

**From the forest to the table:
hunting and consuming wild boar
in Portugal in Early Modern Age**

Da floresta para a mesa: a caça e o consumo de javali em Portugal na Época Moderna

Del bosque a la mesa: la caza y el consumo de jabalí en Portugal en la Edad Moderna

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Abstract: The wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) is a mammal that has long existed in Portugal. The main sources to study it are those related to its hunting or consumption. Hunting doesn't always imply consumption, and the opposite is also true. But in Early Modern Age, as today, it was the predominant way of obtaining wild boar for consumption. This article focuses on understanding the methods and processes surrounding the hunting and consumption of this swine in royal and aristocratic contexts.

Keywords: Wild Boar. Hunting. Food Consumption. Portugal. Early Modern Age.

Resumo: O javali (*Sus scrofa*) é um mamífero há muito existente no território português. As principais fontes em que surge são aquelas que se relacionam com a sua caça ou o seu consumo. A caça nem sempre implica o consumo, e o contrário também é válido. Contudo, ontem como hoje, era o meio predominante para se obter javali para consumo. Este artigo foca-se na compreensão dos métodos e dos processos em torno da caça e do consumo deste suídeo em contextos reais e aristocráticos.

Palavras-chave: Javalí. Caça. Consumo alimentar. Portugal. Época Moderna.

Resumen: El jabalí (*Sus scrofa*) es un mamífero que existe hace mucho tiempo en Portugal. Las principales fuentes para estudiarlo son las relacionadas con la caza o el consumo. La caza no implica el consumo, y lo contrario también es válido. Sin embargo, en la Edad Moderna, era el medio predominante de obtenerlo para el consumo. Este artículo se centra en la comprensión de los métodos y procesos que rodean la caza y el consumo de este cerdo en contextos reales y aristocráticos.

Palabras-clave: Jabalí. Caza. Consumo alimentario. Portugal. Edad Moderna.

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Sighting the wild boar / Preparing the ingredients: an introduction

Presentation of the subject of study

This article was originally written as an evaluation element for the course unit *Cultural History of Food: Sources, Themes and Problems* during the first year of my doctoral degree in the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. It was directly inspired by one of my childhood experiences: my grandfather Tom loved to hunt, and he particularly enjoyed hunting wild boar. Then, he would bring the animal home, and my grandmother Ana would skin it, butcher it, prepare it, and cook it, and the whole family would gather to taste the delicacy.

Hunting and consuming are precisely the two main processes that appear in historical written sources about the wild boar, since the Human-Wild Boar relationship is essentially based on the predator/prey dynamic.

Hunting didn't always imply consumption, and the opposite was also true. However, in Early Modern Age, as today, hunting was the main way to obtain wild boar for its later consumption. With this work, we intend to analyse the interaction between human and wild boar, both in the field of Hunting History and Food History, in order to understand the methods and processes surrounding the hunting and consumption of this swine.

Research goals

This article intends to be a contribution to a greater understanding of the Human-Wild Boar relationship in Portugal during Early Modern Age. There are two main research goals, originated and achieved in accordance with the two questions of research that guided us.

The first goal is related to hunting. We tried to elaborate a sort of genealogy of wild boar hunting, from the 15th to the 18th century, to analyse the symbolism of the act itself and the hunting methods, how they changed over time, the manners in which hunts were organised, their participants, and the places where the wild boar was found.

The second goal concerns the consumption of this animal's meat, which has long been proven and continues today. We wanted to know how wild boar meat was eaten in Portugal, in the Early Modern period, especially by the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, the chronology of the recipes we located. How was the meat prepared? How was it cooked? Were there some methods used more than others? Was it seasoned? With what?



Would it be served with side dishes or sauces? Which ones? Would the methods for preparing and cooking wild boar differ substantially from the methods of preparing and cooking other types of meat?

State of the art

This subject of study falls into two different fields of study. On the one hand, it is part of Hunting History, a historiographical field that, in Portugal, is still in its infancy and doesn't currently have any major works dedicated to it. We could say that it was inaugurated by Gabriel Pereira who, in 1892 and 1893, wrote *As Caçadas (até 1893)*, divided into two parts, in which he began with a general approach to hunting issues in Portugal, followed by a reflection exclusively dedicated to the wolf (Pereira, 2007).

From then until 1965, even though we searched, we haven't found any other work yet dedicated to this subject. However, in that year, two articles should be noted, whose author is Carlos Baeta Neves (1965; 1965a). In the decade of the 1980's, not only this renowned forester continued his scientific work, but he also started publishing the six volumes of the collection of documents *História Florestal, Aquícola e Cinegética: Colectânea de Documentos Existentes no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Chancelarias Reais* (1980-1993).

There is also an important report of a theoretical-practical class, by Carlos Guilherme Riley (1988), written in points and presented for tests of teaching aptitude and scientific ability, which later had a more developed version published in the journal *Estudos Medievais*, with comments by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho (Riley & Coelho, 1988).

We should also point out two other works by Carlos Eurico da Costa (1980) and Alfredo Saramago (1994) that attempt to fly over the Hunting History in Portugal. However interesting these texts are, they aimed a more general public and, therefore, neither of the authors was much concerned in referring their sources or bibliography like we do in the academic context. Yet, some of the presented data merited further reflection and investigation on our part, since some of their assertions seemed relevant to this research.

There are also other studies that have made it possible to know more about hunting from a historical perspective, mostly local, emphasising the species caught and what was made with them, the practitioners, the methods used, and the transformations that took place



over time. Some good examples of this are the works of José Mattoso (1987) and Iria Gonçalves (2006), focussed on the Middle Ages, but which allowed us to draw a general picture of what hunting would be like at the dawn of the Portuguese Early Modern period.

Also noteworthy are several excerpts from the ten volumes of *Nova História de Portugal* (1987-2004) and two chapters by Paulo Drumond Braga (2015b; 2023), which range various historical periods.

Last, but not least, we should underline the many works by Afonso Soares de Sousa, who, in the last few years, has been studying and writing largely about this subject, contributing immensely to the development of this field of knowledge in Portuguese historiography. His master's dissertation was about the officials responsible for the Portuguese royal hunting parks during the late Middle Ages and their close connection with forests, animals, and hunting practices and spaces (Sousa, 2023). He has also published some articles about this very specific theme (Sousa, 2023b; 2024), as well as about the role of the dog in royal hunting (Sousa, 2023a).

In respect to hunting, since we defined a work entirely dedicated to wild boar hunting as our starting point, the *Livro de Montaria Feito por El-Rei D. João I de Portugal*² (2003), we should mention a chapter and an article by Mário Martins (1956; 1957) and the master's dissertation of Maria Manuela Gomes (1997), since they analyse issues related to hunting within the scope of this source.

On the other hand, the subject treated in this article is also part of the Food History field. Unlike Hunting History, Food History is a perfectly consolidated field in Portuguese historiography, with several decades of existence and countless contributions of proven value. One of the most recent additions to this historiographical area is the work *História Global da Alimentação Portuguesa* (2023), which addresses many different themes in short and succinct chapters surrounding Food History in Portugal (customs, practices, products, among others).

Within this context, there is no work dedicated specifically to the consumption of wild boar – we didn't find anything during our bibliographical research – but there are some studies that, in some paragraphs, approach meat consumption from a general point of view in Portugal in Early Modern Age. Some examples are the chapters by António Henrique de

² This work is from somewhere between 1415 and 1433.



Oliveira Marques (1974), Iria Gonçalves (2010), Ana Isabel Buescu (2011; 2011a), Isabel Drumond Braga (2015) and a book by Maria José Azevedo Santos (2002).

