

Peek into the Kitchen of the Elites of the Old Kingdom. Bengescu Family*

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Bengescu family was one of the aristocratic families from the Old Kingdom of Romania. Alexandru Bengescu was the grandson of lordache Golescu, Minister of the Interior during the first half of the 18th century. Zoe Bengescu, born as Rosetti was the daughter of Radu D. Rosetti and Cassia Brăiloiu. By marriage, the family was also akin to Jacob Negruzzi and Titu Maiorescu. Those alliances were established through the marriage between them and Zoe's sisters, Ana and Maria.

Despite the illustrious progeny, the family faced financial difficulties due to the adventures of Alexander Bengescu, always looking for a business that would enable him to increase the family income, each time facing humbling failures. Its status in the good world has been preserved through the efforts of Mrs. Zoe Bengescu, first lady of Queen Elizabeth. She was able to keep up and provide a future according to the status own of his three daughters: Mimi, Ella and Zoe.

In a bid to keep up the appearance, Zoe Bengescu was constraint to provide the natural framework of growth of its daughters and then organize all those social events that label of those times required. The difference between essence and appearance is given by the menu. This was simpler in the family and showy in society.

Based on the published memoirs of her daughter, Zoe Bengescu, who married Jean Cămărășescu, we intend to make a brief foray in the food's fashion of aristocracy in the first decades of the 20th century, a period of constantly changing and adapting to European food fashion. Also, having in the viewfinder one of the most important families, but who had insufficient financial resources, we intend to look into a possible difference between essence and appearance.

The exploitation of this source is beneficial in two ways; primarily through it, we can rebuild the menu of Bengescu's family and the habits born in its bosom with regard to food, and secondly, through the close links between Bengescu family and the Royal family we can restore, even partially the menu and the ceremonial at the Cotroceni palace or Peleş Castle.

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1. Aristocratic menu in Bengescu family

The Bengescu family, thanks to Mrs. Zoe's efforts to split between her debt to Queen Elizabeth and those to her family, maintain a strict meal's schedule. The main meals were set at fixed hours; except for breakfast which was regularly taken at 10:00 a. m., with various exceptions. The lunch was served at 1:00 p. m. and dinner at 8:30 p. m. Between meals, at 5:00 p. m. a ritual taken from the English world was held: serving tea, liqueur often accompanied by slices of pound cake, sponge cake or small cookies.

As occasional events, Zoe remembered the dance and the picnics that she and her sisters attended and the holiday periods that they spent at Ștorobăneasa or Sinaia, alongside the Royal family.

With regard to the foods of the daily menu, we note, as is natural, and a distinction between the main meals of the day and another difference given by the age of the participants at the table. Zoe remembered a certain differentiation between adults and children, in particular as regards the composition of the breakfast. If her mother was consuming exclusively coffee with milk¹, the girls' breakfast consisted of tea, *pezmeți*², jam and candies³ or bread with fresh butter, cracknel, sponge cake, fruits and *pezmeți*⁴.

Sometimes, breakfast included more consistent foods as well as black bread with salami and butter⁵.

As regards the lunch, the main meal of the day, the most consistent, it was served at 1:00 p. m. and consisted of two or three dishes. The table was open through a warm soup, and then a main course was served, based on meat: beef, chicken with plums or apricots, meat with quince, and so on, and dessert⁶.

Dinner was usually served after 8:00 p. m. Although not up to the consistency of the lunch in the evening a hot soup was served, a main dish not so consistent, sometimes replaced with yoghurt and curd, and dessert consisting of fruit or fruit compotes⁷.

In Delavrancea family, according to Cella Delavrancea's journal, lunch was much diversified. It sometimes consisted in pickled meatballs and dessert. The regular dessert dish was composed of *halva*, the same *halva* that Bengescu family considered to be an abstinence dessert⁸.

Dinner, diversified as well, comprised sometimes of fish or crayfish, considered delicacies and consumed with great pleasure.⁹

¹ Zoe Cămărășescu, *Amintiri*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 26.

