Despite the growing interest in traditional cuisine, to the present author’s knowledge no linguistic analysis of Polish culinary recipes has been conducted so far. Even though numerous studies of recipes written in other languages, such as English, have been published, the structure and typology of early Polish recipes have, as yet, been ignored. The aim of the present paper is to investigate the earliest known Polish collection *Compendium Ferculorum*, and collate these findings with what is known about this text type from other languages. Such an analysis will show whether the earliest Polish instructions, which appeared relatively late, i.e. in the 17th century, follow the pattern which is typical of the period or rather that of an earlier stage in the evolution of the recipe, as was the case with the earliest American recipes (Dylewski 2016).

Keywords: cooking recipe, *Compendium Ferculorum*, heading, procedure, serving

1. Introduction

Following Lemnis and Vitry (1996: 8), the written history of Polish cuisine should begin with Gallus Anonymous\(^1\), who “opens a long series of authors who in their works mention Polish dishes, banquets and culinary customs”. Dembińska (1999) suggests, apart from archaeological and ethnographic sources, a range of written materials, such as diaries and travel accounts to trace back the early culinary traditions. However, these sources are fragmentary and

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\(^1\) The author of the first Polish chronicle, written in the years 1112-16.
often intertwine facts with myths (as in the case of a feast described by Gallus Anonymous).

When it comes to the beginning of cookbook writing in Polish, Zygmunt Wolski, a librarian, claimed (1891) to have discovered the remains of a 16th-century culinary collection entitled *Kuchmistrzostwo* ‘Cookery’. However, only two folios of the book have survived. Moreover, as suggested by Dumanowski (2014), the collection might have been translated from Czech, rather than represent traces of the Polish cuisine. In fact, no comprehensive record of the Old Polish cuisine exists from before the 17th century.²

In 1682 Stanislaw Czerniecki, the master cook at the Princes Lubomirskis’ court, published *Compendium Ferculorum*, which is said to be the earliest Polish collection of culinary recipes. The author himself claims that the book is the first such publication in Polish. The collection must have been compiled earlier, since its author refers to Michał Aleksander Lubomirski, who had died in 1677, as if he was still alive. Dumanowski (2012: 50) dates the collection back to the period between 1670 and 1677. The publication became extremely popular, especially in the 18th century. Altogether, some 20 re-editions were published, most of them in an unchanged form, though sometimes under different titles. This collection was also translated into other languages, e.g. Russian (*Russkaya stryapnya*, cf. Leeming 1974). Czerniecki valued Polish cuisine highly; he seemed to be against foreign tastes and claimed that they should not influence Polish dishes; however, the collection contains a number of foreign recipes alongside the native ones, such as *Węgierski Rosół* ‘Hungarian broth’, *Potrawa Włoska* ‘Italian dish’, *Pasztet Francuski na zimno* ‘French pie served cold’.³

Towards the end of the 18th century, significant changes in the culinary customs took place. They influenced the contemporaneous eating habits, often leading to gluttony (cf. Kitowicz 1840-41). The reign of Stanislaw August Poniatowski introduced a new formula for feasting, promoting the French cuisine. This resulted in the publication of another cookbook, i.e. *Kucharz doskonały* ‘The perfect cook’, published a century later than Czerniecki’s collection, that is, in 1783 by Wojciech Wielądko. The collection consists of a few hundred recipes translated from French. Afterwards, writing cookbooks became more popular.

This paper will focus on the first Polish culinary collection *Compendium Ferculorum*, in order to partly redress the paucity of the linguistic examination of early Polish culinary recipes. Even though issues concerning the structure and

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² Dumanowski (2016, 2017) collected a number of recipes ranging from the 16th to 18th centuries, but they were single instructions gathered from various sources and not culinary collections as such.

³ In this paper English translations of the Polish recipes will be given between single quotation marks. Unless stated otherwise, the translations come from Dumanowski (2014). The Polish examples were copied from Czerniecki’s text (1682) faithfully in terms of spelling and the use of capital letters; in the translations capital letters were used only where required grammatically.
typology of recipes have been discussed extensively on the basis of instructions written in other languages at various periods, the Polish material has been, to the present author’s knowledge, neglected. Thus, the aim of this study is to analyse the first known Polish cooking collection and collate the findings with those of similar investigations of recipes written in other languages. The Polish collection dates from the 17th century, by which time the text type had become fairly standardised in other languages. Here we will check whether *Compendium Ferculorum* follows the (standardised) pattern, typical of the period, or rather that of an earlier stage in the evolution of the recipe, as was true of the earliest American recipes (Dylewski 2016).

2. The structure of a cooking recipe

The issue of the structural division of a recipe has already been widely dealt with. Scholars, however, have concentrated mostly on English recipes from various periods. For instance medical instructions have been discussed by Standard (1982), Hunt (1994), Alonso Almeida (1998-99), and Taavitsainen (2001) among others; the alchemical recipes by Grund (2003); herbal preparations by Mäkinen (2004). The structure of the English cooking recipe has been dealt with by Görlach (1992), Eggins (1994), Alonso Almeida (2013), Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017), etc. Sporadically, one encounters publications devoted to the discussion of recipes written in other languages, such as in Spanish (Cruz Cabanillas and Serrano Larráyoz 2017), German (Glaser 1996, 2002), or Anglo-Norman (Bator 2016a).