On the second part of this text, we will analyse 23 recipes of wild boar from the Early Modern period, more specifically from the end of the 17th century and the course of the 18th century. We found these recipes in four cookbooks³: 1) *Arte de cozinha*⁴, by Domingos Rodrigues (1680) (2017); 2) *Receitas de Milhores Doces e de Alguns Guizados*⁵, by Francisco Borges Henriques (ca. 1715); 3) *Cozinheiro Moderno*⁶, by Lucas Rigaud (1780); and 4) *Livro de Cozinha*⁷, by friar Manuel de Santa Teresa (18th century). Finally, we should finish this state of art by mentioning works whose concerns were transcribing, publishing, and/or analysing these four cookbooks, such as those by Alfredo Saramago (Rigaud, 1999), Dulce Freire (2020) and, above all, Isabel Drumond Braga (2015; 2017a; Henriques, 2021; Rodrigues, 2017).

Description of methodologies

The methodologies defined for this research were, firstly, an attempt to outline the genealogy of wild boar hunting in Portugal, by analysing Portuguese bibliography and the *Livro de Montaria Feito por El-Rei D. João I de Portugal*, since it is a work entirely dedicated to wild boar hunting. Despite our efforts in researching within the field of the so-called Hunting Literature, we didn't find any other similar works for the whole modern period. There are some other medieval sources about falconry and *altanaria / volataria*⁸, but none of those mention the wild boar.

Regarding Food History, by reading various historiographical works and the catalogue *Livros Portugueses de Cozinha* (1998) we found probably almost every known cookery book

³ All these books will be mentioned by their simplified title, by which they are known in Portuguese historiography.

⁴ The complete title of this work is *Arte de Cozinha Dividida em Duas Partes: a Primeyra Trata do Modo de Cozinhar Varios Pratos de Toda a Casta de Carne, & de Fazer Conservas, Pasteis, Tortas, & Empadas. A Segunda Trata de Peyxes, Marisco, Fruttas, Hervas, Ovos, Lacticinios, Conservas, & Doces: com a Forma dos Banquetes para Qualquer Tempo do Anno*, and it is transcribed and published in Rodrigues (2017).

⁵ The complete title of this work is *Receitas de Milhores Doces e de Alguns Guizados Particullares e Remedios de Conhecida Experiencia que fez Fr[ancisco] Borges H[enriques] para o uzo de sua Casa. No anno de 1715*, and it is transcribed and published in Henriques (2021).

⁶ The complete title of this work is *Cozinheiro Moderno, ou Nova Arte de Cozinha, Onde Se Ensina pelo Methodo Mais Facil*, and it is transcribed and published in Rigaud (1999).

⁷ The complete title of this work is *Livro de Cozinha para Se Governarem os Que Curiozamente Quizerem Guizar*, and it is transcribed and published in Braga (2015a).

⁸ These words are synonyms, and they consist of hunting using trained birds of prey.



produced in Portugal between the 15th and 18th centuries and we analysed them all. We only found wild boar recipes in the four books mentioned before.

We collected all the data from the 23 recipes we were interested in examining and then cross-referenced among themselves and with bibliographical studies, in order to find answers to the questions posed in 1. 2. Research goals.

Considering the typologies of sources used, we would say it is no surprise that the focus of this article will be on royalty and the aristocracy, since they mainly concern and were produced within these two social groups.

Brief biological characterization of the wild boar

The wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) is an artiodactyl mammal of the *Suidae* family, of Eurasian origin, characterised by its massive and robust body, large head, elongated snout, and coat made up of rough, hard, and thick bristles, which vary chromatically between shades of grey and brown. The male's lower canine teeth are permanently sharp due to their contact with the upper teeth and are the main means the animal uses to defend itself against predators and to cut up the food it eats (Correia, 1991, p. 70).

In Portuguese, the wild boar, called *javali*, is also known as *porco montês*, *porco bravo* or *javardo*. Its natural habitat consists of woodlands, thickets or scrublands with dense vegetation, or marshy areas usually dotted with reed beds. The wild boar is a nocturnal animal with excellent senses of hearing and smell. It is omnivorous, so it eats insects, birds, reptiles, small mammals, and eggs. It has a lifespan of around 27 years. Its length varies between 1.30m and 1.70m and its weight between 80kg and 200kg. It can be found in groups or on its own and, just like other wild species, it avoids humans. However, when it is surprised, harassed or wounded, it can adopt aggressive and ferocious behaviours (Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 152-153; vol. II, p. 106).

Hunting Wild Boar in Royal and Aristocratic Context in Portugal in Early Modern Age

The presence of wild boar has been detectable in Portuguese territory since immemorial times. Even today it is a species distributed from north to south of the country, mainly in the regions of Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Beira Baixa, Alentejo, Serra da Estrela, Serra do Caldeirão, Serra da Malcata, and in the Guadiana River basin (Correia, 1991, p. 70).



Since 2019, there has been an increase in wild boar populations in Portugal, resulting in the destruction of many crops (Dores, 2021). Also, some animals have been found to be sick, thus posing the danger of the spread of African swine fever, which would be a real public health problem (Dias, 2022). For this reason, the Institute for Nature Conservation and Forests (ICNF)⁹ has been issuing several warnings regarding greater permissions for wild boar hunting as a measure of population control of the species (O Digital, 2020; Caldeira, 2021; Redação, 2022; Agência Lusa, 2023; O Digital, 2024).

Hunting is probably the oldest form of animal exploitation, with traces of this practice dating to Palaeolithic and Mesolithic times (Braga, 2015b, p. 185). Back then, it was essentially a means of subsistence, but over time it became a leisure activity: one of the favourite entertainments of kings and nobles during the period studied here.

It was easy to find wild boars in Portugal, since the entire territory was covered with many forests, thickets, and scrublands (Livro de Montaria, 2003, p. XXIV), the wild boar's natural habitats.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the uncultivated area – the *saltus* – was of great economic importance, and hunting was relatively free and open to all people. But by the end of the 13th century, the kings and great aristocrats began to appropriate parts of the *saltus*, creating enclosed spaces legislatively protected – called *coutadas* –, whose main purpose was for them to hunt, forbidding the rest of the population from capturing animals in those areas (Braga, 2015b, p. 185). This whole process coincided with the great European crisis of the 14th century, which led, on the one hand, to a reduction in the cultivation of fields and, on the other, to the expansion of forests, which was favourable to the growth of many populations of wild animals (Livro de Montaria, 2003, p. XXV).

Each *coutada* was headed by a royal official – the *couteiro-mor* or *monteiro-mor* –, who also had the obligations of leading the royal hunts and all its participants. The *couteiros-mores* or *monteiros-mores* were assisted by other officials, hierarchically under them, and they were all subordinated to the *Monteiro-Mor* of the Kingdom, hierarchically above them and directly dependent of the king (Neves, 1965; Sousa, 2023, 2023b, 2024). Their regiment was promulgated in 1435 by King Duarte I (1391-k. 1433-1438) (Braga, 2015b, p. 186).

⁹ Formed in 2012, the ICNF is the Portuguese governmental body responsible for all nature and forest management and policies (either of national, municipal or communal scope) in mainland Portugal.



Everything about the management of *coutadas*, as well as all the possible questions directly related to them, are extremely complex, both in terms of evolution (*coutamento* and *descoutamento* of various areas over time), and in terms of legislation, so we don't intend to talk about this topic in any way. But it should be noted that, in 1834, King João VI declared the abolition of all existing *coutadas* and decreed the extinction of the positions of *Monteiro-Mor* of the Kingdom and all the officials subordinated to him (Braga, 2015b, p. 202). In 1842, he determined that the local councils would regulate the conditions under which hunting could take place (Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 66), thus changing the paradigm of hunting management from a national to a regional level.

