‘In her tyme’: Understandings of Time in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Recipe Books.

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Abstract

‘“In her tyme”: Understandings of Time in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Recipe Books’ is an original contribution to historical understanding of life in early modern Scotland, primarily concerned with representations of time and temporality in seventeenth-century Scottish recipe books. It principally draws from the National Library of Scotland’s holding of culinary and medical recipe books, focusing on eight manuscripts written across the seventeenth and into the early-eighteenth centuries. All of the writers it considers were Scottish noblewomen with charge of rural estates of varying sizes. This thesis asks how time was understood by these recipe-book writers. It explores temporal expression from clock time to ‘forever’; analyses the ways in which time was culturally and historically constructed; and specifically relates its findings to the experiences of elite women in early modern Scotland. It is situated within early modern Scottish women’s history, and benefits from inter-disciplinary research in the areas of time studies and recipe-book studies.

Exploring representations of time from the minutiae to beyond the lifetime, this thesis makes three key contributions. First, it establishes that time was understood as complex and ‘multi-temporal’. It then argues that the specific representations explored here represent a ‘timescape’ unique to the writers of these texts. These core understandings then draw towards the argument that ‘temporal agency’ was a significant part of the political and cultural influence of elite women in early modern Scotland. Throughout, the importance of studying time and bringing it into conversation with the field of Scottish women’s history, is clear.

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Abbreviations

National Library of Scotland: NLS.

All primary source material (except Glamis Castle Volume 243) is held by the NLS, and so this has been omitted in short references.

Reference.	**Referred to in text as: (Recipe Book/ Book of Receipts may be omitted after first reference)**
Lady Anna Elcho et al., 'Book of Recipes', 1600s-1735, ***MS 3031.*** *NLS.*	*Balfour/Wemyss Recipe Book.*
Fletcher of Saltoun, 'Anonymous Recipe Book', 1709, ***MS 17856.*** *NLS.*	*Fletcher of Saltoun Recipe Book.*
Helen Middleton, 'Recipe Book', late 17th Century, ***Vol 243****. Glamis Castle Archives.*	*Glamis Castle Recipe Book.*
Helen Cochrane, 'Recipe Book', 1683, ***Dep 313/503.*** *NLS.*	*Helen Cochrane's Recipe Book.*
Katherine Bruce (Lady Saltoun), 'Recipe Book', 1668, ***MS 17854****. NLS.*	*Katherine Bruce's Recipe Book 1.*
Katherine Bruce (Lady Saltoun), 'Recipe Book', 1700, ***MS 17855.*** *NLS.*	*Katherine Bruce's Recipe Book 2.*
Anon, 'Household recipe book, stamped and inscribed with the initials 'M.I.M.', containing culinary and medical recipes', 1660-1699, ***MS 15912.*** *NLS.*	*MIM Recipe Book.*
Anon, 'Scone Book of Receipts', 1692, ***Acc. 13444.*** *NLS.*	*Scone Book of Receipts.*
Fletcher of Saltoun, 'Anonymous Recipe Book', 1709, ***MS 17856.*** *NLS.*	*Fletcher of Saltoun Recipe Book.*

Introduction

In a collection of her mother's recipes, Jean Wemyss, Countess of Sutherland inscribed on the inside cover:

> *This Book was my mothers in wch are many Receits wch shee had from ye most famous phisitians yt lived in her tyme, shee Dyed in novbr 1649 J: W: Southerland.*[1]

This inscription marked three stages of the book's lifecycle: her mother's past ownership, Wemyss' present place in the narrative, and the 'imagined future' of the book. Wemyss' inscription is unique in the eight books explored in this thesis, but this sense of time is not: each of the books is drenched in time and temporality. This dissertation is concerned with time in all of its forms: from conceptual understandings of past, present, and future, down to the minutiae of everyday time use and measurement. In focusing on manuscript recipe books compiled by elite women, this dissertation not only opens up the field of time-studies in early modern Scotland but makes a distinct contribution to the study of Scottish women's history.

In recent years, time studies within the historical discipline have moved beyond their initial focus on modernity and into the early modern.[2] Despite exciting new work unfolding in Scottish cultural history and interest in the history of the everyday, these developing fields have not yet crossed over: historians have not yet approached the question of how time was understood in early modern Scotland (c.1560-c.1750).[3] This is a notable absence: the cultural construction of time was not only shaped by surrounding cultural factors such as gender and religion but also shaped these elements in turn. The study of time in this period - one of significant religious upheaval, technological change, evolving understandings of gender and the household, political shifts, and medical innovation - is therefore highly valuable. This thesis draws together time scholarship from the fields of philosophy, archaeology, geography, and literature, and considers their theoretical contributions in an historical context.

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[1] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Lady Anna Elcho et al., 'Book of Recipes', 1600s-1735, MS 3031, inside cover.

[2] See Merry Wiesner-Hanks, ed., *Gendered Temporalities in the Early Modern World* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018) for a recent foray into time in the early modern. For older scholarship around modernity and time, see E P Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), pp.55-97.

[3] Karin Bowie, 'Cultural, British and Global Turns in the History of Early Modern Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review,* 234 (2013), pp.38-48 at p.43 acknowledges both the cultural turn and the importance of women's and gender history in this rise; the 'everyday' turn came into direct contact with early modern Scotland in 2010, with the publication of Elizabeth Foyster & Christopher Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).
The dates c.1560-c.1750 have been chosen to represent the period which can be understood as pre-Enlightenment, post-Reformation Protestant Scotland. This study will focus specifically on the 'long seventeenth century' c.1600-1735, extending into the early eighteenth century due to the natural parameters of the source material.

At first, recipe books may appear as an unusual choice as a source base through which to explore time. They have been under-explored in the Scottish context, with few historians conducting in-depth studies or even using them in broader work.[4] Furthermore, while the exact purpose of recipe book composition is more complex than simply writing down recipes to be used in the home, we can say with a little more certainty that writers were not compiling recipe books with the intention of revealing their understandings of time(!). However, scholarship from across Europe has revealed the expansive potential of these sources, from Leong's work on the production of knowledge to DiMeo's study of reading practices and communication networks.[5] The sources used here contain both medical and culinary recipes, are rich in potential for material analysis, and reveal complex, varied understandings of time from across the long seventeenth century. Recipe books reveal the process of time being translated from the abstract to the understandable; representing a unique cultural context, they are windows into a microcosm of everyday life.

Literature Review

As noted above, this thesis benefits from, and draws together, multiple fields of study, the primary three of which are early modern Scottish gender history, time-studies, and recipe book scholarship. These can be understood respectively as the contextual, theoretical, and methodological wings of the project. While of course, each overlaps with the other, this approach helps to define the parameters of this study more clearly, and the context within which it makes a distinct contribution.

Historical Context

In 2011, Katie Barclay made the case that scholarship on Scottish early modern 'women's and family history' was lacking.[6] In the intervening decade, a good deal of progress has been made, including a recent (2023) special issue of the *Scottish Historical Review* which used the lens of 'women's authoritative voice' to highlight the impact of women both in Scottish history and culture, and as academics in the field of Scottish History.[7] However, it remains true that there are notable areas which continue to call out for attention (for example, the body and materiality). Perhaps most notably, Barclay's own work combined with that of Janay Nugent (2019) has positioned the family and the 'domestic' as fluid in this period: relations and spaces that ebbed and flowed over the space of the lifetime, and which could be 'quickly breached' in community interest.[8] For noble-women, the

[4] These exceptions will be discussed in the literature review to follow.
[5] Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019); Michelle DiMeo, 'Authorship and Medical Networks: Reading Attributions in Early Modern Recipe Books' in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550-1800* ed. by Michelle DiMeo & Sara Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.25-47.
[6] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[7] Katie Barclay and Rebecca Mason, 'Scottish Women's and Gender History and Women Historians in Scotland: Past, Present and Future Directions', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 259 (2023), pp.187-210.
[8] Ibid.*;* Janay Nugent, ''None Must Meddle Betueene Man and Wife': Assessing Family and the Fluidity of Public and Private in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of Family History*, 35:3 (2019), pp.219-231 at p.227.

domestic space was a key realm of control: they often managed account-books and household expenditure, the organisation of servants (including men), the rearing and socialising of children, and the organisation of the physical space through the purchasing of items and through the attention given to spaces such as the garden.[9] These concepts are further reflected in Nicola Cowmeadow's 2012 PhD thesis, which highlights the importance of family as a tool of power in the political lives of Scottish noblewomen; and in Emily Taylor's 2022 case study of Grisell Baillie and Margaret Calderwood, wherein she highlights the impact such women had on the cultural ideas of the 'next generation'.[10] In these studies, it is clear that the household was an arena for political power and cultural influence for elite women. This sense of public/private flexibility also prompts questions as to the recipe books' boundaries, given their status as texts composed and intended for use within the home; in the context of time, it also sparks the idea of 'temporal boundaries' and where these lay. This latter concept has not been explored in Scottish scholarship but is hinted at in Amanda Flather's work on early modern English domesticity, where she suggests that spatial boundaries were mediated by time.[11] For example, she discusses how the streets at night became a different time-space, further affected by the time of year, which could have profound implications on relations and experience of gendered identities.[12] This framework is a helpful complement to the time-centred analysis in this work; somewhat reversing Flather's approach, we can think about how spaces ('the domestic', the body, the recipe book) mediated temporal understanding. While women existed in many spaces, much of their influence was had in 'the domestic'; crucially, however, this does not make it or them any less meaningful. To see the domestic as less important than 'public spaces' such as the court or the government is to look at History through the eyes of men and patriarchal power structures, and to impose a false dichotomy of 'separate spheres'. Gender history challenges structures, who we 'stand with' and the spaces we look at.[13]

The space of the body is also vital context: understanding recipe books as neither simply 'medical' nor 'culinary' is itself embedded in contemporary understandings of the humoral system and the professionalisation of medical practice. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton's 1997 *Women, Science and Medicine* emphasises the importance of female medical practitioners, scientific experimentation taking place in the home, and the fluid parameters of the 'domestic' in these medical and experimental

[9] Edinburgh, NLS, Jean Wemyss, 'Account Book', 1650-54, Dep. 313/502, p.24, p.44 (for example); Keith Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p.81, p.82, p.139, p.182.
[10] Nicola Margaret Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen, The Family and Scottish Politics from 1688-1707'. PhD Thesis, University of Dundee, 2012; Emily Taylor, 'Matriarchal Journeys: Identity and Generational Exchange in the Travels of Lady Grisell Baillie and Margaret Calderwood of Polton, c.1730–1757', *The Scottish Historical Review* 2: 256 (2022), pp.248-277.
[11] Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007), p.177.
[12] Ibid., p.130.
[13] Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen' provides many excellent examples of alternative forms of political exercised by women both within and outwith the home.

contexts.[14] Their work focuses on England, but these patterns are backed up in a Scottish context by Charlotte Holmes' recent PhD thesis 'Domestic Medicine in Early Modern Scotland'.[15] Prior to Holmes, Helen Dingwall's 2003 *A History of Scottish Medicine* provided a broad overview, but other than a brief discussion of women sharing recipes and treating each other, her approach for the early modern is primarily top-down, with a focus on university medical education.[16] Holmes on the other hand, makes a solid case for a Scottish medical community (both 'professional' and otherwise) engaged with international knowledge networks while retaining a sense of the 'Scottish picture'. Drawing on themes found in adjacent areas, she emphasises underlying continuities across the period within the 'community' of medical practice (encompassing male 'professionals', female healers within communities, and everyday family-centred practitioners). This scholarship can be brought together to understand that recipes were about experimentation, cultivation of health, and knowledge-sharing: these ideas are vital to appreciating the recipe books in their cultural context, and will be key to the analysis herein.

This understanding of the medical is complemented by new developments in the cultural history of the body. Again thinking about space-time interaction, Hannah Newton's consideration of space and recovery in Early Modern England emphasises the psychological implications and cultural construction of a physical state (in this case, recovery from illness).[17] This was a helpful reminder to consider understandings of the body and its states as fluid, and the implications this can have on an individual's experience of the world. Newton's work aligns with developments in the study of embodiment - perhaps most strikingly Barbacia, Packard and Wanninger's chapter 'Maybe Baby' in Wiesner-Hanks' *Gendered Temporalities* (a key collection which will be discussed in the following section).[18] Here the authors discuss how the 'liminality' of pregnancy (much like Newton's sense of the 'liminality' of recovery) was a psychological and cultural state which had a significant impact on time-sense, particularly given the high mortality rate of pregnancy in this period.[19] The body is a vital 'translator' of time, as will be explored throughout this thesis: thus understanding the body as a constructed space in this vein is key to understanding how time too was not 'permanent' or 'objective' but culturally moderated.

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[14] Lynette Hunter & Sarah Hutton ed., *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* (Thrupp: Sutton Pub., 1997).
[15] Charlotte Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine in Early Modern Scotland c.1650 – c.1750'. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2022.
[16] Helen Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine: Themes and Influences* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).
[17] Hannah Newton, 'Out of bed, but not yet abroad': Spatial Experiences of Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 29 (2020), pp.1-22.
[18] Holly Barbacia, Bethany Packard, and Jane Wanninger, 'Maybe Baby' in *Gendered Temporalities in the Early Modern World* ed. by Merry Wiesner-Hanks (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp.213-234
[19] Ibid., p.215.

Analytical Approach

The field of time-studies is inter-disciplinary in nature, and historical scholarship (being somewhat 'behind' in adopting this lens) has very much benefited from ideas cultivated in literature, philosophy, archaeology, and others. In this section we will establish two key theoretical ideas: temporal attention and temporal agency. To evidence their significance, and explore methods of applying these theoretical positions, we will ground the theory in applied case studies from across multiple disciplines. This will leave us with a secure understanding of the current state of time-studies and why these ideas have been chosen as particularly influential.

The first key aim of this thesis is to establish how time was described and experienced by early modern Scottish noblewomen. To answer this question, we can draw from the analytical approach of archaeologist Michael Given, who focuses on the relationship between time and 'attention'.[20] Given draws from Bastian, Greenhouse, and Brice to reinforce the necessity of 'human attentiveness' in understanding time: the point of interaction with the environment as the point at which time becomes meaningful.[21] This idea was crucial for the development of this thesis' exploration of time as understood through the combination of knowledge, attention and meaning, and the ways in which at each of these points, we can see choices, decisions and culturally-constructed relations with external 'realities'.

Given primarily uses his concept of 'interaction' to discuss 'time and place' - ideas which often come together both in common parlance and scholarship. Jenny Walklate's discussion of timescapes is particularly useful in bringing these concepts together: 'Engagement with a timescape requires a location in relation to it, a perspective upon it. Who and what is positioned where and when are critical in the form and manipulation of temporal features.'[22] Walklate uses interaction to bring in the sensory nature of temporal experience, highlighting the impact of space on temporal understanding as translated through the body: for example she discusses how a unique movement path through a museum can impact one's engagement with it and its timescape.[23] We can also can see here clear links to the gender scholarship mentioned earlier, where there is a great deal of thinking about how the cultural construction of embodiment impacted one's relationship with space and time.[24] Other relevant works here included Allesandro Arcangeli's insights into reading practice and temporality, which highlighted how different times of year and cultural conditions (such as an emphasis on reading

[20] Michael Given, 'Attending to Place and Time: Seasonality in Early Modern Scotland and Cyprus', *European Journal of Archaeology,* 23:3 (2020), pp.451-472.
[21] Ibid., p.453, p.468.
[22] Jenny Walklate, 'Timescapes: The Production of Temporality in Literature and Museums'. PhD Thesis, The University of Leicester, 2012, p.62.
[23] Ibid., p.322.
[24] Ibid., p.22.

aloud) impacted the spaces and times in which reading was done, and thus engagement with the text.[25] This was particularly useful when thinking about how recipe books were read, used, and engaged with as material objects: we can apply this not only when thinking about contemporaries' timescapes but also our engagement with the texts as readers ourselves. Drawing back to the recipe book context, two scholars have explored the domestic as a 'time-space': Rebecca Friedman in the context of modern Russia, and Maria Damkjaer for 19th Century Britain.[26] With divergent approaches, both emphasise how 'domestic time' could be understood as both a symbolic tool and a very real shaper of everyday existence; both also highlight that to truly access understandings of time, we must use sources which get to the heart of experience rather than 'ideals' to be followed. This is backed up by Glennie and Thrift in their project on early modern clock-time, wherein they highlight that 'we should not expect to find many explicit commentaries on the everyday use and value of clocks. Rather, most of our evidence will be found in the remaining traces of the ways in which clocks and time signals were installed and maintained, and in quite incidental - often almost accidental - recording of the uses made of them'. [27] Both the emphasis on space-time interaction and 'incidental' evidence points towards the validity of recipe books as the core source material for this project.

The second key aim of this thesis is to establish the relationship between time and elite Scottish women through the lens of agency. Agency has been much discussed by gender historians and time scholars alike. Anthropologist Carol Greenhouse's contributions have been particularly influential in providing an analytical backbone to the time-agency relationship.[28] Her 1996 book *A Moment's Notice* is primarily concerned with the formulation of non-Western times, and opens with the idea that 'time articulates people's understandings of agency: literally, what makes things happen and what makes acts relevant in relation to social experience.'[29] In this, she suggests that to understand perceptions and experiences of time – not top-down conceptions of it – we must understand how people envisioned themselves as having agency and how that related to 'institutional forms' (which we can understand here to be power constructs such as gender and wealth).[30] The term 'agency' is also, of course, highly contested: its meaning is infused with its relationship with power and patriarchy, and has been used in a plethora of ways by scholars across various fields. Lois McNay defines agency as: 'the capacity of a person (or other living and material entities) to intervene in the world in a manner that is deemed,

[25] Alessandro Arcangeli, 'Reading Time: The Act of Reading and Early Modern Time Perceptions', *Journal of Early Modern Studies,* 6 (2017), pp.17-37.
[26] Rebecca Friedman, *Modernity, Domesticity and Temporality in Russia: Time at Home* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020); Maria Damkjaer, *Time, Domesticity and Print Culture in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).
[27] Paul Glennie & Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.57.
[28] Carol J Greenhouse, *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
[29] Ibid., p.1.
[30] Ibid., p.4.

according to some criterion or another, to be independent or relatively autonomous.' [31] In relation to our study, this is important for two elements: one, that agency refers to the way in which elite women's sense of time influenced their authority and control of their household; and two, that we can understand agency as a sense or feeling of control, rather than necessarily a process of real control with identifiable outcomes. Bringing together Greenhouse and McNay's ideas, we will use the concept of 'temporal agency' to highlight how decision-making and choice in the minutiae of time-management and formulation was an important tool in the overall shaping of the feeling of agency in the minds of early modern Scottish elite women.

The most relevant study of time in a gendered, early modern context is Wiesner-Hanks' *Gendered Temporalities.* No contributor discusses 'temporal agency' but, throughout, there are thoughtful, thought-provoking explorations as to how women and men used and manipulated time in relation to their gendered experience, and how this manifested as power and autonomy.[32] For example, Sophie Cope argues that women used the 'material memory' of kitchen objects to assert a sense of meaning which would endure beyond themselves, while Elizabeth Cohen explores the decision-making of the ways in which women described time in court testimonies, some of which used the cultural associations of certain time-spaces to strengthen or make a particular case.[33] These case studies evidence the complexities of situating one's self in time, and hint at how one's sense of time could be used to shape both actions and internal understandings of these actions: an idea which here, we will name as 'temporal agency'.

Methodological Approaches

Recipe book studies have emerged from a number of trends within the discipline: cultural and social histories, the study of materiality, gender history and the turn towards the 'everyday'. The last of these has been particularly influential in drawing attention to neglected spaces and sources (e.g. 'kitchens' and 'cookery books').[34] In the early modern Scottish context, Foyster and Whatley's seminal *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland 1600-1800* includes a chapter which discusses time-use but does not touch on recipe books at any point.[35]

In England, and indeed across Europe, recipe book studies have become an area of interest over the past decade. Elaine Leong's study of *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge* in early modern England is

[31] Lois McNAy, 'Agency', in *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory,* ed. by Lisa Disch & Mary Hawkesworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.39-60 at p.40.
[32] Wiesner-Hanks*, Gendered Temporalities*.
[33] Sophie Cope, 'Women in the Sea of Time' in *Gendered Temporalities,* pp.49-65; Elizabeth Cohen, 'Times Told: Women Narrating the Everyday in Early Modern Rome' in *Gendered Temporalities,* pp.116-129.
[34] Andreas Eckert & Adam Jones, 'Introduction: Historical Writing about Everyday Life', *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* 15:1(2002), pp.5–16, at p.7.
[35] Foyster & Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life.*

perhaps the most influential work for this study.[36] Here, Leong uses recipe books as a lens through which to explore networks of communication and knowledge-creation, building up a picture of women using the tools at their disposal – often those within the domestic space – to experiment, create and assert agency over their lives. Leong's study builds on the seminal work *Reading and Writing Recipe Books* edited by Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell, which brought recipe books out of 'food history and the history of medicine' (although these are of course important fields).[37] The editors also note 'the "intertextuality" of recipes makes them prime sites for "conversing" with the past, distant presents, and, in their mobility, even the future.'[38] Despite the promise of such a statement, there is no dedicated study of time through recipe books or the temporalities of recipe books in this collection, or indeed anywhere else. Thus this study benefits from the methodological groundwork laid by scholars such as Leong, DiMeo and Pennell, while also contributing something distinctly new to the field as a whole.