² Pastry made from flour with added yeast, butter, sugar and eggs, cut into various shapes and baked in the oven.

³ Z. Cămărășescu, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 329.

⁸ Cella Delavrancea, *Dintr-un secol de viață*, Bucharest, 1987, p. 567.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 568.

The dessert that Cella, a baby girl at that time mentioned consisted in cocoons with Quince jam, her favorite.

The habit of serving fresh fish for dinner is not foreign for the Royal Court. Queen Mary, in his notes indicated the frequent tasting of fresh or smoke-dried trout tasting or even crabs¹⁰. Although Queen Mary has had a self-imposed diet in which dinner was missing or was replaced with a soup or a cup of tea, she often violated these restrictions in order to serve these dishes. This fact makes it easily to understand the social status of the food itself.

Also, French fashion with regard to dining advised that the lunches should consist of fish, or farinade¹¹, a meat dish, mixed salad and an entremets and a stylish dinner should include: two kinds of soup, a fish dish, an entree, side dish and vegetable, with a mixed salad, desserts and cakes¹².

In the French environment the consumption of fish was considered a necessity, but also a mark of social status. In the Romanian environment, mentions of such dish were rare and they were considered to be exits from everyday life.

In Transylvania, for example, in Cluj, we can only talk about the supply of preserved or smoked fish even for the aristocracy. The fresh fish had a price far too high due to its rarity. Thus, fish dishes were served only in the case of feasts and banquets¹³.

2. Food as a social fact

Far from satisfying only the desires of the flesh, food, over the millennia, has a symbolic value and a peculiar to the social orientation. Henriette Krupenski-Sturdza said "*Ce trebuie preferat, la o masă, ori cărei mâncări, e un vecin agreabil în dreapta și o vecină frumoasă și simpatică în stânga* [What you need, at a table, any food, it's a pleasant neighbor to the right and a nice and likeable in the neighboring left]."¹⁴

Young Zoe, as any other girl her age, has noted the issues that she has loved in the menu, at the table especially in the festive meal. Her concerns for food faded in time or were changed with others like dresses, parties and so on. At first, she manifested a special interest for the tea because it was a moment dedicated to visits, as well as to cookies. Later, the tea loosed its importance, being outrun by the dance, an important event in the life of young girls. Picnic lunches and organized meals got into her attention only if they had something special.

The tea

For the child, and then the younger Zoe not main meals of the day were the main attraction, but that snack between meals, habit borrowed from English

¹⁰ Maria Regina României, *Însemnări zilnice*, VI, Bucharest, 2008, p. 240.

¹¹ Dish based on flour and eggs.

¹² Alain Druard, *Bucătari, experți gastronomici și gurmanzi. Bucătăria franceză în secolele al XIX-lea și al XX-lea*, in *Istoria Gustului* (coord. Freedman H. Paul), Bucharest, 2008, p. 263-299.

¹³ Ecaterina Csapó Emöke, *Viața cotidiană a aristocrației clujene în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 305-306.

¹⁴ Henriette Krupenski-Sturdza, *Carte de bucate veselă*, Bucharest, 1926, p. 64.

gastronomy, the tea. Whether breakfast, lunch and dinner were social occasions rarely, only on the occasion of special events and guests involved, tea is by its essence of a social occasion accompanied by a hot drink and a snack. It is not difficult to understand why a custom apparently insignificant, which in terms of food cannot even rise at the importance of breakfast, got into the author's memories as a very special event. For tea, the Bengescu received guests and return visits. One of the most common locations for tea is referred to be Cotroceni palace. There, the guests were served with English tea and goodies. Still, this was not the reason why this place got a so special place in Zoe's heart, but the presence of the Royal family. Between Bengescu girls and the sons and the daughters of the future King Ferdinand were links, despite the difference in rank. The presence of Sovereigns, of Royal-blooded friends and the goodies received from the Palace made the tea there a real welfare.

The first entries about brunch meals at the Palace appear as source of goodies for Mrs. Begescu's daughters. She used to bring them out items that she didn't consume in the previous day at tea: sandwiches, candies, fruits and cakes¹⁵.