As we can see, the creation of *coutadas* was closely associated with the right to hunt, a privilege of kings and aristocrats (Gomes, 1997, p. 17). There is the general conception that, in the Early Modern period, hunting was an activity only practiced by the nobility. But this is a very reductive idea, considering the diversity of aspects and functions associated with hunting existing in all social strata.

The hunting practised by members of the higher groups of society is usually called “sporting hunting”¹⁰ (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 241-242), because it was part of the socio-cultural context of the *homo ludens*, i.e. the one whose existence wasn't conditioned by concerns of material subsistence, thus exercising hunting as a form of *desenfadamento* (a word frequently used in sources, meaning entertainment) for weeks or even months (Braga, 2015b, p. 188).

Given these circumstances, hunting was a symbol of the prestige and social superiority of these social groups, and inseparable from the role played by the nobility in Early Modern society according to its tripartite structure, which was at the heart of aristocratic culture since medieval times: exercising the function of *bellatores*, intimately connected to conducting war (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 241-242). As a matter of fact, both in Christendom and in other civilisations and societies spread out over time and space (such as

¹⁰ According to Carlos Guilherme Riley, there were four types of hunting: 1) sportive hunting; and 2) defensive hunting (whose main purpose was to chase and kill animals considered harmful, which could damage local economies, whether through destruction of crops or loss of livestock (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 230-233), 3) subsistence hunting (practised by people in general, who benefited from the resources available in the ecosystems of the places where they lived for their subsistence (Riley, 1988, p. 233-237), and 4) lucrative hunting (practised by professional hunters, who made their living from and for these activities, then selling the meat, skins or other by-products of the animals caught (Riley, 1988, p. 237-240), all inserted in the context of domestic economies. Even though Riley defines these four categories, he also states that they weren't static and could be juxtaposed with each other.



Islam, Eastern Antiquity, or Ancient Greece and Rome), every secular aristocrat tended to be a professional of war. For this reason, hunting can't be considered solely as an aristocratic entertainment. Practised in times of peace, it was a propaedeutic activity for war, designed to keep men's bodies and skills constantly prepared for potential war conflicts (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 246).

Above all types of hunting, *montaria*, i.e. the act of chasing big game, i.e. large wild animals, strongly emphasised the paramilitary nature of hunting. The *Livro de Montaria Feito por El-Rei D. João I de Portugal*, supposedly written by King João I (1357-k. 1385-1433) somewhere between 1415 and 1433 (Gomes, 1997, p. 5), perfectly corroborates this idea that hunting was the non-bellucose activity most similar to war. The first four chapters are dedicated to explaining how, firstly, a large part of the *jogos* (the word used in this source, which means the activities with a more physical component appreciated by kings and noblemen) are directly related to war, and secondly, how the *montaria* is a synthesis of all of them, providing warriors all the necessary skills for good military performance: good breath capacity, speed, agility, strength, handling different weapons, riding, among others (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 247). Citing an excerpt of the text: “[...] what each one of the *jogos* gives us separately, *montaria* can give us all at once”¹¹ (Livro de Montaria, 2003, p. 16).

Let's not forget that the reign of King João I was decisively marked by war. Following the battle of Aljubarrota, in 1385, there was a constant climate of instability between Portugal and Castile, which is one possible explanation to why the monarch was such a fiery fan of *montaria* (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 248; Gomes, 1997, p. 11; Livro de Montaria, 2003, p. XXI).

The *Livro da Montaria*, goes into much detail about locating, finding, surrounding, chasing, and capturing wild boar according to the royal and aristocratic model of hunting, containing precise instructions to be followed by each participant, which is why we have chosen it as our starting point. The *Livro da Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar Toda a Sela*,¹², written by his son, who succeeded him as King Duarte I, also has a very brief mention of some issues about hunting wild boar, but too brief though to allow an in-depth analysis (*Livro da Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar Toda a Sela*, 1986, p. 102, 106 and 107).

¹¹ Translation by the author.

¹² Both the *Livro de Montaria Feito por El-Rei D. João I de Portugal* and the *Livro da ensinança de bem cavalgar toda sela que fez El-Rey Dom Eduarte de Portugal e do Algarve e senhor de Ceuta* aren't isolated creations. They appear in the context of a wide range of identical, coeval productions throughout Europe.



In Early Modern Age, just like in the Middle Ages, there was a hierarchy of animals similar to the existing social hierarchy. In this hierarchy, in Portugal, at least since the 15th century, the wild boar was considered the ultimate symbol of bravery, a quality highly appreciated by the nobles, since it put the hunters' wit, strength, and cunning to the test, allowing them to demonstrate their courage and acumen as warriors (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 252-254; Braga, 2015b, p. 187).

This explains why the wild boar was the favourite animal to be chased and hunted by kings and nobles. So much so that many Portuguese monarchs declared that no one, regardless of their social status, could hunt wild boars in certain regions of the kingdom. Examples of these measures happened in 1408, forbidding wild boar hunting in Obeeiro (História Florestal, Aquícola e Cinegética¹³, 1980, vol. I, doc. 293, p. 199); 1412, prohibiting wild boar hunting in the regions of Entre-Douro-e-Guadiana and Estremadura (HFAC, 1980, vol. I, doc. 302, p. 201-202); 1441, in Salgueira and Aceição (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 59, p. 33; Sousa, 2023, p. 184-186); 1442, in Botão and Lagares (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 112, p. 45; Sousa, 2023, p. 188-189); 1449, protecting wild boars from being hunted in the lands of Santar and Barreiro, property of Diogo Soares de Albergaria, a knight of the king (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 152, p. 59-61); in 1450, in Quiaios (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 199, p. 73; Sousa, 2023, p. 198-200); in 1466, in all the territory north of the Douro River (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 457, p. 142-143); in 1473, in the mounts of Alcobaça (HFAC, 1982, vol. III, doc. 2, p. 15); in 1480, banning their capture in Castelo Novo, Covilhã, and São Vicente da Beira (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 615, p. 208-209); and in 1522, in Santa Maria and Cambra (HFAC, 1988, vol. V, doc. 18, p. 24).

The document from 1466 has a very interesting sentence from King Afonso V (1432-k. 1446-1481). According to the monarch, “[...] it is much more of a custom for these animals to be hunted as a noble exercise and as great *desenfadamento* of the king and noblemen of the kingdom than as a necessity of common provisions”¹⁴ (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 457, p. 142-143). In this way, *montaria* was protected and assured to be practiced only by nobles, simultaneously reserving wild boars for sporting hunting and preventing that they would be captured by people of lower social groups, under penalty of having to pay heavy fines (Sousa, 2023, p. 40-41).

¹³ From now on cited as HFAC.

¹⁴ Translation by the author.



It's also important to highlight that these people would usually use crossbows, nets, or traps, which were seen as non-honourable methods for catching such an honourable animal like the wild boar, as it was conceived in the ideology of that time (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 225-229).

In 1440, the abbot of Alcobaça wrote to King Afonso V asking him to authorise them to hunt wild boars since “[...] there was and still are so many wild boars [in this region], but because we’re forbidden of killing them, they’re growing in number, and because they’re so many [...] they cause a lot of damage and no one dares to kill them”¹⁵ (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 32, p. 24-25). This case shows how royal *coutadas* for *montaria* overlapped with the private properties of ecclesiastical or manorial institutions (Sousa, 2023, p. 138, footnote 538).

