

GENRE AND TEXT-TYPE CONVENTIONS IN EARLY MODERN WOMEN'S RECIPE BOOKS

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Abstract: *Early Modern recipe books map onto women's roles in the period. Women were responsible for the health and care of all their household members. This explains the women's interest in gathering information on the topic, usually put together in manuscripts which circulated in the women's intellectual and domestic circles to serve this purpose. The manuscript is viewed as an artefact likely to be changed to meet the needs of its users. The article seeks to explore genre and text-type conventions in a corpus of medical and culinary recipes written or compiled by women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Early Modern Britain. The recipes in this period show patterns of continuity from medieval times but also patterns of variation to foreshadow the shape of modern recipes.*

Keywords: *Recipe books, Early Modern English Women, manuscripts, medicine and culinary recipes.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Unlike medical history and specifically recipes, which have deserved academia's attention in the last decades, "culinary history is a relative newcomer in the academic world", according to Lehmann (2013:93). Lehmann is aware of the fact that it "has not entered mainstream historical studies in universities" (2013:94), although this does not imply there is no interest in recipes. The present study relates medical and culinary recipes compiled by women to evidence their similarities and divergences in the Early Modern period, as Görlach has claimed that they were formally identical in Middle English and Early Modern English (2004:126). We will demonstrate, however, that some differences can be observed. Likewise, the Early Modern English recipes are the result of the Middle English tradition but innovations are also attested. Thus, the genre and text-type conventions will be traced from the Late Middle English period up to the eighteenth century to give account of their development.

First of all, the present study discusses the context in which recipe writing by women took place in Early Modern Britain and how it maps onto some of their duties as women and housewives. To this end, three manuscripts from the Glasgow University Library (GUL) have been scrutinised along with other thirty-five manuscripts from the Perdita Project, which includes manuscripts housed in the British Library (BL), the Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL) and the National Library of Scotland (NLS). Then, medical and culinary recipes will be compared in terms of genre and text-type conventions. Finally, a short note on the evolution of the genre into the nineteenth century onward is provided, along with the conclusions drawn from the analysis.

2. WOMEN'S MANUSCRIPT RECIPE BOOKS

Recently an interest in women who wrote in the Early Modern period has increased. An example of this is the Perdita Project, which brings together manuscripts written or compiled by women in Early Modern English.

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Additionally, the three manuscripts from the Ferguson Collection also fall under this category. GUL Ferguson MS 43 and MS 61 belonged to Lady Stanhope and Mary Harrison respectively, as can be read at the beginning of their manuscripts. In turn, GUL Ferguson MS 15, which dates to an unspecified time in the eighteenth century, is anonymous. Even if we have no data about the provenance of this manuscript or about its author, there are different reasons to believe that it may have been written by a woman; namely, it contains cooking and medicine recipes, as it is usual in most of the manuscripts in the Perdita Project and in GUL Ferguson MS 43 and MS 61. It also includes two recipes for making ink. This is a typical recipe in this kind of compilations, as it is noted by several authors (Hunter, 1997:96; Taavitsainen, 2001:86; Görlach, 2004:128) and especially in women's recipe books. Finally, it shows different hands as it is the usual practice in women's recipe compilations and covers the same topics of interest.

Cooking and household medicine were both responsibilities of English housewives. That is the reason why they often appear together in manuscripts, "as a reflection of their role in running what were often large and complex households" (Salzman, 2010). Women were in charge of the estate and their members; thus, they would make arrangements for cooking but also for caring for family and household members' health. Even as part of their religious devotion, they used to help sick people in their localities. This explains why very often medical and culinary recipes are found together in the same volumes. In fact, household medicine is often referred to as *kitchen physick* (Jones, 2011: 36), since both medicine and culinary recipes have much in common in the way they were prepared.

Women compiled the information they considered useful from different sources, initially for consultation, but this kind of book was also a way of socializing. When visitors came to the guest's home there was an exchange of information. The purpose was to enrich the original gathering, which could also be expanded by copying from other books as well. A given manuscript acquired relevance if recipes from expert and trustworthy figures appeared (Leong & Pennell, 2007:139). Thus, the sources of information are often given in the text as a way of identifying and validating the recipe. For instance, "Dr Lowers cordial" or "Dr Stephens water" recipes are included in GUL Ferguson 15, as well as in other recipe books of the period. Likewise, Dr. Coxe is present in some of these compilations (e.g. GUL Ferguson 61 and BL Sloane MS 1367).