Within the family, tea was typically accompanied by tea cake, almond cake or sponge cake¹⁶. At Cotroceni, the ritual of tea was much more elaborate and more refined. The tea served was of English origin and the goodies – the most various: plum-cake, cookies, sandwiches neatly arranged, with lettuce and tomato slices. On other occasions, the tea was accompanied by Baumkuchen or Capșa, expensive cakes¹⁷. Whether at home or at the Cotroceni palace tea ritual was relatively similar each time, at Sinaia the things do not get even so.

Zoe remembers a tea at the Peles Castle in the presence of King Charles and the Royal family. The profound impression that this tea time left her on that occasion there wasn't rooted in aspects such as food, because they were served tea with slices of sponge cake and Streusel Kuchen but in the select company¹⁸.

A tea set for his nonconformity is the one that took place in the cottage at the Peles, Charles' property. There, the group of young people gathered for tea, boiled the water in the pot for polenta and accompanied it with toast or corn baked on coal, depending on your preferences¹⁹.

The habit of having tea in the company of guests has been perpetuated in the interwar period as well. At the Royal Court, Queen Mary used to organize teas parties accompanied by good music and tasty snacks, consisting not only in cookies and sandwiches, but also in buffet and with caviar and cold snacks²⁰.

Maruca Cantacuzino was also a hostess known for organized teas, accompanied by the Romanian composer George Enescu's music, her husband²¹.

¹⁵ Z. Cămărășescu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82, 101.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 147.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

²⁰ Maria Regina României, *op. cit.*, I-VII, Bucharest, 2006, *passim*.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

Gradually, this kind of meeting has been generalized by becoming the main entertainment for the youngsters, along with dances as other memoirs published over time also proved it²².

Tellingly for what tea and its ritual meant for those times is the chapter of a handbook for housewives schools published a decade later by Silvia Albu. The author popularizes this type of ritual, overlap it on the field in the afternoon visits²³.

Even the habit to serve with tea and coffee to the guests at any hour they would arrive derived from this custom²⁴.

The picnic

The 18th century gave birth to a concept of free time which had no connection with sacredness, a spare-time profane characterized by frequent visits, soirees, maintenance of conviviality. The 19th century is the one that gave birth to the concept of leisure, defined as the time that remains available after completing ordinary tasks²⁵. For the aristocracy, the spare time concept has never been unknown, especially since they had servants and footmen. Those privileges offered them sufficient time; however, the party rules were always different. Queen Mary, due to his education and love for animals, she used to spend her spare time riding horses, Queen Elizabeth wrote poems, and the young girls often emerging from long walks, especially when they spent summers at Sinaia. They never forgot, into their long wanderings, to take at least some snakes to eat. These exits in nature became a fashionable way to spend spare time. Picnics, as they are called, were sometimes just summing a basket with food, meant to allay hunger caused by the long wanderings, and sometimes represented a true dining taken outdoors.

First of May, spent in nature which revives, but other outputs as well became the perfect occasion of a real treat. Meals taken at the shadow of a tree consisted usually in boiled eggs, fry chicken, salami, cheese, sponge cake, plums and pear²⁶ or coffee with milk, sponge cake or cake with almonds, boiled eggs, cold chicken, cheese, cake, cherries and wine²⁷.

When they had in haste only a bite taken, "the basket for the outdoors" included sandwiches, sponge cake and tea²⁸, bread, meatballs, cheese and coffee²⁹ or bread with butter, milk, grapes and melons³⁰.

The interwar literature mentions the perpetuating custom of picnics, not only on their primary purposes, of organized take out for having the table in the middle of the nature but also for the purpose of composing the basket with supplies. Cezar

²² Emil Negruțiu, *Memoriile rectorului Negruțiu, De la o agricultură la alta*, in manuscript, p. 40.

²³ Silvia Albu, *Cartea Gospodinei*, Arad, 1940, p. 96-97.

²⁴ Constantin Doboș, *Coana Lucșița*, "Familia", new series, 2 (1927), 5-7, p. 11-17.

