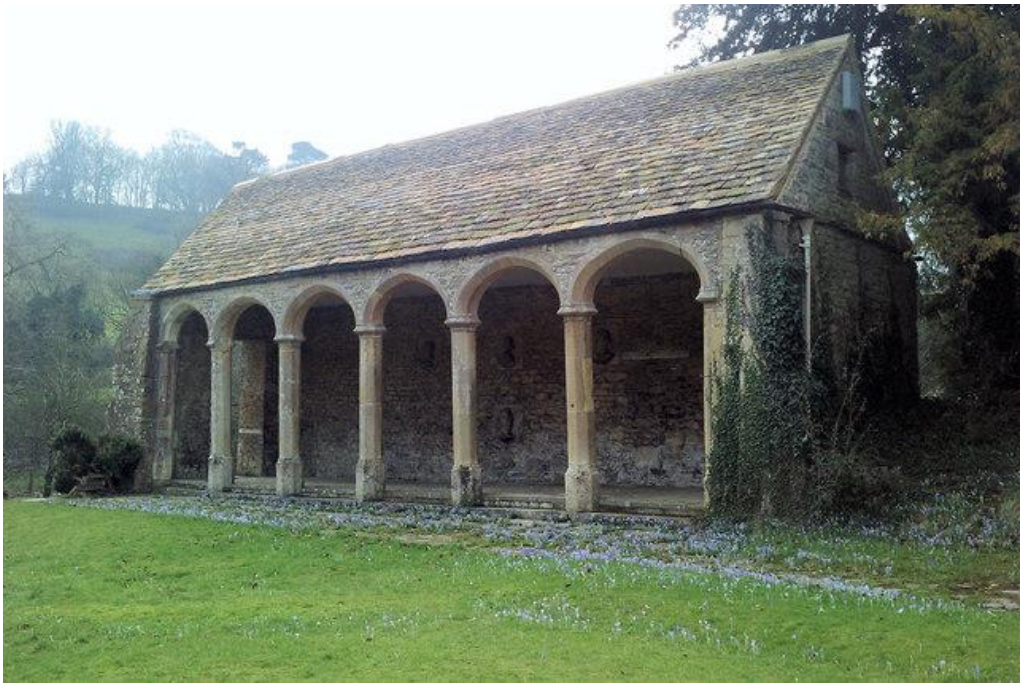


Figure 47: Ambulatory, Horton Court, Gloucestershire, c.1517-21.

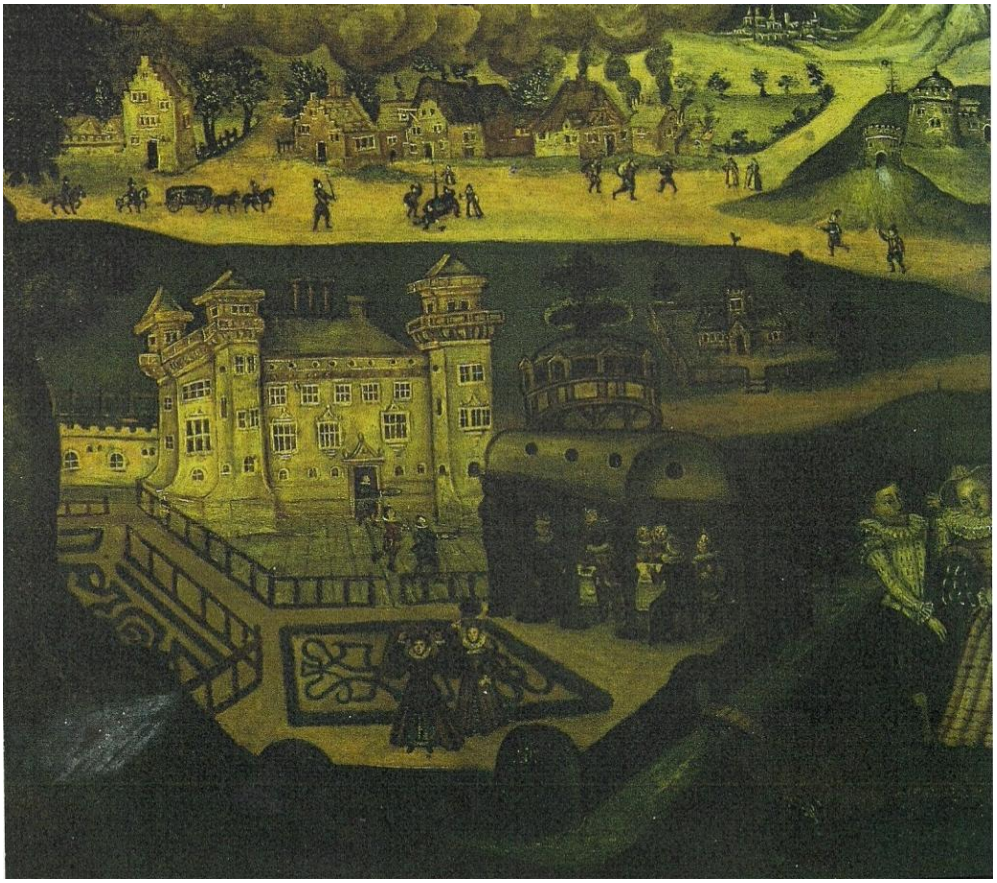


Figure 48: Unknown artist, *Allegory with the story of Phaeton*, c. 1609, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Loverpool, detail showing figures dining in loggia.



Figure 49: vaulting of the ‘Roman’ staircase at Burghley house, Lincolnshire, c.1570-80.