The manuscripts were not static pieces, as they were erased and expunged inasmuch as useless recipes could be removed or crossed out. Thus, Lettice Pudsey recorded a recipe "to pickle cucumbers" and after that a comment stating "this receipt is good for nothing". Subsequently, she crossed it out by putting a line through the entire recipe (FSL MS V.a.450). Manuscripts are proven to be living artefacts shared with servants, visitors and friends. This is clearly evidenced by the fact that many of them are written in different hands and may acknowledge the name of the contributor. Friends must have been especially important in enlarging the compilations. Sometimes recipes are in a different language. Thus, in Mary Grenville's compilation (FSL MS V.a.430) one can find at least five cooking recipes and another one to make ink in Spanish. Some of them attribute the recipe to a specific person and acknowledge the place and date when it was written. Thus, on page 104 it reads "Receta de D^a Maria Leal" and, at the end of it, "Cadiz año de 1676". Presumably, the book's owner could understand Spanish to be able to follow the instructions on how to prepare the dishes. Once more the text is open to alteration, completion, or enlargement as part of its fluid nature.

In addition, these kinds of compilations were subject to exchange and gift, as mentioned by Leong and Pennell (2007:141): "Presentation collections of recipes, drawn up as part of a dowry or a wedding gift, are not uncommon". They can also pass from mothers to daughters, as there is a well attested tradition of passing them down from generation to generation (Hunter, 2002:514). In fact, Lady Elcho assures the reader that "this Book was my mothers in w^{ch} there are many receipts w^{ch} shee had from y^e most famous Phisitions y^t libed in her time" (FSL MS V.a.397). Mary Granville, Ann's mother, writes "Mrs. Ann Granville Book which I hope shee will make a better use of then her mother" (FSL MS V.a.430). They could even be presented as a gift exchange "where patronage and service were implied" (Leong & Pennell, 2007: 142). For instance, the BL Sloane MS 3842 shows an inscription where the following can be read: "This book humbly begs Madam Elizabeth Butler her acceptance from her faithfull servant, March the last 1679, Poore Colly".

3. METHODOLOGY

For the analysis presented here, a corpus of medical and culinary recipes in Early Modern English have been scrutinised to describe the key language features with a focus on variation over time. To this end, GUL Ferguson MS 15, MS 43 and MS 61 as well as the Perdita Project documents containing thirty-five medical and culinary recipe manuscripts compiled by women, are used for the analysis. The manuscripts have been classified according to their content as medical, culinary or medical culinary. However, this classification is not as clear-cut as it may seem, since some recipe books belong chiefly to one type but may contain just one recipe of the other type. This mixture is mentioned by Görlach when referring to cooking recipes:

The identity of form with the medical continues intermittently, as does the combination of the two types, right into the 18th century – an indication that the systematic character of the so-named cookery books so often stressed on title pages is not always carried through in the text. (Görlach 2004:131)

In fact, the *Perdita* project uses different denominations when looking under the genre section. *Receipt books* can refer to only medical, only culinary or medical and culinary recipe books. Likewise, *cookery books*, despite the term *cookery*, can also include compilations containing medical and culinary recipes altogether. Additionally, the label *medical receipt book* is not without fail. Although the *Perdita* catalogue says “Medical receipts written by Anthony Lewis from a book owned by the Lady Marquess Dorset” (BL Sloane MS 556), the book contains chiefly cooking recipes, such as recipes to pickle cucumbers, to make good pancakes or make a stew, along with other recipes for cattle and horses.

