

Neither Gendered nor a Room: the Kitchen in Central Europe and the Masculinization of Modernity, 1800-1900

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Biography

Dr. Claudia Kreklau is an Associate Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of St. Andrews. She is the author of “When ‘Germany’ became the new ‘France’?” (*IRSR*, 2017), “Travel, Technology, Theory” (*GSR*, 2018), the winner of the Richard Sussman Prize in the History of Science of the Goethe Society of America (2019), the Parker-Schmitt Dissertations Prize of 2018, and the German Studies Association Graduate Student Essay Prize of 2017. She has been supported by the German Historical Institute, Washington, the Wellcome Trust, London, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, Cologne, the Central European History Society, and the Royal Historical Society. Her current book manuscript “Making Modern Eating. How the German Middling Shaped our Culinary Practices, 1780-1914” shows nineteenth-century German households used foodways to construct middle-class identity and thereby shaped modern eating practices.

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In nineteenth-century central Europe, the “kitchen” was neither necessarily gendered nor a room. Throughout the century, royalty maintained up to seven rooms purposed for cooking, the middling maintained one separate from working and dining areas, while working and rural poor could not maintain their cooking-area separate from the rest of their single-room dwelling. Further, royal kitchens preferentially employed men. The wider social conception of a kitchen as a single gendered room emerged late in the century among the middle class, buttressed by male sexual fantasies and part of a masculinized modernization.

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Introduction

What is a kitchen?¹ Our contemporary western “modern” idea of the term typically conjures up the image of a single room.² This idea is time- and place-specific. In nineteenth-century Germany, the term of “kitchen” referred to a vast array of areas, spaces, and rooms. In castles, it denoted up to seven spaces designed for food work, leaving cooling rooms, storage cellars and pantries aside.³ In a grand middling home as of 1850, architects built the kitchen as a room on the ground floor next to the pantry, far from the second kitchen, the “wash kitchen” underground.⁴ In a poor people’s home early in the century, in turn, the term referred to the area surrounding the hearth in a single room home.

The following article analyses the history of these cooking-spaces in central Europe in a survey of the class-specific designs across the social spectrum between 1800 and 1900, highlighting its gendered notions and relevant cultural background. It shows that until the fin-de-siècle, the “kitchen” was neither necessarily gendered as feminine, nor was it necessarily a room. The idea of the kitchen as a gendered room derived from the social middle, part and parcel of the development of this class throughout the century, along with its domestic ideas and ideals around 1900. This feminine domestication of cooking spaces went hand in hand with the loss of lower-class domestic labor, and the rise of middling ideals as broader social norms. The latter successfully essentialized both the feminine nature of the kitchen and its work, undercutting the historic precedent of the home as a financially productive space, the class-specificity of kitchen-gendering, and the class-specific gender-hybridity of food-work.

Histories of cooking infrastructure in nineteenth-century Germany have been fragmentary.⁵ Based on architectural remains at the Schönebeck Castle in Bremen, the Castle of Friedenstein in Gotha, the Schillerhaus in Marbach, items of material culture from the World of Kitchen Museum in Hannover, blueprints, representation, cookbooks, popular periodicals, advertisements and literary discussions of the kitchen as a gendered space dating between the start and close of the century, the sources analyzed here offer a sampling from the north-west, south-west, north-east, and central-eastern regions of Germany, dating roughly between 1750 and 1910.

The sources portray ideal-type scenes, dominant trends, and evolving conceptions of the gendering of foodwork and kitchens. The majority of the images below survived in cookbooks—a genre more prolific in German lands than in France in the nineteenth

century.⁶ Despite color-innovations, middling cookbook readers valued frugality and practicality, leading publishers to print in black and white.⁷ Until the fin-de-siècle, cookbook authors generally did not gender foodwork, kitchens, or the consumers of meals, instead highlighting the science and artistry of their work.⁸ To avoid alienating a wide audience from chefs and cooks to inn-keepers, house-managers, housewives and staff, craftsmen including illustrators and engravers balanced realism with ideal typologization, providing scholars with windows into patterns of architectural design, spatial usage, and foodwork-gendering.⁹ Blueprints reflect how architects altered their designs over time, while architectural remains and items of material culture give insight into daily habits and practice, even as literary discussions shed light onto contemporaries' viewpoints on foodwork, space, and gender.¹⁰

As of mid-century, industrialization defined the home as a private space of leisure, and its spaces as unproductive. As staff-size dropped, middling home-life gendered foodwork and its spatial infrastructure, redefining domestic foodwork from a productive labor to a gendered duty. The idea of the kitchen as a feminine gendered room evolved from a middling *habitus* to a general social norm in the fin-de-siècle.¹¹ By 1900, individuals in the German Empire received their spatial- and gendered socializing education in homes surrounded by unuttered expectations and assumptions about human bodies.¹² Essentialized connections between the alleged nature of feminine human forms and cooking spaces combined work, remuneration, leisure and pleasure into dynamics justifying consumption behaviors within a visually concrete living-infrastructure.¹³ These conceptions rendered the home the site of women's work and men's consumption, and the public the space of women's consumption and men's work, confining women's right to act

as well as actions gendered as feminine into the home and out of politics and society.¹⁴ This spatial gender-segregation buttressed the masculinization of work life, in turn masculinizing German modernity.¹⁵

Part one below shows that cooking spaces moved from sous-terrains to the ground floor between 1750 and 1850, especially in middling homes, elevating the status of the domestic worker. It analyzes the class-specificity of cooking-spaces, finding more kitchens in palaces than in middling homes, and a lack of spatial separation between areas serving for working, living, eating and cooking in working homes. Part two examines the gendered usage of cooking spaces by class, finding that palace kitchens preferred male workers rendering these spaces more masculine, that middling homes as the century progressed turned more feminine as house-staff numbers dwindled tied to contemporary sexual fantasies, while working kitchens throughout were hybrid in gendered usage even as kitchen work remained a mainly feminine task. Thus, in nineteenth-century central Europe, the “kitchen” was neither necessarily gendered as feminine, nor necessarily a room, until middling models prevailed around 1900.¹⁶

Part I. Kitchens across the Social Spectrum

The kitchen, irrespective of class, travelled slowly from the underground to the ground floor in central Europe between 1750 and 1900, always indicative of status and class-separation.¹⁷ On which floor an architect placed a kitchen likely depended on how many members of staff a family could afford. If the family could afford a large staff and the lady of the house only sporadically intervened in kitchen work, taste, technology, space, urban construction rules, as well as the willingness to excavate a sufficiently large area

underground led the middling to place the kitchen underground. The placement of the kitchen emphasized the spatial separation between middling and working members of the household, communicating class-distinction, distinguishing between leisure and work.¹⁸ If the household could afford few members of staff, and the housewife actively participated in cooking tasks, a kitchen on the ground floor circumvented extreme spatial gendered segregation damaging a husband's station. Situating kitchens on the ground floor improved ventilation and lighting, and a class-inflected elevation of the middling's idea of gendered food work.¹⁹ Similarly, in palaces, celebrated chefs in ground-floor kitchens enjoyed more light and better air from the eighteenth century.²⁰ Further, in rural areas, the middling home leaned on the farmers' home design and single-floor homes dominated, while urban worker construction rendered underground kitchens impractical.²¹ In short: the ground-floor placement of the kitchen triumphed among architects of middling as well as working homes over the century as house-staff shrunk, the social middle grew, and central Europe urbanized.²²

Castles in this period held several rooms dedicated to food preparation. Friedestein Castle in Gotha housed the Saxe-Coburgs who supplied the royal houses of Europe with hosts of eligible partners, while Berlin Palace, as of 1871 capital of the German Empire and destroyed in the twentieth century, served as the home of the Hohenzollern. One ducal, both royal, these palaces held many kitchens, Friedestein as many as seven cooking spaces, Berlin more than three, plus additional rooms for food storage and refrigeration.