While recipe books in other national contexts have attracted interest, recipe books from Scotland remain significantly under-studied. There is currently some movement from new scholars in Scottish History and Literature, with a number of recent PhD theses making use of this rich source base, including volumes recently digitised by the National Library of Scotland.[39] Charlotte Holmes' previously referenced 2022 PhD used recipe books to explore domestic medicine while Roslyn Potter at the University of Glasgow is using these sources to contextualise and understand the lives of the women who wrote them. This thesis operates in a similar vein, using recipe books to 'glimpse' cultural and social histories.[40]

Sources

The following criteria were used to identify Scottish recipe books in the National Library of Scotland (keeping in mind that many elite families had connections across Europe and England):[41]

- Named Scottish authorship;
  OR two of:
- Reference to English, England or English measures as an 'other',
  & /

[36] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge.*
[37] DiMeo & Pennell, *Reading and Writing Recipe Books,* p.3.
[38] Ibid., p.13.
[39] National Library of Scotland, 'Recipes From Scotland' (online: *National Library of Scotland*, 2021) [doi: https://digital.nls.uk/recipes/index.html, accessed 24 July 2023].
[40] Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p.108.
[41] This methodology is adapted from that used by Charlotte Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.11. One book (Glamis Castle Archives, Glamis, Helen Middleton, 'Recipe Book', late 17th Century, Vol 243) was from the Glamis Castle archives, not the NLS: this was identified by Charlotte Holmes as a complimentary source in 'Domestic Medicine' as above, not independently identified using the noted criteria.

Frequency of named Scottish connections,
&/
Use of Scottish measurements: chopin (Scotland and Northern England) and mutchkin (Scotland).

Female authorship has been established for the majority of the texts and is highly likely in all other cases due to handwriting style, patterns of recipe book authorship and references to female bodily experiences. Although Lauren Winner and others have pointed out that recipe books should not be seen as solely a female creation, this thesis aims to answer a specific question about gendered agency and female experience, and therefore isolating female authorship was an essential starting point for this study.[42] It is important to note that the 'female voices' within the texts may be mediated by unknown scribes and the self-awareness of writing: we are seeing one version of these writers and their self-representation. This is particularly important given the significance of oral and community communication of recipes: written recipes are not necessarily a reflection of the wider practice of recipe sharing. They are also not always evidence of recipe making practice within the household: as Pennell has highlighted, surviving recipe books are often 'unsullied' and seem to lack evidence of use.[43]

I also narrowed the available material by focusing on the 'long' seventeenth century, and favouring texts with relationships to other recipe books. I identified eight recipe books, of varying lengths, which can be split into four groupings:

Family	**Recipe book**	**Description**
Balfour/Wemyss or, by title, Elcho/Sutherland.	Balfour/Wemyss: MS 3031.[44] Early seventeenth century – mid eighteenth century.	Long, detailed medical recipe book, contributed to by several generations of the same family.[45]

[42] Lauren F Winner, 'The Foote Sisters' Compleat Housewife: Cookery Texts as a Source in Lived Religion' in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books,* pp.135-159 at p.145; Pennell, 'Making Livings, Lives and Archives: Tales of Four Eighteenth-century Recipe Books' in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books,* pp.225-247 at p.225.
[43] Pennell, 'Making Livings, Lives and Archives'.
[44] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031.
[45] Sir James Balfour, 'The Earls of Sutherland' in *The Scots Peerage Volume 8* (Edinburgh: D Douglas, 1904), pp.352-355.

	Helen Cochrane: Dep.313/503.[46] Late seventeenth century (1683).	Culinary recipe book which links to the third generation of Balfour/Wemyss.[47]
Middleton/Glamis.	MIM: MS 15912.[48] Mid- late seventeenth century (1660s-90s).	Long recipe book held by the NLS. It is a very characterful text with lots of 'doodles' and is recorded as anonymous other than the 'MIM' inscription on the front page and indented in the covers of the book.
	Glamis Castle: Vol. 243.[49] Mid - late seventeenth century.	Work by Charlotte Holmes established a connection to the above text with a book held by Glamis Castle Archives, Vol 243, thought to be written by Helen Middleton. This book is similarly indented, with the initials LIM.
Fletcher of Saltoun.	MS 17854.[50] 1680s.	Written by Dame Katherine Bruce in the 1680s, only fragments remain.
	MS 17855.[51] 1680s.	
	MS 17856.[52] Late seventeenth – eighteenth century.	Longer text, written by various members of the Fletcher of Saltoun family.

[46] Edinburgh, NLS, Helen Cochrane, 'Recipe Book', 1683, Dep.313/503.
[47] Henry Paton and Jonathan Spain, 'Sutherland [formerly Gordon], John, Sixteenth Earl of Sutherland (bap. 1661, d. 1733), Army Officer and Politician', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[48] Edinburgh, NLS, Anon, 'Household recipe book, stamped and inscribed with the initials 'M.I.M.', containing culinary and medical recipes', 1660-1699, MS 15912. See note in bibliography re pagination for this text.
[49] 'Recipe Book', Vol 243.
[50] Edinburgh, NLS, Katherine Bruce, Lady Saltoun, 'Recipe Book', 1668, MS 17854.
[51] Edinburgh, NLS, Katherine Bruce, Lady Saltoun, 'Recipe Book', 1700, MS 17855.
[52] Edinburgh, NLS, Fletcher of Saltoun family, 'Anonymous recipe book', 1709, MS 17856.

Scone/Stormont.	Scone Book of Receipts: Acc.13444. [53] Late seventeenth century (1692) – eighteenth century.	This text is the only stand-alone and fully anonymous text, although its location in Scone Palace suggests it belonged to the Stormont family. It was chosen as a long text in excellent condition, with both medical and culinary content.

Table 1: Recipe books, family connections and description.

Associated Geographies of Recipe Book Writers' Family Residences.

Figure 1: Recipe book family geographies.

The geographies of the chosen books mean that this study is particularly reflective of estates on the rural East Coast, with Edinburgh as the nearest major city. Surviving records are from a range of noble families of varying relative status, as will be discussed. Across the books, this totalled 1255 recipes: a significant sample size from which statements about the general patterns and content of early modern Scottish recipe books can be made, keeping the geographical and economic context in mind.

[53] Edinburgh, NLS, Anon, 'Scone Book of Receipts', 1692, Acc. 13444.

It is important to ground the recipe books in their political, social, and cultural context. The seventeenth-century Scottish nobility was large and contained within it many ranks: from Dukes and Marquesses to Lords and Lairds.[54] A common thread among these ranks was the significance of continuing the line and maintaining the power and status of the family: a role in which noble women were hugely influential, through the connections they were able to make, the 'socialising' of the family, and the knowledge of kinship networks they carried with them.[55] Within their households, the number of servants and spaces available to the recipe writers would vary based on wealth and rank. Anna Balfour (1610-1649), the earliest writer, had 'two gentlewomen and "quins" or maids' available to her in 1634; her husband also noted 'two gentlemen… steward… cook… two footmen… a man… falconer and an assistant'.[56] Keith Brown's assertion that 'in noble households… kinsmen and servants swelled the numbers living under one roof to scores or hundreds of people' suggests that this was a relatively modest arrangement and highlights the fluidity of the 'household'.[57]

Balfour/Wemyss and Helen Cochrane's book are linked through the Sutherland family. The Balfour/Wemyss text came into the Sutherland family in its second generation via Jean Wemyss (1629-1715); the author of 'Dep.313/503', Helen Cochrane (died c.1690), married Wemyss' son, John Gordon.[58] These books cover over 100 years, from Anna Balfour writing in the 1630s, to Jean Sutherland in the first half of the eighteenth century. Anna Balfour married David, Earl of Wemyss at the age of 17 in 1627, and died just 22 years later at the age of 39, having borne ten children including Jean (her second child, and eldest daughter).[59] The Wemyss family were based in Elcho and Wemyss, both in the East, with Elcho originally a 'summer residence' until architectural changes in the late seventeenth century.[60] Both of the castles were adapted in the late 1600s by David Wemyss, with the separation of 'informal' and 'formal' spaces as was the trend at the time, with 'household servants… kept scrupulously out of sight in the kitchen court' (an interesting nod to the prior picture of a more integrated household).[61] The Earl went on to remarry twice, having a total of 16 children, of whom only two – Jean, and the youngest, Margaret – survived.[62] This led to a complicated inheritance process, in which Jean Wemyss disputed Margaret's claim to the Wemyss' estates and titles (which Margaret had inherited due to a will change and her marriage to another Wemyss at the age of 12 in

[54] Keith Brown, *Noble Society,* p.8.
[55] Ibid., p.72.
[56] Sir William Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss, Volume 1* (Edinburgh, 1888), p.239, p.240, p.254.
[57] Brown, *Noble Society,* p157.
[58] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031; 'Account Book', Dep. 313/502; Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss,* p.293; Sir William Fraser, *The Sutherland Book in Three Volumes, Volume I – Memoirs* (Edinburgh, 1892), p.306, p.367.
[59] Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss,* p.239, p.254.
[60] Charles Wemyss, *Noble Houses of Scotland 1660-1800* (Prestel: London, 2014), p.59.
[61] Ibid., p.67.
[62] Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss,* p.297.

order to keep the family name alive).[63] Jean Wemyss, who became Countess of Sutherland in her second marriage (m.1659) (Lady Angus in her first, m.1649), was well known in her own right: she negotiated political and legal battles such as her inheritance, travelled in the Netherlands and England, and acted as a 'friend of Queen Mary' in the 1690s.[64] We also have evidence of her care for the Sutherland family name and legacy, as she worked to obtain a 'Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland' in 1705.[65] The Sutherlands had a number of castles in the North East (Sutherland) area, but Wemyss' husband was also known to be fond of the South and Edinburgh; after her husband's death, Jean resided in Midlothian.[66] Her recipe book was passed on through the Sutherland family, and was contributed to by a number of others, including her grand-daughter Lady Jean Sutherland (d.1747), who went on to marry into the Maitland/Lauderdale lineage (m.1702).[67] Jean Sutherland's mother, Helen Cochrane, may have contributed to Balfour/Wemyss, and certainly wrote her own book of culinary recipes.[68] Cochrane married the fifteenth Earl of Sutherland in 1680 but died just ten years later in 1690, meaning she was outlived by not only her daughter, Jean Sutherland, but also her mother-in-law Jean Wemyss (who did not die until the early eighteenth century).[69] This generational non-linearity is a helpful reminder of the layers and mixed temporalities present in the recipe books.

The second set of texts, MIM and Glamis Castle, are linked through their content rather than known authorship. Work by Charlotte Holmes established a connection between these two books, and my own research has confirmed a 60% overlap in their content.[70] They were written in the mid-late seventeenth century, with the Glamis Castle book thought to have been written by Lady Helen Middleton (d.1708) who married Patrick Lyon (Lord Glamis, later Earl of Strathmore) in 1663.[71] The Middleton family rose to noble rank in this period when Helen's father, John (a controversial figure and Royalist army officer), was made the 1st Earl of Middleton in 1660; Helen's lifetime encompassed the peak of their status, with the earldom then forfeited in 1715.[72] The Lyon family were of a more established lineage and owned a number of castles in the North East, but were in considerable debt when Patrick Lyon came to the Earldom: he made it a key aim to regain status and pay off debt.[73] Glamis was their 'formal' residence, while Castle Lyon was used to 'relax' in the summers. Both

[63] Ibid.
[64] Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss,* p.254; Fraser, *The Sutherland Family,* p.285, p.297, p.306.
[65] Ibid., p.304.
[66] Ibid., p.305.
[67] Sir James Balfour, 'Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale', in *The Scots Peerage Volume 5* (Edinburgh: D Douglas, 1904), pp.310-312, at p.311.
[68] 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503.
[69] Fraser, *Sutherland Family*, p.306, p.319.
[70] Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.87.
[71] Ranald MacInnes, 'Lyon, Patrick, Third Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[72] Martin Coventry, *Castles of the Clans: The Strongholds and Seats of 750 Scottish Families and Clans* (Musselburgh: Goblinshead, 2010), p.425; Edward Furgol, 'Middleton, John, first earl of Middleton', *in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[73] MacInnes, 'Lyon, Patrick'.

properties were mixed in the early part of the seventeenth century, with modernisation taking place in the late seventeenth century to, as above, create further separation and 'privacy' between the noble family and their servants.[74] At Glamis in the 1620s, there were a number of facilities including a 'woman house, the servants' lodgings, the brewhouse and the bakehouse' – suggesting a busy estate, again with many servants at the disposal of the recipe writer.[75]

Group three come from the Fletcher of Saltoun collection, with two texts written in the 1680s by Dame Katherine Bruce (d.1713) and a third written across the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by various members of the Fletcher of Saltoun family.[76] Based in East Lothian, this family became particularly known through the actions of Katherine Bruce's son, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun ('the patriot').[77] Katherine herself came from the Clackmannanshire branch of the noble Bruce family, who traced their lineage to Robert the Bruce.[78] Not a great deal is known about Katherine, though she had her son Andrew in 1653, and her husband, Sir Robert Fletcher, died in 1665.[79] Two hints at Katherine's character are particularly relevant to this study: first, that she passed her books to her daughter-in-law Margaret Carnegie, who left them to her own daughter.[80] This suggests not only literacy and engagement with reading, but also a 'female line of literacy inheritance': something we can also see in the passing down of the recipe books.[81] The second is a questionable but interesting quote (unattributed from an 1879 history of the family), from Andrew Fletcher, where he is meant to have remarked on his mother's portrait: 'That is my mother and if there is anything in my education and acquirements during the early part of my life, I owe them entirely to that woman.'[82] Again, we are presented with a picture of a highly capable, educated and intelligent woman.

Finally, there is a single text, Acc.13444, begun in 1692 and known as the 'Scone Book of Receipts'. Scone Palace was held in this period by the fifth Viscount Stormont (Lord Scone).[83] He married Marjory Scott (d.1746) of Scotstarvet in 1688, and between them they had fourteen children; she died in 1746.[84] Given the text begins a few years into their marriage, and seems to have been continued into the 1700s, it is likely Marjory was involved in the production of this book but, with no name, it is hard to say for sure. The Stormont family were very influential, and Scone Palace was even the site of

[74] Wemyss, *Noble Houses,* p.107.
[75] Ibid., p.112.
[76] John Robertson, 'Fletcher, Andrew of Saltoun' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[77] Coventry, *Castles of the Clans,* p.199.
[78] George Omond, *Fletcher of Saltoun* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897), p.60.
[79] Ibid., p.9.
[80] Katharine Glover, 'The Female Mind: Scottish Enlightenment Femininity and the World of Letters. A Case Study of the Women of the Fletcher of Saltoun Family in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 25:1 (2005), pp.1-20 at p.6.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Omond, *Fletcher of Saltoun,* pp.11-12.
[83] Sir James Balfour, 'Murray, Viscount Stormont' in *The Scots Peerage Vol.8* (Edinburgh: D Douglas, 1904), pp.186-214, at p.204.
[84] Ibid.

the 'court' during the Jacobite risings in 1716, again putting this text in the context of a large, busy, and political household.[85]

Each of these families were rooted in a noble culture that valued the preservation of status and lineage and emphasised the past as a cultural value. There was variation in their ranks, and this had knock-on effects for the exact composition of their household, but each had access to numerous servants, multiple homes, and were part of actively political families. It is also interesting that a number of these women – particularly Jean Wemyss and Katherine Bruce – were known for their competence and intelligence, reflecting their capacities to manoeuvre in a complex political world. This context is vital as we consider the implications of temporal agency in the lives of our recipe writers.

Research Questions, Argument and Structure

The key question this thesis hopes to answer is: how was time understood by recipe-book writers in seventeenth-century Scotland? Three narrower questions emerge from this:

1. How was time expressed?
2. How was understanding of time culturally and historically specific?
3. How did understanding of time relate to the specific experiences of elite women in early modern Scotland?

These questions can help us to break-down time as it was presented in recipe books into three categories of knowledge, analysis, and context. Each question will be tackled in each chapter, taking a slightly different approach as we develop our understanding through the layering of time from the minutiae to the lifetime. Thus these questions will run like threads through the thesis. Each chapter will establish in what ways time was expressed (a contribution to our knowledge of life in early modern Scotland). Each will then analyse the reasons for these forms of expression, and their mediation in relation to individuals' identities as elite, Scottish women, which will contribute to our understanding of the cultural and historical construction of time. Finally, this will be brought back to an evaluation of time and agency in the context of elite, Scottish women's lives, which will represent a distinct contribution to early modern Scottish women's history.

Chapter one aims to draw out how time was understood in the everyday. Using detailed source analysis, this chapter asks how time was recorded in recipes, paying particular attention to the interaction of clock, sensory and action-based representations of time. This attention unfolds into the second question as to how choices were made about temporal expression, particularly given the 'historical moment' we are discussing, which saw the rise of precise-clock technologies and the domestication of the clock. Time-use is the main concern of the final section, with the question of how temporal expression related to elite women's identities and experiences. The first chapter primarily

[85] Coventry, *Castles of the Clans,* p.446.

serves to ground us in the importance of time to everyday life in early modern Scotland and introduces us to the way in which time interacted with identity to serve as a form of agency for the recipe book writers we are concerned with.

Chapter two zooms out to the scale of months, moons, and seasons. Here we continue to ask these questions of expression, mediation, and gendered experience, with the additional consideration of bringing through the ideas established in chapter one. This chapter is concerned with how the passing of the months and seasons were noted; how structures and technologies such as almanacs were translated into real world decisions; and, finally, how this tied into the management of the household and the role of the elite householder. This chapter particularly highlights how decisions were made about which temporal systems were helpful, and the level of knowledge and understanding which was required to make those decisions. It also crystallizes the idea that in making these decisions, women enacted agency over the cultural norms which carried through both in their lives and those of future generations.

Finally, chapter three considers time on the scale of past, present, and future. This chapter is more abstract, and thus case studies are used to ensure complex ideas are rooted in the historical source material. Again, there are three questions here. How did writers discuss past, present, and future? How did they see themselves in relation to these time senses? And, finally, how were all of these time-senses navigated and brought together in the lives of elite Scottish women? We are struck by the importance of the family and the role of the householder as at the core of many of the ideas about time we are presented with here; and once again, the cultural and political agency of understanding, shaping, and 'controlling' time, and how it was expressed, is clear.

This thesis represents an exciting, creative approach to the question of what it meant to be a noblewoman in early modern Scotland. It zooms in on a fundamental bedrock of experience– the experience of time – and uses rich, thoughtful sources situated in the household. It acts as a distinct contribution to our knowledge of everyday life and situates Scottish material in conversation with the burgeoning field of early modern time studies. With these contexts firmly in mind, it argues that 'temporal agency' must be considered as part of the cultural and political impact of elite Scottish women in the seventeenth century.

Chapter 1: The Everyday

We begin with time on the smallest of scales, exploring the crevices of mundanity and rhythms of the everyday to understand the ordinary.[86] While scholars such as Lefebvre and Levich highlight that repetition in the everyday can be a problem for scholars who must extrapolate out of the monotony, this problem also presents opportunity.[87] The temporal connotations of routine are rich and revealing when considered in their own right, and can help us to understand where decision-making and agency emerged.

There is no 'typical' recipe in these books, but as an illustration of the presence of everyday time, the below can be found in the MIM manuscript. Written in the first of five hands present in the book, and on the lengthier side, it reads (my emphasis in bold to highlight time phrases):

> "To preserve apricoaks peches and plumes –
>
> Take your apricoaks, peches or plum's **before they be rype altogether but let them be at the full bigness** … when the water has boyld a little **until your fruit be soft and tende**r then take out your fruit and lay them on by one upon a tabell… **often tymes** left your pan from the fyre … when it has boild well together **a large quarter of ane hour**… let it **boyll a little whyll** then take of your pan from the fyre and let it stand together **for three or four hours or a whole night if you please** then after ward, boyll up your fruit and sirrupe together on a quick fyre **until they be ready** and **the sirope soo tough that it stand in a firm drap or Gellie when it is a little cold** …
>
> … **Let it stand uncovered all night or till it be very cold,** … /// note always when you pair your fruit … let it **stand a quarter of ane hour or more** and it will doe your fruit much good."[88]

Within this one recipe are ten examples of temporal markers, including a suggestion of unstandardised clock-time (a 'large quarter of ane hour'); a requirement for continual attention to the cooking process ('often tymes'); and both vague and sensory indicators of readiness which required the user to judge duration and result ('a little whyll'; 'very cold'). This is a particularly lengthy and rich recipe, but similar examples can be found across the books, including in medical texts. Take, for example, this recipe for scurvy from the Scone Book of Receipts:

> "Tippermallochs receipt For the Scurbie

[86] Eckert & Jones, 'Introduction', p.5; Angela McShane & Garthine Walker, *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.1.
[87] Henri Lefebvre & Christine Levich, 'The Everyday and Everydayness', *Yale French Studies*, 73 (1987), pp.7-11, at p.10.
[88] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, pp.19-20.

> Take three handful of the tops of broome cut small boill it in 3 mutskins of the strongest ale to the **consumption of on half** then strain it thorou a linnin cloath and take betuixt tuo or three ounces at evry time **tuice a day for 3 weeks in the morning fasting and 4 a clock in the afternoon fast an hour and an half after"**[89]

Here, both clock and sensory times were used to note precise medical instructions and observations. Time saturates the pages of these books in its many different forms.