4. GENRE AND TEXT-TYPE CONVENTIONS

The concepts of genre and text-type are fundamental to understand what kind of changes recipes have undergone historically. Genre and text-type have been used indistinctively by different scholars so that a recipe is often labelled as a genre and as text type. For this reason, several authors have tried to distinguish them according to specific criteria (e.g. Görlach, 1992, 2004; Taavitsainen, 2001a, 2001b; Alonso Almeida, 2008, among others). Alonso Almeida establishes the difference between the two claiming that “genre is differentiated from text type in the sense that genre is externally defined, whereas text type is characterized according to internal linguistic criteria” (2008:10). Likewise, Taavitsainen states that “Recipes are a well-defined procedural genre with a clear writing purpose. They give instructions on how to prepare medicine, a dish, or some household utility like ink” (2001a:86). In turn, Görlach characterises the recipes according to some specific linguistic criteria, and subsequently refers to recipes as a text type (1992 and 2004). Thus, text type examines grammatical features used in the texts.

According to Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013:162), both medical and cooking recipes are part of the same genre, as they serve the same purpose: to instruct on how to prepare a medicine or a dish. Furthermore, they are considered discourse colonies. Studies on the recipe genre as discourse colony has been usually applied to medical, culinary and other types of recipes (Hoey, 1986, 2001; Carroll, 2003; Alonso, 2013), whereby the recipe book is viewed as one single unit rather than a collection of independent recipe texts. Many of the commonalities are shared by medical and culinary recipes, both in the way they were written and in the characteristics they show in the form of linguistic stages or functional sections.

4.1. Tradition and innovation

Both medical and culinary recipes in the Middle English period come from common sources. This tendency continues in the Early Modern English period, where similar recipes can be found in various texts even if wording and procedure may be slightly different. Consequently, in the culinary section of the GUL Ferguson MS 15 a recipe to pickle oysters is found indicating quite similar methods as these found in Mary Grenville's compendium with minor divergences (FSL MS V.a.430, pp. 148-149); namely, whereas Ferguson MS 15 adds several spices, “peper ginger mace & cinnamon”, Mary Grenville suggests just to add “bay leaves”. In the medical section, different waters, cordials or recipes for several ailments are also quite similar, confirming the continuity from previous practices.

There are changes in the recipe genre as well. In the Middle English period recipes usually appeared with other texts, but in the Early Modern period they tend to be bound on their own. It is often easy to scan through their pages to spot a specific recipe. The usual disposition is a title followed by a main body paragraph explaining everything necessary to undertake the task. Even if the title has always served for scanning purposes to find a specific recipe, with the passing of time a better arrangement of recipes seems to have been achieved. Consequently, whereas in GUL Ferguson MS 61 no specific planning seems to have been done prior to the writing of the recipes, in GUL Ferguson MS 15 there seems to be some thematic arrangement. In fact, recipes 1-16 are about pickling, then there is a section on meats and fish, followed by soups and the largest section is on sweet dishes (recipes 45-83). The final part is introduced by some recipes to make vinegar or wine (recipes 84-87) and from 88-101 a miscellany of recipes is found where sweet dishes as well as meats or wine and pickles can be found. This idea is supported by Tebeaux (1997:33) who states that “early Renaissance cookbooks showed less technical precision and organization or recipes than those of the late Renaissance.”

4.2. Recipe Structure

Even if Jucker and Taavitsainen have already remarked that “genres show different realisations in different periods, but more prototypical features may remain constant in a long diachronic perspective” (2013:147), we aim to examine the main features characterising the recipe genre to see how it has evolved over time, focusing on the Early Modern English period. Alonso Almeida (2013:71) presents the following schema as a summary of the stages identified in medieval and Renaissance recipes:

(Title) ^ Ingredients ^ (Preparation) ^ (Application) ^ (Storage) ^ (Efficacy) ^ (Number of serving) ^ (Reference to source) ^ (Further additional information)

where the circumflex indicates fixed order and the parenthesis optional stage. Nonetheless, for the Early Modern English period Alonso Almeida refines the model with an asterisk to imply variable order within the scheme (Alonso Almeida, 2013:72):

(Title) * Ingredients * (Preparation) * (Application) * (Efficacy)* (Storage)* (Expiry date) * (Virtues)

From this formula it is deduced that the ingredients section is the only one necessary for a recipe to be considered as such in the period, although the recipes in our corpus always tend to show some kind of title. Most stages follow the medieval tradition for the recipe, which means that the basic constituents remain, although Alonso Almeida includes *storage*, *expiry date* and *virtues* as components that deserve being studied separately.