Figure 50: Entrance to the banqueting house at Melford Hall, Suffolk, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.



Figure 51: Stucco roundels in ambulatory at Horton Court, Gloucestershire, c.1517-152.



Figure 52: Stucco roundels depicting Hannibal of Carthage (top) and Julius Caesar in ambulatory at Horton Court, Gloucestershire, c.1517-152.



Figure 53: Silver-gilt standing bowl, London, 1583-4, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 54: Figure 53, interior view.



Figure 55: English beechwood trencher, sixteenth century, British Museum, London.
Inscription: By truth pure naked: w honour hond fasted:
chast love w them copled Holdeth faith wel figured:
By truth in faith harched by honour upvested.
And love is sore busted to have her prefare
Above the figures' heads: Triod Symbolum. Veritas Castus Amor: Honor.



Figure 56: After Marcus Gheerearts the Elder, Scenes from Aesop's Fables, engravings for trenchers, 1630-36 British Museum, London.



Figure 57: A rooftop structure at Burghley House, Lincolnshire, 1580s.



Figure 58: Rooftop ornament at Burghley House, Lincolnshire, 1580s.



Figure 59: Rooftop ornament at Burghley House, Lincolnshire, 1580s.

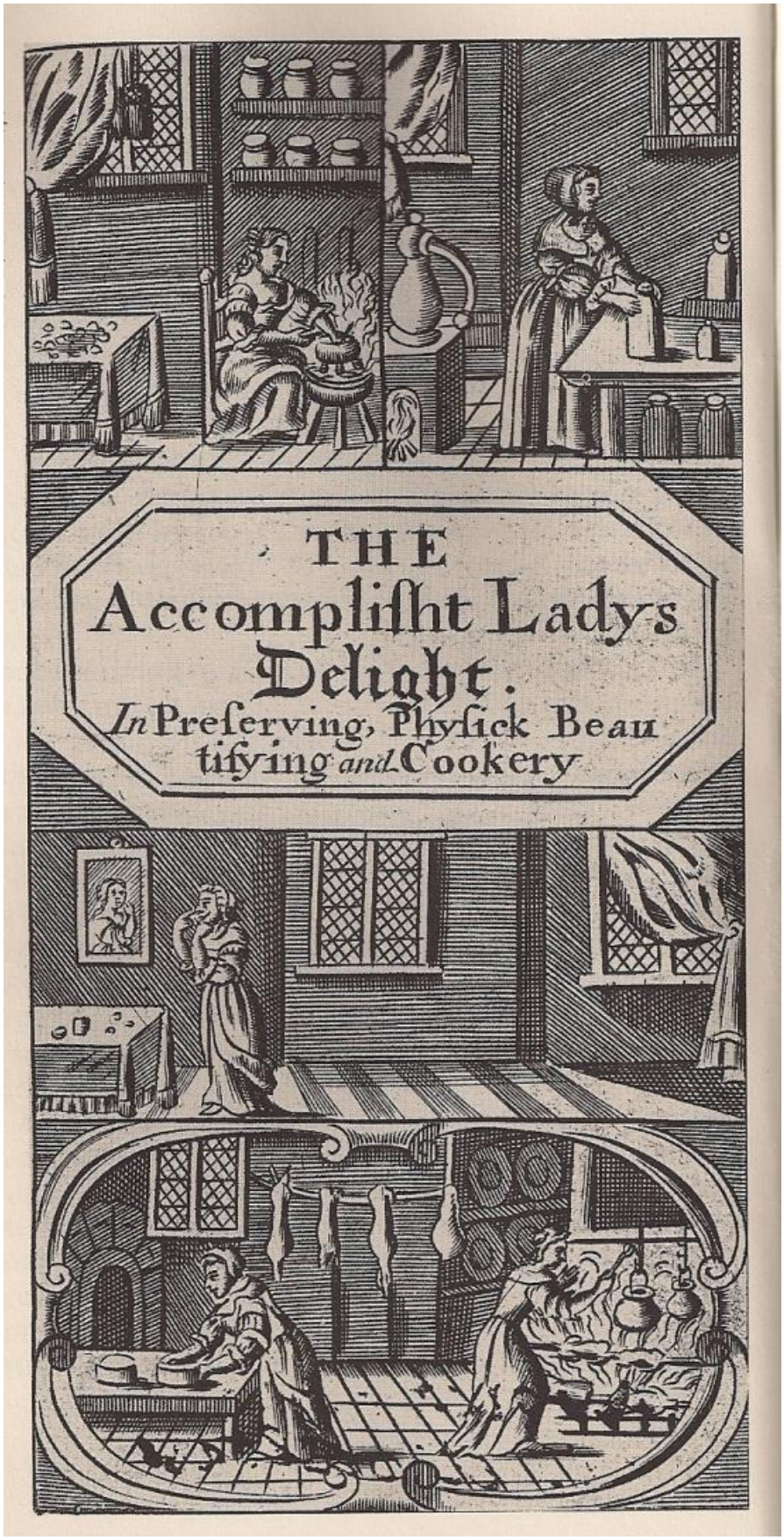


Figure 60: Frontispiece, Hanah Woolley, *The Accomlisht Ladys Delight*, London: Benjamin Harris, 1685.



Figure 61: Steel fork with agate handle and engraved silver mounts, inscribed ‘DEMOREES 1599’, English, 1599, Asmolean Museum, Oxford.



Figure 62: Sucket fork, English, c.1587-92, recovered during excavations of the site of the Rose Theatre, Museum of London.