Different cooking spaces served various cooking-purposes. The family of the Duke of Saxony-Gotha-Coburg living at Friedestein Castle from 1643 maintained at least five kitchens, as well as at least two re-heating rooms, and several rooms for food storage. Apart

from the main kitchen (“Hauptküche”), the bakery (“Konditorei”), one small court-kitchen (“kleine Hofküche”), and two princely kitchens (“Prinzenküche”), the castle also held at least one, and presumably more re-heating niches (“Kochnischen”), leading to a total of at six, if not seven kitchens.²³ These kitchens remained in usage until 1918.²⁴

Figure 1.²⁵

Figure 2.²⁶

Given the size of the palace, food prepared on one floor—the ground floor in the case of Friedestein—could grow cold by the time it reached the consumer on the first or second floor of the castle. Architects placed re-heating niches strategically throughout the palace hidden behind doors served as microwave equivalents, so to speak, fueled with wood or coal to avoid what Bavarian royal cook Johann Rottenhöfer called the “undesirable taste of food that has been maintained warm” for too long.²⁷

Figure 3.²⁸

Figure 4.²⁹

Royal kitchen spaces in the Prussian- and later German capital of Berlin also served different members of the royal family. The prince of Prussia dwellings in the last decades of the nineteenth century, for example, set apart from that of the King presumably while

the prince was still unmarried, had a “Mouth Kitchen” (“Mundküche”) and a “Coffee Kitchen,” the inventories of which the royal court kept.³⁰ If the prince’s house predated mid-century, and held a kitchen and hearth in the “old” style, then, his dwellings either contained two, or three, perhaps more food-preparation areas.³¹

Figure 5.³²

Another reason why castles held so many kitchens included the near-immovable cooking infrastructure of cooking spaces. While built-in brick and mortar stoves and ovens, tiled and easy to clean, combined with sturdy iron or steel doors and fittings did not go out of style in the nineteenth century (see Figure 6), Gotha’s and Berlin’s royal kitchens remained strikingly traditional in their use of fuel.³³ While more contemporary hearths of their kind worked with hybrid fuel, combining gas (indicated with taps on pipes for regulating influx, and optional wood, coal, coke or turf feeds, alongside removable receptacles for ashes (see Figure 6), Gotha and Berlin’s royal kitchens did not include gas.

Figure 6.³⁴

Neither architects nor their royal clients prioritized updating kitchen technology or infrastructure over time. Rococo designers like Caspar Vogell and Andreas Rudolph in Gotha and Baroque Andreas Schlüter for Berlin’s palace did not privilege the placement of kitchens in their designs and modifications of these structures.³⁵ Royal architects laid out the palaces in squares organized around large courtyards, along the long walls of which

architects placed kitchens.³⁶ Designers placed festive and rooms of more noble purpose than cooking such as reading, dining and dancing on the upper floors in Gotha.³⁷ When constructor K. F. Schinkel redesigned the Crown Prince's quarters in Berlin between 1824 and 1828 in turn, he did not touch the kitchen or their variety of "utility rooms" and merely altered sitting rooms and offices for the royal couple.³⁸ Despite this, in both cases, the variety and multiplicity of kitchens and cooking spaces in royal palaces supported the needs of culinary professional specialization—baker, confectioner (*Conditor*), chef, etc.—to cater to the high demands of complex Russian service style, as well as ensuring a degree of independence from their seniors—the latter in particular, a luxury the social middle could not afford.³⁹

The social middle distinguished themselves from their social subalterns by spatially separating the kitchen with walls. Unlike in France where even privileged homes organized around a single stove in one room for both cooking and eating, in nineteenth-century Germany, architects placed kitchens adjacent to but separate from eating areas with a dividing wall and closing doors.⁴⁰ Even if a middling family experienced financial difficulty during this tumultuous period, they would still maintain the spatial separation indicative of their class. Well-to-do families moving into new homes, in turn, allowed the design of several spaces for several food-related tasks.

Architectural remains such as the kitchen of the Schiller family in Marbach in the late eighteenth century show how even those struggling to maintain middling status still maintained spatial separation between cooking, living, eating and other working areas. Poet and thinker Friedrich Schiller was born in Marbach 1759 to father Johann Caspar Schiller and mother Elisabetha Dorothea Kodweiß who belonged to one of the oldest families of

the town (“Alteingesessen”⁴¹). His mother lived in the house across her parent’s dwelling, while the father served as an army surgeon. Ziegler and Davis describe the structure as “poor...a place with a windowless kitchen on the bottom floor.”⁴² The kitchen measured little more than six square meters. The family would have likely paired the customary brick and mortar oven and stove built into the corner with a working table and a small water pump. That the kitchen had no window, and stood located in the middle of the house, rather than an outside wall, compromised the quality of their homes’ air.

Figure 7. ⁴³	Figure 8. ⁴⁴
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New architectural projects constructed one kitchen for cooking, and one so-called wash-kitchen in middling homes. In Bremen during the early nineteenth century, well-to-do up-and-coming families constructed their own homes in times of economic booms; these had the architects of their impressive abodes separate kitchens, so-called “wash kitchens” (the relative equivalent of a scullery), food-storage areas, preparation areas for setting foods onto platters, and eating areas, encoding a class-specific usage in brick and mortar according to the purpose of the rooms. Blueprints show architects placed kitchens on the ground or first floors, such as in House Windeck, Bremen (see Figure 18). These houses, designed newly with practicality and a new cooking infrastructure in mind established a new cooking space next to a “serving” room, located next to the dining-room. The new design made serving quicker, preventing food from growing cold, and catered to designs that integrated movable ovens, rather than brick-and-mortar ones. Blueprints of the

underground floor in turn show space for the “Waschküche” as well as great storage area for foods and potentially wines.⁴⁵

Figure 9.⁴⁶

The spatial separation between kitchens as rooms and other rooms of the home served not only as an act of class distinction in the architectural, property-related way, but as a spatial segregation of classes within the home. In representations from the middling genre of cookbook literature, artists represent the middling employer’s visits to the kitchen as cursory, transient, and the serving staff’s visit and attendance to the dining areas as an act of work. Note the comment of the visiting employer in Figure 10: “She may continue as before,” using the third-person address for the cook. The statement implies that the lord or lady of the house will leave her staff to work after having delivered instructions, and finding that the employee worked to her satisfaction. Their visits, transient and temporary, communicated distinction as it defined the kitchen as not their permanent place, socially or spatially.

Figure 10.⁴⁷

The lords of the home also visited the kitchens. In work-inappropriate dress and hats, holding menus and discussing them with the head chef of the kitchen. Their body-language casual and bent rather than erect as the cook in Figure 12, the visit to the kitchen functioned as an act of leisurely consumption of the worker’s labour. By contrast, cooking spaces seem

devoid of permanent seating areas, forcing workers to remain standing up. When a worker in a kitchen sat down in nineteenth-century depictions as in Figure 11, they did so on a temporary stool, for such purposes as plucking a chicken.⁴⁸ Architecture in this sense and the spatialization of the kitchen as a separate room communicated class distinction for the middling towards their working staff throughout the century, and provided a site for exercising distinction.

Figure 11.⁴⁹

Figure 12. ⁵⁰	Figure 13.
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Visual representations from the period echoed the spatial differentiation with walls and doors communicating a hierarchical organization of spaces and classes according to work. Depicting a middling kitchen from 1794, the woodcut engraver constructed a progression in class rank from the bottom to the top of the cut. At the very bottom, we see two live birds, ranking lowest on the great chain of being. Next to them stands a maid holding a fish, looking to the fowl. Several paces further up stands the cook; while the cook and maid in the front room worked, one stirring pot and fire, one descaling and gutting a fish, the middling consumer sat at the dining table in the adjacent room furthest on the top in this perspective attended by a member of serving staff, dressed in a frock and a bicorne. The servant stood and portioned food for the master of the home. This visual representation

of two different spaces echoes the class-separation specific to the spatialization of the kitchen.