4.2.1. Title

The title usually serves to indicate the contents of the main paragraph it heads. The linguistic configuration of the title usually presents the formulaic template found in Table 1.

Table 1. Formulaic templates in recipe titles.

Template	Example
<i>To + inf.+ NP</i>	To make sugar plate (BL Add. MS 45196) To make balsamum (FSL MS MS V.a.20)
<i>For + NP</i>	For the canker (BL Add. MS 27466) For the wormes (BL Sloane MS 1367)
<i>For + v-ing</i>	For stoping of bleeding (BL Sloane MS 1367) For pising a bed (GUL Ferguson MS 61)
<i>NP + for + NP</i>	A plaster for the goute (BL Egerton 2197)
<i>NP + against + NP</i>	A milk water against consumption (BL Add. MS 27466)
<i>NP + to + inf.+ NP</i>	An electory to comfort ye stomack (BL Add. MS 27466) A maruelous good water to break the stone in ye bledder (NLS MS 3031)
<i>How to + inf.</i>	How to make a cake (FSL MS V.a.20) How to make sinnamond water (BL Add. MS 27466)
<i>NP</i>	A poppy water (BL Add. MS 27466) Italian Biskett (FSL MS V.b.14)
<i>Another (+NP)</i>	an other (GUL Ferguson MS 61)
<i>Another for the same</i>	another almond milk (BL Add. MS 27466) another for the same (NLS MS 3031)

Whereas in culinary recipes some of the patterns, such as *to + infinitive*, *how to + infinitive* or *NP*, are more commonly found, in medical recipes a wider variety of templates are attested. Thus, *for to + infinitive* in “For to make Tincture of Carroways” (GUL Ferguson MS 15) is placed within the medical recipe section of the manuscript. Even if it was used in medieval times in cooking recipes, e.g. “For to make a gely” (Heatt & Butler, 1985:73), it is not usual in our Early Modern English cooking corpus. Likewise, the structures *for + infinitive* or *for + Noun Phrase* are more commonly found in medical recipes. Other combinations, such as a Noun Phrase containing a relative clause “An electory y^t helpeth wonderffully y^e cough wth ease and speed” (BL Add. MS 27466), are also possible but not widely spread.

The use of evaluative terms in the title is remarkable, especially in the case of medical recipes, where adjectives like *good*, *excellent*, *admirable* or *approved* can be found, e.g. “An Excellent medicine to take away thing in ye eyes either pearl win or webb” (GUL Ferguson MS 15). The evaluative statement is also found in culinary recipes, such as “A good gravy” (GUL Ferguson MS 15) or “To make good pancakes” (BL Sloane MS 556).

4.2.2. Ingredients

This stage very often appears along with the preparation phase. The key terminology refers to herbs, animals and kitchen utensils. The ingredients are usually found in the same paragraph where all the other stages, except

the title, are included. According to Carroll, the separation of the list of ingredients from the method section marks a turning point in the evolution of the English recipe:

This switch to the ingredients list is important for two reasons. Firstly, this is what makes recipes visually distinct from other short texts structured in a title + prose paragraph format. The recipe consisting of title + list + paragraph(s) is more recognizable as belonging to a specific genre. Secondly, the ingredients list is now considered the most important recipe component (after the title) to highlight visually. (Carroll 2010: 67)

Thus, the list of ingredients is quite a modern phenomenon. Carroll (2010:67) claims that “the first English recipe book to include a list of ingredients and their quantities separately from the directions paragraph was Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery*, in all its *Branches*, originally published in 1845”, while Alonso Almeida finds this unusual feature in one late seventeenth-century manuscript: Welcome MS 1026 (2013:76). Likewise, in our corpus, the book by Lady Marquess Dorset, BL Sloane MS 556, dated 1696, includes a recipe to make a balsam, where the list of ingredients with the exact measurements follows the title, as well as others for different purposes displaying this list after the title. The list of ingredients after the title with the measures is also found once in Lady Stanhope's book, which dates to the beginning of the eighteenth century (GUL Ferguson MS 43).