Figure 63: Figure 62, detail of finial.



Figure 64: Richard Crosse, silver fork engraved with the crests of John Manners, Earl of Rutland, and Frances Montagu, London, 1632-33, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 65: Sweetmeat glass, English, 1680-85, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

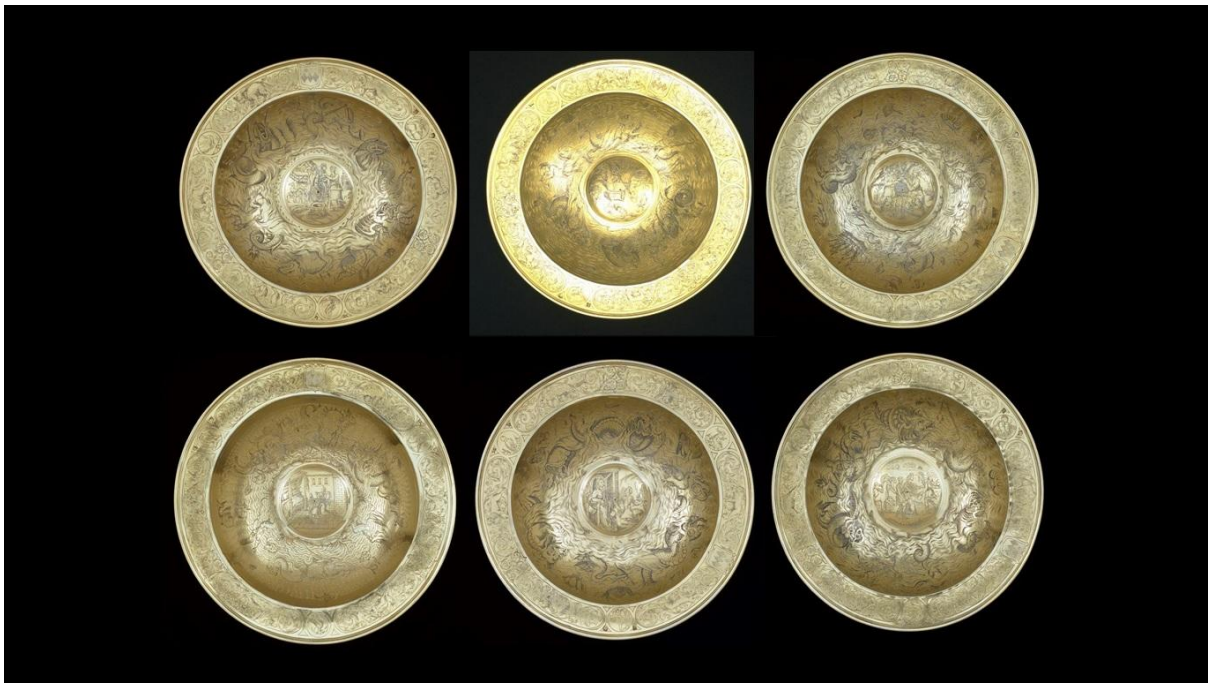


Figure 66: Probably Roger Flint, set of six silver-gilt spice plates, London, 1573-4, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 67: William Stankey, Silver standing dish, London, 1627- 8, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 68: Mother of pearl and silver casket, English, c.1600, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 69: Twelve Wonders of the World, set of wooden roundels, England, c.1600-1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 70: The Courtier from Twelve Wonders of the World, set of wooden roundels, England, c.1600-1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 71: The Country Gentleman from Twelve Wonders of the World, set of wooden roundels, England, c.1600-1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 72: The Soldier from Twelve Wonders of the World, set of wooden roundels, England, c.1600-1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 73: The Widow, from Twelve Wonders of the World, set of wooden roundels, England, c.1600-1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 74: Terracotta confectionery mould, St. Catherine of Siena, London, late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century, Museum of London.