This chapter will begin with the question of how everyday time was recorded, focusing on how time was understood on the scale of the everyday. Drawing from all eight books, and highlighting key quantitative findings, a picture emerges of a timescape with multiple systems and tools on offer. The second section of this chapter will then discuss how these systems were navigated, with the context of elite, female householders firmly in mind. The final section evaluates the impact this understanding of time had on these householders' identities, substantiating the significance of these findings with a discussion of agency and power.

Recording Time

How was everyday time recorded? Answering this question requires assessment of the technologies on offer, and their prevalence in the source material. The early modern period saw the expansion of clock-technology into everyday life.[90] The 1650s included the invention of the 'precise mechanical clock', but there is a far longer history of clock technologies from sandglasses to imprecise mechanical clocks.[91] Most clock technologies were large and public at this point: bells or pipes sandwiched the day as a wake-up call and sign of evening, and town clocks were usually associated with the local church.[92] Whatley emphasises that for early modern Scots, clock-time was widely accessible and understood in a general sense, and that for some, payment depended on hours worked, even in this pre-industrial period.[93] Thus we should feel comfortable with clock-time as an available and relatively prevalent concept. Throughout this thesis the general term of 'clock-time' will be used to encompass horological understanding, however it was accessed, whether that was through pipes, bells, sundials, or mechanical clocks.[94]

As elites with access to the cultural and monetary capital needed to stay 'on trend', the households examined in this collection were at the forefront of the Scottish domestication of clocks. As early as 1652, Jean Wemyss recorded that both she and her husband, the Earl of Angus, owned watches; they

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[89] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.140.
[90] The technological expanse is generally accepted in the scholarship; the implications of this are more heavily debated. Damkjaer, *Time, Domesticity and Print Culture,* p.12.
[91] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.1.
[92] Foyster & Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life*, p.287.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., p.25.

were also in possession of a 'hall knok' (clock).[95] This is reflective of other elite, rural noble families: Lady Mary Home's inventory of Donibristle House (Fife), conducted pre-1634 and again in 1642-4, contained three references to 'knoks' or 'clocks'.[96] Grisell Baillie's much-studied early eighteenth-century household book refers to the purchase of a 'sand glas' and the mending of watches, suggesting the continued use of varied 'clock-time' technology alongside newer inventions such as watches and mechanical clocks.[97] From these examples, we can understand that the technology of clocks and associated devices such as sandglasses was likely to be available to our recipe book writers, in both domestic and public settings.

[98]

Figure 2: Dunblane Cathedral, 1/2- & 1/4-hour glasses.

However, possessions are not an easy shortcut to 'understanding'. Glennie and Thrift argue that accessing lived experiences of time requires a search for 'incidental' evidence, hidden in the pages of sources such as letters and diaries – or, in this case, recipe books.[99] Given the context of public clock-time and, in some cases, private ownership, the presence of clock-time in recipe books is not surprising. However, key questions remain as to the prevalence of clock-time and the manner of its

[95] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502: March 1652, 'to a watch dresser for thee dressing of my watch', p.35; August 1652, 'item to mr miln the watch dresser for dressing a watch of my Lords and one of mine', p.48; November 1652: '**item mr miln for the hall knok and for dressing of my lords watch'** p.53. Mr Miln may have been related to the Edinburgh watch making family referenced in John Smith*, Old Scottish Clockmakers From 1453 to 1850* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1921), p.268.

[96] Michael Pearce, 'Lady Home's seventeenth-century inventories of Donibristle House, Fife', unpublished work at [doi: https://www.academia.edu/34690310/Lady_Homes_seventeenth_century_inventories_of_Donibristle_House_Fife, accessed 31st August 2023], p.6, p.8, p.20.

[97] Lady Grisell Baillie, *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733 / ed., with notes and introduction, by Robert Scott-Moncrieff* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1911), watch mending: p.14, p.17, p.32, p.42, p.372; sandglass, p.175.

[98] Dunblane Museum Trust, 'Dunblane Cathedral Sermon Glasses', 17th-19th C (used), [https://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-472-898-C&scache=3jqcwzqnl1&searchdb=scran, accessed 25th September 2023]. © Dunblane Museum Trust. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

[99] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.57.

depiction. Was clock-time always used when it was accessible? What degree of accuracy was thought to be useful? Was accuracy more important than convenience?

In this context of technological change and adoption, we will begin with an examination of the prevalence of clock-time in the recipe books, based on whether a recipe had any reference to hours/minutes or a time of the day (e.g. 4pm, noon).[100] In these sources, a fifth of recipes used some form of clock-time (254 recipes), with little variation between medical and culinary recipes.

References to Clock-time by Recipe Book; in order of highest % (total) to lowest % (total).

Recipe book	Medical	Medical %	Culinary	Culinary %	Total	Total %
Katherine Bruce's Recipe Book 1	-	-	8 (8/25)	32%	8 (8/25)	32%
Scone Book of Receipts	15 (15/60)	25%	23 (23/77)	30%	43 (43/153)	28%
Glamis Castle Recipe Book	30 (30/112)	27%	10 (10/63)	16%	42 (42/181)	23%
MIM Recipe Book	39 (39/167)	23%	41 (41/197)	21%	81 (81/382)	21%
Katherine Bruce's Recipe Book 2	1 (1/2)	50%	9 (9/45)	20%	10 (10/47)	21%
Helen Cochrane's Recipe Book	-	-	4 (4/23)	17%	4 (4/23)	17%
Fletcher of Saltoun Recipe Book	1 (1/3)	33%	29 (29/178)	16%	30 (30/185)	16%
Balfour/Wemyss Recipe Book	33 (33/251)	13%	3 (3/8)	38%	36 (36/259)	14%
	119 (119/595)	**20%**	**127 (127/616)**	**21%**	**254 (254/1255)**	**20%**

Table 2: Recipes with reference to clock-time.[101]

A few key findings arise from this data. Firstly, all households in this study seem to have been able to use clock-time, with at least 14% of recipes in each book containing some clock-time measurement. This, in addition to the above findings regarding clock and sand glass possession, suggests that all of

[100] Ibid., p.25.
[101] Multiple incidences within one recipe counted once.

the households being studied here had access to a ‘clock-time’ device. It is also clear that clock-time was by no means omnipresent in recipe-writing and recipe-making: in each book, over two-thirds of the recipes did not use clock-time. This evidence hints at a mental world wherein clock-time was an option but not an automatic choice. There was also some variation between different books. In those of a statistically significant size (more than 50 recipes), outliers included:

- Scone Book: 28%.
- Glamis Castle: 27%.
- Balfour/Wemyss: 14%.

Interestingly, Balfour/Wemyss has the heaviest weighting of early seventeenth century recipes, while the Scone Book is thought to have been begun in 1692, towards the end of the period studied here. This may point towards an increasing prevalence of clock use and familiarity by the end of the seventeenth century, reflecting technological developments and the increasing availability of accurate clocks within the household. However, this can only be a tentative suggestion given the small sample size. Moreover, given the inherited nature of many recipes, original lack of availability may remain in later recipes (e.g. a late-sixteenth-century recipe copied out in a mid-seventeenth-century collection). In most cases this would be undetectable since most recipes contain no hint of their origin dates.

Delving further into instances of clock-time helps to reveal its function. Of the 20% of recipes which used clock-time, 227 references were to horological durations (e.g. an hour, a quarter hour, twenty-four hours; the other references were to times of the day which will be discussed later in this chapter). The most frequently marked of these durations was simply ‘an hour’, making up sixty (21%) references. An hour was perhaps the most easily marked clock-time duration: an easy ‘space’ between bells tolling, hands on the clock/watch, or the turning of an hourglass. Examples can be found across the books, from a drink to help conception in Balfour/Wemyss (one must sit over a concoction ‘one hour in ye morning when yee rise & another at nicht’) to making ‘wiggs’ in Fletcher of Saltoun ('set it ane hour befor the fire').[102] These examples seem to be using an hour as a rough estimate of the duration. The next most frequently marked intervals were also easily measured: quarter and half

[102] ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, p.29; ‘Anonymous Recipe Book’, MS 17856, p.27.

hours, and 24 hours. This reinforces the sense that time was primarily marked in clock terms when it was relevant and easy.

Frequency of Reference to Hours Passing (Duration).

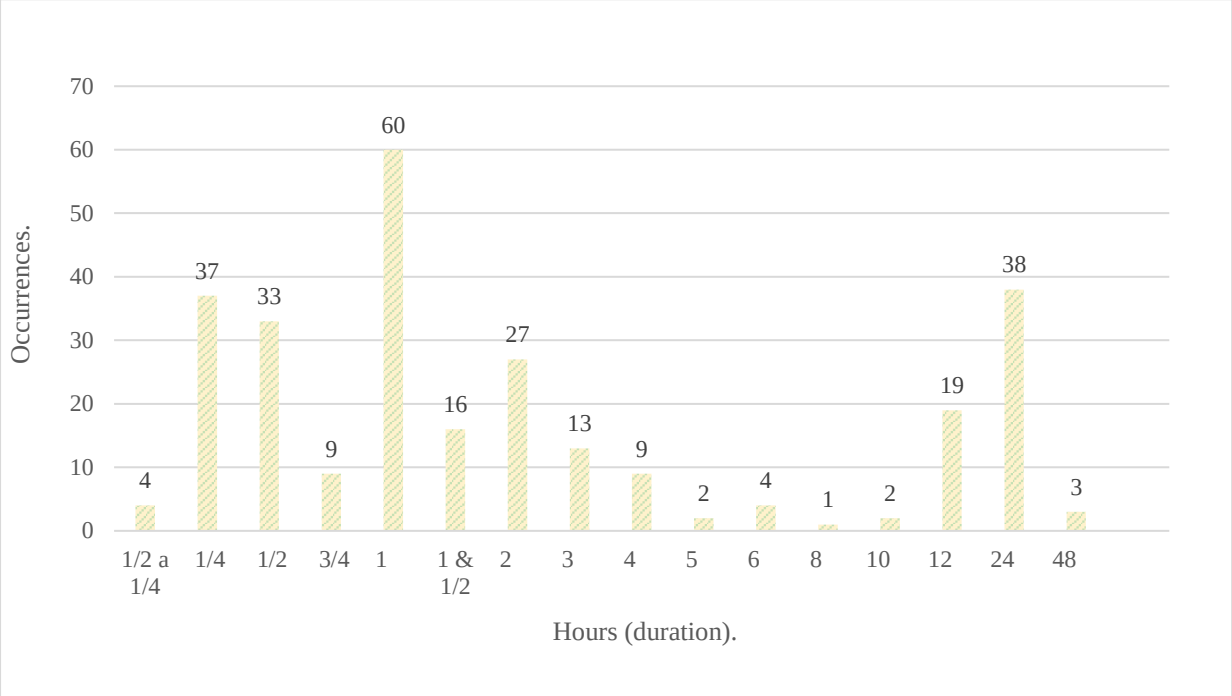

Figure 3: Frequency of reference to hours passing (duration).

Clock-time was not, however, a particularly helpful tool for precise measurement. Glennie and Thrift indicate that some clocks had a minute hand able to measure periods below a quarter hour.[103] In other cases short durations such as 'half a quarter hour' may have been measured by sight using a quarter-hourglass (see above, *Figure 2)* or clock. In these sources, very short durations appear to have been expressed in clock-time very rarely: periods under a quarter hour were only marked in clock-time in seven instances.[104] Four of these were for 'half a quarter of an hour' (varied spellings).[105] This phrasing, unfamiliar and awkward to the modern eye, suggests a lack of availability of minute-timing or more precise measures for households which elsewhere showed comfort with clock-time. However, it also suggests an ability to express a short duration in clock-time, if desired, even if that expression was imprecise.

Of 1255 recipes, there were three uses of minutes: one for 'two to three minutes', one for '4 or 5 minuts' and the final for '15 minuts' (thus only two for precise timing less than a quarter hour).[106] The

[103] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.252.
[104] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.110, p.113; 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.85v; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.40, p.147; 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, p.34; 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.29.
[105] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.113; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.40, p.147; 'Recipe Book', Vol. 243, Glamis Castle Archive, p.29.
[106] 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, p.34v; 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.110.

first reference comes from a recipe for jelly in Fletcher of Saltoun, below which there is the name Elizabeth Gerard, and the date 1704. Elizabeth Gerard was the wife of the Duke of Hamilton, married in 1698, and the daughter of an English Baron.[107] Gerard was notably wealthy, and thus likely able to afford precise watches as they came into fashion.[108] Given Fletcher of Saltoun and Hamilton's political exchanges, it is also an interesting hint at the undercurrents of (female) political power taking place in recipe exchanges and letter-writing.[109] This recipe was unusual for its attribution, English acquisition, dating, **and** the inclusion of minutes, thus making the mention of minutes appear more as an anomaly than a hidden trend: the recipe as a whole is atypical for four separate reasons. A recipe for wine which included '4 or 5 minuts' is also an atypical example within its compilation, as one of a small number of wine recipes at the end of the otherwise medical Balfour/Wemyss manuscript. The final example comes from The Scone Book of Receipts: a recipe 'To Make Sweet Water', calls for the maker to 'let it boyle slouly 15 minuts'.[110] This is particularly interesting as the equivalent expression 'quarter hour' appears elsewhere in the text, in addition to the shorter period 'half a quarter hour'.[111] This variation within the text could be a product of a copying-out process, with either an original author or a later reviser being more comfortable using minutes or with an accessible minute measure. The recipe is not listed as coming from elsewhere, but this does not rule it out as an acquisition. The author was clearly familiar with minutes and their meaning, but the inclusion of minutes does not necessitate access to a precise, minute-hand clock. If the author was aware that fifteen minutes equated to a quarter hour, then blunter tools (such as quarter hourglasses, or imprecise clocks) could have sufficed. Again, we see a reluctance or inability to 'forage' for precision in terms of minutes, with the reasonably blunt tool of quarter hours providing enough accuracy in most cases.[112] Clocks were not the appropriate choice as a means to explain very small periods of time passing: for that another toolset had to be employed.

As discussed above, precise clocks were a new technology, and they existed alongside imprecise clocks and other forms of clock-time as part of a complicated temporal landscape. The choice to use alternative temporal tools in spite of the availability of clock-time is reflected in other case studies from across Europe, such as Rankin's work on recipe letters sent during pregnancy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which evidences use of 'sensory time'.[113] In these Scottish recipe books, the senses were vital to observations of time passing, both on a quotidian and seasonal scale; it is with this idea of 'sensory time' that we can proceed, linking to the idea of translating time through the body

[107] Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen', p.286.
[108] Rosalind K Marshall, 'Hamilton, James, Fourth Duke of Hamilton and First Duke of Brandon (1658-1712), Nobleman', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[109] Ibid.; Robertson, 'Fletcher, Andrew of Saltoun'.
[110] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.110.
[111] Ibid., p.16, p.26, p.113.
[112] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.410.
[113] Rankin, 'Telling Time Through Medicine', in Wiesner-Hanks, *Gendered Temporalities*, pp.95-114, at p.106.

discussed by Wiesner-Hanks and others.[114] To consider a recipe as containing 'sensory time', I used the criteria of reference to a temporal marker which had to be perceived sensorily (e.g. change of colour had to be seen, change of texture had to be touched), or explicit reference to one of the senses.

References to Sensory Time by Recipe Book; in order of highest % (total) to lowest % (total).

Recipe book	Medical	Medical %	Culinary	Culinary %	Total	Total %
Katherine Bruce Book 2	0 (0/2)	0%	31 (31/45)	69%	31 (31/47)	66%
Helen Cochrane	-	-	15 (15/23)	65%	15 (15/23)	65%
Fletcher of Saltoun	2 (2/3)	66%	83 (83/178)	47%	86 (86/185)	46%
Scone Book	14 (14/60)	23%	36 (36/77)	47%	54 (54/153)	35%
Katherine Bruce Book 1	-	-	7 (7/25)	28%	7 (7/25)	28%
Glamis Castle	17 (17/112)	15%	27 (27/63)	43%	45 (45/181)	25%
MIM	33 (33/167)	20%	58 (58/197)	29%	90 (90/382)	24%
Balfour/Wemyss	21 (21/251)	8%	6 (6/8)	75%	27 (27/259)	10%
TOTAL	**87 (87/593)**	**15%**	**263 (263/616)**	**43%**	**355 (355/1255)**	**28%**

Table 3: Recipes containing reference to sensory time.[115]

With these criteria in mind, 28% of recipes had at least one incidence of sensory time; this was far more common in culinary recipes (43%) than in medical recipes (15%). A likely reason for this disparity would be the changes of seasonal state observed more frequently in culinary recipes, as will be discussed in chapter two. Also notable is that the types of time expressed in sensory terms tended to be weighted towards precision: exact changes of state in texture, smell, colour, taste. Without standardised tools (e.g. pan size) or cooking temperatures (e.g. a fire cannot be set to 180 degrees) and with the large quantities of food often being produced for noble households, these sensory measures were likely the most reliable and consistent temporal tools in inconsistent contexts. This is an important insight into the cultural construction of time: spatial and technological factors such as these influenced and constrained preferred temporal expression.

Recipes that required temporal precision made more frequent use of the senses. In her work on pregnancy Duden suggests that the senses were a means of reporting on the 'unseen'.[116] This is a

[114] Wiesner-Hanks, *Gendered Temporalities,* p.15.
[115] Multiple incidences within one recipe are counted as one.
[116] Joanne Begiato, "Breeding" a "Little Stranger": Managing Uncertainty in Pregnancy in Later Georgian England', in *Perceptions of Pregnancy from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Jennifer Evans & Ciara Meehan (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), pp.13-33, at p.25.

helpful way to think about the tool of sensory time: senses can be conceived as manifestations of 'unseen' realities. While the effects of time on sensory states could be observed, time itself could not. The senses allowed recipe-makers to tether time to the observable: translating and controlling time-passing within a framework that was accessible and understandable. Yet, there was further decision making within this: not all senses were represented equally within the recipes. Of the 439 separate references to 'sensory time', almost all (94%) were based in either sight or touch.

References to Individual Senses as Percentage of Sense References in All Recipe Books.

	Instances	**% of Sense Instances**
Touch	211 (211/439)	48%
Sight	203 (203/439)	46%
Taste	18 (18/439)	4%
Hearing	4 (4/439)	0.9%
Smell	3 (3/439)	0.7%

Table 4: References to individual senses.[117]

Neither sight nor touch were considered to be objective senses in the seventeenth century. In looking out, one was vulnerable to the wickedness of the external world coming in, and touch was understood as a lower sense, grounded in the (weak) material body.[118] However, in practical terms, they were the most reliable senses compared to the more subjective elements of taste, hearing, and smell. They also would have been easiest to isolate – an important factor when one considers the busy space of the early modern kitchen. Examples of this sensory timekeeping within the recipes build a picture of both the kitchen as a physical space and its temporal environment: a space of recipe-making which made use of senses and quarter-hours but did not typically contain minute-hand devices. For example, the Balfour/Wemyss text uses a host of sensory timekeeping tools to indicate the moment further action had to be taken. The senses could indicate readiness in recipe production - 'rost it till it grow hard & black & beat it til pouder', 'till they becom soft', 'boild in watter frm three mutchkins to a chepin' – as well as the efficacy of a cure - 'hold it in your mouth, till the strength be gone'.[119] Time was manipulated through sensory attention as a tool towards desired states both in the kitchen and the body.

[117] Multiple incidences within one recipe counted separately.
[118] Viktoria von Hoffmann, 'The Taste of the Eye and the Sight of the Tongue: the Relations between Sight and Taste in Early Modern Europe', *The Senses and Society*, 11:2 (2016), pp.83-113 at p.84, p.103.
[119] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031,p.6v, p.50v, p.78v, p.5v.

We can develop this understanding through an examination of representations of the structure of the day. One way of structuring the day was through the clock: across the books, there were 32 references which described the day in these terms, almost half coming from Balfour/Wemyss (where we know there was access to a 'hall knok' and 'watches' for at least the central writer, Jean).[120] The distribution of times mentioned was largely regular, with one reference each for 4am, 6am, 8am, 11am, and 2pm.[121] These references were usually for consumption of a medical cure; the 4am reference came from the Scone Book of Receipts with an instruction to take a dropsy cure 'in the morning about 4 a clock', the 6am from Balfour/Wemyss in a diet drink 'let ye partie tak it at 6 in ye morning'.[122] Noon and 5pm came a joint 'second place' with four references each, largely following the same pattern.[123] These examples suggest a domestic timescape in which clock-time was available and considered throughout the day, but – with just 32 references - as in the case of time passing, was not always the automatic or assumed choice.

Deserving of special attention is 4pm, which was a complete outlier with 19 references, representing a striking level of frequency apparent across four books.[124] In the Balfour/Wemyss manuscript, the 4pm references largely followed the same pattern: an instruction to take the cure at the morning fasting and at four in the afternoon. For example, 'taking it in ye morning 4 or 5 spoonfulles & as much at 4 afternoone' (a 'restorative broth') and 'in the morning fasting and at fore a clock in the afternoon' (recipe for 'the stone').[125] Recipes in the MIM manuscript, Scone Book of Receipts and Glamis Castle book are broadly similar, all featuring instructions to take in the morning and at 4 in the afternoon.[126] The prevalence of 4pm hints at a system in which it had particular importance: either as a time marked publicly, a point in the day which was not easily anchored to other elements of life (e.g. food, going to bed), or as a regular moment in which fasting could usually be assumed, between the two main meals of the day.[127] There is no indication of 4pm 'exceptionalism' in other studies of time across early modern Europe, which may hint at significance in a Scottish or recipe-book context or merely speak to an absence of research in this area.