The ingredients in culinary recipes reflect the taste and flavours of the period. Thus, one finds a recipe “to make Ramekin”, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as: “A type of savoury dish based on cheese, mixed with butter, eggs, and seasonings, and usually baked and served in a small mould or dish (or formerly in a paper case). Formerly also: a dish of minced meat, pounded onion, or melted cheese, toasted with butter and other ingredients on bread.” A recipe for “a whip't sillabub” being “a drink or dish made of milk (freq. as drawn from the cow) or cream, curdled by the admixture of wine, cider, or other acid, and often sweetened and flavoured” is also recorded. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* it was “in common use from the 16th cent. to about the middle of the 19th cent., and revived in the 20th.” Lehman (2003:202) also confirms that the drink was common in the eighteenth century and provides a recipe for it from Mary Kettilby (1714).

Unlike medieval recipes, Early Modern English recipes show an increasing tendency to use lavish ingredients. This can be due to a desire to sound exotic or to emulate the sophistication of French cuisine, as some non-daily ingredients include *purslain* and *shallot*, both from French and common in warm countries. Exotic ingredients are also used for medical purposes, e.g. *pellitory of Spain* and *Bengal Issinglass*. The use of new ingredients may give a clue about the changes undergone in the surrounding world, which made available products that could not be obtained in the medieval period, such as tea, coffee and chocolate.

Trendy ingredients usually imply the presence of borrowings in this section, such as *beef Buollie*, *cacthup*, *croucant*, *punch*, *ragou*, *rocombole*, *sillabub*, *tureen*, etc. In culinary recipes, most of them come from French, but also from Asian languages, like *cacthup* ‘ketchup’ and *tea* or, unknown origin like *syllabub*, and from languages spoken in the New World like *chocolate* and *sarsaparilla*. In the medical recipes, apart from these, Latin is a regular donor language with remedies such as *opodeldoc*, *bolus* or ingredients like *lapis calamināris*.

4.2.3. Preparation

Despite the fact that medieval recipes are characterised by the presence of vague expressions and omissions which require interpretation by the reader, in the Early Modern English period the recipe is getting more informative and accurate, although there is still plenty to be interpreted by the reader. In fact, Tebeaux suggests that “the simple listing of ingredients and the order in which they were used suggested that the recipe served as a means of aiding the woman's memory rather than providing complete instructions that were to be learned by reading only” (1997:33).

The preparation stage is linguistically realised by verbs in the imperative mood and in second person present tense. The section is combined with the previous one, so the readers will not gather all the information related to the ingredients unless they reach the end of the paragraph. The temporal sequence is conveyed by means of adverbs or subordinate temporal clauses which help to establish the right order, as in the following recipe (FSL MS V.a.20):

A most excellent glister
for spleen and wind
Take A pinte of new milke boyle
in it a handful of Camamile
flowers or Camamile put to it
when it is strained to spoonful
of powder shuger and 5 drops of
spirits of castor

On the one hand, a gradual specialization in the use of terminology can be observed. Whereas in the medical recipes the verb *take* is still the prevailing one, in the cooking section other verbs appear, such as *boil*, *collar*, *chop*, *melt*, *mix*, *pickle*, *season*, *skim* or *strain*. Both in medical and culinary recipes there are technical terms, which are particularly used in this section where there is specification of weights, measures and types of instruments. The amount for liquids may be indicated in quarters, pints or gills; ounces, drachms, pounds and grains are used for weight, but vagueness is also expected as in “as much green young parsley as you can hold betwixt y^r four fingers” (GUL Ferguson MS 15). According to this, the amount would differ depending on your hand size. Likewise, a measure like *pennyworth* is still in use. The time expression is given by *then*, *till*, and *and* to show sequencing of actions, although the time unit can be very precise at times, as in “salt for 48 hours” or “salt 24 hours”.

On the other hand, the vagueness of some instructions may make this kind of texts hard to interpret. For instance, the duration of the procedure is not always clearly specified. Thus, “keep it stirring upon ye fire till its brown” (GUL Ferguson MS 15). A possible question that may arise is: What kind of brown, slightly brown or dark brown? In another recipe for ginger bread it claims “it requires an oven something hotter then for bisket & may stand in a good while” (GUL Ferguson MS 15). How hot should the oven be? How long is a good while?