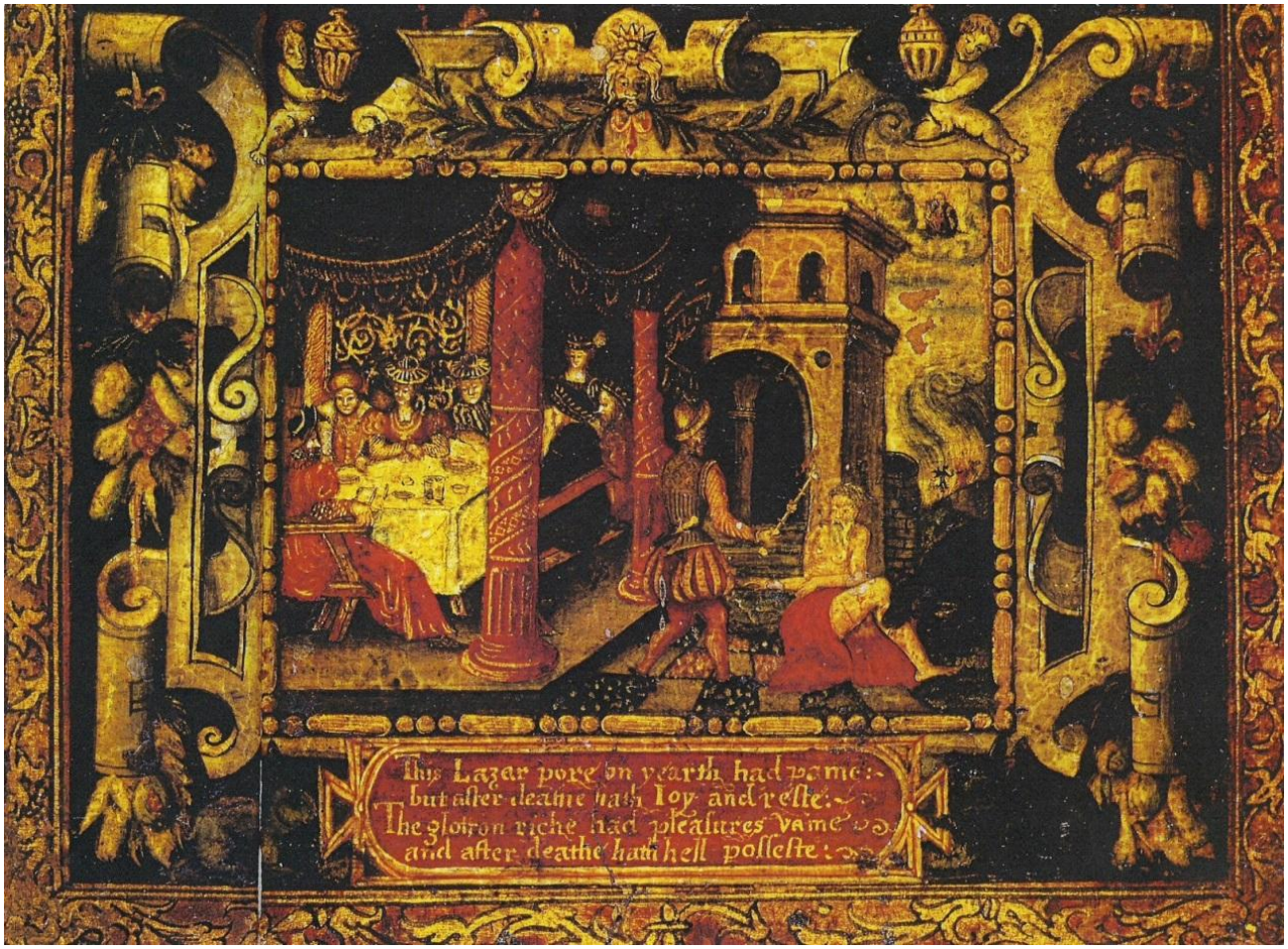


Figure 75: Wooden trencher with depiction of Dives and Lazarus, English, Sixteenth Century, Norfolk Museums Service.



Figure 76: Set of wooden trenchers, English, early seventeenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Trencher with inscription warning against feasting on bottom right.



Figure 77: Wooden trencher with death's head decoration, English, late sixteenth century, St. Albans Museums, Hertfordshire.



Figure 78: Set of twelve wooden trenchers, English, late sixteenth century, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 79: Unknown artist, Lady Grace Mildmay, c.1610-20, Heinz Library and Archive, National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 80: Figure 79, detail.

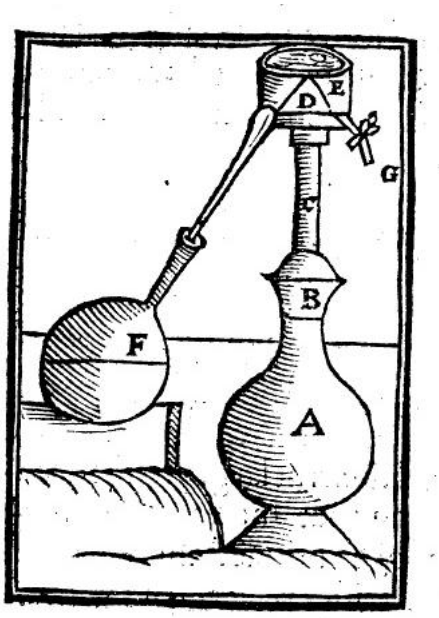


Figure 81: Diagram of a still from Hugh Platt, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature*, London: Peter Short, 1594, p.7.



Figure 82: Maker's initials I. H., *Esther and Ahasuerus*, embroidered picture, British, 1652, Burrell Collection, Glasgow.



Figure 83: Figure 82, detail, Esther's Banquet.