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[120] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502, p.35, p.48, p.53.
[121] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.149 (4am); 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.303 (8am); 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.28v (6am), p.29 (2pm), p.68 (11am).
[122] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.149; 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.28v.
[123] 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, p.30v (noon); 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives p.51 (noon); 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.15 (noon), p.67v, p.69, p.70v, p.77v (5pm); 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503, p.9v (noon).
[124] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.140, p.148, p.150; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.105, p.233, p.303, p.289; 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.22, p.25v, p.27, p.44v, p.65v, p.72v; 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.17, p.21, p.61, p.62.
[125] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.27, p.44v.
[126] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.140, p.148, p.150; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.105, p.233, p.303, p.289; 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.17, p.21, p.61, p.62.
[127] Ken Albala, 'Hunting for Breakfast in Medieval and Early Modern Europe' in *The Meal: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* ed. by Harlan Walker (Devon: Prospect Books, 2002), pp.20–30 at p.21.

As with time passing, time did not have to be marked by clocks, however; it was also structured by the routines of everyday life (namely: eating and sleeping). Maria Damkjaer describes 'everyday routine' as at the core of domestic temporality, and we can see hints of this throughout the recipe books. [128] A frequent marker present across the recipe books is the idea of 'going to bed', particularly in medical recipes. The Glamis Castle book contains four recipes which require consumption at bed-time, including one to kill 'wormes that eat the eye lids' (one must 'anoint the eye lids going to bed'), and a cordial 'for the beating of the heart' which should be taken at 'divers tymes in the day and at night when yow goe to your bed'.[129] Mealtimes had a similar anchoring ability, occupying consistent spaces, at consistent times of the day. Again, focusing on medical recipes, this time-sense appears in instructions to take a dose at a time associated with eating. The Scone Book's instructions 'for worms' required consumption 'thrice a day morning fasting after dinner and after supper'.[130] These anchors reflected cultural norms, which for early modern Scottish elites, would usually include not eating breakfast, and included the valuing of exercise after eating to aid digestion. [131] Culturally-constructed understanding in other areas influenced how time was used and understood: this is a key idea that will be explored throughout this thesis.

It seems clear that clocks, senses, and routine activities were alternative forms of expressing time as it passed. Writers attempted to control time to produce reliable results (real outcomes) and used forms of expression which were best able to do that. They also used varying understandings of the shape of the day – clock-time, action anchors – to structure when recipes would be prepared and consumed. This linked quite clearly into other systems of understanding, from mealtime norms to the humoral body; this idea will be explored in more depth later in this thesis. Ultimately, this section has shown that precise clock-time was a new technology which came in over the course of the period studied here, and while we can see hints at it through a handful of examples, it appears not to have been the automatic or assumed choice for temporal expression.

Choices in Temporal Expression

The picture so far is of a timescape in which different systems and devices were accessible, but not always chosen. We can now turn to how these 'competing' systems were navigated: if clocks and senses were both in use, how were decisions made about which would be most useful? And should we understand these systems as dichotomous or harmonious?

We can establish the relationship between clock and sensory time by looking at whether they appeared together or were kept apart. Taking all recipes which used clock-time, and searching these for uses of

[128] Damkjaer, *Time, Domesticity and Print Culture,* p.22.
[129] 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.17, p.19, p.48, p.52.
[130] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.150.
[131] Albala, 'Hunting for Breakfast', p.22, p.25.

sensory time, we can see that the statistics largely match up to the overall picture of sensory time use: 26% of 'clock-time recipes' contained sensory time as well (compared to 28% of all recipes).

References to Sensory Time in Clock-time Recipes by Recipe Book.

Recipe book	Medical	Medical %	Culinary	Culinary %	Total	Total %
Katherine Bruce Book 2	0/1	0%	7/9	78%	7/10	70%
Fletcher of Saltoun	1/1	100%	12/29	41%	13/30	43%
Glamis Castle	9/30	30%	4/10	40%	13/42	31%
Helen Cochrane	-	-	1/4	25%	1/4	25%
MIM	7/39	18%	11/41	27%	18/81	22%
Balfour/Wemyss	4/33	12%	2/3	66%	6/36	17%
Scone Book	2/15	13%	4/23	17%	6/43	14%
Katherine Bruce Book 2	-	-	1/8	12.5%	1/8	12.5%
TOTAL	**23/119**	**19%**	**42/127**	**33%**	**67/254**	**26%**

Table 5: Recipes using clock-time which also contained reference to sensory time.

Although the sample size is far smaller, with 254 'clock-time recipes' and 67 cases of overlap, it seems reasonable to suggest that clock and sensory times were considered together without too much difficulty. The ease of switching between the systems can also be qualified through detail in the recipes. For example, from MIM:

> "To Candy Angelica Leaves
>
> …Let them stand **till they are tender and green** then take them one by one out of the water … **Lett them Stand on hour** then take them of so doe evry day **till the Leaves tast very sweat and Looke very green**… set them into a stove or in the sun or ane oven **till they bee dry** but Lett them not bee too dry before you turne them, \\\\\\"[132]

This example is in a style common across the books: clock and sensory times used at separate points in a recipe to provide a framework for the recipe-making process. We can also see this in various recipes from other texts. In the Scone Book of Receipts, 'to make currant cakes' one must look out for

[132] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.223.

the ingredients to ‘look lyke creame’ but also, separately, wait half an hour.[133] Similarly, yet in a completely different recipe-context, a gout ointment in the Glamis Castle book asks the maker to boil 'till ye strength of ye herbs is boylled out', noting in another part of the recipe that the mixture must be stirred for ‘half ane houre’.[134] These are complimentary perceptions of time passing, chosen based on whichever made more sense: clock-time when no change of state could be perceived, sensory when readiness was indicated by a particular change in colour, taste, or texture. It seems clear that instruments of temporal understanding (clocks, senses) could be selected as needed, even within the same recipe.

Clock and sensory times could also be used together to help readers’ understanding. From the Balfour/Wemyss medical manuscript,

> “This Recept I had from Mrs Henton Good for Scrofolus Sweetings & taning and all kinds of sores old or new 1735,
>
> …Boile each one after an oyr upon a slow fire **till the joice be extractid** which will be known by the **herbs becoming dry**, which will be **about ye Space of an Hour**…”.[135]

This example anchors a sensory process – the sight/touch of dried herbs – in a clock-time (the ‘space of an hour’). The late dating of 1735 may also be an indication of a time-sense which was moving towards clock-time anchoring: a reader may have expected/wished for this expression of duration as clocks became increasingly common and the expected measure of time passing. There are other examples of this mixed guidance, however, such as ‘48 hours or mor untill half the liquor be consumed' in a recipe for ‘pectorall syrup’ (Scone Book of Recipes) and for apple wine in Balfour/Wemyss 'water that has been boil a Quarter of an Hour & stood till it is no warmer than new Milk'.[136] Although these examples may be more unusual, they complement the combined time-sense picture presented by those such as ‘to candy angelica leaves’ and ‘to make currant cakes’. Indeed, in even stronger terms than the previous examples, they display writers’ sophisticated time-senses, and ability to jump between and merge these systems of understanding to achieve the outcomes they desired.

We can also see the integration of different temporal tools in relation to the structuring of the day. Clock-time and actions appear to have been considered together as writers used the information and systems which they had at their disposal to make helpful, accurate choices about temporal expression. In the Balfour/Wemyss book, recipes include instructions to 'let ye patient drink a good draucht when he goeth to bed' (for ‘one yt is hard bund in ye belly’) and, to ‘break the stone’, ‘let ye patient tak ane

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[133] ‘Scone Book’, Acc.13444, p.96.
[134] Ibid., p.96; ‘Recipe Book’, Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.60.
[135] ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, pp.75-76.
[136] ‘Scone Book’, Acc. 13444, p.145; ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, p.86.

ounce of it in ye morning ane other at noone & when he goeth to bed'.[137] This latter example is particularly indicative, using three different time-senses: the vague 'morning', the clock-time 'noon', and the action-based time 'goeth to bed'. The body also appears as a regulator of the framework of the day in many cases, with fasting and clock-times listed hand in hand: 'twice a day for 3 weeks in the morning fasting and 4 a clock in the afternoon fast an hour and an half after', 'drink thereof in the morning and at four a clock fasting tuo hours after'.[138] Exercise was also commonly prescribed in combination with a clock-time, 'walk an hour after it', 'ervy morning warm and at four a clock in the afternoon use exercise after it fast an hour after each time so continue 10 or 14 days'.[139] There is an easy navigation here between clock and action-based times: these systems were not separate, but spoke to each other.

This evidence continues to tell the story that recipe-book writers in the early modern period had access to and valued sensory, 'action-based' and clock times. Furthermore, given incidences of clock and sensory time were not separate but appear in the same recipes and sources, we can argue that these systems co-existed, and in some cases, were understood as complimentary. This backs up Glennie and Thrift's sense of reluctance to 'forage' for clock-time and develops this argument by suggesting that value-judgements were made in addition to the path of least resistance being taken.[140] Recipe book writers navigated and understood multiple systems and made choices based on what 'made sense' to them with the knowledge and tools at their disposal. But we can also ask: were these choices always the same regardless of identity, or are we seeing a specific formulation of that choice for elite, female recipe book writers?

This study is on the whole non-comparative: we have isolated a source base, and the conclusions it claims to make exist within this specific context. However, in this case, we can access something of a comparison by isolating recipes with different origins. There are 77 recipes from named sources mentioned across the books, 29 of which assert an association with a doctor. Given the small sample size, we will consider this data only on the scale of the whole collection rather than examining individual books. In recipes from other people, regardless of gender or authority, 35% used clock-time compared to 20% of all recipes. It is the reverse picture for sensory time, with 16% of attributed recipes using senses, compared to 28% overall.

Reference to Clock and/or Sensory Time in Recipes Attributed to a Named Source.

Recipe book	Clock-time	Clock %	Sensory Time	Sensory %	Number of Attributed Recipes

[137] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.11v, p.15.
[138] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.140.
[139] Ibid., p.148, p.140.
[140] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.410.

Scone Book	13/31	42%	5/31	16%	31
Balfour/Wemyss	7/27	26%	5/27	19%	27
MIM	2/9	22%	1/9	11%	9
Glamis Castle	4/8	50%	0/8	0%	8
Fletcher of Saltoun	1/1	100%	0/1	0%	1
Katherine Bruce Book 2	0/1	0%	1/1	100%	1
TOTAL	**27/77**	**35%**	**12/77**	**16%**	**77**

Table 6: Recipes attributed to a named source.

These figures can partly be explained by the weighting towards medical recipes, but not entirely: they are still outliers compared to the overall average. One reason for this may be that when recipes were being passed on, clock-time allowed a sense of easy equivalency which was not assumed from sensory time: one knew that 'one hour' would be received the same by the recipient, whereas 'thick' or 'brown' could be more subjective. This picture is emphasised when we isolate recipes attributed to doctors, which make up 38% of the 'recipes from other people'.

Reference to Clock and/or Sensory Time in Recipes Attributed to a Doctor.

Recipe book	**Clock-time**	**Clock %**	**Sensory Time**	**Sensory %**	**Number of Attributed Recipes**
Balfour/Wemyss	5/15	33%	2/15	13%	15
Glamis Castle	3/6	50%	0/6	0%	6
MIM	0/4	0%	0/4	0%	4
Scone Book	3 / 4	75%	0/4	0%	4
Glamis Castle	3/6	50%	0/6	0%	6
TOTAL	**11/29**	**38%**	**2/29**	**7%**	

Table 7: Recipes attributed to a doctor.

Here, the statistics are exaggerated further, with 38% of recipes using clock-time, and just 7% (2 recipes) making use of the senses. These conclusions should be taken with some hesitancy given the sample size is very small (just 29 recipes). However, there is a hint here at an increased level of comfort with clock-time, and a reluctance to use sensory time, from medical professionals. Again, many factors could contribute to this: gender, access to technology, a desire to emphasise authority, and 'scientific' knowledge (with which it seems likely clocks would have been associated).[141]

[141] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.3 references the scientific associations of clock-time.

The first section of this chapter established that elite, female recipe book writers had access to multiple time-systems: clocks, senses, and action-based anchors. Building up this picture, we have seen here that these systems were used simultaneously, and through comparing recipes sourced from elsewhere (including specifically male medical professionals), it appears that the distribution of clock/sensory/action-based time was specific to the writers of these recipe books rather than just a unanimous early-modern representation. Recipe book writers seem to have made choices about their temporal expression based on a desire to achieve results, and to be understood by their audience: this formulation is not inherent, but constructed, and hints at the choices available to the writers within their gendered social context. The final section of this chapter pulls on this thread of 'choice', asking how this related to women's experience in the home.

Time Use and the Home

Recipe production and writing also reflect a complex picture of time-use. The domestic space was not neutral: individuals' relationships with it were affected by wealth, gender, age, and marital status. The time use of household management has become an important consideration in feminist scholarship, with scholars such as Jane Whittle reinforcing the economic and cultural value of female labour in the home.[142] This economic valuing ties into a sense of the weight of time, whether quantifiable or not, and opens up the question of how recipe and recipe book production was valued by the writers. Given the intensity of these interventions, the length of some of the books, and the degree of preparation needed for some recipes, we can get a sense of the investment of time in recipe-making. Rafaella Sarti estimates heads of elite households spent three to four hours each day producing food across Europe.[143] The evidence here seems to back up her suggestion - if not add to it - when considering medical recipe preparation. Household managers wielded time for the survival of the household, whether in literal health, availability of food, or in the associated status displayed by elaborate dishes and dinners. For the elite householder, a major part of their time use was the management of these tasks rather than just the action (some of which would be taken on by servants, some of which would be directly enacted). The final section of this chapter asks how time use related to women's experience of the household, and where understanding of time intersected with the power structures of domestic life.

Recipe-making required a specific relationship with the domestic space. Beginning with the production of the recipes, it is striking how many recipes required preparation, attention and thought throughout the day. Thinking back to the graph presented earlier (*Figure 3: Frequency of reference to hours passing)* there are 170 references to time frames between one hour and 24 hours. Even within

[142] Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy', *Past & Present,* 243:1 (2019), pp.35–70 at p.43.
[143] Megan Clark, & Janay Nugent, 'A Loaded Plate: Food Symbolism and the Early Modern Scottish Household', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 30 (2010), pp.43-63, at p.59.

the space of a day, producers had to think about timing for meals, medical consumption, the spaces within the household they needed to operate, and the time available to them. Take for example the recipe from Fletcher of Saltoun, for McKroon's (a spelling of macarons which should perhaps be adopted!):

> "Take a pound of Almonds bleanch and wash them clean then beat them very fine in a stone morter wt a little rose watter to keep them oylling then put in 3 quarters of a pound of suggar finely beaten and siften then put in the whyts and **steer all well together till the suggar be dissolved** then take a knife and spoon and lay them out on whyt paper ovall way then ike them in the top with fine suggar and **set them in the oven about a quarter of ane hour** take 8 eggs and 4 whyts and **cast them ane hour and ane half** take a pound of suggar beat and sift it very weel then take 3 orange skins very fine take a quarter of a mutchken of rose watter mix all together and **work it with a spoon ane hour** then let it in spoonfulls fall up on whyt paper robbed with fresh butter then put ym in the oven".[144]

Breaking down this process, there are quite a number of steps here: blanching, washing, and beating almonds, sifting together the ingredients, drying in the oven, adding in the eggs, and waiting, beating together the ingredients again, working the mixture for an hour, then baking them. All of this is not an inconsequential amount of time, and furthermore, includes several steps which required serious attention. The following example from MIM is not an oddity: 'to make a fyne pottage' contains instructions 'let it boyll **till it comes two**..the pallats will take **four hours to boyll**…the sweet breads **must boyll a quarter of ane hour** and the cockstombs most **be parboyld and blanched** then put them into ane skellet and **boyll them two hours'**.[145] Similarly, 'A singular Receipt for mabeing a cake' (Scone Book of Receipts) instructs 'mingle these well with the flower and butter, Fyve pound of Currans well **washed and pickt and dryed**… a quart of craume **boyled and almost cold again**: work it weill together… let it ly **halfe an hour** then take it up… put it into ane oven and let it **stand ane whole hour and halfe'**.[146] These instructions are rich with intervention and attention, not only in the waiting of cooking and resting time, but in timely labour. While this labour would not all have been enacted by the recipe-writer, their role in managing, allocating and organising this time is still suggestive of the significant temporal undertaking of recipe production for these women.

The temporal requirements of recipe production were also often explicitly referenced. Many recipes required 'constant' attention, or action 'several times a day'. The Balfour/Wemyss recipe for a 'bitter tincture' required 'shaking… severall times a day' for 'tuo or three dayes'.[147] This would require proximity and planning in the domestic space, and this was not just the case for medical recipes.

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[144] 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, pp.13v-14.
[145] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.194.
[146] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, pp.21-22.
[147] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.65.

Examples also come from household recipes such as candle making (Scone Book, 'stirring it constantly') and cheese production (Fletcher of Saltoun, 'turning of it every day for tuo days'): each of these acts were valuable to the management of the household and warranted keen attention.[148] The significance of the spatial environment also emerges as crucial here: the tools available through which to understand time were fundamentally mediated by the physical reality, and one's relationship to that physical reality (e.g. men and women were expected to have different relationships with 'domesticity'). Pennell discusses similar ideas in her work, using clocks in the physical space of the seventeenth-century English kitchen as evidence of female power over timekeeping; we can see this power in closer detail throughout these recipe books.[149] We are also brought back here to the idea of 'attention' raised by Michael Given, and can see here how this applied not only to interaction with the natural environment, but also should be considered reflective of the mental labour of recipe-book writers' time-management.[150]

The need to manage time appears not only in the production of the recipes but can be inferred from the processes of recipe-book construction. Looking at the material texts, we can see how constructing recipe books was a valuable act of time-use for elite householders. Most of the books are indexed (the exceptions being the fragmentary Katherine Bruce and Helen Cochrane texts and Glamis Castle, which may have been an early draft) suggesting thoughtfulness and care. We can see that these recipe books were, for the most part, valued and organised, and for which a lot of time was spent constructing, organising, and writing. In the 'everyday' sense, the time use apparent in recipe books evidences a desire to organise and control, to use time to manage the household in the ability to plan, write and record, and in the production of the recipes themselves. The care which went in to constructing the books also varied immensely: from immaculately written and preserved texts to those littered with doodles. The chosen texts for this study were often part of linked or related recipe collections. Two books studied here were written by Katherine Bruce, Lady Fletcher of Saltoun, both surviving as part of the same collection and containing different recipes.[151] Others have only been linked due to the overlap in their recipe content: Volume 243 at Glamis Castle, and the MIM text held by the NLS being the key example, with 60% of recipes in Glamis Castle matching those in MIM. This is indicative of known recipe-book practices, from handwriting-practice to the copying of 'neat, final' versions (although there is not such clear evidence as there is in the English context, we can make an educated guess that this would have been the case).[152] Each of these suggest a good deal of labour and value in the process.

[148] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.155; 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, p.37v.
[149] Cope, 'Women in the Sea of Time', p.52.
[150] Given, 'Attending to Place and Time'.
[151] 'Recipe Book', MS 17854; 'Recipe Book', MS 17855.
[152] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.32.

Writing style is also a hint as to time-use. Take, for example, the MIM text. Largely written in clear handwriting, this book occasionally becomes messy and rushed. It also contains a great number of characterful doodles, from a chicken perched in the tail of a letter W, to a lion and unicorn battling under a recipe for a purge.[153] These images, which usually did not relate to the text as illustrations, bring the text to life but suggest possible boredom with the task, hinting at a laborious investment of time in a repetitive process of copying. Producing a recipe book was a significant temporal undertaking; from this we can understand something of their societal and personal value.

Figure 4: Lion and unicorn illustration.[154]

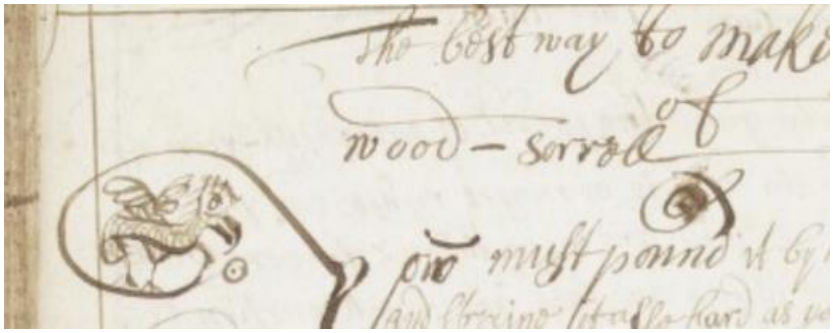

Figure 5: Chicken on W illustration.[155]

A great deal of work also went in to acquiring the recipes which appeared in these books. The books themselves were constructed through time-consuming processes of written and oral communication, copying and re-writing. While we lack evidence of how many recipes found their way into these books from outside sources, some networks are revealed by writers' desire to mark the journey of the recipe into their hands, with the 'via's' of notable or authoritative sources collected along the way. While just 76 (0.6%) of the recipes contained evidence of provenance, these are likely reflective of wider hidden networks of recipe communication. Similarly to the English picture presented by Leong, wherein recipes were given as gifts and marked as indicators of status, connections seem to have been

[153] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.52v, p.68.
[154] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.68. National Library of Scotland License: CC BY 4.0.
[155] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.52v. National Library of Scotland License: CC BY 4.0.

noted when they had particular value.[156] For example, the Scone Book of Receipts includes 'The Countess of Rutlands recept for makeing the rare Banbury Cake which was so much praised at her daughter the Right honourable the Lady Chaworth's wedding'.[157] This reference indicates not only the connection to the Countess of Rutland, but also implies the writer's presence at Lady Chaworth's wedding in 1653, 40 years before the Scone Book of Receipts is thought to have begun.[158] This suggests that the recipe was rewritten and speaks of a communication network and recipe collection process between the writer and the Countess of Rutland, and (given the timing) potentially an intermediary. Other attributions reinforce this picture: 'Lady Hayes' and 'Lady Allen' in the Glamis Castle and MIM books, 'Lady Shawfild' and the 'Countess of Lauderdale' ('my mother in law') in the Balfour/Wemyss manuscript, and a whole host of others in the Scone Book of Receipts, including 'Sir Walter Raloeigh' and perfumes of both 'King Edward' and 'Queen Elizabeth'. All of these figures were also almost a century dead by the production of this book, agreeing with the Chaworth wedding date and potentially pointing to a previous recipe book being copied out, particularly given the English origins of many of these figures.[159] We can also see soft power in action in the previous example of Elizabeth Gerard , which may have reflected a network of social ties forming around political alliances.[160] Recipes tied to certain names had value and suggested some degree of proximity in their inclusion.