Figure 14.⁵¹

In city and countryside, the working poor often occupied single-room homes or assigned their rooms multiple purposes, making their dwellings hybrid spatial meshes without task-specific organization. In the countryside, the poor lived in one room with animals, and in better circumstances could perhaps afford an additional room.⁵² Middling investigators into poverty in Bremen in the early nineteenth century noted of the poor's homes that "the only marker" that separated a "human home" from an animal's stable in the city "was the presence" of a "stove."⁵³ These could only afford single-room multifunctional spaces shared with animals which served as the site of washing, cooking, cleaning, eating—likely on the floor in the absence of furniture—and sleeping likely on straw rather than a bed.⁵⁴ In less desperate cases, these single-room homes mixed wooden furnishings and tiled enclosed stoves and heaters, which heated food as much as the home, as in Figure 15.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the middling hardly comprehended spatial organizations other than those they lived with themselves, and exoticized farmer's homes, whose cooking spaces bled into other areas of the home.⁵⁵ While the representation of the rural German population in the popular middling publication for the *Gartlenlaube*—central Europe's most popular periodical—mildly romanticized the rustic setting by sweetening the setting of chaos with innocent features and relative harmony, the scattered objects on

the ground, a dog, and a cat, likely aimed to comfort at the same time as provide a sense of social superiority to the middling readers in their heavily spatialized homes. For one, the artists depicted linen hung to dry over the hearth, which would have defeated the purpose of eliminating odors from them, and undermining any attempt at, for example, dissociating from the task of cooking or dwelling for a long time in the kitchen. When the kitchen *equated* the home, in effect, the dweller failed a key criterion for middlingness.⁵⁶

Figure 15.⁵⁷

In the city the poor's living conditions were even more desperate than in rural areas, squalid due to a complete lack of spatial organization in the overcrowded and overpacked rental barracks of the time. Germany urbanized rapidly after 1860, however, quality construction did not keep pace with migration.⁵⁸ Rental barracks, such as those at the Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, ignored fire safety and provided single-room homes for entire families.⁵⁹ These single-room homes overloaded with goods and cramped even for a nuclear family, without tiles on the ground or plumbing, sported the same kind of tiled multi-function heater and stove as the poor used in the countryside (see Figure 16).⁶⁰ Allowing room for a bed, a small table, and a washing-line on the ceiling, homes in so-called "Mietskasernen" were highly cramped rental accommodation where architects built a stove into one corner of the room.⁶¹ The tiled hearth occupied a great amount of space in small, single-room quarters.⁶² Cooking would have compromised the level of humidity in the already poorly ventilated homes.⁶³ Some photographs of single-room homes from the period do not depict windows.⁶⁴

Figure 16.⁶⁵

To the social middle of central Europe, cooking in single-room urban homes in the 1880s carried the stigma of poverty. Note the autotrophic connotation of “I cook myself,” (*Ich koche mich selbst*) in the 1882 representation of an artist bachelor in the *Gartenlaube* aimed at middling readers in Figure 16.⁶⁶ His shirt hangs to dry over the wood-fueled built-in tiled stove, while he checks on a small meal, guitar in the other hand, this artisan could not afford a separation of tasks—cooking and playing an instrument—spatially or temporally.

Kitchen technologies enabled the poor to cook in single-room homes without permanent structures to support this activity, or provided them with fuel-saving stove-alternatives. Soemtimes, households “had no access to a kitchen.”⁶⁷ In such cases, the poor could resort to “spirit-cookers.”⁶⁸ In order to save on coals and wood as much as space, the urban working could rely on a fire-box or “*Kochkiste*.” A worker could heat iron plates on the stove or in an oven, and place them into the box lined out with straw and a pot on top, to slow-cook food without the use of additional fuel. Advertisers recommended this technology as an efficient and less wasteful means to cook.⁶⁹

Figure 17.⁷⁰Figure 18.⁷¹

Part II. Gendering the Kitchen

Several scholars have been interested in how the kitchen functioned as a disciplining space, organizing and orchestrating mostly women's activity and social life in the home, based on inquiries into design and the motivations of architects and engineers in constructing gender-specific spaces of work. Such accounts often approach the kitchen as a gendered, feminine space.⁷² Yet, the idea that the kitchen, as a room, was a feminine space, was to a great extent class-specific in nineteenth-century Germany, tied to middling men's ideals of female domesticity. Royal kitchens and restaurant kitchens, as in the previous century, continued to employ men and women while cookbook authors actively gender-hybridized foodwork.⁷³

Royal cookbooks and depictions of them as in Figure 5 above of the Berlin Palace's kitchen showed mixed-gender kitchens. In such kitchens in effect, most of the cooking lay in the hands of male chefs—the most famous chefs of the time, Carême, Bernard, Dubois, Gouffé, Escoffier, or Rottenhöfer, to name a few, lived their lives as socially-construed men.⁷⁴ Women in royal kitchens served as auxiliary staff, washing, preparing, chopping, gutting and cleaning as well as plucking poultry. The organization of the royal kitchen adopted a gendered hierarchical manner, with chefs organizing activity, and maids following instructions. The number of male chefs in turn served as a good indicator of the employer's affluence, women earning a fraction of what men earned at the time. To employ several men in this manner served as a mark of royalty in the period. Johann Rottenhöfer, chef to the King Maximilian II of Bavaria for example, portrayed the royal Wittelsbacher Palace kitchen in his work as a large space with high ceilings, the customary stone tiled floor and tiled stove top combination, along with two male chefs at its center.⁷⁵ In this

sense, royal kitchens were gender-hybrid working spaces, where men enjoyed better employment opportunities and higher salaries.

Figure 19.⁷⁶

The ability of royalty to employ male chefs in itself, spoke of their social distinction. In affluent cases, as the Bavarian king's, depictions of a male sous-chef or assistant possibly in training plucking a chicken—usually a maid's task—drove the point home.⁷⁷ In effect, the illustrators of Rottenhöfer's *magnum opus* only depicted *male* kitchen staff. Figure 19 shows two lone workers in a vaulted kitchen, highlighting the spatial dimensions, size and equipment of the kitchen; Figures 20 to 21 in turn not only show interactions with meat—the staple of distinguished eating—but portray the foodworker in focused isolation, as though in portraiture, defined by their work.

Figure 20. ⁷⁸	Figure 21. ⁷⁹
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At the turn of the eighteenth century, middling cookbooks portrayed kitchens as gender-hybrid. Modelled on royal employment patterns, some grand middling homes before could afford male housestaff. In Figure 12 two distinguished visitors to the kitchen give instructions to a male chef (left); a woman works in the background tending meat, while her superior interacts with the consumers. Figure 13 depicts a similar dynamic, yet

the visit does not pause ongoing work. Finally, Figure 14 visually separated between classes, work and leisure, preparation and consumption—but includes a woman and man as foodworkers and consumers. As in royal kitchens, staff-hierarchies in turn were gendered.

From the early- to the mid-century, middling single-room kitchens employed more women than men. Depictions represent several women working together, or instructing each other, carrying out different tasks at the same times such as cooking, testing meat and kneading as in a copper from 1819.⁸⁰ Organized hierarchically, the cook of the kitchen had an assistant and a maid to assist her as she answered to the lady of the house. Identically, an Austrian depiction from 1828 also portrays three women, cooking, kneading, and tending to a fish.⁸¹

Figure 22.⁸²

Figure 23. ⁸³	Figure 24. ⁸⁴
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Restaurant kitchens in mid-century employed both men and women depending on what they could afford and their clientele demanded, rendering restaurant kitchens gender-neutral working spaces. Depictions reflected the social realities of women working in public restaurants in “suburban” areas. Figure 24 portrays a restaurant serving-structure,

emblematic of a representational trend in the era, visually placing a working woman under a middling consuming party. The caption explains the worker's triumph through the elevation of her work to the upper class, distinguishing not only her consumers, but the worker through her socially valued labor in the public irrespective of gender. This space comes closest to gender-neutrality, as here, women in public work could be in charge of male personnel.

As of the 1860s, social realities and representations shifted. While in earlier depictions, three working women were a common sight, by the *fin-de-siècle*, cookbook portrayals sported one decorative female on their frontispieces. Between 1819 and 1897 (Figures 22-26), the number of foodworkers portrayed not only drops from three to one, but posture and facial expressions grow more nuanced while the surroundings face into the background, lending higher degrees of individuality to the foodworker even as the spatial surroundings grew more abstract and allowed interpretive room as to whether the foodworker was a housewife or an employee reading and cooking according to instruction. On the one hand, this reflected social changes among the social middle as aspiring middling members of society might not be able to afford staff, yet, the housewife held the responsibility of cooking irrespective of further working activity outside the home. On the other hand, representational trends reflect the hardening middling-specific domestic fantasies which crystallized socially, drowning out former trends.