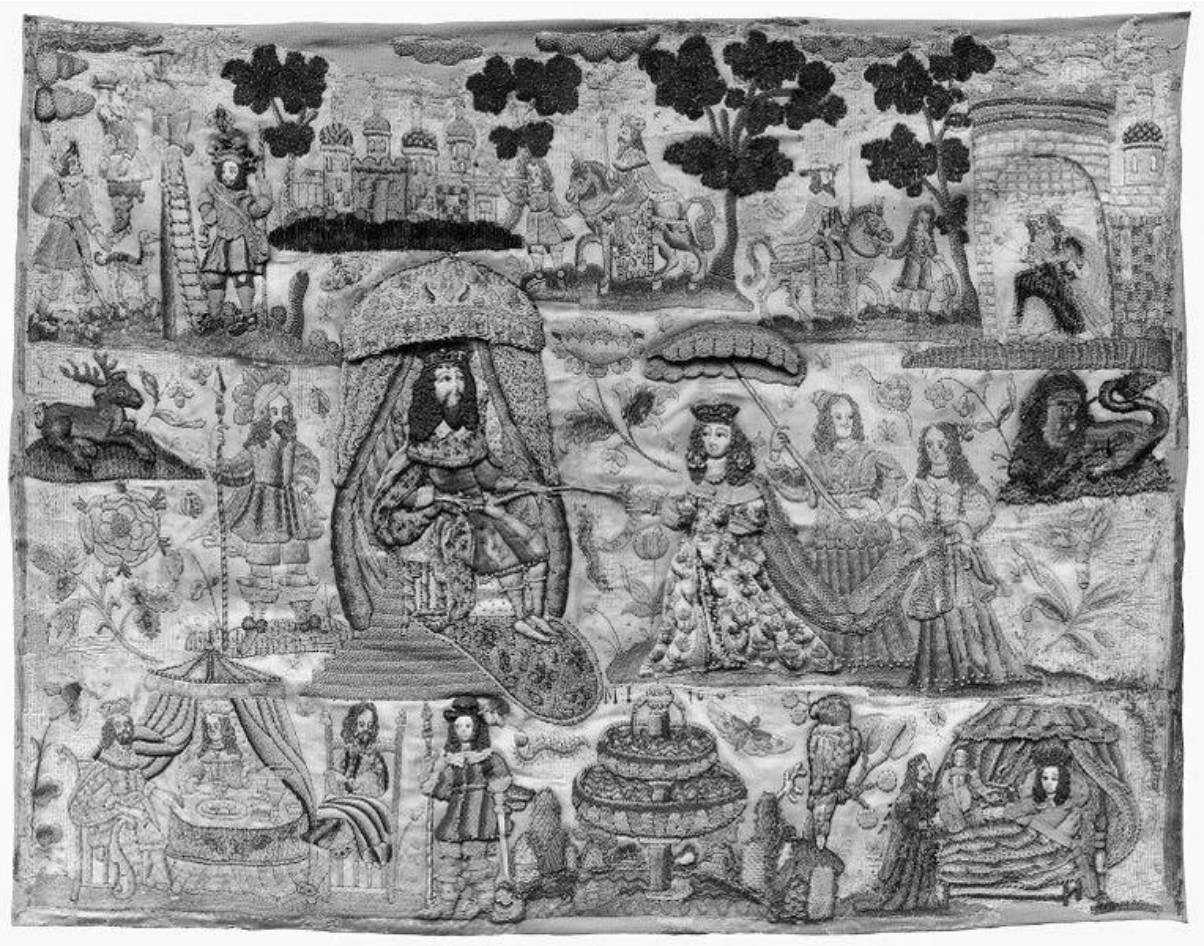


Figure 84: Esther and Ahasuerus, embroidered picture, English, 1665, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, banquet scene at bottom left.



Figure 85: Embroidered casket with scenes from the story of Esther, English, after 1665, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 86: Figure 85, detail, panel with banquet scene.



Figure 87: Embroidered casket with scene of Esther's Banquet, English, c.1656-1675, Museum of London.