In both engaging in and actively acknowledging these stories, writers evidenced the powerful networks in which they functioned. Agreeing with the picture presented by the timely labour of recipe making and writing, these factors tell us that recipe-book time use had important connotations for the agency of elite women. We get the sense that elite women were able to manoeuvre behind the scenes of the political arena, shaping their time, networks, and home; this agrees with recent work by Cowmeadow and others which suggests that elite women manipulated and constructed networks as a form of political agency.[161]

Conclusion

This chapter has established that elite Scotswomen navigated systems of temporal expression in a period of complexity and change, and in which the tools through which to understand time were rapidly developing. The picture of an 'integrated' time-sense, incorporating clock, sensory and action-based measures of time, agrees with scholarship from England and develops it by suggesting that not only were decisions made based on simplicity, but also through a rounded understanding of what

[156] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.49.
[157] 'Scone Book', Acc. 13444, p.16.
[158] L. Chaworth Musters, 'Chaworth family, Part II'*, Transactions of the Thoroton Society, Volume 8* (1904), pp. 67-77 at p.70.
[159] 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.32, p.308; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.122, p.142; 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.59, p.55, p.56.
[160] 'Anonymous Recipe Book', MS 17856, p.34v
[161] Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen', p.35.

forms of expression would be most helpful in producing the desired outcome. It also tells us that in the context of elite households, imprecise clocks could generally be relied on, as could the senses and actions such as mealtimes and going to bed. The comparison to male medical practitioners' recipes suggested that these patterns may have been the case across society in broad terms, but that the weighting towards non-clock-time may be indicative of a specifically elite, female temporal understanding.

Looking at time-use developed this idea further, showing that not only did women make decisions about how to express time, but that they made choices as to how to invest their time profitably. Recipe-book writers' relationship with time was mediated by their social position: their base in the household allowed the construction of complex recipes, their navigation of communication networks was interconnected with political and social status, and the writing of the recipe books themselves was an opportunity to construct a space which reflected their values, networks, and knowledge. This ultimately contributes to a picture of elite Scottish women as political entities, with agency and the ability to enact change in their lives and that of their families.

On the scale of the everyday, recipe-book writers seem to have understood time as within their control – whether that was through choosing temporal expression, or how to spend their time. This contributed to their role within the home and speaks to scholarship which highlights their agency overall. Having established this on the scale of minutiae, we must broaden our perspective and consider how understandings of time on longer scales were brought into conversation with the everyday.

Chapter 2: Months, Moons, and Seasons

Recipe book writers also experienced and managed time on scales beyond the minutiae: as Fryxell notes, time was experienced 'plurally'.[162] Weeks, months and seasons operated as structures for larger periods of time, but management of time on this scale still required action on the scale of the everyday: regardless of the conceptual timescale, existence occurs on the level of minutes, seconds, and moments. We will look at the circulation of concepts of time from the zodiac to menstruation, and so particularly relevant here is an appreciation of how published advice was not the same as action, as established by Maria Damkjaer in her work on domestic time in nineteenth century print culture.[163] This chapter builds on chapter one's argument that recipe book writers navigated multiple time systems, that their experience of time was affected by their position as elite, early modern women, and that they had a sense of temporal agency.

To illustrate seasonal and monthly time's infusion into the everyday, it is worth spending some time with an example. From the Balfour/Wemyss book, the following recipe illustrates the process of temporal navigation:

> 'A Receipt for Birch Wine by Bargaly[164]
>
> **The last week of February & the first of March is the proper time** for taking it which is done after this manner. Within a foot of ye tree make ane incision wt a pen knife upon ye Bark after this manner Δ [165] taking out this piece of Bark… when you put too the bottles they **will be full in the morning**… when they are full Cork ym up till ye have a good quantity… put it upon the fire & wt a slow heat boyle them cleen in to twelve pints… stir it once **every day for a ten days**… **pulling out the corkes 4 or 5 minuts once a week for some time** to give it air other ways it breaks the bottle it is so full of spirit.'[166]

Instructions here flit between precision ('4 or 5 minuts'), the calendar months ('February & the first of March'), repeated actions ('every day for a ten days') and advance planning ('for some time'). The involved nature of this process is not highlighted as unusual; 'some time' is not isolated as inconvenient or surprising. Experience and authority are also asserted early in the recipe in the idea of 'proper time'. Each of these timescales were experienced in the everyday; events on each scale required attention. This additional layer of temporal navigation brought additional complexity to the

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[162] Allegra Fryxell, 'Time and the Modern: Current Trends in the History of Modern Temporalities', *Past & Present,* 243 (2019), pp. 285-298 at p.1.
[163] Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine in Scotland', p.201.
[164] For information on Bargaly (botanist), see: Ann Hurley, 'The Botanist of Galloway', unpublished (2022) [doi: https://www.hurleyskidmorehistory.com.au/_files/ugd/a0424a_8432613436e64ee69c3b66935eb5e403.pdf?index=true, accessed 23rd September 2023].
[165] This triangle is upside down compared to the text but could not be represented adequately with available symbols.
[166] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, pp.85-85v.

structures considered in chapter one; appreciation of this also broadens the scale of management and agency we established in the first chapter.

This chapter asks how time on the scale of months, moons and seasons was brought into everyday navigation. The first section discusses representations of time on this scale, comparing printed literature (almanacs) to occurrences in the recipe books. The second section grows out of this, establishing how these abstract conceptions were brought into real, everyday understanding. Finally, we will bring this back round to the question of household management and the specific experience of temporal navigation for elite women.

Organising Time

The temporal frameworks early modern men and women had at their disposal were both reflected in and shaped by the technologies of the day. In her work on modern Russia, Rebecca Friedman suggests that 'abstract ideas such as time and space always have concrete manifestations'.[167] In early modern Scotland, a primary 'manifestation' was the almanac. A product of the cheap press, almanacs were short texts containing medical advice, calendar dates and astrological guidance. Widely circulated and printed on thin paper approximately the size of an A6 booklet, these texts were published on a yearly basis and owned by up to a third of Scottish households, 'right across the social spectrum'.[168] Featuring both commonalities and adaptations from year to year, they reflected the duality of the cyclical nature of the seasons and change over time. Almanacs' popular appeal was shored up by their standardisation: as Fox describes, they had many 'staples', 'main purposes' and 'usual' practices.[169] Fox's claims, which are drawn from a large sample of Scottish almanacs, are backed up by Ridder-Patrick's description of standardised formats, and my own small-sample of sixteen late seventeenth-century Scottish almanacs printed by Robert Sanders of Glasgow.[170] My case study evidenced a desire to structure time in terms of the zodiac, moons, religious dates (e.g. moveable feasts), and practical advice such as local fairs.[171] History and predictions also book-ended the texts, mirroring a linear

[167] Friedman, *Modernity, Domesticity and Temporality,* p.46.
[168] Jane Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland ca.1560-1726'. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2012, pp.108-109.
[169] Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland 1550-1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp.350-379.
[170] Ibid., p.373.
[171] Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland', p.109; Anon, *A Prognostication for the Year of Christ 1668* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1668); Anon, *A Prognostication for the Year of Christ 1669* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1669); Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of Christ 1670* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1670); Anon, *A New Almanack or Prognostication for the Year of Christ 1671* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1671); Anon, *A Prognostication for the Year 1672* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1672); Anon, *A Prognostication for the Year of our Blessed Lord 1673* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1673); Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of our blessed lord 1681* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1681); Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of our blessed lord 1682* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1682); Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of our blessed lord 1683* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1683); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1684 (*Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1684); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1685* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1685); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1686*

understanding of past to future.[172] The almanac's concern with time – in all of its forms, from its origins in the 'perpetual calendar' to the intricacies of the year's eclipses – is clear.[173]

Sitting within the almanac, and a key tool of civil society, the calendar was a unifying system of organisation in early modern Scotland. The calendar used in Scotland throughout this period was the Julian Calendar; this had been the case from 1600, and so by the time of the production of most of these books, this was an established system. Almanac calendars provided a monthly framework into which seasonal patterns and the material world could slot; some were even printed so they could be displayed in the same fashion as a modern calendar.[174] The seasons (Winter, Spring, 'fall of leaf'/ 'Autumn'/ 'harvest' and Summer) would then be mentally layered on top of the months as they were usually not listed on the monthly calendar. Key religious dates such as Whitsunday and Michaelmas were also noted here as anchors of the bureaucratic life of early modern Scots.[175]

A primary aim of this study is to examine how these technologies were used and featured in everyday life. Starting with the basics of the calendar months, we can track their appearance across the recipe books:

(Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1686); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1691* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1691); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1692* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1692); Anon, *A New Prognostication for this Year of Man's redemption, 1694* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1694); J A Mathen, *A Prognostication for the Year of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1667* (Edinburgh: Society of St, 1667).

[172] Ibid (all as above).

[173] Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland', pp.104-105.

[174] Fox, *The Press and the People,* p.368.

[175] 'Witsonday, n.' *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (Online: Scottish Language Dictionaries, 2004) [doi: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/witsonday, accessed 5 Sep 2023]; 'Michelmes, n'. *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (Scottish Language Dictionaries, 2004) [doi: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/michelmes, accessed 5 Sep 2023].

References to Months of the Year, by Recipe Book.

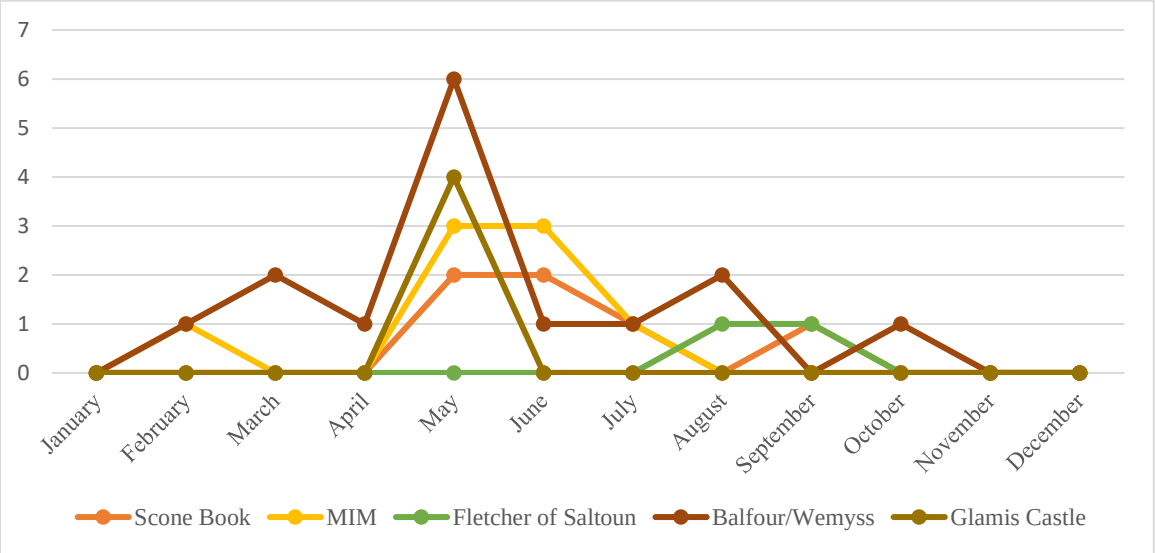

Figure 6: Months of the year by recipe book.

References to the months were not infrequent, with thirty-three references dispersed across five books. Each month from February to October was mentioned at least once, with the winter months of November to January notably absent – likely due to the lack of availability of many ingredients in these months. This is an important reminder that 'recipe-book time' was reflective of material realities: Jean Wemyss' account book confirms this picture, with much more extensive accounts in the summer months.[176] As can be seen in the graph above, incidences in the recipe books peaked in summer time, with a higher prevalence of mentions from the months of May through to August: times at which action in the garden would have been necessary, and when fruits may have begun to ripen. With 78% of references to the months being for May-August, and no references to the Winter months, we can argue that recipe book time was weighted towards the summer.

The weighting towards summer is brought into relief when we look exclusively at references to May. Firstly, the graph above excludes references to 'May butter', as this was an ingredient rather than a temporal reference in the same manner as other examples. However, when including it too, there were 26 references in total: over 50% of all references to a month of the year. Seasonality and relative abundance in May explain this somewhat, but not entirely: many fruits and vegetables would not yet be in season. Additionally, and once again excluding 'May butter', all but one of the recipes were for medical cures. This would suggest an association with May as a time of healing and good health: many of these recipes were for ointments and herbals that could be used throughout the year, such as 'the ointment to be made in may for rikets splene palsie or any itch', 'for young childien that grow

[176] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502.

nott ueill', and 'to make oyll of swallows'.[177] In this era, May was a festive month with associations of fertility and magic, though this was never explicitly referenced in the recipe books, and indeed was meant to be in decline in the seventeenth century.[178] However, Holmes discusses the infusion of power created by preparing recipes in specific months, and given the history of Beltane and May as a month of ritual and celebration, we may be seeing the legacy of these connotations, hidden under the surface.[179] These cultural frameworks had an impact on not only how time was understood, but the ways in which it inflected real action and the shape of the year.

Instructions based on the month were only relevant when knowledge was unusual or advisory. There are few recipes which provided direct instructions as to the availability of common ingredients; there are no instances of instructions as to when to pick apples or when blackberries would be ripe. This is likely due to assumed knowledge and the natural reality that seasonal timing could vary. As Leong discusses, explicit notes on timing could simply be important for ensuring supplies were obtained.[180] For example, in the Scone Book preventing 'after pains' in a woman 'lying in' could be achieved by collecting 'dung of a red ox dropt in about the middle of June or att least in June'.[181] In the case of 'ane Recept of green oyntment good for any cold Humour' in MIM, a best practice observation was noted as:

> "OBSERVAIN you must make it in **the beginning of June** because the milke and herb are best with ris then, the butter and herbs must be both unwashed, but the herbs must be gathered in the heate of the day."[182]

After the month, the writer provides a justification, explicitly spelling out why this decision was made – in this case due to the quality of ingredients available at various points in the year. Similarly, in an 'admirable water for sore eyes' in the Scone Book or Receipts, the prepared recipe is left 'in the sun' for 'the moneth of jully for the whole moneth'.[183] Presumably, this was due to a need for fermentation and heat from the sun (best achieved in the warmest months, likely July); the recipe-maker did not need this spelled out for them but could (with the correct knowledge and context) infer this.

None of the recipe books studied here were explicitly organised by month, but the grouping of recipes by ingredient or task lends itself to a reading influenced by seasonality. This can be observed in a number of the recipe books: MIM, with eight recipes for fruit preservation (from damsons to pippins)

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[177] 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.60; 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.34; 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.38.
[178] For a discussion of Scotland's 'hot Protestantism' and the attempt to manage celebration, see: Margo Todd, 'Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:2 (2000), pp.123-156.
[179] Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.101.
[180] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.77.
[181] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.133.
[182] 'Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.149.
[183] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.69.

listed one after the other, or in Scone where recipes involving ‘cherries’ or ‘apricoaks’ sit together.[184] This natural coalescing would have occurred due to the combination of ingredient availability and task management. The books themselves are infused with systems of time; the act of writing materialised and replicated both assumptions and systems.

The months existed in conversation with the seasons of the year. In these recipe books, a variety of language was used to express this, with each of the four seasons appearing at least once:

References to Seasons by Recipe Book

	‘Season’	‘Fall of Leaf’	‘Spring’	‘Winter’	‘Summer’	**Total**
MIM			1	1	1	***3***
Katherine Bruce Book 2				1	1	***2***
Fletcher of Saltoun				2	2	***4***
Balfour/Wemyss		2	1	1	1	***5***
Glamis Castle	1				1	***2***
Total	***1***	***2***	***2***	***5***	***6***	***16***

Table 8: References to seasons in recipe books.

Often, where one season was explicitly referenced, it came in conjunction with references to other seasons. Examples include ‘A receit of Doctor Mackels’ which was to ‘bee drunk in a feaver or when on is troubled with narent drouth or inward heat’.[185] The explicit reference to humoral heat is interesting in the context of the subsequent seasonal references: in summer, ‘yow may take of sorrel & lattice water’ while in winter the ‘waters are not to bee had good’ so spring water should be used.[186] This illness could evidently be experienced at different times of the year, but that variation was also necessary to ensure the cure was enacted properly. Seasonal variation could also refer to the external conditions created by varying temperatures and sunlight. The second recipe for ‘harts horn jelly’ in MIM gave instructions depending on the season: ‘it will keip good a wholl weik or more in the winter but three or four days in sumer’.[187] At first glance, this suggestion seems unusual only in its unusualness; why, given limited storing options, were there so few instances of this sort of variation? However, most recipes could not be made at all year-round: due to ingredient availability, most

[184] ‘Recipe Book’, MS 15912, pp.45-54; ‘Scone Book’, Acc.13444, pp.1-13.
[185] ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, p.54v.
[186] Ibid.
[187] ‘Household Recipe Book’, MS 15912, p.182.

recipes were likely already confined to just one season. Therefore, again, explicit reference was not necessary; speaking not to the lack of these systems, but merely to the lack of need to cite them.

The Heavens also informed the temporal framework. In four books (five references across Scone, MIM, Balfour/Wemyss, and Glamis) the moon and its cycle through the sky was used to indicate when a recipe had to be prepared and/or consumed. In 'A recept for the convulcione fitt' in the Scone Book, the instructions recommend consumption 'three neights before the change and also long before the hight of the moon'.[188] This would require knowledge of the patterns of the moon from the almanac and attention to its place in the sky throughout the month. Astrology was significant in readers' knowledge frameworks, with references catering to different audiences - Ridder-Patrick highlights the use of 'arcane' references designed specifically for an elite population, while others 'ran more in the direction of sensationalistic predictions'.[189] The idea of a common framework of some astrological understanding is suggested by Charlotte Holmes, wherein she argues the zodiac man was referred to as 'assumed knowledge', including for female readers.[190] Coming back to the application of this knowledge, alongside the Scone Book 'convulcione fitt', other examples featured across the books: 'three days before the full and new of the moone' (MIM, 'Sounding or Falling Sickness'), 'three mornings together at the chang or full of the moon' (Glamis, 'For the Wormes'), and 'every morning beginning at the change of the moone' (Glamis, 'For Convulsiones').[191] Each of these examples required knowledge of when the moon was new or full in general terms (the day, and thus how to calculate three days before it). The framework for this knowledge can be seen clearly in the almanac descriptions of the lunar cycle: take, for example, March 1681: 'Wednesday Second quarter, 2. Day, 8. Hours. 35 m. morning… Thursday Full moon, 24. Day, 15. M, after 1 in the morning'.[192] Also noted was that 'in the new of the moon, grast, set quicklets and vines, cut your hedges and vines already growing… now bleed and bathe, if thou desire'.[193] Given the level of detail about the moon in almanacs, and the relationship it was thought to have to both health and harvest, we may have expected to see it appear more.

Intriguingly, of the seven recipes containing reference to the moon, four of them were for convulsions or falling sickness. These illnesses were perhaps among the least well understood of the early modern era, and so it is interesting that these recipes both reference the moon and the number 'three', given the mystical associations of both. The moon was thought to have power in ritual and timing of various actions, as well as being understood to control elements of the natural world from the tides to crops; it

[188] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.102.
[189] Ibid., p.111.
[190] Holmes, *Domestic Medicine in Scotland,* p.301.
[191] 'Household Recie Book', MS 15912, p.268; 'Recipe Book', Vol 243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.3, p.58.
[192] Anon, 'A New prognostication for the Year of our Blessed Lord 1681.', p.A3.
[193] Ibid.; Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.204 also includes an example from a 1671 Glasgow almanac where the moon is cited as a reference point for the best time to cut down 'timber'.

is arguably a logical step to wonder, then, if this power could be harnessed.[194] The number three, on the other hand, had powerful religious associations, steeped in the Christian tradition of the Holy Trinity. Interestingly, this combination also appears in an English recipe to prevent miscarriage cited by Jennifer Evans, with the instruction to consume 'three days before every full moon', suggesting this association may have been in reasonably wide circulation.[195] The evidence is limited, and indeed may not have been a conscious association. However, the double association with the Heavens is interesting, particularly given the unpredictability and difficulties in understanding falling sickness (and, in the Evans example, miscarriage). This subconscious framework develops the sense of a complex mental process, with hidden layers of knowledge operating under the surface.