However, when these situations could reach really worrying proportions, monarchs gave in and authorised people to capture wild boars, to prevent them from continuing to destroy the crops in those areas. This happened in 1404, in Pedrógão and Figueiró (HFAC, 1980, vol. I, doc. 271, p. 190); in 1406, in Sertã (HFAC, 1980, vol. I, doc. 281, p. 193); in 1440, in Alcobaça, as a response to the previous cited document (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 32, p. 24); in 1449, favouring the inhabitants of Santarém (HFAC, 1982, vol. II, doc. 148, p. 55-56); in 1491, as a privilege to the “poor people of Serra da Ossa”¹⁶ (HFAC, 1982, vol. III, doc. 333, p. 141-142); and in 1497, in Sintra and Colares (HFAC, 1983, vol. IV, doc. 65, p. 73).

Throughout the whole Early Modern period, many members of the royal family and the aristocracy were hunting enthusiasts, and some testimonies of confrontations between men and wild boar have reached present day. *Infante* Duarte (1525-1540), son of King Manuel I (1469-k. 1495-1521) and Queen Maria (1482-q. 1500-1517), would often sleep outdoors when chasing wild boar or deer, plenty of those times fully clothed (Louro, 2019, p. 22). King Sebastião I (1554-k. 1557-1580) tended to put himself in such dangerous situations that a papal nuncio even wrote to Rome about his fear that the young monarch would be killed by a bull or wild boar. In the last years of his life, Cardinal King Henry (1512-k. 1578-1580) was so ill that he hunted seated on a litter, and the officials would place the wild boars in a position in which he could kill them. King Pedro II (1648-k. 1683-1706) had

¹⁵ Translation by the author.

¹⁶ Translation by the author.



several hunting accidents, one of them confronting a wild boar, described by father António Vieira (1608-1697). There are also records of Queen Mariana Vitória (1718-q. 1750-1781) killing wild boars in 1751, 1754, and 1756. In this latter year she had pies made with them, which she sent to her daughters. In May 1765, during one of his hunts, King José I (1714-k. 1750-1777) killed 18 wild boars (Braga, 2015b, p. 195-201). These are just some of the episodes we've come across, but we believe there are still many more to be recovered from the sources.

Other topic that we find very interesting, and that has also been noted by Maria Manuela Gomes (Gomes, 1997), is the fact that the theory behind preparing wild boar hunts has little changed between Early Modern Age and present day. It is possible to establish some parallels by comparing the third chapter of her master's thesis (Gomes, 1997, p. 127-146) with the hunting methods described by Carlos Eurico da Costa (Costa, 1980, vol. II, p. 55-68). There has been changes, of course – in dressing, weaponry, among other examples –, but what we read in *Livro de Montaria* isn't very different from a wild boar hunt in the 1960's. Both King João I and Carlos Eurico da Costa communicate according to their own experience, something that emphasises the importance of knowing the species and its habits for a successful hunt.

In the 15th century, according to the *Livro de Montaria*, the most frequently used weapons were the spear and the javelin, but we can't rule out yet the possibility that other weapons could be used *in situ*, like a bow and arrow, a sword or a dagger, as suggested by Carlos Eurico da Costa (Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 44).

In the 16th century, the introduction of firearms may have taken place (Pereira, 1893, p. 10-11; Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 44). According to Carlos Eurico da Costa, due to the changes that warfare itself underwent with the introduction of gunpowder, hunting began to lose its warlike character, although it continued to be practised as an entertainment (Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 44). The dangers associated with fire guns led monarchs to issue some pieces of legislation aimed to control the damage caused by this novelty: this was the case with Kings Filipe III (1578-k. 1598-1621) in 1612, Filipe IV (1605-k. 1621-1665) in 1624, and D. João IV (Costa, 1980, vol. I, p. 62-64) in 1674.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, royal hunts continued to be organised and not only excited the royal entourage but were also reported in the newspapers of the time



(Meneses, 2001, p. 261; Braga, 2001, p. 509). Portuguese monarchs and noblewomen always demonstrated a taste for hunting that also existed in similar social strata throughout Europe.

Transformed into a code of social behaviour and practised sportingly by the elites as an entertainment and a feature of aristocratic ideology, gone were the days when hunting was just one of the main guarantees of human subsistence. But in Early Modern Age, hunting wasn't economically relevant in terms of supplying the tables of kings and noblemen (Gomes, 1997, p. 39; Braga, 2015b, p. 188).

Before moving on, it should be highlighted that hunting doesn't always involve consuming the animal, and the opposite is also true. However, as it still is today, hunting was one of the main ways of obtaining wild boar for its later consumption.

Consuming Wild Boar in Royal and Aristocratic Context in Portugal in Early Modern Age

Although it was already visible but less intricated in previous centuries, the table, in Early Modern Age, was already an important element of power. Food History goes far beyond culinary and what products were eaten. This field of study is also concerned with recognising and approaching a complex that, even though it represented a basic need across the whole of society, in royal and courtly circles involved ceremonies, practices, objects, and rituals that had their own expressions, forms, and meanings.

Ana Isabel Buescu (2011a, p. 87) wrote that “[...] ostentation and luxury, abundance and wealth, rituals and hierarchies were typical of the king's food and table, being an affirmation of the distinction, singularity and power [...] which, even though not exclusive to it [...], were characteristic of royalty”¹⁷.

In a time of so many shortages, with rare middle grounds between wealthy periods and misery periods, at a king's table everything was abundant, plentiful, and ostentatious, a distinctive and symbolic factor intertwined with the staging and ritualisation of power surrounding it, a hallmark of royal and aristocratic tables (Santos, 2002, p. 53; Buescu, 2011a, p. 100-101). Therefore, abundance was common, with dishes of great quantity, rarity, and variety being served on a daily basis. In addition to sight, the monarchs' and noblemen's tables were intended to appeal to all the other senses: smell, taste, touch, and even hearing (Santos, 2002, p. 48).

¹⁷ Translation by the author.



Back in the day, in the elites' habits, meals generally consisted of meat and/or fish, drinks (water or wine) and desserts (fresh, dried or tinned fruit and sweets) (Santos, 2002, p. 48).

Meat, along with bread (which won't be featured in this study), was one of the main food bases of the privileged groups (Santos, 2002, p. 31; Gonçalves, 2010, p. 226). Because it was considered a luxury product, it functioned as a distinctive, socially prestigious element, inseparable from great economic and hierarchical power (Buescu, 2011, p. 304; Braga, 2015, p. 35). Its consumption was only interrupted by the precepts of abstinence related to the Church's liturgical calendar, which determined abstinence and fasting for 140 to 160 days a year (Buescu, 2011a, p. 91).

There was a great diversity of consumed meats, attested by various sources and studies, and there was also a hierarchy of meats, which was reflected in their quality and price. We can say that game meat had a significant presence, but its consumption didn't predominate over that of domestic fauna (pig, cow, goat, sheep, and poultry) (Riley & Coelho, 1988, p. 239).

Some of the sources that reached present day describe some moments when wild boar made its way to the tables of the powerful. A cookery book of the court of King João III (1502-k. 1521-1557), from November of 1524, tells us that 11 wild boar piglets were consumed in that month (Santos, 2002, p. 36). In 1531, a wild boar's head was served in Brussels, on the festivals organised by Pedro Mascarenhas (1484-1555), Portugal's ambassador in the court of emperor Charles V (1500-e. 1519-1558), for the birth of Prince Manuel (1531-1537), son of King João III and Queen Catarina of Austria (1507-q. 1525-1578) (Braga, 2015, p. 47). In 1537, wild boar meat was also served on the wedding festivals of *Infante* Duarte, the already mentioned son of King Manuel I, and Isabel de Bragança (ca. 1511/12-1576), daughter of Jaime I (1479-1532), 4th Duke of Bragança, and Leonor de Mendoza (ca. 1489/90-1512) (Louro, 2019, p. 226).