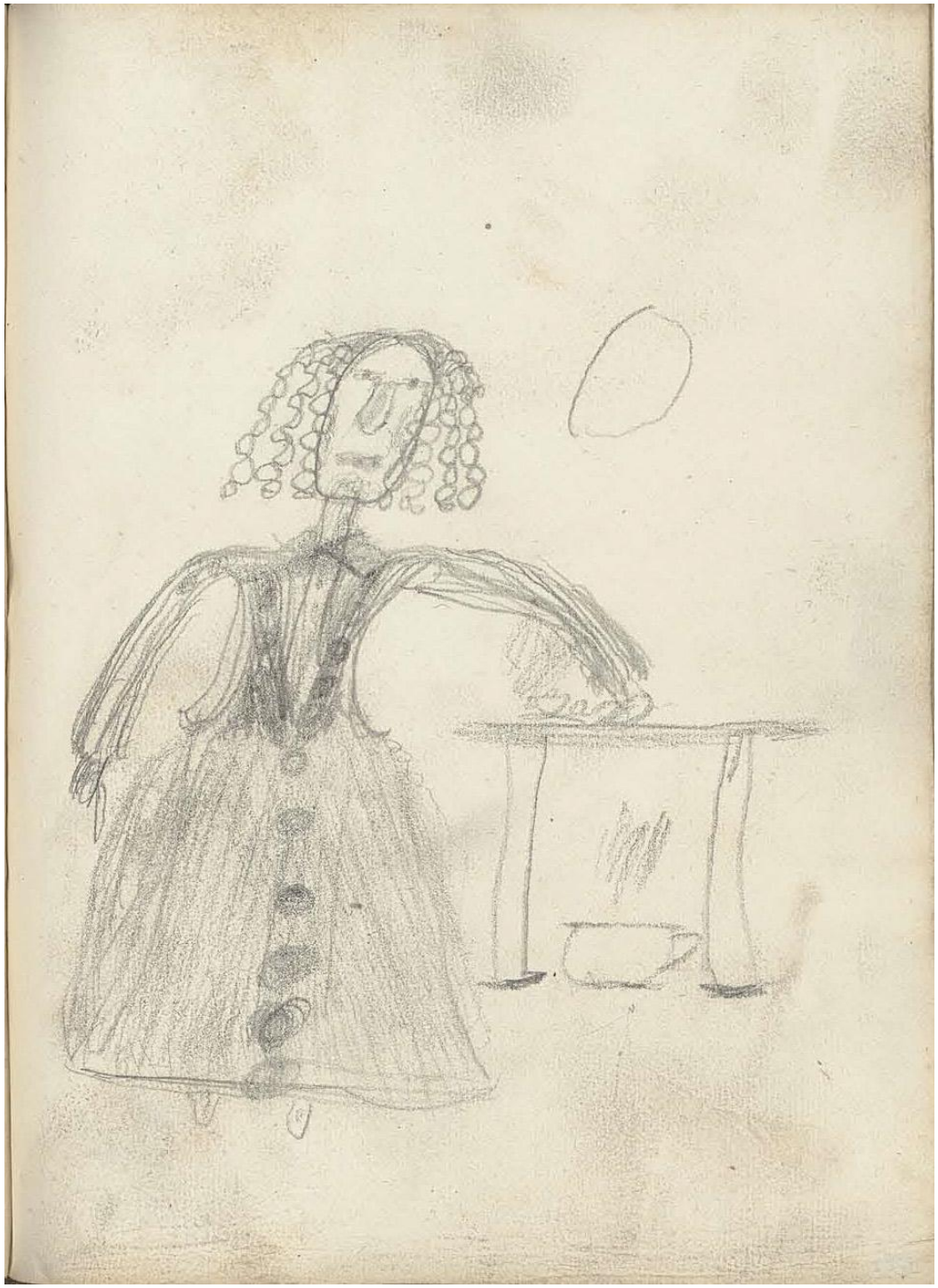


Figure 88: Child's drawing in Wellcome MS 1796, a recipe book in several hands c.1685 – 1725, f.125v.

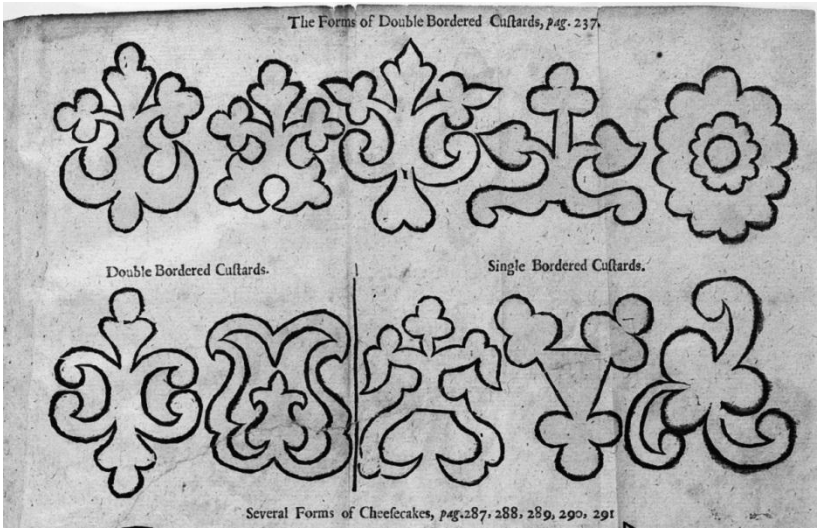


Figure 89: Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook*, London: Nathan Brooke 1665, designs for custards.



Figure 90: Rooftop ornament on banqueting house at Campden Manor, Gloucestershire, c.1612-13.



Figure 91: wafers made in an early seventeenth century wafering iron, Bowes Museum Co. Durham.

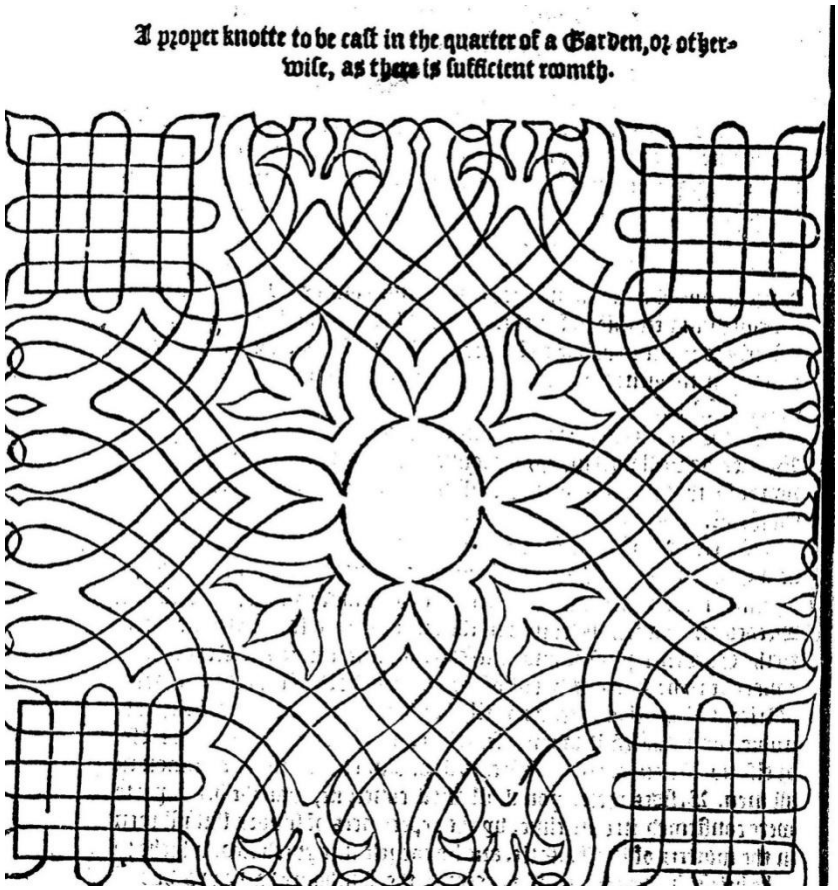


Figure 92: Knot Garden Design from Thomas Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, London, 1594.



Figure 93; Unknown artist, *Sir Henry Unton*, c.1596, National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 94: Figure 93, detail, banquet scene.



Figure 95: Figure 93, detail, a servant with a sweetmeat glass.



Figure 96: Figure 93, detail, Dorothy Unton.