As historians of astrology from across Europe have suggested, decline in astronomical belief – particularly in medical terms – was not truly apparent until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[196] However, some scepticism may be hinted at here given the almost ubiquitous lack of astronomical prediction or markers in relation to either crop-picking or medical-recipe making. Across the collection there was just one recipe which referenced the star signs: 'ane especiall good medicine for the falling sickness', which notes the placement of the sun in the zodiac along with the season as follows, 'beginning of the Spring when the sun is in Aries'.[197] The inclusion of Aries does suggest that zodiac placement was understood to have some effect, otherwise 'beginning of the Spring' would have been sufficient. As with the moon-mentioning recipes, this seems to be a call to the Heavens for help with the unpredictable 'falling sickness', further backing up this association. Therefore, we have another time system at work which was not frequently chosen; like with clocks and senses, availability did not necessitate use, and may reflect gendered differences in access to zodiacal knowledge. It is tempting to suggest that due to the prevalence of astrology in almanacs (as demonstrated by Ridder-Patrick), this system was at work under the surface, as in the case of the seasons or months.[198] However, the number of examples is far more limited. Again, this is surprising given the guidance in almanacs could include elements such as the best time to enact medical advice or pick fruits (for example 'Harvest by his entrie in Libra').[199] Educated men were the predictors of astrology, and the evidence of almanacs would suggest that it was understood, used, and applied across society; this recipe book evidence begins to suggest that it was either not understood enough to be applied independently in the household, or was not considered to be a useful tool. This agrees with Michelle Pfeffer's recent article regarding the 'decline of astrology' which suggests that more work in

[194]Julian Goodare, *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Goodare, p.32; David Cressy, 'Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man in the Moon'*, The American Historical Review,* 111:4 (2006), pp.961-982 at p.961.
[195] Jennifer Evans, '"A Toste Wett in Muskadine": Preventing Miscarriage in Early Modern English Recipe Books c.1600-1780', *Women's Writing*, 29:4 (2022), pp.514-532 at p.522.
[196] Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland', p.136.
[197] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.268.
[198] Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland', Ch.3.
[199] Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of our Blessed Lord 1681,* p.A2.

this area is needed to bring together the varying narratives of 'decline' suggested by historians over the past 50 years.[200]

In the context of medical recipes, a final system of organisation one might have expected to see would be the menstrual cycle. However, here too, references are not common (even in Balfour/Wemyss, where there is a significant number of gynaecological recipes).[201] Only two examples suggest an expected framework for menstruation: in 'For Worms' in the Scone Book, the writer refers to the 'monthly course', while in MIM there is a recipe to 'restore nature'.[202] With recipes for conception featuring elsewhere in the books, and as texts largely written by women for women, reference to menstruation would not be scandalous. A major reason for this absence may simply be the lack of reliability of the 'monthly' courses as a measure of time. With later puberty, early marriage, repeated pregnancies and perimenopause, menstruation may not have been a reliable enough tool by which to set any serious markers. Absence of evidence here does not rule out the idea that menstruation was a way in which time was experienced by women, but it does challenge the idea that it was a core feature of temporal understanding which contributed to the 'very different temporal experiences' of men and women, and around which life was organised.[203] This absence is also a reminder that when we think about the gendering of time in early modern Scotland, we must think more broadly than basic physical realities.

This section has established that once again, women were navigating complex multi-temporal systems: months, seasons, moons, the zodiac, and menstruation all emerged as candidates for structuring the passing of the year. These temporal systems do not all appear frequently in the recipe books: months and seasons feature most heavily, and even then, are not very common. Situating the prevalence of these instances in their historical context can help us understand the process of navigation and the enactment of ideas: months and seasons needed less frequent reference due to natural cycles and women's understanding of these as inherent knowledge, while the infrequency of the zodiac and menstruation suggests that these were systems which were neither helpful nor necessarily understood in a way which meant they could be applied on their own terms. This section supports Damkjaer's assertion that to understand 'domestic time' as it was acted out, one must explore

[200] Michelle Pfeffer, 'Reassessing the Marginalisation of Astrology in the Early Modern World', *The Historical Journal* (2023), pp.1-25.
[201] Julia Morales, 'Matrilineal Medicine: An Edited Transcription of the Elcho-Wemyss Receipt Book', unpublished work, [doi: https://www.academia.edu/30530856/Matrilineal_Medicine_An_Edited_Transcription_of_the_Elcho-Wemyss_Receipt_Book, accessed 31st May 2023], pp.11-12.
[202] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.150; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.110.
[203] For an example of a popular exploration of time in this vein, see Jay Griffiths, *Pip Pip: A Sideways Look at Time* (London: Penguin, 1999)*;* Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.70.

lived-in texts such as recipe books rather than simply look at advice and structures such as almanacs.[204]

Translating Time

Having established that time on the scale of months, moons and seasons was present in recipe books, but required complex navigation, we can now turn to how this was 'made real'. Structures were meaningless without attempts to bring them into the everyday: once again, this required observation and 'attention'. In many cases, these observations were vital to the success of the household: correct and reliable observation, combined with knowledge of its meaning, could be the key to efficacious cures and bountiful food supplies. As Rankin highlights, attention to the seasons was vital as without it, key opportunities could be lost: observing seasonality meant watching plants grow, knowing the right time to harvest them, and for what purposes.[205] This observation fundamentally took place through the body, and so we must come back to the senses.

References to Sensory Markers for the Passing of the Seasons, by Recipe Book

	Ripeness	Size	Feel	Colour	Age	'Fall of Leaf'	***TOTAL***
Scone Book	3			1			***4***
Helen Cochrane	1						***1***
MIM	7	3	1	3	1		***15***
Katherine Bruce Book 2	6	2	2	3			***13***
Fletcher of Saltoun	1	1					***2***
Balfour/Wemyss	2					2	***4***
Glamis Castle	2	1		1	1		***5***
TOTAL	***22***	***6***	***3***	***8***	***2***	***2***	***44***

Table 9: Sensory markers for the passing of the seasons

Of the forty-four references, seventeen (39%) used visual markers such as size, colour and change of state, while three used touch (9%). The remainder (twenty-four recipes) referred to 'ripeness' or 'age', perceived through both sight and touch. These recipes were important, containing instructions which had to be brought to mind throughout the year, at appropriate times. In the context of the household, and women's role within it, the sensed landscape was heavy with temporality and awareness of this

[204] Maria Damkjaer, *Time, Domesticity and Print Culture,* p.14.
[205] Rankin, 'Telling Time through Medicine', p.104.

was a key part of the duties of household management: understanding of time informed one's relationship with space and vice-versa.

While this management might appear as a constraint, it is important to consider too the conversational nature of the attention required. We can further see the 'agency' of this engagement when we think about the meaning of the senses. Perception was not just about information retrieval and acting on that information. The senses were ascribed with meaning beyond the literal or physical; in sensory engagement, the recipe-maker was adding to their internal knowledge store, sense of time passing, and future of their family through their successes in this task. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen's discussion of pain as 'simultaneously private and deeply public' is resonant here.[206] Van Dijkhuizen uses the example 'to feel the pain of bladder stones was potentially a way of feeling the suffering of a whole Protestant community'; so too, to observe the ripeness of a berry by sight or smell and to ascribe that meaning (and to have the knowledge to be able to do so) was to feel the responsibility of the household, and to have power over it.[207]

Knowledge frameworks informed by identity and experience also shaped engagement with temporal markers. Even everyday concepts such as 'ripeness' were rich in meaning. For example, in the Scone Book of Receipts, instructions for preserving pippins, making gooseberry wine and concocting elder berry syrup all contain directions to pick the fruits when they are 'rype'/ 'rip' .[208] Understanding what this ripeness *meant* (observed through vision, taste and touch) relied on a history of engaged interaction with the natural environment, built up through the enactment of a specific role. Other recipes contained even more precise instructions, relying on exact knowledge. For example, in Helen Cochrane, 'to make conserve reed roses', the instruction is to pick the roses when they are 'not fully reap'.[209] This sense of anticipation and the 'before' can also be found in the MIM manuscript, with 'take hipps before they rype' and 'goosberries when they are almost rype'.[210] Instructions could even be so specific as to request that fruits be taken 'befor they be rype altogether but Let them be at the full bigness'.[211] For notes such as these, keen attention would have had to be paid: observation of the growth of the fruits, repeated touch and attention to colour, and perhaps tasting.

Unpacking an idea such as 'ripeness' and isolating each sense can help us to understand how longer periods of time infused the everyday with temporal agency. Starting with vision, this sense was not necessarily understood to be directly related to 'external fact' in this period: it was considered a useful

[206] Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, 'Written on the Body' in *Embodiment, Expertise and Ethics in Early Modern Europe: Entangling the Senses*, ed. by Marlene L. Eberhart & Jacob M. Baum (London: Routledge, 2020), pp.154-177, at p.172.
[207] Ibid., p.172.
[208] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.1, p.84, p.109.
[209] 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503, p.9v.
[210] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.78, p.189, p.229.
[211] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.19.

tool which allowed a window to understanding.[212] In the MIM book, a recipe for preserving cauliflower instructed its reader to take the 'deepest red goliflower yow can find that be spekels with blake [*speckled with black]*', while a 'medicine for a tympanie' used 'black ripe' elder berries.[213] Colour had specific connotations of readiness and was inscribed with temporal meaning in its 'depth' and relation to other plants and vegetables. Size was also observed, sometimes with reference to past knowledge (as in 'when they are cumed to that full biggness' for the preservation of raspberries) or in comparison to other markers such as 'as bigg as your thumb' in a recipe for preserving radish and lettuce.[214] Touch also featured in the observation of seasonality through sensory cues. In the MIM book, instructions included picking walnuts 'before they are hard'.[215] As with visual indicators for ripeness, this 'before' indicator relied on lived experience and bodily interaction to know at what point the 'turn' was likely.[216] This placed the 'bundle of rhythms' of bodily time in conversation with the 'enmeshed' reality of the exterior timescape, connecting and weaving between the two.[217] Both the body and the external, natural world were home to a multiplicity of time-senses. Touch appears elsewhere, for example in Katherine Bruce's second book to establish the readiness of fruit: one for 'hard' damsons, and the other for the 'firmest pipenes'.[218] Instructions also used mixed cues, such as 'grien' alongside 'hard' for damsons. Again, each walk past a bush or through the garden was an opportunity to add to the temporal recipe brewing in one's mind: a note that berries were looking riper, the flowers in bloom translating to a sense that the season was passing quickly, and that actions would need to be taken. Coming back to Michael Given's work on 'human attentiveness', we can see that in the context of the early modern household, this 'attentiveness' was vital to the creation of a domestic time-sense. [219]

Without observation and attention, time continues to pass; fruit ripen and die on the branches, the moon completes its turn through the sky, the female body cycles through ovulation and menses. On the other hand, recipes would go unmade, opportunities missed to cure mysterious diseases, stores for the next year left depleted without timely preparation. Observation and attention made these larger stretches of time real, bringing the abstract into the everyday through sensory contact with the body.

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[212] Clark, *Vanities of the Eye,* p.1.
[213] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.188.
[214] Ibid., p.49, p.91.
[215] Ibid., p.43.
[216] For helpful commentary on the 'assumption' of experience see: Rachel Rich, '" Life will pass quickly for me": Women, Clocks and Timekeeping in Nineteenth Century France', *Gender & History* 31:1 (2019), pp.41-59 at p.54.
[217] Stuart Elden et al., eds, *Henri Lefebvre: Key Writings* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003)*,* p.195; Walklate, 'Timescapes', p.92.
[218] 'Recipe Book', MS 17855, pp.12-13v.
[219] Given, 'Attending to Place and Time', p.453.

Managing the Year

This final section asks how the complexities of managing time across the year related to the role of the recipe-book writer. One way we can study how women translated and chose systems is by looking at one we know to have been in use outwith the recipe-book context, and comparing this to the way it appears in the recipe books. Throughout this period, Scotland was Protestant, and as noted, key dates such as Whitsunday were used for accounting.[220] This makes for an apt case study through which we can consider how elite Scottish women integrated their religious beliefs into their role as temporal managers.

The absence of religious festivals in the recipe books is particularly worth exploring. There are few references to holy days other than Christmas, which itself was referenced only three times. One argument to explain this could be, again, that this lack of explicit reference was due to an under the surface knowledge network, with some recipes having an automatic association with certain festivities (much as a recipe for a turkey today might not need to be marked 'for Christmas'). This does not entirely hold up, however, when we look at the markers which did appear. The three references to Christmas were all in recipes for pippins with instructions to 'take yor pippens neir christmas'.[221] In this, Christmas was seen as a seasonal marker in the year, a point to which individuals could refer, but crucially not an event for which certain dishes must be prepared. The same is true for a jelly of pippins recipe: 'take the greenest pippins (betwixt mechilmiss and christemisse is the the best tyme)'.[222] We are not seeing these markers as days on which to consume particular foods for a religious holiday, but markers for action in a similar way to months and seasons.

In the context of changing religious acceptability, writing down festival foods could have been risky: what celebrations were and were not acceptable changed dramatically over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[223] As established by Margo Todd in her discussion of 'Profane Pastimes', this included the 'campaign against… feasting' including at celebratory events such as weddings, as well as religious days such as Yule.[224] The 'national controvers[y]' of holy days may have led to a wariness and desire to refrain from immortalising customs, even when they were acceptable at the time, with recent memory of the opposite still fresh in mind.[225] In Scotland, Presbyterian impulses collided with difficulties on the ground, and for the noble households who wrote and collected these recipes, it seems highly likely that even where religious days such as Easter were understood to be within the calendar (as suggested by their presence in almanacs: 'Pasch or

[220] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502, p.108.
[221] 'Book of Recipes', MS 15912, p.52; 'Recipe Book', Vol. 243, p.13.
[222] 'Recipe Book', Vol 243, p.1.
[223] Todd, 'Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community'.
[224] Ibid., p.123.
[225] Jamie M. McDougall, 'Popular Festive Practices in Reformation Scotland' in *A Companion to the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. by Ian Hazlett (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp.468-486 at p.469.

Easter', 'Whitsunday', 'Good-Friday', 'Candlemas and Fastens-even' are all listed in the 1681 Glasgow Almanac), writing down any recipes for feasting foods would be an unhelpful act.[226] This holds up when compared to the apparent prevalence of festive recipes in English books, where the celebration of religious festivities was more consistent.[227] The near-complete absence, however, does point to a framework in which the celebratory elements of these dates were removed, and therefore so too the memory of past foods and celebrations. This has serious implications for conceptualisation of time: one of the core 'frameworks' which observation and attention might be thought to slot in to would be a religious one. Arguably, the months and seasons, and the associations of what needed to be done at these points were more significant than religious frameworks in the context of the recipe book timescape.

A curious presence in one recipe book does require some attention: 'flesh days', which appear in MIM (late seventeenth century). All in reasonably close succession, three recipes reference 'flesh days': 'to make a wheat pott', 'to make ane almond pudding', and 'to make a Florentine of oysters'.[228] These recipes would otherwise be meat-free (presuming oysters to be seen as 'fish' not meat), and two of the recipes add marrow if on a 'flesh day'. It was a Catholic practice to avoid meat on certain days; the practice should not have been present in a Presbyterian household. One suggestion might be that an older set of recipes (hence their clustering) was copied out, something perhaps backed up by their absence in the Glamis Castle book (the MIM book being an amalgamation of more than just the Glamis recipes). It is intriguing that these references survived, and yet festival foods did not: hinting again at self-editing based on judgements of acceptability. This would, of course, then have an impact on the real experience of time, what celebrating festivals meant, and the amount of time which was spent preparing and planning for them. With such little record in these books, it appears through this lens that in elite society, the heat against celebrations in this manner was followed.

In Emily Taylor's exploration of Grisell Bailie and Margaret Calderwood's travel writing, she discusses how their 'intergenerational writings' went on to affect the norms of a later day.[229] We can see something of this process here: the construction of time in recipes mattered, because it affected what was remembered, acted upon, and brought forward beyond living memory. By refusing to write recipes for festivities, recipe book writers defined what was important to them and their families.

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[226] Anon, *A New Prognostication for the Year of our Blessed Lord 1681*, p.A1v, p.A3.
[227] There is a frequency of off-hand references in the literature from historians dealing with English sources: for example, "green Goosberry-tart at Christmas" in Jennifer Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era' in *'Waste Not, Want Not': Food Preservation from Early Times to the Present Day* ed. by Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp.66-104, at p.90; discussion of turkeys for Christmas in Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.51; "to keep Damsins or Grapes fresh for Chrissmasse" in Lucy Havard, 'Preserve or Perish: Food Preservation Practices in the Early Modern Kitchen', *Notes Rec*, 74 (2020), pp.5-33, at p.23.
[228] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.184, p.186.
[229] Taylor, 'Matriarchal Journeys'.

From this, we can understand that as well as observing and acting on their temporal understanding, recipe book writers shaped that understanding for their future selves and future generations.

Conclusion

This chapter has built on the suggestion made in chapter one that elite Scottish women navigated complex systems of temporal expression and made decisions about time-use which both reflected and developed their agency in the household. It has broadened the scope of discussion from the everyday minutiae into how larger conceptualisations of time – the cycles of months, seasons, and the year – were brought into everyday life.

The first section of this chapter asked how time was expressed on this scale. We looked at both systems of organisation such as calendars and almanacs, and representations of these in the recipe books, to establish that on the scale of months and seasons, recipe book writers had multiple organisation systems at their disposal. The infrequency of some types of time - certain months, or the zodiac - highlighted that the availability of information did not mean it was always applied. This agreed with Maria Damkjaer's suggestion that understanding is best reflected in everyday sources.[230] The high prevalence of certain months such as May also functioned as a reminder that cultural knowledge can at times remain inaccessible, inferred under the surface; and that we are accessing a specific bubble of 'recipe-book time' which was not necessarily representative of all time conceptions, even of these elite Scottish women.

Having established that while months, moons, the zodiac, menstruation, and seasons functioned as organisational frameworks, but that months and seasons were much more likely to be *chosen* by recipe writers, we turned to the ways in which these structures were translated into lived experience. Again, the senses became a focus as we looked at how women had to choose to take these systems and make them meaningful through engaging with the material world. Here, understanding of time functioned through the body in the form of attention, ascribing the natural environment with meaning; one's own identity in relation to the world thus both inflected and was inflected by time. Finally, we asked what this meant specifically for elite, Scottish women. Navigating time and the household successfully were highly interlinked: noting the ripeness of fruit, the changing of the seasons, and the importance of making medical cures at the appropriate time were all key to the role of the early modern Scottish noblewoman. The example of religious festivities highlighted that women represented, replicated, and amended cultural values: they thus constructed their own understanding of time and impacted the understanding of time they left behind for future generations in the form of the recipe books.

[230] Damkjaer, *Time, Domesticity and Print Culture.*

The recipe books show that their writers were more than capable of navigating and integrating these various systems and attentions. We can see this most clearly in how the senses were used to translate time both on the minutiae and seasonally. Therefore, by standing 'with' the writers, we are seeing choice and navigation. We can begin to see the creation of a system through which repetition and attention – understandings of the past and present – came to affect the future through active management and agency. Recipe (-book) makers enacted time as agency: through valuing seasonal attention, recipe production and awareness of 'time' passing, they made real a time-system in which these things (and their own sense of them) **were** valuable, and in which they had control.

Chapter 3: Past, Present, and Future

From minutiae, months and seasons, the final chapter of this thesis 'zooms out' to look at time-senses on a longer scale. Throughout, we will focus particularly on recipe books' function as 'vehicles of communication across time' (Sophie Cope), paying close attention to the material object of the recipe book.[231] Given the more abstract, theoretical concepts dealt with here, a series of case studies will be used to anchor these ideas within the source material.

This chapter will largely deal with thematic undercurrents, but it is worth a reminder that time beyond one's own lifetime was also explicitly present. In the Scone Book of Receipts, 'Agt the Stone' invokes 'forever':

> "…burry them privately that they may not be rais'd in the Earth a yrd undergrown where lett them **ly for ever**… A French man of quality try'd it with success & was **10 years after** free of the ston had a mind to see his bottles again & rais'd them & found a stone in each then filled 'em again & buried them & he was never after trubled."[232]

This recipe, perhaps one of those which makes the clearest diversion into the mystic, uses several techniques to draw the future, past and present together. It uses a past example to influence future behaviour, while also giving a clear example of what 'for ever' was not (the French man must re-bury his stones even after '10 years'; this is not 'for ever'). Forever was also, crucially, a concept within the early modern Christian temporal lexicon: this is backed up by numerous occurrences in the *Dictionary for the Scottish Language* pre-1700 and the *Geneva Bible*.[233] Here, we see the mobilisation of timescales far beyond the everyday: the future extending beyond the lifetime, into some unknown 'ever'.

The temporal mobility of recipe books has not been entirely ignored. Leong in particular has considered the 'vertical axis through which recipe knowledge travelled'.[234] Here, we will unpick whether this time axis was simply envisaged as 'vertical': I suggest that while vertical time was 'available', we should also see the recipe book as understood within a collapsed time-sense, with past, present, and future circling and enmeshed, not only placed one after the other. The family and its history were not so much 'preserved' through the recipe book as the family 'lived' within it; previous,

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[231] Cope, 'Women in the Sea of Time', p.61.
[232] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.132.
[233] No specific entry for 'forever' or 'for ever' but contained within results for 74 different words in contextualising examples: 'Search: Forever.' Dictionary of the Scots Language (Scottish Language Dictionaries, 2004), [doi: https://dsl.ac.uk/results/%22for%20ever%22, accessed: 22nd August 2023]; 'Search: Forever.' Geneva Bible, 1599 Edition (Tolle Lege Press), [https://www.biblegateway.com/quicksearch/?quicksearch=forever+and+ever&version=GNV, accessed: 25th September 2023].
[234] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.21.

current, and future generations had equal, if different types of, weight, and were able to be in communication through the written word.