Given this whole context, let's move on to the next part of this article, which is the analysis of the 23 recipes made with wild boar, found in four cookbooks¹⁸.

¹⁸ We translated all these recipes from ancient Portuguese to English, but we did some adaptations for the texts to be intelligible. We simplified the language, eliminated many commas and semicolons, and created more simple sentences. We refrained from the use of synonyms, for the texts to be as uniformised as possible. For all Portuguese and English speakers that would like to doublecheck these translation proposals, you can see each recipe directly in its the source, which is always indicated at the end of it. Regarding the units of measure, the



In the book *Arte de Cozinha*, by Domingos Rodrigues (1693, but the first edition was from 1680), we found four recipes out of 266 (Rodrigues, 2017): pickle brine for any meat and common savoury pastries, both of which could be made with wild boar; wild boar sausage pies; and wild boar pies:

1 – Pickle brine for any meat. In a bowl, pour one *quartilho* of wine, half *quartilho* of vinegar, a garlic bulb, an oregano branch, and enough salt to season this pickle brine. Cut the meat in pieces and put it in this pickle brine for three to four hours. Then fry it in butter, coat it with a bit of the boiling pickle brine sauce, and serve it while it's hot. If this pickle brine is to be used for deer and wild boar, season it with sage, thyme, and marjoram. This pickle brine lasts as much as you want (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 107);

2 – Common savoury pastries. Stew two *arráteis* of lamb after it's very well minced with one *quarta* of bacon, aromatic herbs, and one spoon of broth. When it's half stewed, season it with vinegar. Cook it with all grounded spices, add three curdled egg yolks, and leave it to cool. Knead one *oitava* of flour, one *quarta* of sugar, half *arrátel* of butter, and two egg yolks. Punch it very well and make the pastries of the size you want. Put the meat inside of them and cook them. Before serving them, mix one egg yolk with one spoon of broth, and lemon juice, and pour a bit of this sauce inside each pastry through a hole, so that the meat is softer. This minced meat recipe can be used for any type of savoury pastries made from chicken, turkey, or any other meat (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 115);

3 – Wild boar sausage pies. Mince four *arráteis* of very clean lamb leg with half *arrátel* of bacon. After it's minced, season it with salt, pepper, clove, nutmeg, a sip of wine, and another of vinegar. Change the meat from the wood chopping board to the dough board and roll it out. Top it with pork lards, season it with salt and pepper, and spray it with wine. Roll it inwards, so that the pork lards are on the inside. Knead one *quarta* of flour with one *arrátel* of pork fat, punch the dough very well and bake a big cake. Put the meat on it with bay leaves on top. Close the pie in the shape of a half-moon, and let it cook very slowly. This pie is to be eaten cold, and it lasts a week before it expires. You can bake this pie with rabbit, hare, deer, or wild boar, but instead of bay leaves, season it with sage, thyme, and marjoram (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 121-122);

4 – Wild boar pies. Take a leg of wild boar. Boil in water and salt, and then boil it in wine with sage and marjoram. When it's cooked, cover it with pork lards, and season it with salt and pepper. Knead half *alqueire* of rye or wheat flour with pork fat, bake a cake big enough to fit the whole leg and season it with thyme and marjoram. Close the pie, put it in the oven, let it cook slowly and serve it (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 122).

few studies that exist about this topic for Portuguese territory tell us that these weren't standardised, even though some monarchs tried to do it. We're not sure if the unit of measure in English would be strictly equivalent to the unit of measure in Portuguese, so we decided not to translate them to avoid misunderstandings. However, for the reader to have some idea of what is being told, we made this scheme of equivalence between the ancient units of measure used in the studied period and its value in the metric system, based on the catalogues of the Metrology Museum of the Portuguese Institute for Quality (the IPQ is the national organization that manages and promotes the development of the SPQ (Portuguese System for Quality) with its three sub-systems - Standardization, Metrology and Qualification) (Cruz & Filipe, 1990, p. 32, 3; Instituto Português de Qualidade, 2018, p. 39 and 79). Ancient units of measure in Early Modern Portugal and their equivalence in the metric system: *Alqueire* - 10 l; *Arrátel*: 458,760 g; *Oitava*: 3,574 g; *Onça*: 28,672 g; *Quarta*: 114,699 g; *Quartilho*: 500 ml.



In *Receitas de Milhores Doces e de Alguns Guizados*, by Francisco Borges Henriques (started in 1715), we located two recipes out of 665 entries, from which 377 were culinary recipes: pickle brine to preserve meat for pies; and pork head cheese:

5 – Pickle brine for meat of veal or fillet, roe deer, deer, and wild boar for pies. Clean the meat very well by skinning it whole and wash it very well. Make a pickle brine with vinegar and water, bay leaves, some oregano branches, smashed garlic, and a small crumb of grounded sweet pepper, very little of it. Put the meat on it, where it must sit for three days. Season it with salt, and you must turn it every day. Stew it with a bit of this pickle brine. Pour enough water for it to boil, and when it's boiled and seasoned, take it out [the water]. Make the dough with a bit of pork fat, pouring boiling water on it to scald the flour. Add butter and enough salt, then shape it. Sprinkle it with pepper on the bottom and on top (Henriques, 2021, recipe 220);

6 – Pork head cheese, i.e. wild boar, or domestic male or female. When the head is clean, open it down the middle through the lower mandible. Chop the bones very well, then shake [the head] to make them fall as much as possible. Put it in a pan, cover it with equal parts of wine and water, enough salt, parsley, marjoram, sage, coriander, mint, sour lemon peels, orange peels from China, pepper, cinnamon, grounded cloves, and let it boil until the head is well cooked. Take it out [the water] and shake off the bones, that will easily detach. Put it again in the sauce to let it warm. While it's hot, fold it and wrap it in a thick and draining cloth. Place it inside the press, in a very tight way, keeping it like this for twenty-four hours. Then take it out the press, cut it in very thin slices, and serve them in a nappy bowl, seasoned with strong vinegar and very well-grounded pepper, clove, and ginger (Henriques, 2021, recipe 233).

In the cookbook *Cozinheiro Moderno, ou Nova Arte de Cozinha*, by Lucas Rigaud (1780), there are four recipes out of 715: stuffed wild boar head; wild boar hindquarters; wild boar loins in different ways; and wild boar cured ham.

7 – Stuffed wild boar head. After the head is cut, singed and clean [...], open it on the bottom, and remove all the bones, except the ones on the edge of the snout and on the edge of the lower mandible, in a way that, after it's cooked, it's possible to see its teeth. Pour water on it so the blood drops, and after it's bled and dry, cover the neck with thick pork lards, and season it with salt, pepper, and grounded aromatic herbs. Take some thin slices beef loins, pork loins, tongues, and pork's ear, pieces of pork's belly, bacon, and cured ham. Season it like the head, with grounded common salt, saltpetre, pepper, and aromatic herbs. After it's seasoned like this and well covered with brine for three or four days, take it off, put it in a cloth with the ears upside down and garnish it on the inside with the loins, bacon, and the rest of the meat. When it's full and tighten, sew it with a trussing needle and twine. Wrap it in a strong cloth, and after it's well closed, secure, and knotted with twine, boil it in some seasoning [...]. After it's cold and trimmed, serve it like that, garnished with sauce for ham. It can also be prepared like the pork's head, without being stuffed, and it can be served in the same way (Rigaud, 1999, p. 63-64);

8 – Wild boar hindquarters. After the wild boar is skinned and its hindquarters are prepared, cover them with thick pork lards seasoned with salt, pepper and grounded spices. After that, marinate them in salt, pepper, vinegar, garlic, and all kinds of grounded herbs. After they're marinated, roast them on a spit and serve them with spicy sauce. They can also be served boiled with seasoning or like stewed meat. Forequarters can also be served in the same way (Rigaud, 1999, p. 64);