Figure 25.⁸⁵

Figure 26.⁸⁶

Middling male literary fantasies of the period testify to the class-specific idea of the domestic kitchen as a feminine space. Writers from Rousseau and Goethe defined the home itself as a space of leisure, not work, redefining women's activities as sexualized entertainment for male consumption, carried out with "grace and effortlessness" by a "slim figure."⁸⁷ Nineteenth-century authors called the kitchen the "sanctuary of the housewife,"⁸⁸ and the housewife its priestess. Hyperion, Hölderlin's alter-ego in the homonymous work, exclaims regarding his affianced Diotima:

I found the valued girl at the hearth. It seemed to her a holy priestly business, to work the house that day. She had made all up, beautified the house, and no-one was allowed to help her. All the flowers left in the garden, she had collected, roses and fresh grapes she had managed to bring together in the late season.⁸⁹

"It is good, that you stay [in the home] Diotima!...", Hyperion continued: "The priestess must not leave the temple. You keep your holy flame, you keep the beautiful in silence, that I might find it with you."⁹⁰ Yet, middling experiences of the kitchen as a gendered space differed between men and women: men, consumed the space and its contents, while women sought to establish it as a safe work environment. The latter in turn had to turn to the symbolic language men operated within discursively to make political and work-related points within the former's logic. Women deployed the common rhetoric on the sanctity of the hearth and home in the revolution of 1848-49 to condemn soldier's violence against civilians—presumably, women in particular—and the destruction of living spaces. In May

1849, women and maidens in Württemberg announced: “Never will we share our homely hearth with him who has destroyed this, our Sanctuary (*unser Heiligtum*), with fire and sword!”⁹¹ In such proclamations, women deployed the hearth as the source and center of their power, and their roles as consent-giving keepers of its integrity, operating within the well-known semantic field. The language assigning a near-holy meaning to the hearth and home survived into the 1860s when authors in common publications like the *Globus* defined the dining table the “altar” of the temple they called home.⁹²

In the proverbial nutshell: middling authors enjoyed fantasies of female domesticity and imagined the kitchen as a *feminine* space as part of sexualized projection onto a *room* within the spatial logic of middling housing. Early in the century, at the time of Hölderlin’s writing, social reality differed, as most middling homes relied on serving staff. While housewives could and did participate in the running of their household, including some activities in the kitchen, they did not carry these tasks out alone: employing staff served as a further crucial mark of middling distinction.⁹³ Cookbook authors further actively resisted the gendering of foodwork and demanded social respect proportional to the pleasure it brought.⁹⁴ As discussed, the lower strata of society could not afford the spatial separation of middling homes. Their rural and urban living, working, cooking and eating areas overlapped, compromising middling purity ideals. By extension, the meshed hybrid space undermined the gendering of a cooking-room and social mobility through social recognition. By the end of the century aspirationalism defined the middling- as well as the working woman as domestic, paying out social mobility for men through work in exchange for women’s domesticity.⁹⁵ This, in turn, demonstrates the success of middling men’s

voices and authorship, not only in constructing kitchens architecturally from 1800, but in determining the normative gendering of work, public, and private life by 1900.

Conclusion

Spatial histories of the kitchen often approach this *topos* as a disciplining area that organized and orchestrated mostly women's activity and social life in the home, analyzing design and the motivations of architects and engineers in constructing gender-specific workspaces.⁹⁶ Such accounts conceive of the kitchen a feminine space and critique the problems inherent in domestic ideals analyzing infrastructure as the product of conscious design-choices at the hands of architects.⁹⁷ They are neither wrong to analyze aspects of discipline, nor incorrect to deconstruct the gendering of domestic work. The present investigation however has aimed to historicize both the idea of the kitchen as a room and as necessarily gendered by exploring the class-specificity of these spaces and the personnel working within them.

Early in the century, the kitchen was neither necessarily gendered nor a room. Royal kitchens employed male personnel. Middling authors imagined the kitchen as a site of sexuality, while for foodworkers and women, this productive workspace and their labor did not gender them. The working poor in turn could not gender spaces as concretely as they might have been able to gender work. As the century progressed, kitchens in German lands exploited foodworkers less according to class than gender. It was not until late in the century that kitchens became single, gendered rooms in private domestic homes, gendering foodwork and devaluing women's work. That a kitchen should be a room, we as more or less "modern," somewhat middling individuals in the twenty-first century assume because

the operates at the level of the *habitus*—the unaware, the unuttered, the obvious. Yet, such ideas derive from time- and space-specific developments—in the present case, a masculinized modernization.

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Endnotes

¹ While Tompkins states the “kitchen” is the “descendent” of the “hearth,” this article works with the idea that cooking need not necessarily involve heat, and thus highlights the strength of Pennell’s practice-focused approach to examining the “kitchen,” combining it with the examination of the architectural act of constructing walls, and spatial interaction, including the closing of doors. Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 15. Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen*, 37. On spaces, see: Foucault and Miskowiec, “Of Other Spaces” and Thrift, *Spatial Formations*. The following will refer to oven and hob combinations as stove-top combinations; “hearths” will refer more flexibly to fireplaces for warmth and cooking, irrespective of design.

² Berman, *All That is Solid*. Further Umbach, *German Cities* and Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity*. See further: Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne*, Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity*.

³ Abel, *Das gesunde Wohnen*, 289. On separating eating- and living spaces in northern central Europe as early as the seventeenth century, see: Meiners, “Wohnkultur.”

⁴ The terms “social middle” or the “middling” refer to a self-identity dependent on “social recognition” aspiring German individuals, families and households constructed throughout the century. “Royalty” and “nobility” refer to the legal titles; “working” and “rural” refer to those in urban and small-town area and villages which could not make their case for middlingness. Kreklau, “Eat as the King Eats,” 5, 30.

⁵ Framke and Marenk, eds. *Beruf der Jungfrau*; Miklautz and Lachmayer, eds., *Die Küche*; Corrodi, “On the Kitchen and Vulgar Odors”; Ottillinger, ed., *Küchen/Möbel*.

⁶ Figures 10-14, 19-26.

⁷ Kreklau, “Travel, Technology, and Theory,” 591.

⁸ Kreklau, “Eat as the King Eats,” chapter 3.

⁹ Ibid., 214-215.

¹⁰ Figure 9 and footnote 17, and Figures 1-4, 7-8, respectively.

¹¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 165-166, 239.

¹² The *habitus* influences both dynamics and perceptions of spacing. Rau, *Räume*, 164- and 172- onwards.

¹³ On the economics of paid “male” work and unpaid “female” activity, see: Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women*. On gender: Scott, “Gender.”

¹⁴ Umbach, *Bourgeois modernism*, 6. Jenkins, “Introduction,” 473-77. Kreklau, “Eat as the King Eats,” Chapter 5. On privacy: Duby, *A History of Private Life* and Pardaillhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*. Further, Craig, Beachy and Owens, “Introduction,” 10, 16-17 and Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 260-5. On sociability, see: Sabeau, “Constructing Middle-Class Milieus,” 36-44.

¹⁵ On increased sexism in the fin-de-siècle see: Somart, “The Kaiser in his epoch,” and Le Rider, *Modernity and Crisis of Identity*. On the influence of the middle class in the German Empire, see: Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*. For a milestone work on the historic gendering of household tasks: Cowan, *More Work for Mother*.

¹⁶ Reagin, “The Imagined Hausfrau.”

¹⁷ Faber-Herman finds villa-architects placed kitchens in the souterrain until the 1870s whenever they could afford house-staff e.g. August Kelpé’s Blumenstrasse n.14, Minden. Faber-Hermann, *Bürgerlicher Wohnbau*, 102, 145. Further: Siegfried Giedion, *Die Herrschaft der Mechanisierung*, 557, cited in Ibid. Other examples include: Villa Rosa, Dresden, 1839, Villa Schulze, Apolda, 1875, Villas Liebermann and Hirschberg in Berlin, 1870-1 and 1874, Villa Meissner, Villa Berg, Siegle, Bodensee Villa design dating from the 1870s: see blueprints in Brönnner, *Die bürgerliche Villa*, images 400, 494, 514, 516, 532 535, 540, 571, respectively. Construction placing kitchens in the sous-terrain surged in the 1870s. Ibid., 455-598. Many other blueprints from the era indicate an alternative and growing trend—architecturally, the Schillerhaus in Marbach, but the Goethe Haus in Frankfurt, Georg Dollman and Julius Hofmann’s Castle Herrenchiessee, or even the Liebig Laboratories in Giessen, harbored kitchens on the ground floor. “Erdgeschoss,” Liebig-Museum Giessen.” Further examples include Wohnhaus Sepp, Munich, 1858, Villa Abel, Berlin, 1896, Wohnhaus Hess, Hamburg, 1847, Schloss Mühlenthal, Bremen, 1900, Landhaus Marienburg, Monheim, 1879, Villa Cahn, Bonn-Plittersdorf, 1867-8, Deutsches Dreifensterhaus, Ebe und Benda, 1880, Laubegaster Ufer 33, Dresden, Villa Schmieder, Karlsruhe, 1869-70, Villa Imelmann, Berlin, 1898, Villa Seger, Berlin 1862, Villa Amalia, Wuppertal, 1883-4, in: Brönnner, *Die bürgerliche Villa in Deutschland*, images 218, 247, 251, 274, 298, 329, 452, 479, 502, 508, 520, and 522 respectively. The architect of Wohnhaus Tramm in Hannover, 1853, placed the kitchen on the first floor. Ibid., image 300.