This chapter brushes the edge of scholarship from DiMeo and Leong who explore the formation of the self through recipe books; here, we look at time from an adjacent angle, exploring how understanding of time both impacted and reflected individuals' relationships with their beliefs and society.[235] Coming together in this final chapter is a sense of time on each of the scales studied throughout this thesis, through which we can appreciate how time was understood as 'varied, tangled, folded, turbulent flows' and better appreciate the way in which recipe-book writers 'interact[ed] with their environment and interpret[ed] their world'.[236] Section one asks how time was described in terms of past, present and future, taking a close look at medical recipes to explore the way these concepts were entangled in everyday understanding. Section two develops this groundwork by asking how writers saw themselves within this framework, expanding on the idea of a multi-directional, back-and-forth timescape through the particular evidence of Jean Wemyss' inscription. Finally, the third section asks how all of the time senses present throughout this thesis were navigated and brought together as 'temporal agency', with the case study of preservation recipes helping to ground the sense of complex, flowing time.

Representations of Past and Future

We can see past, present, and future orientations throughout this collection; this section aims to establish the fundamentals of how these concepts were represented. Preservation of health was an underpinning aim of early modern medical practice. The scholarship suggests that there was a gradual (and incomplete) transition from preventative, 'preservative' medicine, to curing and fighting disease.[237] In our recipe books, we can see evidence of recipes which were about maintaining health as well as some which tackled specific illnesses and problems. The latter ranged from 'ye French pox' (syphilis), and 'stinking breath' to a remedy for 'one yt pisseth ye bed' and killing cures for 'wormes creept into the ear' or which 'eat the eye lids'.[238] Others were more generalised: 'black salve' and 'green salve', 'oyle off mint', 'the admirable and most famous snail water' and 'aqua mirabilis'.[239] Preserving health and preventing death were inherently future-oriented positions which also assumed

[235] DiMeo & Pennell, 'Introduction' in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books,* p.11; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.115.
[236] Given, 'Attending to Place and Time', p.453.
[237] Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.16; H. Cook, 'Medicine', in *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 3,* ed. by K. Park and L. Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.407-434, at p.434.
[238] There are many French Pox recipes in 'Balfour/Wemyss', MS 3031, listed at, pp.2,7,13v; 'stinking breath', p.9; 'pisseth ye bed', p.10; both worm recipes, subsequently, 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.52.
[239] 'Recipe Book', Vol 243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.56; 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.47v; 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.73; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.98.

the relevance of the past to the future: illnesses were experienced in the past, learnt from in the present, and assumed to be continued problems in the future.

The medical recipes in Balfour/Wemyss can be categorised into four key temporal categories through which illness was experienced. Balfour/Wemyss has been taken here as a case study due to its purely medical focus, thus removing recipes which sat on the border of nutrition and medicine. 'Short-term immediate relief' recipes aimed to deal with the symptoms of an illness, providing pain relief or life-saving measures such as stopping bleeding. Many of these included explicit reference to 'immediatlie' or 'presentlie' helping symptoms, as in two back-to-back recipes for scalds in Balfour/Wemyss.[240] 'Medium-term' cures were more interested in getting to the bottom of an issue in order to provide relief over an extended period: for example, two recipes for ringworm address 'killing' the worm, and reference multiple applications.[241] Similarly, long-term 'holistic health' recipes did not promise instantaneous aid, but aimed to improve quality of health without addressing a specific issue. Finally, I included 'lifecycle moments' as a separate category given their anchoring in specific times of life, usually (in these cases) associated with pregnancy, birth, and childhood.

Focus of Medical Recipes in Balfour/Wemyss.[242]

Short-term Immediate Relief		**Medium-term Cure**		**Long-term Holistic Health**		**Lifecycle Moment**	
Bleed	14	White sickness	4	Oil	9	Miscarriage	5
Stomach pain	11	Falling sickness	4	Purge	5	Easy birth	2
Sore Mouth	6	Dropsy	4	Turnip Syrup	4	Conception	2
Flux	6	Plague	4	Diet Drink	4	Growth	2
Breast pain	5	Piles	4	Syrup	2	Breast milk	2
Scald	5	Stone	4	Cordial	2		
Headache	4	French pox	3	Bitter Tincture	2		
Jaundice	4	Gout	3	Elixir	1		
Ague	4	Ringworm	3	Lung & Stomach Health	1		
Weak back	4	Collick	3	Heart Health	1		
Tooth ache	4	Consumption	3	Cloister	1		
Fever	4	Scrofulus	3	Medicinal Ale	1		
Bruise	4	Worms	2	Milk Water	1		
Gravel	3	Rickets	2	Bitter Drink	1		

[240] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.8.
[241] Ibid., p.6, p.12.
[242] Excluding recipes for aesthetics and wine.

Eye problems	3	Small pox	2	White teeth	1		
Ulcer	3	Digestion	2	Restorative broth	1		
Bad breath	3	Thorn	1	Remedy	1		
Menstruation	3	Blindness	1				
Runs	2	Corn	1				
Sores	2	Cold	1				
Runny nose	2	Rheume	1				
Dehydration	2	Urine infection	1				
Swelling	2	Black spall	1				
Itch	1	Warts	1				
Web in ear	1	Whooping Cough	1				
Loin pain	1	Cancer	1				
Bed wetting	1	Loose body	1				
Scabs	1	St Anton's Fire	1				
Dollor	1						
Moistness	1						
Short of breath	1						
Cough	1						
Melancholy	1						
Fainting	1						
Convulsion	1						
Broken bone	1						
TOTAL	113	**TOTAL**	62	**TOTAL**	38	**TOTAL**	13

Table 10: Medical recipes in Balfour/Wemsys.

Looking across the dataset, we can see that 50% of recipes were focused on the immediate relief of specific symptoms, with a further 27% addressed to the medium-term curing of illness. While generalised health preservation was important in the early modern toolkit, the evidence in Balfour/Wemyss is geared towards a more reactive style of medicine. We should take this evidence with care, however: as with the summer-orientation of the books as a result of natural seasonality, so too reactive medicine required more recipes, given the number of different issues they were addressing. We must bear this in mind once again when considering the timescape we are viewing not only as elite and female, but as specifically rooted in the recipe book. However, in this context, 'reactivity' ensured the creation of recipe-book time that valued and brought together past, present and future. These sorts of recipes commonly used phrases such as 'probatum est', which indicated that the

recipe had been ‘tried, tested or proved’ and was particularly common in recipe books and prescriptions.[243] Other recipes used the present tense: ‘it is mervellous good’ or contained some assertion for the future ‘yt will immediatlie helpe', ‘it will presentlie helpe them'.[244] Each of these carried an authority, suggesting that past experience, present evidence, and future expectation were all considered to be of value.

Past, present, and future were also in conversation through the pages of the recipe book, in ways in which the writers perhaps did not envision or intend. ‘Life cycle’ recipes provide perhaps the clearest representation of this. Pregnancy was a heightened version of the regular liminality of early modern life: a state between health and non-health, life and death (both of mother and child). It was also a state which disrupted a linear time sense, bringing a physical embodiment of the future into the present. Unsurprisingly, given the risk of pregnancy and the desire to continue the family, the books contained many recipes which addressed conception, miscarriage, and pregnancy. Evans and Meehan challenge the historian to consider these acts not as ‘discrete life-cycle stages and rituals’ but as overlapping, back-and-forth processes.[245] We are reminded once again of Given’s description of the ‘tangled, turbulent flows’ of time; pregnancy, and the recipes which prepared for it, brought this turbulence into the realm of the lifecycle as it was experienced through the female body.[246]

The arrangement of recipes agrees with Evans and Meehan’s suggestion that it would be flawed to consider ‘fertility, pregnancy, birth, and parenthood as discreet life-cycle stages and rituals’.[247] In Balfour/Wemyss (the book with the most focus on gynaecological and reproductive health) recipes addressing these topics are scattered: for example, the seven recipes to help prevent miscarriage appear at pages 10, 29v (two recipes), 30, 50, 58 and 77.[248] The first four of these are in Anna Balfour’s initial contribution, while the others come from several different hands. This suggests both the repeated occurrence of Balfour’s own struggle with miscarriage, and the continuity of this issue for future generations, who may have referred to Balfour’s notes and added their own. One of the recipes in Balfour’s hand directly addresses the frequency of this issue in its phrasing ‘For to help one with childe yt is much troubled with casting’.[249] Balfour had children who survived: we know this to be the case as soon as we open the book, given Wemyss’ note that the book was her mother’s .[250] However, between successful pregnancies, she appears to have been ‘much troubled with casting’, and perhaps had some expectation of this being an issue her own child might face. Indeed, Wemyss

[243] ‘Probatum.’ *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), [doi: https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199576128.001.0001/acref-9780199576128-e-0815, accessed: 28th August 2023].
[244] ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, p.22, p.29.
[245] Evans & Meehan, *Perceptions of Pregnancy*, p.2.
[246] Given, ‘Attending to Place and Time’, p.453.
[247] Evans & Meehan, *Perceptions of Pregnancy,* p.2.
[248] ‘Book of Recipes’, MS 3031, p.10, pp.29v-30, p.50, p.58, p.77.
[249] Ibid., p.30.
[250] Ibid., inside cover.

was the only of Balfour's children to survive to adulthood: in continued succession, there were stops and starts, mortality overlapping with youth. The Balfour/Wemyss book also had two recipes aimed at 'helping conception', one from Balfour and the other from Wemyss.[251] Again, our sense of temporality as a reader is affected by this authorship from two generations, one having been conceived by the other; two very separate points on the linear timescale co-exist pages apart in the reading of the book. Thus the temporal impression one has on reading the book is fundamentally shifted from that of the writers, and indeed would have changed for the writers with each successive generation.

Pregnancy and the continuity of the family was highly desirable, layered though it was with loss and fear of mortality. Other books also cover the end of pregnancy, directly addressing labour. Some of the apprehension of this moment can be read in the over-compensation apparent in the Glamis Castle recipe (also found in MIM) titled 'To delyver a woman of travaill in 2 hours be the child dead or alive **a receipt so sure that non is surer'.**[252] This recipe could be made quickly and delivered to the woman to save her life 'with out doubt & with Gods grace".[253] The desire to create predictability and certainty in a moment of deep unsettlement – potentially including the traumatic experience of birthing a 'dead child' – is palpable. Interesting too is the reference to 'two hours', a quick end to a long pregnancy, reflecting the desire for speedy resolution. Pregnancy was an uncertain state, its end neither 'stably intelligible nor wholly predictable', contributing to an experience of time that was not simply linear or cyclical but 'palimpsest' even within the body.[254] The state of pregnancy was not only 'familiar', as Barbacia et al. describe it, but layered with the memory of both loss and 'success'.[255]

Past, present, and future are slippery concepts, invoked indirectly and often without intention. Focusing on medicine and the life cycle here has provided access into a sense of 'recipe book time' which presented past, present, and future each as valuable, and as entangled states. Jean Wemyss' account book includes numerous references to doctors, and the decision to write a purely medical recipe book implies similar: health, illness and death were subjects which the writers had experience of and had reason to be anxious about (Wemyss' position as one of two surviving siblings out of sixteen is important context here).[256] By controlling health and the body through writing cures and imagining futures in which they could address illness directly and efficiently, the writers created a timescape in which they had control. Past, present, and future generations could all be afflicted by the illnesses of the day, and in learning from the past, acting in the present and preparing for the future,

[251] Ibid., pp.29-29v, pp.67-67v.
[252] 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.51; 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.140.
[253] Ibid. (both references).
[254] Barbacia, Packard & Wanninger, 'Maybe Baby', p.215; Geoff Bailey, 'Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 26 (2007), pp.198-223.
[255] Barbacia, Packard & Wanninger, 'Maybe Baby', pp.214-215.
[256] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502, p.6, p.14, p.16, p.30, p.36, p.41, p.56, p.69, p.92, p.100, p.102, p.107.

recipe book writers not only hinted at their own understanding of time, but passed on their sense of it to future generations.

The Self in Past, Present and Future

Throughout this thesis we have considered not only representations of time but have also thought about how recipe book writers have engaged with their place within it. In this section, we will ask not only how time was represented in terms of past, present, and future, but also how writers saw themselves as situated within this element of their timescape. Once again, a case study provides the clearest access point. Here, we will examine the inscription in the Balfour/Wemyss text, which provides an anchor into one writer's conceptualisation of herself in time:

[257]

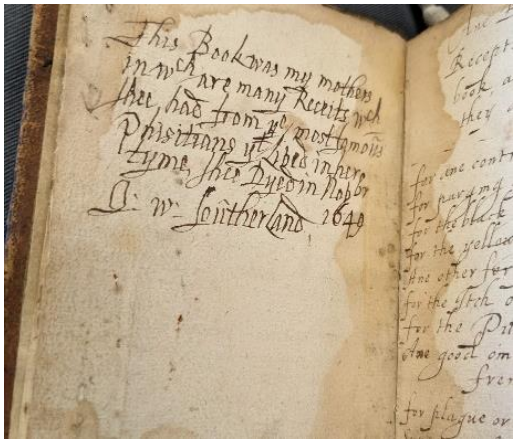

Figure 7: Inscription, image from Balfour/Wemyss.

This Book was my mothers in wch are many Receits wch shee had from ye most famous phisitians yt lived in her tyme, shee Dyed in novbr 1649 J: W: Southerland.[258]

First is the placement of the inscription, on the inside cover, making it the first thing we read before properly opening the book and looking at the recipes. Immediately, the reader is catapulted into the object-history of the recipe book; the fact it had meaning to two generations of the same family, and that at some point it was inherited from mother to daughter. This placement introduces the text as valuable, worthy, and meaningful before we have a chance to make that judgement ourselves. It also sets up the writer as conscious of her readership, given her choice to make a note which she presumably would not need: we can no longer assume that these recipes were written for solely herself, or personal use. The palpability of the writer's awareness of her audience and decision to write *to* them must frame the way we engage with the whole book.

[257] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, inside cover. Author's own photo, taken with permission from the National Library of Scotland Special Collections, not to be reproduced.
[258] Ibid., inside cover.

Analysis of language choice also reveals a great deal here. Wemyss chooses to portray the past, and her mother within that past, in a clearly, cleverly constructed manner. Firstly, Anna Balfour is not named, but described as 'my mother': the most important information we are to know is this familial relationship (not who Anna was on her own terms) and the fact that this book has passed from the hands of a mother to her daughter. This may also imply a level of familiarity with the assumed readership - perhaps Wemyss' own family. Next is the idea that the 'receits' came from 'ye most famous phisitians'. Wemyss, perhaps in line with the 'professionalising' trend that occurred over the course of the seventeenth century, appears very anxious to assert the origins of recipes as from credible sources.[259] We can also see this elsewhere, as in the cases where she appears to have amended recipes with the addition of doctors' names.[260] She also calls on the authority of the past - 'yt lived in her tyme' - to strengthen this case, while presenting the intriguing idea that these times were different (not her own). She appears once again as a self-conscious writer, both aware of the antiquated nature of some of the recipes but keen to assert their authority in the future using the tools of the present (such as her awareness of the trend towards professionalisation).[261] The 'most famous phisitians' also has a degree of familial posturing, hinting that Wemyss may have had some sense of a readership beyond her own family who she would have wanted to be aware of the prestige of her lineage. Finally, Wemyss includes her mother's death date as the only time-anchor, suggesting both its importance in her life, and in the life of the book.

As well as selecting key information about the past and her mother, Wemyss makes several choices about what information to include about herself. She does not assert that she has added to the book, perhaps comfortable with the idea that this will be obvious. Despite the connection to her mother and her birth family, she chooses to use 'Southerland': the title associated with her family through her marriage. As was tradition in Scotland, she did not take the Gordon surname (the family name of the Sutherland titled family) - but appears to have had a desire to highlight the new connections which she had gone on to make. The timing of the inscription is a clue to understanding this better. Wemyss did not become Lady Sutherland until 1679: thirty years after her mother's death (which, as mentioned, she notes), and many years into her second marriage.[262] The book appears to have been in her possession from around the time of her mother's death, with a recipe (not in Balfour's hand) referring to Lady Angus (Jean Wemyss: her first marriage title from 1649 until marriage to Lord Strathnaver, later Sutherland, in 1659).[263] Wemyss' distinct hand (though others may also have been hers, earlier in life, or represent others' transcriptions while the book was in her possession) appears later in the book, making amendments and clarifications, and inserting a few recipes.[264] This leaves us to wonder why

[259] Holmes, 'Domestic Medicine', p.1.
[260] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.68, p.69.
[261] Ibid., p.69: 'all thee Receit on this & of other two pages preceding I received from Doctor Heall phisition'.
[262] Balfour, 'The Earls of Sutherland', p.352.
[263] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.49; Ibid.
[264] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.69, p.70v ('ounce' written above 'oz' in main body of recipe), pp.54v-56.

the inscription was made not upon receipt of the book, or in acknowledgement of her mother's death at the time, but on reflection, some years later. Given the future-oriented tone, the timing of her succession to the Sutherland title, the clarifying amendments of the scratchy inscription hand, and the timing of her children's marriages (1680s-90s), I would argue that Wemyss made this inscription not at the point of receipt, but as she looked to pass it on.[265] A hidden future is revealed in her focus on the past, connection, family and the book's living history. As well as being a useful context clue for the historian attempting to piece together how and when this book formed, it is a vital betrayal of Wemyss' time-sense. Leong's sense of recipe books as a function of the 'paperwork of kinship' is helpful here in understanding that the recipe book was not just an archive but multi-directional.[266] Wemyss emerges as the pivot point of this book's story, as it seemingly passing into Sutherland family hands through her: later authors certainly include Jean Sutherland, Jean Wemyss' granddaughter.[267] Important here is the sense that Wemyss was not looking back and then forward, but seemingly both at once: she represents here a perception of kinship which was not vertical, but enmeshed and co-existent, 'out of time'. Past, present, and future circled each other, rather than laid themselves in a line.

It is worth noting here that while Wemyss was unusual in her choice to explicitly sign herself in to the material of the book, that does not mean that the other writers were absent as they situated themselves in time. The 'self' is an historically mediated concept: much has been written about its development in the eighteenth century, and so we must take care not to impose anachronistic ideas here.[268] With this in mind, perhaps the absence of the self-naming in these recipes is just as much an act of situation as writing one's name. Considering all we have learnt about householders' understanding of time throughout this study, the family and the domestic have appeared as the key systems through which time was anchored and made meaningful for recipe book writers in this context. Thus the decision to continue a recipe book started by someone else (as in the case of Balfour/Wemyss, the Fletcher of Saltoun book and MIM) or to copy out a recipe book (as for MIM / Glamis Castle) represents an understanding of a flowing sense of time, within which the family - the recipes of the past, and recipes for the future – was a key site through which time was understood.

Past, present, and future appear as enmeshed here; crucially, this emerges as an understanding developed not just through the self, but through the family. In this cultural, historical context, the family – its history and its survival into the future – were absolutely vital to political frameworks, not only in the political arena but in social interaction, the home and in one's way of thinking about the

[265] Balfour, 'The Earls of Sutherland', pp.352-353.
[266] Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge,* p.126.
[267] 'Book of Recipes', MS 3031, p.73v, p.77; Balfour, 'The Earls of Sutherland', p.355.
[268] P. Burke, 'Historicizing The Self, 1770–1830', in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self*: *Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* ed. by Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf M. Dekker & Michael James Mascuch (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp.13-32 at p.13.

world. For some elite men, the desire to preserve the past for the benefit of future status manifested in decisions about architecture, as Charles Wemyss has argued; so too did elite women use the factors in their control (recipes, the passing on of cultural values, knowledge and communication networks) to do the same.[269] This helps bring together our sense of time as part of elite women's agency, weaving a belief system (the significance of the family in past, present, and future) through the layers of management and understanding which took place every day.

An Integrated Time-Sense

Finally, now with a sense of time on each of these scales, we can ask how these time-senses came together. There is an explicit sense of time present in recipes for preservation, making the realm of food preservation an excellent final case study. This section will ask how recipe-writers integrated their understandings of time, and how this overall time-sense came to operate as 'temporal agency'.

In terms of the history of preservation, Lucy Havard's work provides helpful grounding.[270] In her 2020 article 'Preserve or Perish', Havard suggests 'the makers believed in the durability of the household, despite the constant threat of disease and economic turmoil; even if the cooks themselves did not live to eat the last of the pickled walnuts, members of their families would'.[271] Havard comments on time in passing; this summary is neat and helpful in context. However, here, with time the subject of examination, this sense of expectation is not quite precise enough, and is too limited in its commenting on only the product and process of the literal preserves. Recipe book writers preserved not only fruits and vegetables but ideas and memories. In this, they assumed that the past and the present – their knowledge, their foods, their existence – would have meaning, not only 'durability', in the future. Despite the rapid political, religious, and technological changes of early modern Scotland, these writers had faith that their contributions would continue to matter, and that their children and their children's children would endure. For Scotland's noblewomen, as has been seen throughout and as discussed by scholars of Scottish nobility such as Keith Brown, this was key.[272]

One of the reasons preservation makes for such an apt case study is its frequency across the books. To consider a recipe as 'for preservation', it had to meet at least one of the following criteria:

- Direct reference to preservation, or preservation process such as drying,
- Preservation product clear in title or recipe (recipe centred around ingredient for preservation),

[269] Wemyss, *Noble Houses of Scotland,* p.319.
[270] Havard, 'Preserve or Perish'.
[271] Ibid., p.22.
[272] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p.34.