9 – Wild boar loins in different ways. After the loins are cut lengthways and all the layer that cover them is trimmed, cover them with thin pork lards. After they're marinated and roasted, serve them with bounded *piverada*¹⁹ sauce. You can also cover them with well-seasoned thick pork lards, just like the meat from the legs, and make well-nourished pies with cut thick slices of bacon on the bottom and on top of it. Serve them cold as entremets (Rigaud, 1999, p. 64);

10 – Wild boar cured ham. After the wild boar's legs are cut for the hams, singed, and well cleaned, make a very strong brine with salt, saltpetre, all kinds of aromatic herbs, like thyme, bay, basil, mint, marjoram, Summer savory, cut juniper berries, adding to all of this as much water as wine lees. Let this mixture infuse for twenty-four hours, and it will clarify. After that, put the hams inside of it and let them sit for fifteen to twenty days. After this time, tight them in a press for a few days, take them off, place them in a well closed room, and smoke them with aromatic herbs and juniper berries fumes. When they're dry, keep them in a dry and cool place and use them whenever you want. [...] If you don't want to put them on the brine, rub them with grounded salt, dry them in the oven, and keep them in a salting tub, sprinkling the meat part with saltpetre, and cover them with grounded fine salt, aromatic herbs, and juniper berries, and let them rest. When the salting tub is full, and covered with a cloth or its lid, and placed in a cool place, let the hams in there for three to four weeks. Then take them off, place them between two boards with a lot of weight on top of them, or tighten in a press for three to four days, smoke them and keep them as it's said. (Rigaud, 1999, p. 64-65).

Last but not least, in the *Livro de Receitas de Cozinha, de Cosméticos e de Mezinhas*, by friar Manuel de Santa Teresa (18th century), we found thirteen recipes out of 283: pickle brine for any meat; wild boar leg pie; wild boar in pickle brine; how to garnish wild boar; fresh wild boar cooked; salted wild boar; five different recipes of sauce for wild boar or wild boar pies; female wild boar breast during pregnancy or breastfeeding; and wild boar pies.

11 – Pickle brine for any meat. In a bowl, pour one *quartilho* of wine, half *quartilho* of vinegar, a garlic bulb, an oregano branch, and enough salt to season this pickle brine. Let pieces of cut meat sit in this pickle brine for three to four hours. Fry them in butter and coat them with a bit of boiling pickle brine sauce. Serve them. The pickle brine for deer and wild boar can be seasoned with sage, thyme, and marjoram. This pickle brine lasts as much as you want (Braga, 2015a, p. 149);

12 – [Wild boar leg pie]²⁰. Take a leg of wild boar. Boil it in water and salt, then boil it in wine with sage and marjoram. When it's cooked, cover it with pork lards, and season it well with salt and pepper. Knead half *alqueire* of rye or wheat flour with pork fat, bake a cake big enough to fit the whole leg and season it with thyme and marjoram. Close the pie, put it in the oven, let it cook slowly and serve it (Braga, 2015a, p. 176);

13 – Wild boar in pickle brine. In a bowl, pour one *quartilho* of wine, half *quartilho* of vinegar, a garlic bulb, sage, thyme, and marjoram, and enough salt to season this pickle brine. Let pieces of cut meat sit in this pickle brine for three to four days, I mean hours. Fry them in butter and coat them with a bit of hot boiling pickle brine

¹⁹ *Piverada* is a sauce typical from Portuguese gastronomy consisting of a stew seasoned with pepper, olive oil, garlic, salt, and vinegar (Bluteau, 1720, vol. VI, p. 538).

²⁰ This recipe doesn't have a title, so we titled it ourselves.



sauce. Serve them. [The meat in] this pickle brine lasts as much as you want (Braga, 2015a, p. 177);

14 – How to garnish wild boar. After it's dead and singed or clean of its hairs with hot water, cut the head and the neck of the wild boar until the scapulas. Take its tongue off, wash the head very well and wrap it in a cloth and the tongue goes on the outside, I mean on the inside. Boil the head in a pot or a cauldron in which you can cover it whole. Add much salt so that it's well salted. Add sage, marjoram, thyme, a layer of wine, and half layer of vinegar and boil it until it's well cooked. Take it out and unwrap it. Mix two *onças* of grounded cinnamon with a bit of pepper and nutmeg and sprinkle this mixture on top of the meat, so that is seasoned. Steam it very well with a cloth for half hour and serve it decorated with branches of herbs. If you want the neck meat to be scorched, cut some thin slices, grill them, and season them with a bit of red wine, lemon juice, cinnamon, and nutmeg, but no more spices. Serve it hot (Braga, 2015a, p. 177);

15 – Boiled fresh wild boar. Take a piece of unsalted fresh wild boar loin or chest and boil it in water, salt, wine, vinegar, sage, marjoram, and thyme. When the meat is boiled, add whole cloves and whole pepper, let it finish cooking and serve it over white soup. Skin half the piece of meat, but you can leave the skin of the other half. On the half you skinned, make two or three cuts in the loin and fill them with some bread slices, but no more meat. Add sea fennel's branches and serve it with mustard or oregano (Braga, 2015a, p. 177);

16 – Salted wild boar. This one is to be salted before it smells bad. Debone it from the big bones like the backbones, the scapulas, the legs' bones, and cut it in small pieces. If it's already dead for some days, dip the pieces in vinegar and then salt them. Let them sit in the salt and hang them in an airy place two days later. After it's dried, this meat is very good to be eaten with turnips and other vegetables (Braga, 2015a, p. 178);

17 – Sauce for wild boar pies. Take some bread slices and toast them on a grill above a fire that has a lot of flames. Let them burn until they're very black. Then pass them right away on cold water, to remove the smoke it had from the flames. Pour enough broth to cover them, as well as wine, vinegar, and a hand full of garden herbs, like sage, marjoram, thyme, *azedas*²¹, onions, and mint. Let it boil little by little until the bread is soft. Pass them through a *manga*²² and when they're mashed, season them with all the spices (Braga, 2015a, p. 269);

18 – Another sauce for wild boar or wild boar hot pies. This sauce must be very black, so you must burn the flour and dissolve it with a bit of vinegar. Pour this broth, wine, a hand full of sage, marjoram, and thyme, and a bit of onion fried in thin bacon. Add cinnamon, pepper, clove, nutmeg, and ginger. This sauce must be very black and very bittersweet, so add the necessary sugar and vinegar to make it bittersweet. Serve it hot (Braga, 2015a, p. 269).

19 – Another hot sauce for wild boar. Take the wild boar and boil it in water, wine, vinegar, salt, marjoram, sage, and thyme. When the meat is cooked, or almost cooked, take it off, and let it cool. Burn bread, then pass it on cold water to remove the smoke, because if you do this it disappears right away. Cook this bread in the

²¹ We couldn't identify which herb was this, because in 18th century Portugal there were three herbs commonly known by *azedas*: two plants from the *Oxalidaceae* family and another from the *Polygonaceae* family (Bluteau, 1712, vol. I, p. 690).