²⁵ Simona Nicoară, *Timp liber, distracție, joc. Sensibilități și metamorfoze de-a lungul istoriei, "Caiete de antropologie istorică"* 6 (2007), 1-2 (10-11), p. 27.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 132.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 171.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 226.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 327.

Petrescu, in his sketch “*Admiratorii naturii* [The nature’s Admirers]” described the menu consisting of boiled eggs, sardines, olives, sausage, fry chicken and cake of a recent enriched family, whose manners he subtle criticized³¹.

The dance

The dance, as social event, was the place where young girls made their entrance into society, where they meet with other members of their social class, and where they would choose or be chosen by a future husband. Its importance within the aristocracy is undeniable. For the young girl, this was an occasion for affirmation and socialization, and for her mother, the ideal place to choose a son in law and to instrument a marriage consistent to her rank.

Particulars relating to these events are to be finding especially with regard to the ladies outfit, to the alliances that bind, music and dance. However, Zoe Bengescu remarked the food served as well, although she did not attach great importance to it. The particulars that she did fall especially in the novel register, not the ordinary. It can be noted that the dance, as social event, replaced tea in the concerns of the young girl. If up to his debut in society, Zoe described especially the tea ritual, from then on, the center of her concerns becomes the dance.

Dance was a time for dancing, talking, having fun. The foods’ consumption was just a subsequent issue. There, only cold appetizers, cookies, alcohol or soft drinks were served. Cold appetizers consisted of sandwiches³² and cakes and candies are among the most diverse: meringue, berries, fruit, cookies and butter cookies³³. The alcohol consumed consisted in Romanian or French wines and champagne. *Oranjada* and punch were meant to tongue cooled dancers without producing undesirable effects of alcohol³⁴.

Organized tables

Whether it comes to supper, dinner parties or just a lunch, tea or dinner with guests, a meal taken in this framework extends beyond the perimeter of the circumscribed physiological need to nurture and pass the social sphere. Not only this is important regarding the history of food, important is also the difference in menu that applies to such occasions. We can see in it also a difference between essence and appearance, but also the attention that is paid to a table with guests.

A visit for tea

As we described above, the visits to the Palace on the occasion of organized teas because we found a close link between the Palace’s ceremonial and one held at Bengescu residence, because Ms. Zoe always brought her uneaten cookies from the previous day tea, therefore, any differences were to be seen.

³¹ Cezar Petrescu, *Admiratorii naturii*, “Familia”, new series, I (1926), 3, p. 3-4.

³² Z. Cămărășescu, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

In addition to the Palace receptions, Zoe also recalls other receptions in various locations, particularly those which gave her a great pleasure. As a child, she recalls the visits to “*madame Papadopol*” where they were served with “*Ciocolată albită ce zăcuse prin diferite cutii, șerbet uscat pe borcan, pesmeți cu umplutură* [bleached chocolate, who has been resting for some while in various boxes, *șerbet* dried on the jar, *pezmeți* with filling]”; at the Poroschia, where they were served with jam, at their God father they got cakes and sandwiches from Capșa and at Maioresți, where they received goodies with cheese.

Guests at lunch and dinner

On several occasions, Bengescu family has received guests at lunch and dinner, and it was, at its turn invited in similar occasions by their friends and family.

From childhood, Zoe has much appreciated the visits made to various personalities of the time, which they were related to. Among those families are Poienaru, Negruzzi, Maiorescu and Brătianu.

At Poienaru, they were invariably served with macaroni pudding and Turkey with cabbage, along with other goodies which vary depending on the season and resources³⁵.

Negruzzi family offered steak and plum with walnut or chicken legs³⁶; Maiorescu family served its guests with cheese delights³⁷ and Brătianu family who used, along with fine and varied dishes, to serve small bread which has been adopted by several families from Bucharest³⁸.

The visits to the “Dairy” were also very dear to the author. She describes that there were fed with rye bread with caraway, butter, salami, cheese Penteleu and buttermilk.