Representations of the time of kitchens in Lübeck, Fulda, Bavaria and Linz dating as early as 1794 equally portrayed a single room situated on the ground floor with doors and windows accessing adjacent rooms or the outside. Anonymous, *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*, frontispiece. World of Kitchen Museum, Hannover (henceforth WOK): HG.Loo.1794, frontispiece, Meixner, *Das neue Linzer Kochbuch*, I; Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch*, frontispiece. These representations provide a good sampling from four geographic areas of central Europe.

¹⁸ See also: Kallen on Lübeck: “Sag mir, wo Du kochst,” 157-221.

¹⁹ Note Architect Dominikus Böhm racially segregated laboring and resting areas by placing servants and working quarters on a different floor with a separate entrance, or else, in an annex. Itohan. *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*.

²⁰ Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, 41, 145.

²¹ Faber-Hermann, *Bürgerlicher Wohnbau*, 14; Griep, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte*, 69-71.

²² Older homes remained in usage keeping the landscape mixed and transient until the early twentieth century. Some architects remained partial to the “Sockelgeschoss” or semi-sous-terrain: Kastorff-Viehmänn typologizes the Villa Steimbrück in Erfurt built in 1893 as a middling Villa (“bürgerliche Villa”) with a semi-basement (*Sockelgeschoss*) including a kitchen. Kastorff-Viehmänn, “Küche und Haus,” 78. Kastorff-Viehmänn finds examples of subterranean middling kitchens as late as 1925. Ibid, 73, 75. Architects drew inspiration from castle- or roman designs; the former placed kitchens underground, the latter, included a kitchen on the ground floor. Faber-Hermann, *Bürgerlicher Wohnbau*, 16. On the Roman design: Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 108. On castle-influences more generally, see: Brönnner, *Die bürgerliche Villa*.

²³ The small court kitchen and bakery were brought down after 1918. The so-called “Prince’s kitchen” on the upper floor, oven still largely intact, remained in usage until 1918. There were likely more re-heating niches than the two currently known.

²⁴ Pietsch, “Bürgerliche Küche,” 201-2 and 205.

²⁵ Schloss Friedenstein, Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten (henceforth STSG).

²⁶ STSG.

²⁷ Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 960.

²⁸ STSG.

²⁹ STSG.

³⁰ Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (henceforth GStAPK): BPH, Rep.113, Nr 2197-2257.

³¹ Ottillinger notes Frederick William IV reformed the main kitchen in Sanssoucis, moving its “rooms” from one part of the palace to another. Ottillinger, “Küchenmöbel,” 44.

³² Kurth, *Illustriertes Kochbuch*, frontispiece.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ WOK: HG.Goe.1900.

³⁵ On Vogell and Andreas Rudolph see Ott, *German Façade Design*, chapter 4.

³⁶ See blueprint of Berlin’s castle from the mid-nineteenth century emulating roman villas: von Klöden, *Andreas Schlüter*, 254; Fentress, “The House of the Sicilian Greeks,” 35.

³⁷ See, e.g. Schloss Schönebeck’s Schwarzküche part of the Heimatmuseum Schloss Schönebeck (henceforth HMSS).

³⁸ Steffens, *K. F. Schinkel 1781-1841*, 53. On Schinkel see: Ott, *German Façade Design*, chapter 5. Unlike in Britain, in central Europe early-modern kitchens were not detached from the main building. Cragoe, *How to Read Buildings*, 219.

³⁹ For further examples of multiple kitchens in one palace, specifically in the Austrian empire, see: Haslinger, “Die Küchen der Habsburger,” 131-142.

⁴⁰ Cragoe, *How to Read Buildings*, 217.

⁴¹ Ziegler, and Davidis, “*Theuerste Schwester*,” 6.

⁴² Ibid, 11.

⁴³ Schillerverein, Marbach (henceforth SVM).

⁴⁴ Schillerverein, Marbach (henceforth SVM).

⁴⁵ HMSS: KartenKasten 10, Haus Windeck. Also: Kastorff-Viehmänn, “Küche und Haus,” 71-87.

⁴⁶ HMSS: KartenKasten 10, Haus Windeck. Kastorff-Viehmänn, “Küche und Haus,” especially, 78. See: Brönnner, *Die bürgerliche Villa*, 158.

⁴⁷ Anonymous, *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*, cover.

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- ⁴⁸ Daisenberger, *Vollständiges Bayerisches Kochbuch*, frontispiece. Also: Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 334
- ⁴⁹ Daisenberger, *Vollständiges Bayerisches Kochbuch*, frontispiece.
- ⁵⁰ Anonymous, *Neues Niedersächsisches Kochbuch*, copper.
- ⁵¹ WOK: HG.Loo.1794. The hearth was heated with wood, coke, coal, swamp cuts (“Torf”)—or manure.
- ⁵² Pietsch finds one kitchen-area in a large farmhouse without strict spacing: Pietsch, “Bürgerliche Küche,” 203. Similarly, Kaspar, “Die bürgerliche Küche,” 96, 100.
- ⁵³ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 87.
- ⁵⁴ “The home of poor people,” Copperplate from 1823. HMSS: B.Schwa.3, 88.
- ⁵⁵ Brückner, “Das Nordfränkische Bauernhaus,” *Globus*, 60.
- ⁵⁶ Leicht-Eckardt suggests rich farmers also owned a laundry and a scullery. “Austattungsvarianten,” 168-169.
- ⁵⁷ *Die Gartenlaube* (1891) b768, “Hungrige Gesellschaft.”
- ⁵⁸ Faber-Hermann, *Bürgerlicher Wohnbau*, 14.
- ⁵⁹ “Working class quarters, 1910,” GHDI. See also: 2 Rental Barracks on Kastanienallee in the Prenzlauer Berg Neighborhood of Berlin (1880s),” GHDI.
- ⁶⁰ Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin (henceforth DHM): F 52/2975. “Elendsquartier in der Berliner Spreestr.6 um 1910.”
- ⁶¹ DHM: F/90/492.
- ⁶² DHM: F/90/492, furthest left, white-tiled heater with a visible iron stove-top area. See also: “Working class quarters, 1910,” GHDI.
- ⁶³ Rottke and Markmann, “Geschichte des deutschen Wohnimmobilienmarktes,” 41–71.
- ⁶⁴ DHM: F 52/2975.
- ⁶⁵ *Die Gartenlaube* (1882) b081i.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Leicht-Eckardt, “Austattungsvarianten,” 177.
- ⁶⁸ WOK: HG.Wei.1900, vii.
- ⁶⁹ FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01): vii.
- ⁷⁰ WOK.
- ⁷¹ WOK.
- ⁷² For a history of chef’s in furthering culinary art and science see: Kreklau, “‘Eat as the King Eats,’” 10, 161, 183–184, 186, 198, 199, 229, 231, 322–327, and 390.
- ⁷³ Besides caregiving and clothing-production, cooking counted among few respectable professions for women. Frevert, *Women in German History*, 78 and 80.
- ⁷⁴ Kreklau, “When ‘Germany’ Became the New ‘France’?,” 46.
- ⁷⁵ Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 22. Further: Bechtel, *Henriette Löfflers Kochbuch*, section 19.
- ⁷⁶ Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 22.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid, 334
- ⁷⁸ Ibid, 22. See also: Bechtel, *Henriette Löfflers*, 334.
- ⁷⁹ Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 388.
- ⁸⁰ Marchand, *Porcelain*, 70.
- ⁸¹ Zelena, *Die Kochkunst*, frontispiece.
- ⁸² Weiler, *Augsburgisches Kochbuch*, copper.
- ⁸³ Zelena, *Die Kochkunst*, frontispiece.
- ⁸⁴ Fuchs, *Die Wiener Vorstadt-Köchin*, frontispiece.
- ⁸⁵ WOK: HG.Hom.1879.
- ⁸⁶ WOK: HG.Löf.1897. Similarly, WOK: HG.Kön.1900-05, approx., cover.
- ⁸⁷ Rousseau and Goethe, cited in Frevert, *Women in German History*, 67.
- ⁸⁸ BSB: 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1: *Gartenlaube*, (1853), 546.
- ⁸⁹ Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke*, 91.
- ⁹⁰ Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches*. Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke*, 92.
- ⁹¹ Hummel-Haasis, *Schwestern*, 22-23.
- ⁹² *Globus*, 1865.
- ⁹³ Kreklau, “‘Eat as the King Eats,’” 174.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid, 215.
- ⁹⁵ Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*.