Figure 97: Wooden trencher, English, c.1550 – 70, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 98: Wooden gingerbread mould, English, seventeenth century, Ivan Day Collection, Cumbria.

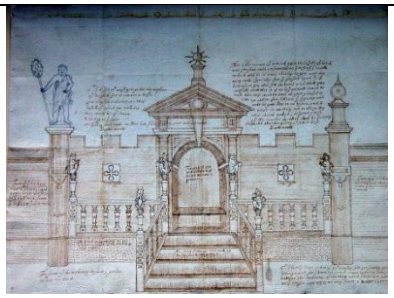


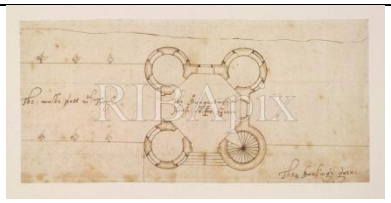
Figure 99: Coral handled knife and fork set, Venetian, late sixteenth century, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

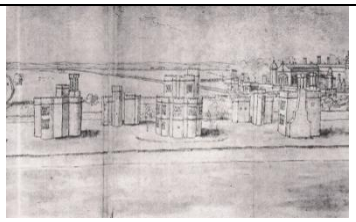
Appendices

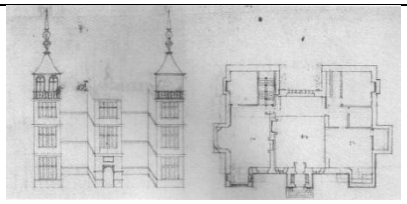
Appendix One: Known Banqueting Houses

Location	Date	Notes	Image	Source
Ampthill, Bedfordshire	Before 1539			Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* p.328
Anthony, Cornwall (intended)	1570			Carew, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall* pp.253-4
Ascott House, Oxfordshire	Sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* p.232
Ashby de la Zouche, Leicestershire	Before 1596	Two banqueting houses		Newsome et al. *Ashby De La Zouch Castle, Leicestershire*
Barlborough Hall, Derbyshire	c.1587			Paula Henderson, 'The Architecture of the Tudor Garden', p.60
Batley Hall, West Yorkshire	Seventeenth century			Extant
Beddington Place, Surrey	Late sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*,

				p.234
Bessels Leigh, Oxfordshire				TNA PROB5/4751
Blickling Hall, Norfolk (intended)	c.1610-20			Design extant (Figure 27: **Robert Lyminge, design for a banqueting house at**
Burghley House	c.1555-87	Rooftop banqueting houses		Extant
Culloden House, Warwickshire	Late sixteenth century			Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p.106.
Campden Manor, Gloucestershire	c.1612-13			Extant
Canonbury House, London	Late sixteenth century	Octagonal		Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.230
Chatsworth House, Derbyshire	By 1601			Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p.106; *Of Household Stuff*

				pp.29-30
Clarendon Park, Wiltshire	1547	Temporary		Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.151; Colvin et al. *The History of the King's Works* (London: H.M.S.O, 1963), vol. IV, p.66
Clifton Hall (intended)	Seventeenth century	Plan by John Smythson		Design extant (Figure 26: John Smythson, Plan for a banqueting house at Clifton Hall, Nottinghamshire, c.1632, Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection, London.
Cobham Hall (Kent)	1559	Made from a lime tree		Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, p.610
Collyweston, Northamptonshire	1566			Colvin et al.*The History of the King's Works* (London: H.M.S.O, 1963), vol. IV, p.67
Croydon, Cambridgeshire	Early seventeenth century	Also known as Croydon Wilds		Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.226
Danvers House, Chelsea, London	Before 1691			Bodleian MS Aubrey Z ff.56-7
Ecton, Northamptonshire	c.1630			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.232
Eyton-on-Severn, Shropshire	1607	Two banquetin		Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*,

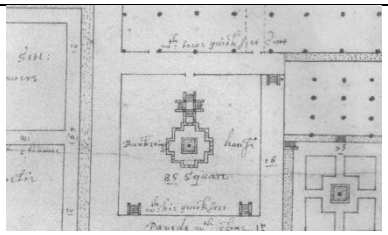
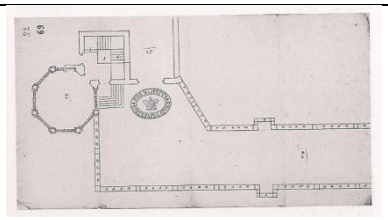
		g houses		p.233
Fawley Court, Buckinghamshire	Before 1632			BL Add. MS 53726 f.86
Gorhambury, Hertfordshire	c.1610			Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p.15
Gray's Inn, London	1608			Paula Henderson, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Essay 'of Gardens' in Context', *Garden History,* 36 (2008), p.70
Gray's Inn, London	1612			Henderson, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Essay 'of Gardens' in Context'
Greenwich Palace	1527			TNA E36/227; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* pp.722-3
Greenwich Palace	1559			Colvin et al. *The History of the King's Works* (vol. IV, p.107
Hale's Place, Kent	Mid sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.147
Hampton Court	Early sixteenth century	Various banquetin g houses		Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works* vol. IV p.138; Thurley, *Hampton Court,* pp.89-93
Hardington, Somerset	1581			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.233