About the ordinary guests of the Bengescu residence, only Mitică Rosetti is remembered for his preference for white meat, especially calf. He fiercely denied any other kind of meat, and if his has’t been served with file and a good wine, he would prefer to take a piece of his expensive cheese he bought and consume it³⁹.

3. Abstinence versus abundance in the Bengescu family

Among the first indications regarding food in the aristocratic family abstinence is mentioned. Through excellence, abstinence means a restraint both from foods of animal origin, and large quantities of food that can make the body heavy and enslave the soul. Bengescu girls were instilled since childhood a cult of the voluntary abstinence to the food or to foodstuff stopped during the periods laid down by the Orthodox Church.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 118.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 126.

During this time, the Bengescu family ate bagels with sesame and tea for breakfast, and cabbage rolls, lentil or chervil soup with vinegar, dried peas and yellow oil with sauerkraut in the barrel at lunch and dinner⁴⁰.

In the Holy week the abstinence was respected, but not as foreseen in the canons, but in a simpler manner. They just used to consume no meat in the early days and then, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday a tea and sesame pretzel. This abstinence ended on Saturday, a day in which they served coffee with milk for breakfast⁴¹.

Another dish was considered to be eminently an abstinence one, the *halva*, specific especially for Christmas and Easter lent period⁴².

This period of restrictions, longer or shorter, it ended up with a real treat: the red eggs, buns, raisin and chocolate at Easter⁴³, to which they added a chicken soup and mulled wine⁴⁴.

Christmas, the feast of the family and childhood is not mentioned, therefore we can only speculate that the food on the table at this great feast consisted in the traditional dishes along with sponge cake.

The New Year is usually mentioned as a result of the divination ritual which took place on that day, a habit which had connection with an essential piece of social life of those times, the marriage. Via fortune cookies, young ladies guessed features of the future husband⁴⁵.

Moșii was another special celebration for Bengescu girls. That day had “*miros de gogoși încinse, mititei, bere, alune prăjite și turtă dulce* [smell of fritters, hot sausages, beer, peanuts and toasted gingerbread.]”

Cella Delavrancea spoke of this feast like a tremendous celebration. King Charles I came every year to open the celebrations and due to his presence, no one would be willing not to come. For Cella, *Moșii* meant fried meat and good wine⁴⁶.

Another aspect that is considered necessary to be dealt with is that of the diet. Neither Zoe nor Cella Delavrancea have referred to any imposition diet designed to keep them supple and concern for this issue seems not to have existed.

The 19th century has changed the perspective in terms of the ideal body image. The fatness was being replaced with the supplest. The ideal in food habits represented by the dictum “to eat as much as we can”, becomes “to eat as much as we want, without getting fat”, which means a lifting of the body to measure the amount of food ingested⁴⁷.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 24-25.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 206.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

⁴⁶ C. Delavrancea, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴⁷ S. Nicoară, *De la modelul creștin al cumpătării la dieta alimentară modernă. Mari mutații ale structurilor gustului și consumului (sec XVI-XX)*, “Caiete de antropologie istorică” 5 (2006), 1-2, p. 128.

The apparent lack of concern in aristocratic circles about the diet was betrayed by the author's remarks about the stature of those around her and moral characteristics translated through the food mores. Thus, Zoe mentioned in what concerns her sister, Ella, that she is slim. In contrast to this, about Nelly, one of her girlfriends from childhood says that she was a

Gluttonous and that she cannot refrain herself not to consume the goodies received as a gift. Referring to the author's age when he wrote the diary that was the basis of the volume, we understand the fragility and lack of thinking concerning this regard.

4. Suppliers, acquisitions and gifts in times of crisis and welfare

Welfare

Between the abundance of festive meals and holidays specific and the lend moderation, in Bengescu family the limited resources haven't restricted the joys.

Every morning, along with the maid, Ms. Zoe Bengescu tended to make a shopping list for daily purchases, and at a certain period, for major purchases. Among the daily purchases, meat, vegetables for soups and bread were mentioned⁴⁸.