4.2.4. Application

This stage is characterised by the presence of vocabulary related to body parts in medical recipes and products in culinary recipes. The linguistic realisation of this stage is by means of verbs in the imperative mood. In medical recipes, a wider specialisation is observed with verbs such as *apply*, *anoint*, *drink* or *put* depending on the remedy. In culinary recipes, when this section is present, the traditional formulas are *serve* or *serve up*, but other related verbs like *dish up* or *garnish* are also found.

An example in a medical recipe can be one for “a Burn or any hot Humor”, where after explaining the ingredients and the preparation, it instructs the reader on how to use it with the sentence “drop in 2 or 3 drops”. In another recipe for rheumatism the patient is advised to “take a Gill Glass twice a day”. The main difference here between medical and culinary recipes lies in the fact that, in the former, dosage and treatment are usually indicated by means of time and metrical units. The measures can be quite precise sometimes indicating the exact number of drops that are needed, e.g. “ye dose is 9 drops”, which contrasts with medieval recipes where the dosage is hardly ever so accurately provided.

Although Görlach (2004:134) mentions the absence of possessive pronouns in his study, in our corpus of medical and culinary recipe compendia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, possessive pronouns are found in this section with expressions like “rub your hands” or “wash y^r mouth with this water”.

4.2.5. Efficacy Phrase

The lexicon associated with this stage is usually an evaluative adjective or some verbal formula. There were some set phrases used in the medieval period, like *sanabitur* or *probatum est* in Latin and some other stock phrases in English, such as “he will be whole” that are not commonly employed in our corpus, although *probatum est* can still be found in some compilation. For instance, Ann Granville finishes a recipe for a water against melancholy with the phrase *probatum est* (FSL MS V.a.430) and so does Mrs. Carlyon in a recipe for a toothache (FSL MS V.a.388) and Katherine Packer (FSL MS V.a.387) and Lady Marquess Dorset in several recipes (BL Sloane MS 556). Whereas set phrases are not frequently found in Early Modern English recipes, free formulas are common. In this case, they are formulated in the future tense with verbs like *help*, *cure* or *be better* or with specific verbs which “mention the name of the ailment or imply it in a VP that specifies the nature of the ailment” (Mäkinen, 2011:168), as in “it will with the mouth” (GUL Ferguson MS 61). All in all, they do not appear in our corpus on a regular basis. Very often the efficacy phrase repeats the contents of the purpose of the recipe, even if it would be obvious what the remedy is for. Thus, in a recipe entitled “For y^e Wormes” the efficacy phrase states “it will destroy all manner of Wormes” (GUL Ferguson MS 43).

A final divergence is the fact that God played an important role in medieval recipes, whereas the healing power of the divinity is gradually vanishing in Early Modern English recipes. While in medieval compendia entire charms and final efficacy phrases evoking God were common, in this period they are rarely found. An exception is Mrs. Carlyon's recipe book, where several recipes end with “it will helpe, if God will” (FSL MS V.a.388) and “it will helpe you, if God please”, with some other variants referring to the title of the recipe “they will procure your sleep, if God please” (ibid).

4.2.6. Storage, Expiry date and Virtues

These three optional stages mentioned by Alonso Almeida (2013) do not appear systematically in our sources. When the storage section is found, the usual expressions in culinary recipes are *bottle*, *cork*, *stop up*, *stand in* and *put [in glasses]*. Even if this phase is associated with the expiry date, the latter is even less commonly found. An exception could be a recipe “To make Cowslip Wine”, which ends with a sentence expressing the expiry date: “it

will keep 2 years" (BL Add. MS 27466). Generally, the formula "keep it/them for your use" (FSL V.a.20) is deployed for this purpose.

The virtue section applies mainly to medical recipes. It is found sporadically detached from the main paragraph. For instance, in GUL Ferguson MS 61, where it appears as "The uses of it/ This Decoction is good to eatte allwayes beefore and after meatte" or as "The virtues and use of it". Likewise, in GUL Ferguson MS 43 in a "Receipt of y^e Oyntment called Flos Vnguentorum" the virtue section appears after the recipe. This stage can only be found in a consistent manner in FSL MS V.a.600. In other manuscripts, it is sometimes documented by means of a sentence like "it is good for", "it is an excellent remedy for" or "an approved remedy against". According to Alonso Almeida (2013:81) "the difference between this stage and the efficacy-statement state is its list format. From a pragmatic stand-point, in the virtues stage, the use of the present tense argues for bigger commitment from the writer".

5. INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ONWARD

Scholars do not always agree on the date when culinary and medical recipes started being viewed as different. According to Field the distinction arose "with the introduction of Paracelsian medicine and the wane in popularity of Galenic medicine" (2007:53). Hunter argues that this shift happened early in the seventeenth century (1997:96). Even if some women drew a strict line about what could be considered food for medicinal purposes and food for cooking, others continued writing both kinds of recipes in their books. Several scholars have noted that the list of ingredients marks an important point in the cookery books, as it was not a common feature in the Middle English or Early Modern English periods (Sánchez Roura, 2003; Carroll, 2009; Alonso Almeida, 2013).

Other divergences are also noteworthy. If we compare our data with those in Görlach in the nineteenth century cookery books we can easily observe some differences, such as the fact that explicitness is much more marked in the nineteenth century than in the previous centuries, where the quantification of the ingredients and the time of cooking are not so precise. When looking at the linguistic features, there are also some differences. For instance, the temporal sequence is not as complex as specified in nineteenth century recipes. Whereas nineteenth century recipes use relative constructions like "to which add" or "into which pour" (Görlach, 2004:134), the most salient temporal makers in Early Modern English continue to be *then* and *and*, as in previous recipe compilations.

Another important difference is the use of punctuation in the Early Modern English recipe books under consideration. Early compilations show no punctuation marks at all, while gradually some commas, full stops and semicolons are introduced. This contrasts with the great frequency of semicolons in nineteenth century books (Görlach, 2004:134,135). This scarcity of punctuation is a feature that was inherited from the Middle English text tradition, where punctuation was minimal in receptaria. Probably the audience plays a role here. Middle English and Early Modern English recipe compilations serve as a reminder to an experienced audience, while afterwards cookery books have the purpose of teaching beginners how to prepare a given dish. This can also be the reason that accounts for the need to specify quantities and procedures in Present-Day recipes. Previous cooks had a feeling, which was acquired by experience, about measures, times and procedures that can be absent in a twenty-first century reader.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the previous pages, the real function of women's manuscript recipe books has been reconsidered. Women's manuscripts were proven to have a wide range of projected and actual readers. In the case of recipe books, servants, friends and visitors were common users, apart from their own writer. The identification of different hands in the manuscript recipe books evidences the often accreted construction of such texts. Manuscript circulation in the Early Modern period has demonstrated to be wide, making clear that the manuscript is not a static compilation but one that interacts with the author and with many other contributors; an artefact that is capable of being constantly changed and which would be the crib for other texts.

Additionally, Early Modern English recipe compilations highlight the role played by women in the preservation of medical and culinary knowledge. Early Modern women have been shown to gather the relevant information in collections that were passed down from generation to generation. These recipe compendia depict women whose major purpose in life was to take care of their families and estates. As part of their duty, they were mainly involved in managing the preparation of medicines and meals as well. Consequently, they were interested in gathering information that could help them to undertake these responsibilities.

Regarding the analysis of the genre and text type conventions of the recipes, through the analysis of the women's manuscript recipe collections both patterns of continuity and variation have been observed. The main constituents

of the recipe structure remain from medieval times. The language does not vary much either, especially in the use of imperative to show commands, the temporal expression to indicate the right sequence of event and the vocabulary to a certain extent. All in all, some formulas are no longer used. Thus, the Latin set phrase, *sanabitur*, found in medieval medical recipes has disappeared completely from the efficacy phrase section. Nonetheless, the Latin *probatum est* is still found in some collections, though this stage is not always attested in the Early Modern English period. Likewise, the references to God in this section have been minimised.

Some differences are also found between the medical and culinary recipes. The former shows a wider specialisation of verbs in the application section, while in the latter the prevailing verbal form is *serve*. Likewise, the virtue stage, whenever present, appears only in medical recipes. A final difference between medieval, Early Modern English and later compilations lies in the use of punctuation. This idea has the potential to be of great interest to a whole range of scholars considering recipes across time and will surely require further research in the future.

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