Although scholars differ in terms of the terminology used, they agree as to the major recipe components, see Table 1 below. The recipe structure differs also with reference to the date of origin of the text: the earliest instructions being the simplest (cf. for instance the study of the Anglo-Norman instructions (Bator 2016a)), the later ones being more complex, that is, including a greater range of components (cf. for instance Alonso Almeida’s (2013) analysis of instructions from the 17th and 18th centuries). For a discussion of the differences between English culinary recipes written in different periods, see for instance Bator (2016b), and Bator and Sylwanowicz (2018).

In the present paper, the following three main components will be distinguished: (i) the heading, which may consist of the title and/or the statement of purpose; (ii) the procedure, which comprises the list of ingredients and the preparation; and (iii) the serving component.
Table 1. Various approaches to the structure of a recipe

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3. The structure of *Compendium Ferculorum*

*Compendium Ferculorum* consists of three chapters, devoted to meat, fish, dairy and flour dishes, respectively. According to the author of the collection, each chapter should contain one hundred recipes, ten additional recipes and one special instruction. However, such a regulated order has been blurred by the fact that some instructions have not been numbered, and some consist exclusively of the heading. All in all, the collection contains 365 texts (be it either a full recipe or a heading alone), which form a corpus of approximately eighteen thousand words.

As shown above, the recipes follow a certain pattern which may vary from one text to another, with some components being more frequent than others, or with differences in the linguistic structure of the particular elements. The present section will illustrate the choices that Czerniecki made when composing his collection. The following categories will be distinguished:
In what follows, the particular components will be discussed in detail.

3.1. The heading

The heading was an obligatory element of cooking instructions, both in the medieval as well as the early modern times. In the Middle Ages it took the form of a title rather than a statement of purpose. From the 16th century on, an opposite tendency can be observed. Bator and Sylwanowicz (2018) explain this shift by the fact that the recipes were directed at different audiences, that is, professional chefs in the Middle Ages and laymen in the later period.

In the analysed Polish collection, all the recipes but one begin with a heading. The instruction which lacks a heading is the very last recipe of the entire collection, namely the third special dish (Sekret Trzeci ‘the third secret’). All the other instructions have been given a heading by Czerniecki, either in the form of a title, which names the dish (e.g. Limoniata szara ‘grey limoniata’4, Barszcz z Sledziem ‘borsch with herring’, Obermus ‘obermus’5), or a statement of purpose, which indicates what the recipe should be used for or how it should be prepared (e.g. Zubrowy Cąber tak gotuy rumiano ‘saddle of bison, cook golden in this way’ (transl. MB), Dorsz y Pomuchle tak gotuy ‘to cook cod and Baltic cod, proceed this way’ (transl. MB), Drugi sposób Marynaty robienia

4 “a hot-and-sour dish of capon, veal, or fish in ragout with an addition of lime or lemon” (Dumanowski 2014: 170).
5 ‘Obermus’ is “a dessert of grated almonds diluted in wine and then spiced with cinnamon, baked and served sprinkled with sugar” (Dumanowski 2014: 171).
‘the second way of preparing marinade’). Taking into account the author’s carefulness in the way he planned the structure of the collection (division into three identical sections with an even number of recipes in each of them), we may assume that the lack of a heading in the case of Sekret Trzeci ‘the third secret’ must have resulted from the author’s unintentional omission.

The title prevails in the choice of headings, with almost 81% of occurrences. Apart from the ‘pure’ titles, which give exclusively the name of the dish, such as Limoniata ‘limoniata’, Miskolancya ‘mescolanza’, Bobrowe ogony ‘beaver tails’), they may provide a number of details concerning the dish, such as:

(i) the origin: Ryby z masłem po Holendersku ‘fish with butter, Dutch style’, Kaszanat albo Rosól Polski ‘kaszanat’ or Polish broth’, Pasztet Angielski ‘English pie’;

(ii) the colour: Łosoś żółto po Królewsku, albo w dobrej Iusze ‘salmon served yellow, royal style or in good jucha’8, Biskokit Biały ‘white biscuit’, Naynogi czarno, świeże ‘fresh lampreys served black’;

(iii) the ingredients / side dishes, with which it should (not) be served: Szczupaki świeże spiakowane z Iaycami spiakowanemi ‘fresh pike stuffed with stuffed eggs’, Z Rakowym Bigoskiem Ryby bez botwin ‘fish with crayfish bigosek9 without beet leaves’, Tort laiecny z Winem ‘egg tart with wine’;

(iv) the way of cooking: Ryby smażone z Chrzanem ‘fish fried with horseradish’, Kasza Pieczona ‘roasted groats’ (transl. MB), Sztuffado, albo Dukszona Potrawa ‘estouffade or stewed dish’;

(v) how/when it should be prepared/served: Szczupaki spiakowane świeże warrzone ‘fresh pike boiled and stuffed’, Frykasza zabielana ‘white fricassee’, Pasztet Francuski na zimno ‘French pie served cold’, Ciasto Rożenkowe na Post ‘raisin cake for lent’;

(vi) evaluative information: Kapłon Smaczny ‘tasty capon’, Potaś tretowany ze wszystkich naylepszy ‘pottage on melted butter best of all’;

(vii) cross-reference to other recipes: Kapłon z kielbasami Sarniemi, albo Kapłoniemi, o ktorych mas na swoim mięyscu ‘capon with deer or capon sausages, described in their proper turn’.