On holidays, intrusive traders were selling chickens or lambs⁴⁹. Ms. Zoe avoided this kind of shopping, thus she bought from intrusive sellers curdled milk and croissants for breakfast and sweets from *bragagii*⁵⁰: *braga*, Turkish delight, roasted chestnuts, and many more⁵¹. Also, if they were traveling on a longer distance, such as the road to Sinaia, one of the companions used to bought them cheesecake or croissants.

In addition to daily and occasional purchases, reserves of the family were aided by the gifts. There is a custom to bring a gift consisting of something sweet from visits abroad and one of the leading candy and cakes to children when they visit. Zoe recalled fondly of Madame Jacobson who came in with a bag of lollipops or with a jar of *şerbet*⁵² and of "gramama" who brought them sweets⁵³. She also recalls the gifts of Queen consisting of *crème d'orge* and *saugelée* with meat concentrated⁵⁴, and by Negruzzi family gifts consisting of canned food and bottles of rum⁵⁵.

We also considered necessary to name the greatest pleasure of the author: Velma chocolate and Russian sardines⁵⁶.

Cella Delavrancea recalled that those who come to visit were served with cakes. These brought for her and for small Dinu nuts and candies. She recounted the

⁴⁸ Z. Cămărăşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁵⁰ Sweets sellers.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 146.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

episode in which peanuts were brought by her grandmother and little Dinu put in jeopardy his existence since trying to swallow them, drowned. In order to forget this episode, Mrs. Delavrancea brought coated candy to the children⁵⁷.

Crisis and war

The First World War was a turning point for Romanian aristocracy, just as it was for the entire Romanian society. The resources were depleted, a part of the territory was conquered and the Royal family was forced to retreat to Iași. Bengescu family followed the Royal family, and the girls worked as nurses in the hospitals set up for soldiers on the front.

With regard to food during this period, Zoe recalls that shortages were beginning to be felt, but that from Ștorobâneasa were sent a pork, eggs and butter, foods with what they have survived for a while⁵⁸. As for the rest, the daily family menu consisted of black bread, whole grain mixed with cornmeal, but wheat was not even felt. The sugar disappeared from the market, so to sweeten food and cakes, they used to boil beet, and the juice obtained was used as a sweetener. Also, one of the regular dishes in time of war was the white beans⁵⁹.

After the war, Zoe recalls very little, especially with regard to food. The only stipulation is that the English “trifle” cake was difficult prepared due to insufficient food resources.

5. Conclusions

The memoirs of the little aristocratic girl depict a world of delight: cakes, chocolate, candies, marshmallows, rich hearty teas, luncheons, dances with champagne, wine, berries and biscuit, the Royal dining with their specific ritual; a world that has been hit by war and deprivation, in general, but not of the same way as the ordinary people. This world never faced famine, only decay.

Even if the financial situation of Bengescu family allowed them a not too ostentatious luxury, Mrs. Zoe Bengescu, made her the best and maintained the appearances for the sake of his girls. The Queen Elizabeth’s help also benefit in maintaining the family among its hierarchy, being aware of the problems of its honorable lady’s family. The difference between essence and appearance cannot be supported in this case because of the temperance of the hostess, of foreign aid and the support of Mimi, the eldest daughter of Mrs. Bengescu, married and settled at Ștorobâneasa.

Zoe’s journal is a special one, focused on the elements of private life. Thanks to this character, in its pages one can find precious information about the old Kingdom elite nutrition. It is part of the women’s Memorial, inclined to offer food endorsements. The female memoirs entries are characterized by richness of detail, through increased attention to novel. By contrast, the male were more incline to provide information about quantities, as we could see at Sextil Pușcariu in *Brașovul*

⁵⁷ C. Delavrancea, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 353.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 356.

*de altă dată*⁶⁰. These memoirs analyze the stomach of the city as quantity, and not as dish. Still, *Braşovul de altă dată* is a very important source, but from another perspective.

Zoe mentions are mostly about goodies. This could be a characteristic of her age, but also a way to depict only the high status foodstuff.

⁶⁰ Sextil Puşcariu, *Braşovul de altă dată*, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, chapter *Stomacul și gâtlejul Braşovului*.