²² We didn't find an appropriate translation for this word, so we decided not to translate it, but it was a type of strainer.



broth of the wild boar meat and pass it through a *manga*. After it's seasoned with all the spices, you will have a brownish sauce. Season it with all the spices, sugar, and vinegar to make it bittersweet. All the sauces that have sugar also have to have cinnamon and salt if necessary (Braga, 2015a, p. 269-270);

20 – Another sauce for wild boar. Put the wild boar meat in a pickle brine made of oregano, salt, water, vinegar, and garlic, without anything else. Put the raw meat in it, where it will sit for twenty-four hours. Then roast it on the grill or the spit. Serve the sauce by making it from this same unstrained pickle brine. Season it with all the spices and serve it while it's hot. The oregano has to be very well grounded (Braga, 2015a, p. 270);

21 – Another sauce for wild boar. Roast the meat on the grill or the spit. Cover it with bacon slices, salt, and pepper. Put in vinegar, salt, garlic, oregano, and a bit of white wine, without any water. Let it sit in this pickle brine for ten hours. Roast it again and serve it with a bit of this same pickle brine seasoned with all the spices (Braga, 2015a, p. 270);

22 – Female wild boar breast during pregnancy or breastfeeding, i.e. female wild boar or female domestic pig, which means the belly of female wild boars or of domestic pigs. Take the breast of the female wild boar while she's pregnant or breastfeeding and boil it. When it's cooked, put it hot in seasoning or in a pickle brine of salt, oregano, a bit of wine, all the spices, and a bit of thyme and marjoram. After three hours, remove it and cover it with slices of bacon and roast it in a spit or open it down the middle and roast it in the grills. Serve it with a bit of the same seasoning and lemon juice. You can also serve it toasted, on some toasted bread slices. Then make a *piverada* with good red wine, a bit of vinegar, sugar, pepper, ginger, some whole cloves, cinnamon, and a bit of broth. Boil it until the sugar starts to caramelize. Pour this *piverada* on top of the breast and the bread slices, so that they get well soaked. Then stew them for a while and serve it hot. You can also serve this breast with sour cherries' sauce. Take two *arráteis* of sour cherries, remove the stems and the pits, add half *arrátel* of sugar, a bit of red wine, some whole cloves and some cinnamon sticks. Let everything cook until it's well caramelized and pour this sauce over the breast and the toasted bread slices. Then pour sour green grape's sauce on top of it all. This breast can be served just like it's described, on some toasted bread slices or with pomegranate's sauce, which is good for lots of other things (Braga, 2015a, p. 293-294);

23 – Wild boar pie. Take a leg of wild boar. Boil it in water and salt, then boil it again in wine with sage and marjoram. When it's cooked, cover it with pork lards, and season it very well with salt and pepper. Knead half *alqueire* of rye or wheat flour with pork fat and bake a cake big enough to fit the whole leg. Season it with thyme and marjoram. Close the pie, put it in the oven, let it cook slowly and serve it (Braga, 2015a, p. 319-320).

From the comparative analysis we made with recipes from other animals' meats, we didn't find any substantial differences between them and wild boar recipes. All the meats seemed to be cooked along the same lines, so we didn't identify any specificities in the processes of cooking wild boar.

In total we found four recipes for pickle brines (1, 5, 11, 13) and one for salted wild boar (16), both of which were processes used to preserve the meat.



As we can imagine, in Early Modern Age there was a great deal of concern about food preservation, due to the lack of cold storage networks (Braga, 2017a, p. 74). Thus, a series of techniques like these were applied which, in the case of wild boar, just like other foods, mainly involved salt, smoke, vinegar, and pork fat, extending the meat's expiry date. This topic makes us reflect on the fact that meat trade – whether it was wild boar or other animal – was probably limited to regional circuits, due to conservation problems and the slowness of communications (Freire, 2020, p. 63).

In the gastronomy of that time, pies and savoury pastries were very common (Freire, 2020, p. 61). This study presents four recipes for wild boar pies (3, 4, 12, 23), one for savoury pastries (2), five recipes of sauces for pies (17, 18, 19, 20, 21) and one of a pickled brine meat for pies (5). Given this point of view, it's interesting to note that, by preserving the meat after it was cooked, it could more easily become part of the filling of these delicacies.

There is a recipe in *Receitas de Milhores Doces e de Alguns Guizados* for a pork head's cheese (which could be domestic pig or wild boar) that consisted of removing all the bones from the animal's head, boiling it in a mixture of wine, vinegar, spices, and aromatic herbs, and tight it in a press. This may seem like a strange dish, but it's still consumed in Portugal nowadays, especially in the Alentejo region.

There are also two recipes in Lucas Rigaud's cookery book that we should highlight. Firstly, the recipe for stuffed wild boar head (7), which states the following: “[...] remove all the bones, except the ones on the edge of the snout and on the edge of the lower mandible, in a way that, after it's cooked, it's possible to see its teeth”, an aspect that leads us to the theatricality in the presentation of dishes, which was very common in this period among these social groups. This recipe is probably very similar to that of the wild boar's head served in Brussels, in 1531, at the aforementioned festivals organised by Pedro Mascarenhas to celebrate the birth of Prince Manuel. The main purpose of this types of dishes – just like the peacocks adorned with their feathers, the swan with golden wings or the live birds' pies served on that same meal (Braga, 2015a, p. 56) – was to impress all the guests and demonstrate the power of the host of the event.

Also noteworthy was the recipe for wild boar ham (10), a delicacy still so dear to Iberian gastronomy that it was usually always ready to be consumed (Freire, 2020, p. 63).



In what concerns ingredients, apart of course from the various cuts of wild boar meat, the star of these dishes and this research, the recipes analysed use: bread (17, 19, 22); broth (2, 17, 18, 19, 22); butter (1, 2, 5, 11, 13); eggs, but only the yolks (2); flour – of rye (4, 12, 23), wheat (4, 12, 18) or unspecified (2, 3, 18); garlic (1, 5, 8, 11, 13, 20, 21); juniper berries (10); lemon – juice (2, 14, 22) and peels (6); onion (17, 18); orange peel from China²³ (6); other meats, such as bacon (2, 3, 7, 9, 18, 21, 22), beef loin (7), cured ham (6, 7), pork belly (7), pork ear (7), pork lards (3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 23), pork loin (7) and pork tongue (7); *piverada* sauce (9, 22); salt (all the recipes, except 2, 5, 9, 17, 18); saltpetre (7, 10); sugar (2, 18, 19, 22); vinegar, always unspecified (all the recipes, except 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 23); water (4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23); and wine – red wine (16, 22), white wine (21), wine lees (23) and unspecified (1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23). We also found spices – unspecified in some cases (2, 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22) and identified in others (cinnamon: 6, 14, 18, 19, 22; clove: 3, 6, 15, 18, 22; ginger: 6, 18, 22; mustard: 15; nutmeg: 3, 14, 18; pepper: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 23; and sweet pepper: 5). In most cases, spices were used in unspecific forms, but sometimes the recipes refer that they should be used grounded (2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14) or whole (15, 22). Finally, there are quite a few aromatic herbs – unspecified in some cases (2, 7, 8, 10, 17), but identified in others: basil (10); bay (3, 5, 6, 10); coriander (6); *erva azeda* (17); mint (6, 10, 17); oregano (1, 5, 11, 15, 20, 21, 22); parsley (6); sea fennel (15); and Summer savory (10). Let us also underline the use of marjoram (1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23), sage (1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23), and thyme (1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23), not only very frequent, as we can by the number of cited recipes, but also frequently combined together – let's note how the cited recipes are pretty much the same in the three cases. Just like spices, most times herbs were used in unspecified forms, but there's also mention of using them in branches (1, 5, 11, 14, 15) or in leaves (3, 5, 6). Except for the reference to a “hand full of garden herbs” (17), we also don't know if they were used dried or fresh.