⁹⁶ Hand and Shove, “Orchestrating Concepts.” Further, Freeman, *The Making of the Modern Kitchen*.

⁹⁷ E.g. Johnson, “Browsing the Modern Kitchen.”

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DHM: *Deutsches Historisches Museum*, Berlin; German Historical Museum, Berlin.

FUBEG: *Forschungs- und Universitäts- Bibliothek*, Erfurt-Gotha; Research and University Library, Erfurt and Gotha.

GStAPK: *Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin; Prussian Privy State Archive, Berlin.

HMSS: *Heimatmuseum Schloss Schönebeck*; Heimat Museum of Schönebeck Castle, Bremen.

STSG: *Schloss Friedenstein, Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten*; Friedenstein Castle of the Trust for Thuringian Castles and Gardens

SVM: *Schillerverein*, Marbach; Schiller Society, Marbach.

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Figures

Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.



Figure 5



Figure 6.

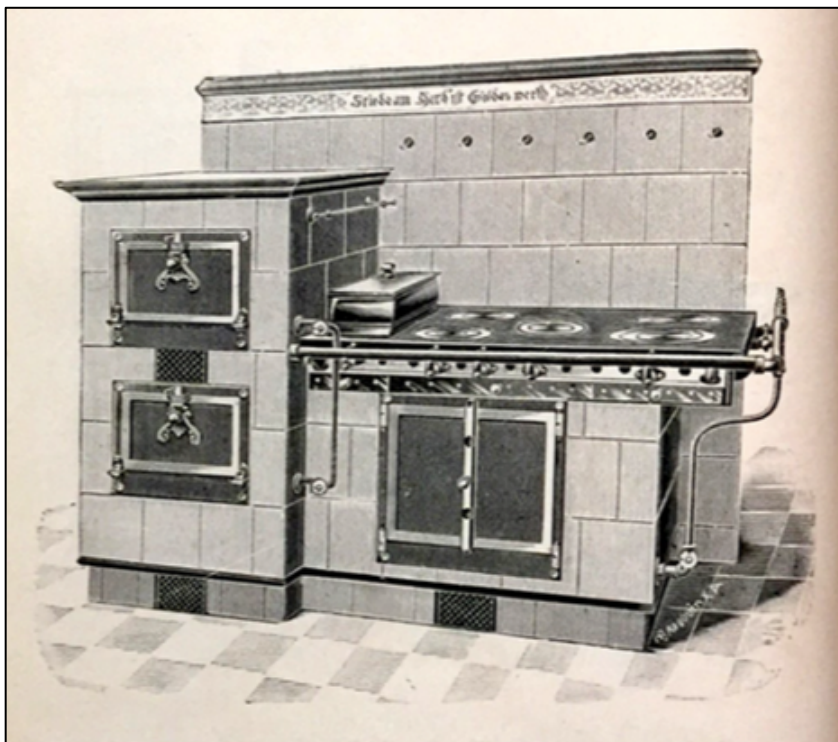


Figure 7.



Figure 8.



Figure 10.