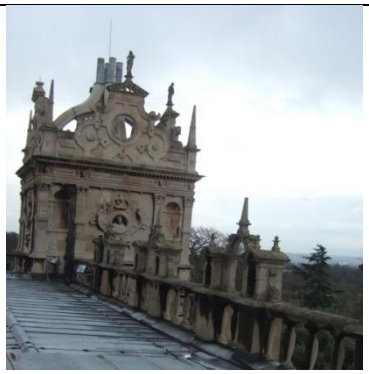
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire	1590s	Rooftop		Extant
Hatfield House, Hertfordshire	Early seventeenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.108
Hill Hall, Essex				Essex RO D/DU884
Holdenby, Northamptonshire	1580s			Design extant (Figure 32) Mark Girouard, "Elizabethan Holdenby", *Country Life* 166 (1979): p.1399
Holme Hall, Derbyshire	c.1658			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.226
Homme House, Much Marle, Herefordshire	Sixteenth century			Extant
Horton Court, Gloucestershire	c.1520s			Extant

Huntstanton, Norfolk	Seventeenth century			Extant
Hyde Park	1540s, 1550s	Various banqueting houses		Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* vol. IV, p.157
Ingatestone Hall, Essex	Before 1561			Essex ROD/DP f.215 and D/DP P8
Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire	Before 1563	Noted in royal survey		Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* vol. III, p.258
Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire	c.1575			Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*: vol. 1 p.524
Lacock Abbey	c.1540s			Extant
Leeds Castle, Kent	Before 1544			Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* vol. III, pp.261-2

Longleat, Wiltshire	1568-9			Extant
Manor Lodge, Sheffield	1570-85			Extant
Melbury House, Dorset	Sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.226
Melford Hall, Suffolk	Sixteenth century			Extant
Montacute House, Somerset	Early seventeenth century			Extant
Nonsuch Palace,	1550s			Colvin et al., *The History of the*

Surrey				*King's Works,* vol.IV, pp.3, 202
Oatlands, Surrey	1554	Royal House. Built in connection with marriage of Mary I.		SHC 6729/2/3, Colvin, *The History of the King's Works,* vol.IV, p.31
Oxnead Hall, Norfolk	c.1630s			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden,* p.231
Penshurst Place, Kent	Before 1608			Monroe, *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature*, p.106
Petworth Hall, Sussex	Before 1574			*The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland*, p.106
Richmond Palace	Before 1534			Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* vol.IV, p.228
Rycote, Oxfordshire	c.1630s			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden,* p.232
Seckford Hall, Suffolk	Late sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden,* p.234
Strand, London	1562-5			Henderson, 'The Architecture of the Tudor Garden', p.83
Temple Newsam, Yorkshire	c.1635-6			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.237

Theobalds, Hertforshire	Before 1598			Henderson, 'The Architecture of the Tudor Garden', p.65
Thorndon Hall, Essex	Before 1598			Essex RO D/DP P5
West Drayton Manor House, Norfolk	Sixteenth century			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.231
Weston Hall	North Yorkshire			Henderson, 'The Architecture of the Tudor Garden', p.60
Whitehall, London	Various, sixteenth century			Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works,* vol.IV, pp.314-21
Wimbledon (intended)	1609			Design extant (Figure 30)
Windsor	1570s			Design and view extant (Figure 15, Figure 16 and Figure 17). Colvin, *The History of the King's Works,* vol. III, pp.326-7
Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire	By 1661			Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, fig.191

Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire	1580s			Extant

Appendix Two: Marchpane recipe from Anne Talbot's book of sugar-work and preserves.

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Lacock MS (2664) Box 8 (uncatalogued)

My Gran mother A  To Make a Marchpane – 62

Take 3 pound of duble refined suger, and the same weight of the best Almonds, pound your suger very small and serche out on halfe of it through a very fine close sarch; wash your almonds and lay them in cold water alnight, then blanch them in cold water, shifting your water some times, then prick the cuting of that is naught, and dry off on a faire cloth a few at a time as you pound them beat them on by one with downe right blows for feare of oyling, till you have brused them all, put not a bove 10 at a time in your morter, and as you take them out with a spoone, put them in a silver dish or vessel, then mingle them with the coorsest of your suger; you must take a peniworth or two of gum-dragon ready steept in rose water and strained through a fine cleane cloth. then put into your morter 3 sponfulls of your mixt almonds and suger at a time, beate it a little while in every place of it, then put a little of the gum with a knife on the end of the pexlte as you see care when it is pounded enough roule it up gently with a spoone in your morter, and lay it in a silver dish, this doe till you have pounded all, then take out of your sercht suger into a silver boule 10 spoonfulls or more if you can spare it, which you must keepe to ice your marchpane with, work up your stuff with your sercht suger, into what shape you please, it is best to make your concipts for your marchpane and bake them the first day, but then you must pound noe more of your stuff at that time then will make them, for it will dry to much in keeping; the next day pound the rest of your stuff, for the bottom of your Marchpane, roule it out of what bignes you think good, but not to thine, put it on Marchpane wafer which must be gumed to geather and cut round of the highness you would have it with an under bottome of white paper sowed to geather and good store of white suger strewed between the 2 bottoms, you must always work up the stuff for your concipts on white paper and be sure you make not your marchpane to bigg for your oven which must be no hotter then you can suffer your hand in it; then set your marchpane on the bottom of a fire into the oven; and when it is very well risen and not scorcht take it out, and with your iceing which must bee beaten to geather a good while before with as much good rosewater wherein musk has been steept as will make it as thick as pap ice the bottom of it al over and spread it a broad with a bunch of feathers as fast as you can; then set on your concipts and set it in the oven a gaine so that to rise and whiten, then take it out and stick it all over with the longest and whitest limon cumfits, and straitest you can, strew it full of biskets and set it to coole; the next day guild it.