- Practice which was considered to be for preservation in contemporary understanding and methodology (e.g. cake),
- Resulting product had an extended 'shelf-life'.

This system allows us to appreciate preservation in contemporary terms:

Preservation Recipes as a Percentage of Total Recipes, by Recipe Book.

Recipe book	Preservation Recipes (Total)	Percentage
Katherine Bruce Book 2	36/47	77%
Helen Cochrane	17/23	74%
Scone Book	43/153	28%
MIM	69/382	18%
Glamis Castle	26/181	14%
Fletcher of Saltoun	21/185	11%
Katherine Bruce Book 1	1/25	4%
Balfour/Wemyss	8/259	3%
	221/1255	**17.6%**

Table 11: Occurrence of references to preservation in recipe books.

The frequency of preservation recipes varies from book to book: from 3% in Balfour/Wemyss to 77% in Katherine Bruce's second book. There are 221 preservation recipes, equivalent to 17.6% of all recipes across the eight books. This variety can largely be explained by the sample size of the books, and their respective weighting towards culinary or medical recipes. The high average hints at the overall significance of this practice.

As Havard suggests, preserving fruit and vegetables was an everyday act infused with time.[273] This simple action took place at specific points in the year (as discussed in chapter two) and was crucial to the household for retaining the availability of nutritious and varied meals. In her work on early modern drama, Wendy Wall goes so far as to describe preservation as 'the housewife's imperative to outdo nature'.[274] Here, 'nature' has connotations of decay and it is the linear time of 'nature' – just one of its elements - that the 'housewife' must battle against. In the present, she sees the future (rot, waste) and seeks to control it, prevent it, and retain the present (abundance, ripeness, edible food). As such, the idea of outdoing 'linear time' is more accurate than a battle against nature as a whole; focusing on linear time in the preservation process allows us to make room for the attentive elements of the temporal relationship between nature and recipe book writers.

[273] Havard, 'Preserve or Perish', p.22.
[274] Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work & English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.3.

Beginning with the minutiae of the preserve-making process, we can once again see the involved, time-consuming processes which were established in Chapter One. Fruit preservation recipes often had similar instructions in varying orders, perhaps suggesting hidden processes of knowledge communication (another time-consuming practice established earlier in this thesis). The following recipes appear in different books, and all contain instructions as to how 'to preserve quinces':

Scone Book[275]	**MIM**[276]	**Katherine Bruce Book 2**[277]	**Helen Cochrane**[278]
Take the Quinces	Tak your quinces	Tak your quinces	Take a pound of quinces unpaired & uncored
coar them and pare them	boyle them in ..[] till they be soft	par them & cor them & cut them in quarteres or halfes	& ane pnd & half refined sugar
putt them into a pail of watter tuo or three hours	then par them and cout them in 2 or 4 quarters	put them in cold water	put 3 quarters a pint clean water & ane quarter pint of the juyce of quince
take asse much sugar as they weigh	tak out the core put them in cold water	tak the skins sides & cores	Core your quince & make a small hole
putt to it asse much watter as will make a sirop to cover them	boyl your aseings and cors with a little water	boil them in a good quantitie of water till the water be half consumer & the skins & cores soft	parboyle them a while
boyll your syrup a little while	tak as much sugar as your quinces doe weigh	put in the pared quinces in tou steep with the licur of the boild sides & coeres with them but not the skins	qu ye have paired them
putt your Quinces in, and boyll them as fast as you can	boyl the quinces a little with the sirop	let the water boiel aboot the stowp till the quinces be wery soft	qn your syrup is a boylling & eabing
till they be tender and clear then	put in a little of that water of the parrings	tak out the quinces carfuly & to every pound of quinces take a pound & a half of fin las shuger	put in your quinces wite the kirnels
take them up and boyll the syrup a little higher by it selfe	let them boyl till a strang goes through them you must covr them close	put the shuger in to a skelet with as mutch water as will desolve the shugeer	boylling them as fast as possibly

[275] 'Scone Book', Acc.13444, p.10.
[276] 'Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.238.
[277] 'Recipe Book', MS 17855, pp.15-16.
[278] 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503, p.7v.

being cold putt them up	lad them out of the sirrup doe not put the sirop on them Till it be cold	when it is boiling stran in the licur that is in the stoup	qui the quinces are tender put ym in ane earten dish
		boil together a litel while then put in the quinces	till they are cold
		lat itt boiel together at great lason & clos couered till the sirop bee priti thik but not too thik	& so glasse them up
		put them in guli potes	
		& when thay ar cold couer them si that that have yoor stop of sirop a bot them	

Table 12: Quince recipes, step by step.

All of the recipes contain instructions in different orders (as indicated by equivalent colours) to: take your quinces, core them, soak them in water, add sugar, boil the syrup, and then one of: lay them out, 'put them up', put them in glasses or put them in 'guli potes' (jelly pots). Highlighting the similarities helps us to understand something of the way recipes circulated in elite households as 'common knowledge'. Preservation, at least in this fashion, was the preserve of the elite in this period due to the expense of sugar and the space in which to conduct these large recipe-making processes. Havard uses a 'reconstruction' methodology to argue for the 'early modern kitchen as a space for significant knowledge-making'.[279] Sugar only became reasonably accessible (though expensive) in Britain from the sixteenth century, with a relative decline in sugar prices not occurring in Scotland until the late seventeenth century (influenced by and reliant on the trade in enslaved people and the products of their labour).[280] This context meant that sugar-based preservation was an elite practice, not in common knowledge, and thus reinforces the place of the recipe book and the kitchen as a site for experimentation.[281] Here, we can see recipe makers choosing to spend their time constructing knowledge, experimenting and writing for the sake of a recipe.

Moving towards time on the scale of months and seasons, there are two notable absences. None of the quince recipes above noted how long the preserve will last, and just two instruct how to store them (in jelly pots/glasses). Across the whole selection of preservation recipes, just 10 (8.7%) contain specific note as to how long they will last: for example, in the Glamis Book there is a recipe 'To keep

[279] Havard, 'Preserve or Perish', p.15.
[280] T C Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660-1720' in *The Economic History Review 14:2* (1961), pp.240-253 at p.251.
[281] Elaine Leong & Alisha Rankin, eds., *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800* (Ashgate: Surrey, 2011), p.17.

Artichoks all the year', and in Helen Cochrane, a syrup for wild sorrel would also 'keep all ye year'.[282] These are important, but rare, instructions which hint at the unpredictability of the preserve. The writer cannot guarantee how long the preserve will last – indeed it may be eaten before it has time to decay, an idea hinted at in MIM where two recipes note how soon curing meat may be eaten.[283] The important thing is that preserving affected time: slowing down the linear process of decay, creating an isolated, slower time-space, constrained in a 'guli pote' or 'glasse'.[284] Prior to canning, preservation was a slowed-down time-space rather than an ideally timeless one - as Stead suggests, mould and other signs of unsuccessful 'complete' preservation were to be expected.[285] Thus planning on the scale of months and seasons would be necessary: one would have to have the knowledge and experience to anticipate the potential decay, a process which appears to have been often inferred rather than written.

Also of note in the quince recipes is the lack of instruction as to when to pick the quinces. Quinces were grown in Scotland in this period, having been consumed by Mary Queen of Scots, and – notably – being known for their ease of preserve.[286] Again, this is largely typical in the recipes for preservation across the collection: a minority of recipes (20; 17%) mention when the ingredients should be picked or acquired. This speaks to two realities. The first is that preservation often occurred when it was needed and possible: to prevent waste and control excess, but only when there were ingredients to spare in the first place. This necessitated preservation when there was a glut, speaking to the prevalence of tree-fruit in the preservation recipes. The second reality is that, as discussed in the second chapter, temporal cycles were largely intuited through the 'palimpsest meanings' of the natural environment.[287] Recipe writers knew what they were looking for and learned from the experience of previous seasons: fruits picked too late or early taught lessons that were too intangible to write in recipes, but which had to be felt and learned through lived experience. The recipe maker was in conversation with and led by the environment: as discussed in chapter two, she was attentive to the visual and touch cues of the seasons, of ripe fruit and heavy branches, and was guided by the memory of past seasons.[288] Preservation formed a continued part of that relationship: an attempt to capture, mould, and transform the continuation of time.

Finally, the sorts of ingredients being preserved can tell us a good deal about recipe writers understanding of past, present, and future. There are 133 mentions of foods to be preserved through various measures, from simply 'preserving' (43) to 'pickling' (6) and making marmalade (11, not always of oranges). As mentioned, the copious amounts of sugar used in these recipes made them the

[282] 'Recipe Book', Vol.243, Glamis Castle Archives, p.9; 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503, p.11.
[283] 'Household Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.29, p.242.
[284] 'Recipe Book', MS 17855, p.16; 'Recipe Book', Dep.313/503, p.7v.
[285] Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries', p.95.
[286] Jane McMorland Hunter & Sue Dunster, *Quinces: Growing & Cooking* (London: Prospect Books, 2014), pp.16-17.
[287] Bailey, 'Time Perspectives', p.208.
[288] Ibid.

preserve of elites with access to such a luxury good. Therefore, this may also reflect what *needed* to be written down, and who was using the recipe books; other methods may have been part of spoken, informal knowledge networks and perhaps the domain of the cook, rather than the lady of the house. This leaning towards sugar and extravagance also hints at the role of recipe books as vehicles for preservation and construction of familial status.

Preserved Ingredients in all Recipe Books.

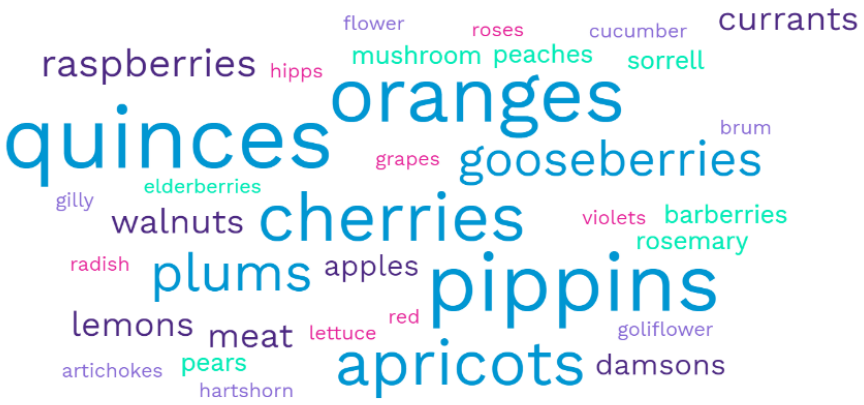

Figure 8: Word cloud of preserved ingredients, larger words representing more frequent references.

The most common ingredients preserved in these books were fruits from trees: apples/pippins (14), quinces (15), and cherries (11). These ingredients are abundant when they are ripe and must be picked quickly to prevent decimation by 'nature': rot, hungry birds, and insects. The prevalence of this type of recipe suggests these were the ingredients which most needed preservation, and thus reinforces the urgency of the 'linear time' imposed on the natural process. In preserving, it appears that the maker is leaning into this mode of time: creating a jar of the present which could still exist in the future in its steady(-ish) state. The recipe maker's attentiveness to the agency of natural time allowed them to construct their own temporal agencies.

Another commonly preserved tree-fruit deserves separate mention: the non-native orange (13). As highlighted by Anne Stobart in the English context, and supported by Lindsey Middleton's work in Scotland, fruits such as these were accessible imports for the nobility such as the writers of these recipe books.[289] Either in individual purchases in the market, or potentially through orangeries, the value of these fruits meant that they both had to be made best use of and were desirable to show off through any means, including in preserves. Jean Wemyss' account book includes a purchase of oranges in November 1651 ('item for leamons & oranges').[290] This suggests that in her first marriage at least, she was not growing her own exotic fruits, but access to them was possible and semi-regular

[289] Lindsay Middleton, 'Edinburgh's Pantry: sugar and spice' (online: National Trust for Scotland, 2021) [doi: https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/edinburghs-pantry-sugar-and-spice, accessed 24th July 2023].
[290] 'Account Book', Dep.313/502, p.28.

(elsewhere, she notes the purchase of lemons).[291] The decision to purchase, preserve and serve exotic fruits can be considered a status-centred choice: present action and attention were once again the agents of future affluence and status.

While there are suggestions in the literature that we can track preservation from a process of necessity to one of luxury– C Anne Wilson placing this moment as early as the late-middle ages – it is also clear that among the luxury and status of these recipes were real and natural concerns: the readiness of fruit, the desire to provide in the future.[292] It is too simplistic to dichotomise these two realities; while very different from subsistence preservation, in some ways, luxury was a 'necessity' in the preservation of status for the elite household. It is also not clear that households were *not* reliant on these processes in order to survive. For certain, the ability to preserve using sugar and large kitchens, and with access to many types of fruit and meat, meant that the final products were more extravagant. However, the raw product still needed to be acquired and accessed, attended to, and considered; time was still at work. The increasing tools at the disposal of recipe-makers in the seventeenth century allowed them to work with time to both literally preserve the fruits of their labours, and to look ahead to the continuation of the family through status.

Preservation provides an apt case study for the entirety of this thesis. We see the minutiae of cooking times, seasonal preparation, and deep thought about the family, status, and the future. Time was understood and navigated on each of these scales, and in their decisions to experiment, write and record these recipes, elite Scots women expertly manipulated time to the benefit of their household and its survival (both societally and literally). In choices about what 'mattered' they both affected and reflected culture and their material realities; thus once again we see 'temporal agency'.

Conclusion

This chapter asked three key questions: how were past, present, and future understood; how did these recipe writers see themselves in relation to time on this scale; and how did this conceptual understanding interlock with the understanding of temporal agency explored throughout this thesis? The depiction of past experiences, present understanding, and the future expectation of illness in medical texts such as Balfour/Wemyss was very helpful for understanding how past, present, and future interlocked to form a complex mental timescape. This was particularly true in the case of 'lifecycle' recipes such as those which dealt with pregnancy, which also highlighted how the reader has access to a layered temporality, where linear points can appear to collapse, as a reader dealing with the recipe book as a single, multi-authored text.

[291] Ibid., p.20.
[292] C Anne Wilson, 'Preserving Food to Preserve Life: the Response to Glut and Famine from Early Times to the End of the Middle Ages' in *Waste Not, Want Not* ed. Wilson, pp.5-32 at p.29.

Moving to how writers understood themselves in this framework, Jean Wemyss' inscription provided unique insight into her understanding of herself within time and through the family. She placed herself relationally to her mother, and, I have suggested, the next generation. Though Wemyss' inscription is unique, in the layering present in many of these books – and in agreement with scholarship on the importance of family heritage, status, and survival to noble families – we can see this sense of *longue durée* time as understood through the story of the family, not simply the story of the 'self'.

In the final section of both the chapter and the thesis, we explored the case study of preservation recipes. These recipes encapsulate the decision making, systematic awareness, and temporal agency required to be a successful recipe maker in early modern Scotland. Understanding that preservation was not only about food items but also status functioned as a final reminder of the layered meanings of the recipes in these collections. With the planning of time-consuming recipes, seasonal attention, and the valuing of this time use for the benefit of the future of the family, once again we can see how time was understood as multi-faceted and dependent on the cultural and historical situation of these writers. In their choices about what was important for the future, the decision to write and record, and empowered by the layers of temporal decisions they were constantly navigating, this chapter has also evidenced clearly how time functioned as a tool of agency for the women who wrote these recipes.

Conclusion

Over the course of this dissertation, we have examined eight recipe books from early modern Scotland. Woven between recipes for preserves and pregnancy, eye-worms and 'egges in the moonshine', there are hidden stories of relationships and identity, time-use, gender, domestic life, and power.[293] Time, the focus of our investigation, has also emerged in blazing detail: from decisions about clock-time and sensory-time, to the frameworks of the calendar and the seasons, to a sense of *longue durée* meaning and the importance of preserving the past and present for the future. We asked how time was understood in seventeenth-century Scotland through a series of questions which explored expression, cultural and historical construction, and the overall importance of time to the lives of seventeenth-century elite, Scottish women. These questions were meaningful in the context of furthering our understanding of culture in early modern Scotland, setting out a new path of inquiry into the experience of time. Three arguments have emerged in relation to these questions: that time was understood as a complex set of overlapping systems; that the time-sense we saw in these texts represented a specific timescape, unique to the experiences of the writers studied here; and that 'temporal agency' should be understood as an element of elite Scottish women's political and cultural influence.

Overview

Chapter one explored everyday time in detail. In the context of rapidly changing technologies, we established that recipe-book writers selected from several temporal systems. We found that clock-time was used in 20% of recipes across the books, 28% used sensory time, and both forms were commonly used together, with 26% of 'clock-time' recipes also using sensory. This opened up the suggestion that decisions about temporal expression were made based on value-judgements as to what system 'made sense' through informed decision-making, developing the 'foraging' argument made by Glennie and Thrift for English sources.[294] Finally, thinking specifically about recipe-writers' identities as elite women, we looked at time-use and the valuing of recipe-based networking, experimenting with recipes and creating recipe-books. This helped to establish how elite Scottish women's agency was informed by choices about time-use and systems of temporal expression: a concept expressed here as 'temporal agency'.

Chapter two built on this sense of decision-making, management of complex systems, and time as a key component of elite women's agency in early modern Scotland. The navigation of multiple temporal systems was evident once again: months, seasons, and moon cycles were layered on top of everyday conceptions of time passing. However, again, we saw decision-making through the choice not to use some systems. We were reminded of the significance of knowledge and education in the

[293] "Egges in the moonshine" in 'Recipe Book', MS 15912, p.21.
[294] Glennie & Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* p.410.

creation of accessible, usable frameworks: women 'translated' abstracted time from calendars and almanacs into real, usable time, through their bodies, attention, and their sense of meaning. This chapter went on to suggest that elite women's understanding of time was not only impacted by their identities, access to knowledge and technology, but affected the meaning of time. In line with scholarship from Taylor and Cowmeadow, this developed the picture of elite Scottish women's ability to affect and influence politics, society, and culture.[295] When we considered 'expected' elements such as religious frameworks, we saw that women replicated and reinforced cultural norms based on their understanding: affecting both their own and future generations' conceptions of time *and* other understandings such as religious belief.

Finally, chapter three asked how these conceptions slotted into a sense of past, present, and future, and then how past, present, and future slotted into management of the everyday. Conceptions of time on this scale appeared as a conversation between different generations within the text; both Jean Wemyss' inscription and the relative anonymity of the other books suggested a conception of time which was based around the family. Again, there was both a resonance and reflection of the cultural values of the Scottish nobility, as well as an active creation and contribution to these values. Lastly, preservation recipes highlighted how writers navigated time across these scales: preservation involved preparation for the future in the collection and purchasing of ingredients and time-use for a future product, and the preservation of the cultural values of the present as an imagined future-past through the display of status that sugared preserves reflected. Once again, we saw temporal agency as women used time – how they spent it, how they described it, and how they prepared for it – to affect real change, and to shape and reflect their cultural values and those they passed on to the next generation.

Future Research

This thesis represents a distinct contribution to the field of early modern Scottish women's history. However, it raises many more questions than it answers: how different were experiences of time between men and women? Do these findings hold true outwith the context of elite households and recipe books? How can temporal agency be integrated with other understandings of agency for women in early modern Scotland? This thesis also represents one of the first studies in Scottish recipe books. While, as mentioned in the introduction, other scholars have begun to explore these resources, I hope this thesis brings attention to the potential of these books as sources for a range of enquiries, and as 'glimpses' into everyday life. Recipe books are exciting and lively sources which bring a distant period to life, while also carrying the potential for important, thoughtful scholarship.

Conclusion

This thesis has used the case study of recipe books written by elite Scottish women to describe, analyse and evaluate how time was understood by these women. By unpicking the layers of time as

[295] Taylor, 'Matriarchal Journeys'; Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen'.

the everyday, the seasonal, the lifetime and beyond, we have stood with the writers; through this process, we have been able to appreciate the significance of time to their lives, status and understanding of their selves. Again, three core arguments came to the fore: a complex, 'multi-temporal' sense of time, the uniqueness of this timescape to the writers, and finally, the significance of 'temporal agency' in the political and cultural influence of elite women in early modern Scotland. We can firmly say that for these women, time was understood as a complex, fluid tool of agency which was both shaped in relation to, and reflected, their identities.

Time is one of the backbones of human existence. We situate ourselves, our families, and our societies within it; there are whole disciplines which revolve around it, and endless questions as to what we are attempting to appreciate when we talk about its passage. Time is culturally and historically constructed, experienced differently not just between societies but individuals and genders within them. Understanding this through research, whether historical, scientific, archaeological, or philosophical, helps us to put a pin in the bedrock of what it meant to exist in any given space and time. I hope this dissertation will spark some thought and further research into early modern Scotland as a rich arena for cultural history, and as a particularly interesting site for explorations of ideas and understanding. I also hope that in making the case for 'temporal agency' and exploring temporal experience for early modern Scottish women, this thesis itself has shed further light on the experience of what it meant to write recipes, manage a household, and exist as a woman in seventeenth-century Scotland.

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