Figure 11

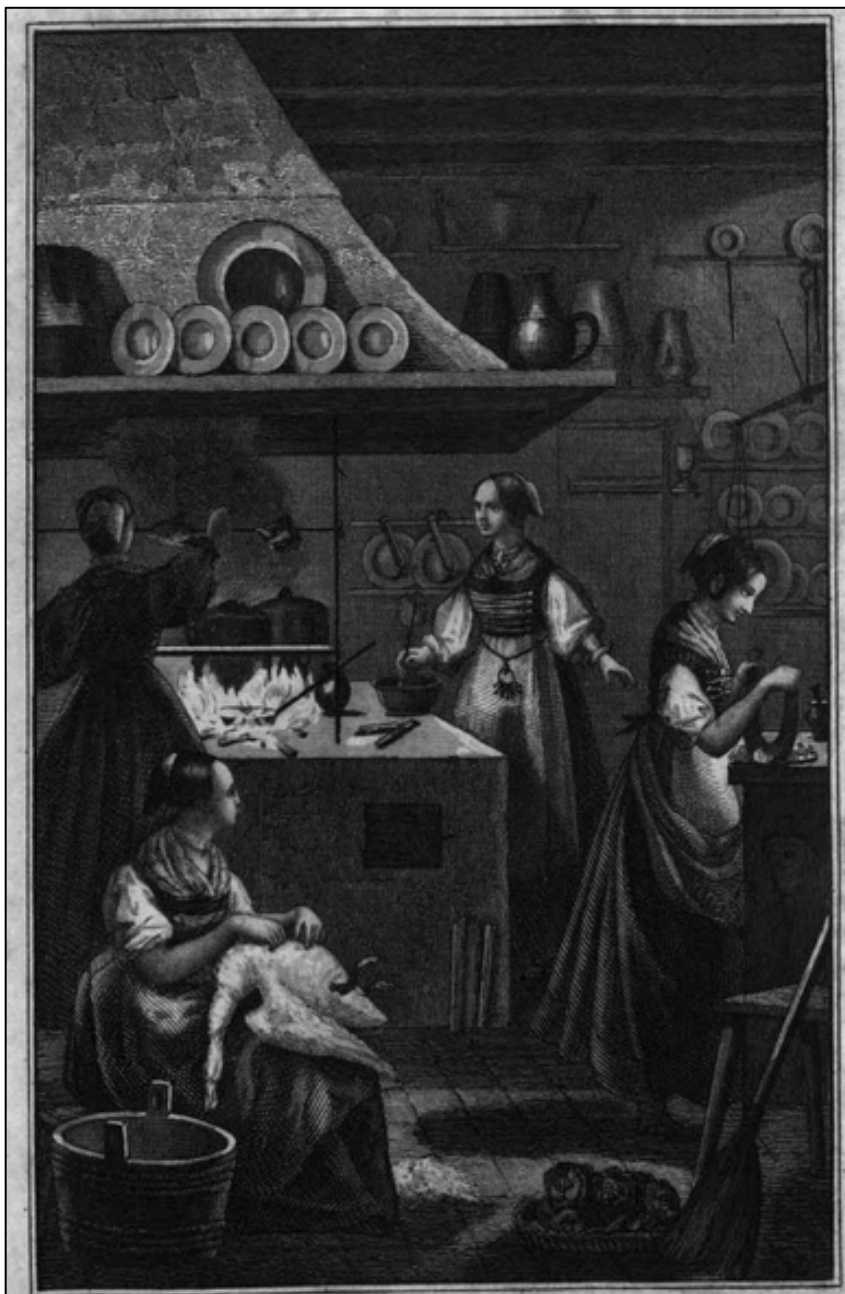


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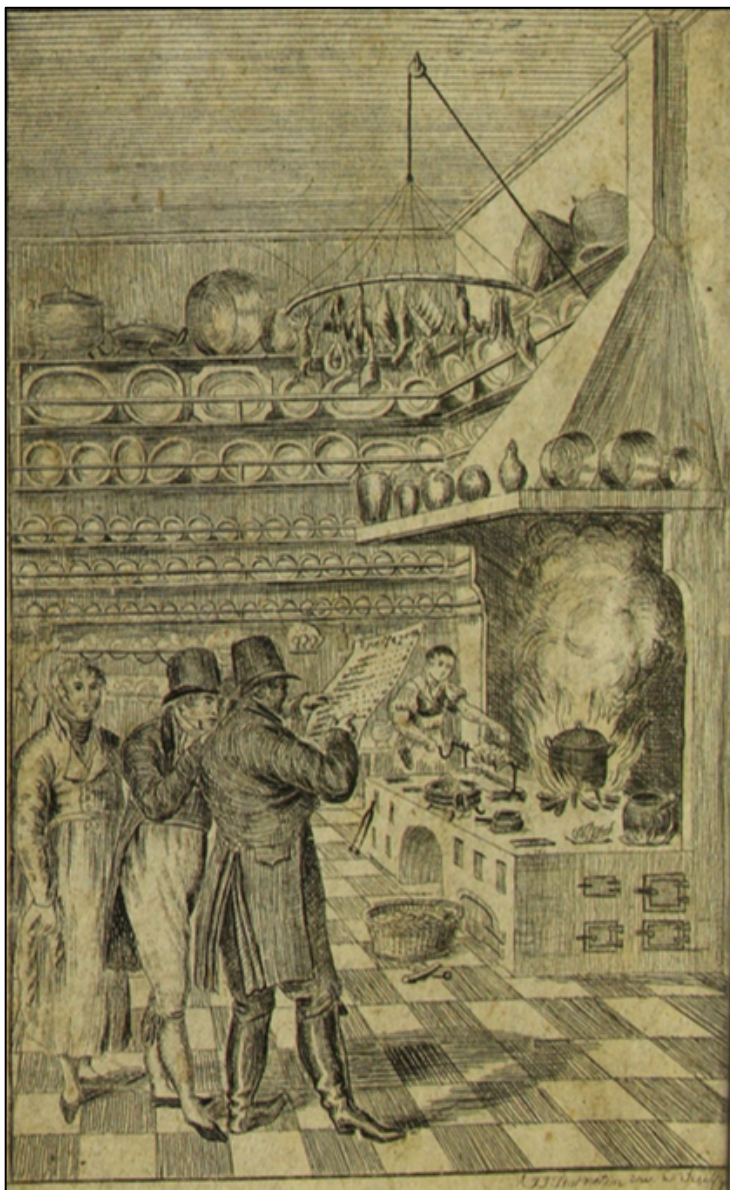


Figure 13



Figure 14.



Figure 15.



Figure 16.

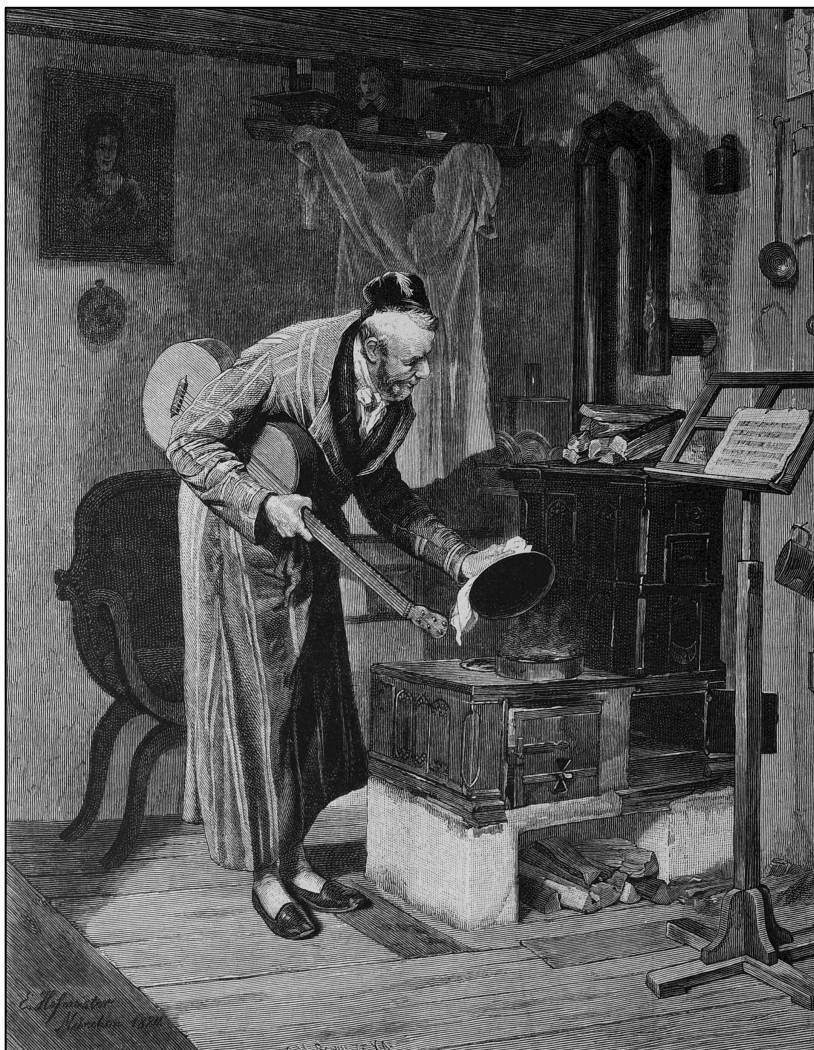


Figure 17.



Figure 18.



Figure 19.

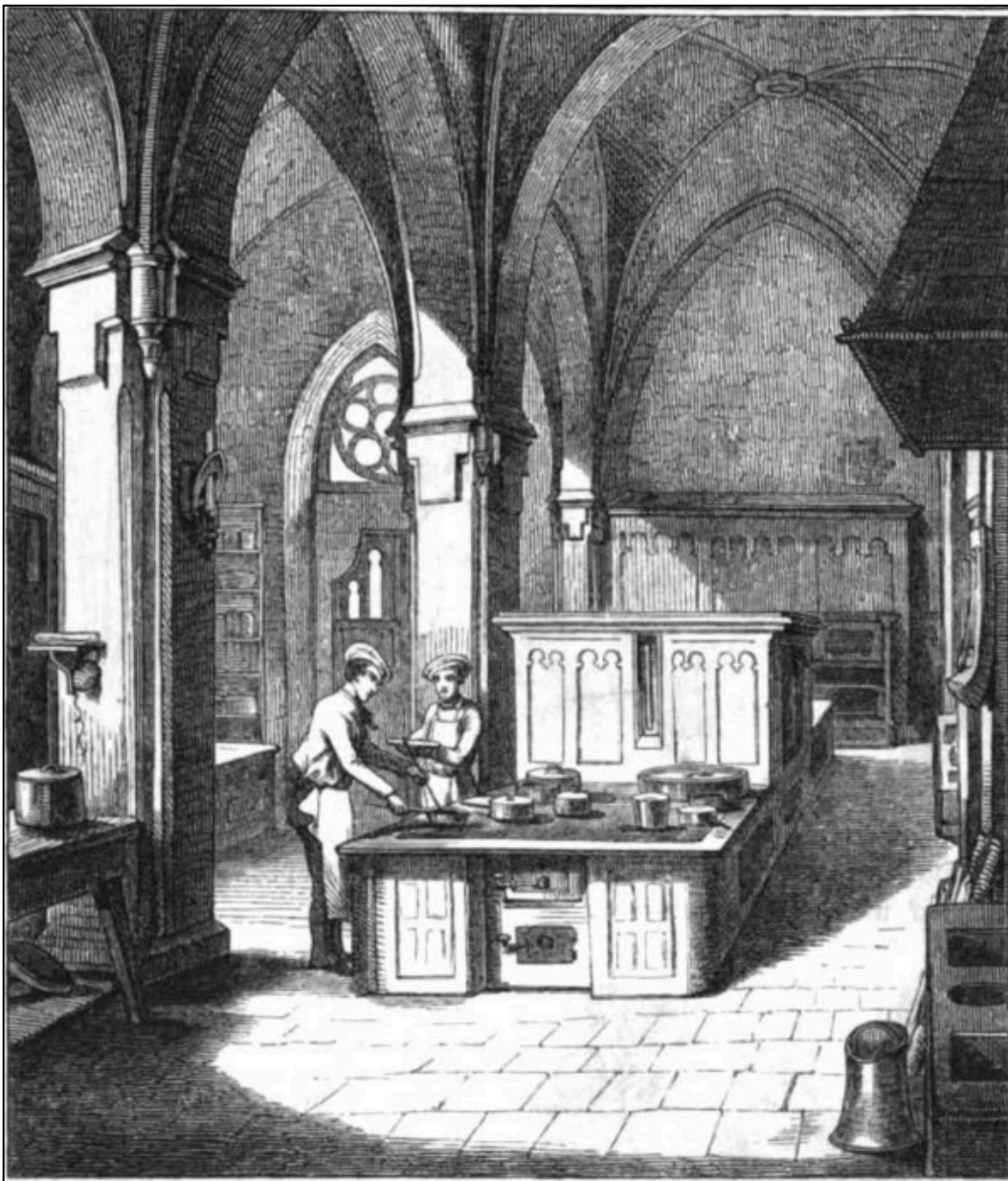


Figure 20.