Usually, there was no separation between the ingredients and the preparation steps, so the former appear as the latter are described. In most cases, there is no indication at all of quantities. In others, precise quantities are stated, in the form of units of food (2: “three [...] egg yolks”, “two egg yolks”, “one egg yolk”) or units of measure (*alqueire*: 4, 12, 23;

²³ This was the only geographical reference found, and it meant sweet orange, instead of the sourer orange typically known in Portugal at that time.



arrátel: 2, 3, 22; *oitava*: 2; *onça*: 14; *quarta*: 2, 3; *quartilho*: 1, 11, 13). The spoon is also referred as a unit of measure (2), but the text doesn't state its size. In other cases, only the experience and wisdom of the person preparing the recipe is relied upon ("a bit": 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14, 18, 21, 22; "a small crumb": 5; "a hand full": 17 and 18; "a sip": 3) (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 17).

In Early Modern Age, meat could be eaten fresh (15), preserved in pickle brines (1, 5, 11, 13, 20), salted (16), or smoked (10), four types that we find in the dishes analysed (Braga, 2015, p. 43).

The ways of serving it were numerous, and we found some possibilities in our set of recipes: boiled (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23); in pastries or pies (2, 3, 4, 12, 23); minced (2); roasted (8, 9, 20, 22); stewed (2, 5, 8, 9); stuffed (7); or in one of the many types of sausages that has always existed in Portuguese gastronomy (3) (Braga, 2015, p. 43).

Regarding preparation processes, we observed that wild boar meat could be bled (7); cleaned (3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 14); cut (1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16); dried (7, 10); *lardeado* – i.e. covered in pork lards (3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 23); marinated (5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 21); seasoned (all the recipes); sewed (7); shaken (6); skinned (5, 8, 15); singed (7, 10, 14); sprayed (3); and steamed (14) (Braga, 2015, p. 43).

In terms of plating and finishing touches, we see the wild boar being decorated with branches of aromatic herbs (14, 15), folded (6), pressed (6, 10), scorched (14), and sprinkled with grounded spices and/ or aromatic herbs (5, 6, 14) (Braga, 2015, p. 43).

Generally, meat dishes were accompanied by bread, vegetables, sauces, and/or other meats (Braga, 2015, p. 43). There are only three references to the actual accompaniments, which don't deviate much from this scheme: the "boiled fresh wild boar" (5) is accompanied by white soup, bread and meat; the "salted wild boar" (6) "is very good to be eaten with turnips and other vegetables"; and the "female wild boar breast" was to be served on toasted bread slices. When it comes to sauces, besides those five recipes of sauces to accompany wild boar meat or wild boar pies (17, 18, 19, 20, 21), there's mention of them in recipes 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, and 22. Most of them stem for the pickle brines used to preserve the meat. But in some cases, specific sauces were used like "sauce for ham" (7), "spicy sauce" (8), "piverada sauce" (9, 16) and "sour cherries' sauce", "sour green grape's sauce" and "pomegranate's sauce" (22).



Concerning utensils, we found bowls (1, 11, 13); boards (3, 10); a cauldron (14); cloths (6, 7, 10, 14); grills (17, 20, 21, 22); a lid (10); a *manga* (a type of strainer) (17, 19); a nappy bowl (6); a needle (7); presses (6, 10); a pan (6); a pot (14); a salting tub (10); spits (8, 9, 20, 21, 22); a spoon (2); and twine (7).

Other common characteristics found in these recipes, which can also be found in most cookbooks from the Early Modern period. There is no information about the number of portions that can be served. It was also very rare for preparation and cooking times to be specified (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 16), but in this set of recipes, there are eight that indicate a number of hours (1, 6, 20, 11, 13, 20, 21, 22); four that indicate a number of days (5, 7, 10, 16); and one that indicates a number of weeks (10). Another unexpected detail is the indication of expiry dates (1, 3, 11, 13).

Finally, before changing topics, we should point out an interesting curiosity: the recipes “pickle brine for any meat” (11), “wild boar pickle brine” (13), and “wild boar pie” (23) by friar Manuel de Santa Teresa come from the recipes “pickle brine for any meat” (1) and “wild boar pies” (4) by Domingos Rodrigues.

We would like to finish by alluding to the fact that, in this time, food was closely linked to health issues, and it was very common throughout Europe for these kinds of books to mix culinary, cosmetic, medicinal, pharmaceutical, agricultural, domestic, and spiritual recipes, among other types of notes (Freire, 2020, p. 21). After all, the kitchen tended to be one of the central spaces in a house, and almost everything used to be prepared there. Foods had defined and long-established medicinal functions, and a balanced diet was believed to be essential to maintain or restore health, which resulted from the balance of the four humours: blood (hot and moist), black bile (cold and dry), yellow bile (hot and dry), and phlegm (cold and moist) (Freire, 2020, p. 33-34). This is important to understand one of Lucas Rigaud’s initial comments: “[...] there are two kinds of pigs, domestic and wild; the domestic pig should be fat, but not too old, and not too young, and fed with good sustenance, such as acorns, chestnuts, corn, turnips, etc.; and although pig [domestic or wild] is indigestible, it is very tasty, and it would be almost impossible to work well in a kitchen without using it”²⁴ (Rigaud, 1999, p. 60). Doctor Francisco da Fonseca Henriques, in his *Anchora Medicinal para Conservar a Vida com Saude*, from 1721, states that “[...] wild boars are hot and dry;

²⁴ Translation by the author.



and many [authors] write that their meat is better than that of domestic pigs, because it doesn't have so much excrement's moisture, and so it's easier to cook and digest; this is said about young wild boars; if they're older, since they're harder and drier, they're less appreciated"²⁵ (Henriques, 1721, p. 121).

Collect the wild boar's carcass / Serving the wild boar: a conclusion

In Early Modern Age, the Human-Wild Boar relationship was based, above all, on the hunting and the consumption of the latter by the former.

With this research, we intended to demonstrate how wild boar hunting was practised between the 15th and 18th centuries, not only by analysing the symbolism of this act and of the animal itself, but also some of the most common methods used to capture it.

Hunting, one of the favourite entertainments of royalty and the aristocracy, was one of the main ways of obtaining wild boar for its consumption, and its meat was highly appreciated, especially among the elites, who had easier access to it.

Except for the case of Queen Mariana Vitoria, we found no other explicit link in the sources between hunting and consuming wild boar. Logically, hunting didn't always imply consumption, and the opposite is also true. However, and I say this also based on the experience I had with my grandparents, hunting was one of the main ways of obtaining wild boar for consumption.

By analysing 23 wild boar recipes from the late 17th and 18th centuries we were able to get an idea of how the meat was prepared and cooked, what were some used methods, utensils, seasonings, and accompaniments.

However, several questions remain to be clarified, which could originate further research. Meat could be obtained at fairs, markets, and stalls, hence the existence of a considerable number of officials linked to slaughtering, skinning, trading, and transporting, such as butchers, cutters, skimmers, slaughterers, merchants, salespeople, among others.

Let's also not forget that, at least during the Middle Ages, a noble could receive parts of big game pieces from his servants as a form of payment. Could this continue to happen during Early Modern Age?

²⁵ Translation by the author.



We were also left to wonder if it was possible to receive meat, namely wild boar meat, as a gift or an offer.

Besides these questions, we believe that there is still much to find out about the interactions between wild boars and members of the lower social groups. Would they be like the ones we analysed here? How often would wild boars be hunted by them? How frequent was their consumption of wild boar meat?

We would like to finish this article with a note about the fact that not all the dishes cooked in royal and aristocratic contexts were as complex and laborious as those analysed, either in general terms or specifically with wild boar. These recipes that reached present day were meticulously recorded in writing exactly because they were so complex and, therefore, the intention was that the precise methods with which they should be prepared wouldn't be lost or misrepresented – a bit like describing in writing the correct way to hunt wild boar, recorded by King João I in his *Livro da Montaria*.

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Submetido em: 14 de agosto de 2024

Avaliado em: 02 de setembro de 2024

Aceito em: 30 de setembro de 2024