Figure 21.



Figure 22.



Figure 23.

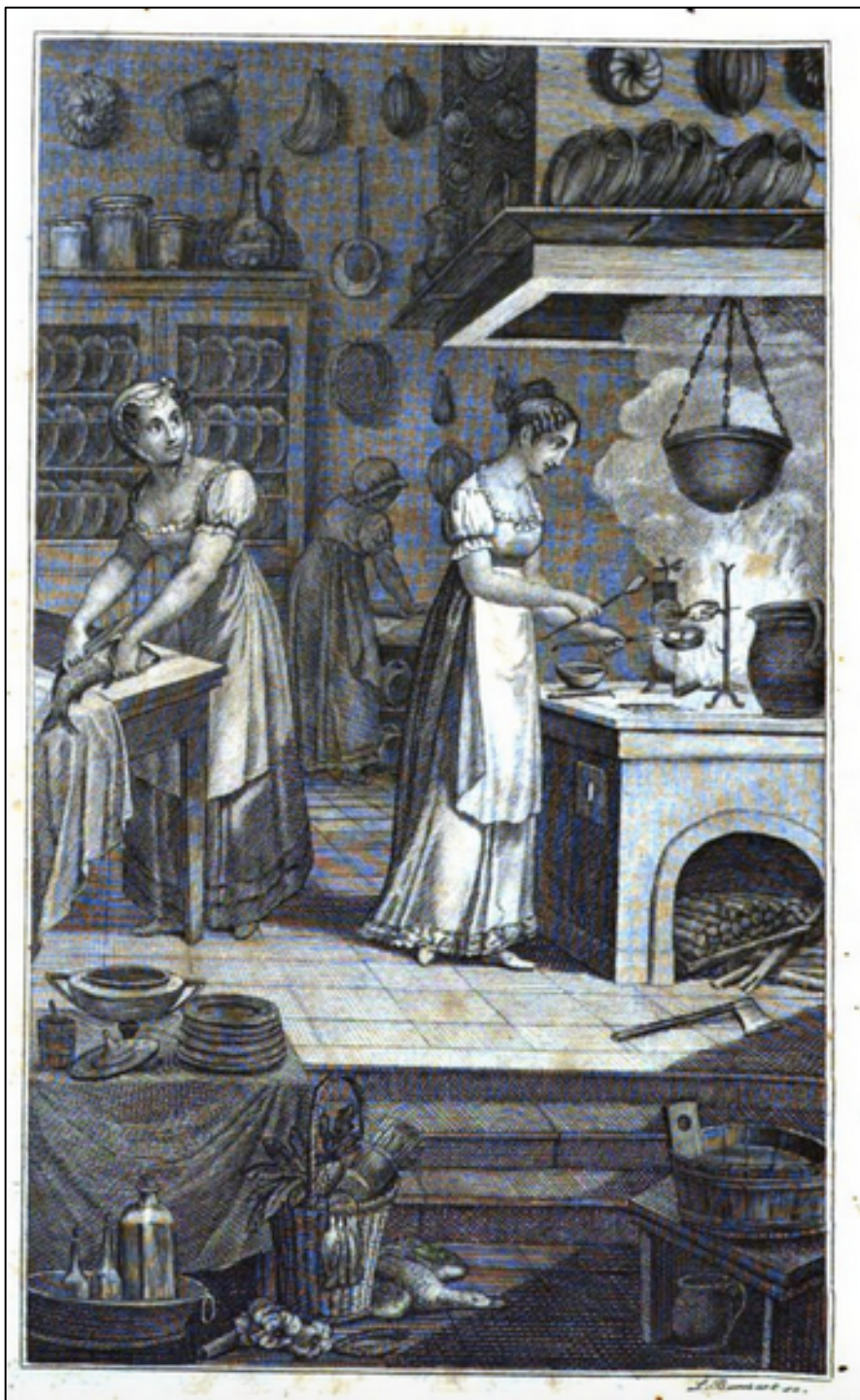


Figure 24.



Figure 25.



Figure 26.



Figure Captions

Figure 1. “Princely Kitchen” on the first floor of Friedestein Castle.

Figure 2. Close-up of “Princely Kitchen” on the first floor of Friedestein Castle. Note brown tiling and iron or steel fixtures.

Figure 3. Re-heating niche near living quarters of palace residents of Friedestein Castle.

Figure 4. Close-up of re-heating niche.

Figure 5. Representation of the “Royal Kitchen” in Berlin, from Kurth’s “Illustrated Cookbook,” 1879.

Figure 6. Advertisement for a hybrid brick and iron stove-top combination, 1900. Note pipes and handles indicating gas supply.

Figure 7. Architectural remains of an oven in usage in the Schiller household during Elisabetha Dorothea’s stay with Christine and Friedrich, approx. -1763.

Figure 8. Architectural remains in the kitchen wall of the Schiller’s home, likely from a previous bread-baking or water-pumping facility.

Figure 9. House Windeck, Bremen, 1843, ground-floor blueprint. From top right, clockwise: “dining room,” “preparation room,” “kitchen,” and “pantry.” Furthest right, half-circular shape: a “conservatory.”

Figure 10. Captions of frontispiece reads: “She may continue as before,” showing a mistress speaking to food-worker in an anonymous Fulda cookbook from 1823.

Figure 11. Bavarian cookbook illustration depicting the temporary act of working sitting down on a stool for work, 1843. Note the aspirational gaze of the maid plucking a goose up the kitchen hierarchy (counter-clockwise) from assistant tending a sausage, to a keeper of keys stirring a sauce, to a chef brining roasted birds. Three out of four women are engaging with meat—the main element of distinguished dining.

Figure 12. A Stately [“Herrschaftliche”] Kitchen in a Saxon cookbook, 1803.

Figure 13. Middling military employer visiting a middling kitchen, 1790s.

Figure 14. Woodcut representation of a Bourgeois kitchen, Loost’s Lower-Saxon cookbook, 1794.

Figure 15. Rural family in a multifunctional living/dining-room/cooking space depicted for the middling audience of the *Gartenlaube*, central Europe’s most popular periodical publication. See the tiled oven on the far right.

Figure 16. Autotrophic artisan portrayed in the *Gartenlaube*, cooking over a fire in his studio without spatial separation for different types of activities; caption reads “I cook myself.”

Figure 17. “Kochkiste,” or Fire-Box, (WOK Museum); the brand “Heinzelmännchen” refers to fairytale gnomes who complete housework at night to indicate the item’s work-saving benefit.

Figure 18. “*Kochkiste*” laid out with straw set with iron with space for pots requiring different cooking methods.

Figure 19. Caption reads “The Kitchen in the Wittelsbach Palace in Munich.”

Figure 20. Cook plucking poultry at Wittelsbach.

Figure 21. Cook preparing quails or snipes for roasting gendering cooking as masculine.

Figure 22. Weiler’s Augsburg cookbook, 1819.

Figure 23. Frotnispiece portraying three features of kitchens conventional of the era: a brick oven, women working, and working spaces. Zelena’s cookbook, 1828.

Figure 24. Caption reads “The Triumph of the Art of Cooking”, 1860.

Figure 25. Image representing a trend of depiction between 1860 and 1900: a solitary working woman, gendering both food-work and the space surrounding her, 1879.

Figure 26. Foodworker reading and cooking by instruction, 1897.