Nineteen percent of the headings take the form of a statement of purpose. They range from the most general ones which offer a cross-reference to other recipes and provide variants to these dishes (such as Inaczey ‘another’ (transl. MB), Gruszkami tretowanemi także uczynisz ‘with pears fried in butter,

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7 ‘Kaszanat’ is “marinade of beer vinegar and fish stock or a dish of fish cooked in beer vinegar” (Dumanowski 2014: 170).
8 ‘Jucha’ refers to “a sauce served with meat or fish” (Dumanowski 2014: 170).
9 “a dish of minced meat or fish” (Dumanowski 2014: 169).
proceed likewise’), to more specific headings which provide details similar to those included in the titles (described above). For instance: Z tego Ciasta robić będziesz Pierożki ‘you will use this dough to make dumplings’ (transl. MB), Sposób robienia Ciasta Angielskiego ‘to make English pastry’, Sposób wędkzenia lesiotra, y świeżego Wyża ‘on smoking sturgeon and fresh beluga mustard’, Tak Wyżnę gotuy z Miodownikiem ‘to cook beluga with honey cake, proceed likewise’.

Sometimes, instead of a proper title or statement of purpose, the heading refers to another recipe, which is usually located nearby, as in (1)-(3). The recipe under (1) is one of three instructions under the same heading, which are in fact variants of the recipe which immediately precedes them (Potrawa z Figatellami drobnemi ‘a dish with small meatballs’ (transl. MB)). Similarly, example (2) offers reference to the dish described previously (Potrawa z Karczochami ‘a dish with artichokes’), suggesting that the two differ only in terms of the additional ingredients with which they should be served. There are also headings which, by cross-reference, offer a follow-up instruction, as in (4)-(5). Both these examples refer to the recipe for French pastry (Sposób robienia Ciasta Francuskiego ‘to make French pastry’), which can be further used to prepare a more complex dish.

(1) Inaczey ‘another’ (transl. MB);
(2) Potrawa z Bulwami także ‘a dish with Jerusalem artichokes, likewise’;
(3) Kapłon z kielbasami Sarniemi, albo Kapłoniemi, o których masz na swoim mieyscu ‘capon with deer or capon sausages, described in their proper turn’;
(4) Z tego Ciasta robić będziesz Sztuki stoiące y leżące ‘from this pastry dough you will make standing and lying figures’;
(5) Z tego Ciasta robić będziesz Smalcaty ‘you will use this pastry to fashion smalcaty’\(^{10}\).

3.2. The procedure

The procedure is the main part of the recipe. It may be divided into the list of ingredients and the preparation – as it usually is in contemporary recipes (cf. for instance Glaser (2002) for German, or Bator (2016b) for English). But the earliest instructions contained either of the two components. For instance, the majority of the Anglo-Norman recipes found in the British Library, the Royal 12.C.xii MS (dated to 1320) or those in the English collection *Diuersa Cibaria* (dated to 1325) consist of bare lists of ingredients, whilst the later Middle English instructions consist of the preparation component with no separate list of ingredients (see Bator 2016a, and Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017, respectively).

\(^{10}\) ‘Smalcaty’ are “small cakes of French pastry” (Dumanowski 2014: 172).
Compendium Ferculorum follows the later medieval pattern, which “does not separate the ingredients section from the procedure. It is the procedure which comprises the largest part of the text” (Carroll 2004: 179). In a significant number of recipes, the preparation section begins with the imperative form of the verb weźmić ‘take’, e.g. (6)-(7), which corresponds to what Taavitsainen (2001: 95) called ‘the conventional formula’, used to open a medieval recipe. The conventional formula might be also used with other verbs, such as daj ‘add’, najkraj ‘cut’, potłucz ‘crush’, upiecz ‘roast’, uwarz ‘boil’, etc. (see examples (8)-(10)). The Polish collection allows a reversed order, that is, object – verb, as in the examples (11)-(13).

(6) Piana. Weźmić Smietany gęstej słodkiej tak wiele ile potrzeba / przyday Cukru tłuczonego (...) ‘Froth. Take thick sweet cream as much as you think useful, add pounded sugar (…)’;
(7) Kapłon z kielbasami Sarniemi, albo Kapłoniemi, o których masz na swoim mieyscu. Weźmić Kapłona dobrego / lubo całkiem lubo rozebranego / ulóż w garnku (...) ‘Capon with deer or capon sausages, described in their proper turn. Take a fine capon, either whole or divided into portions, put it in a pot (…)’;
(8) Tort Iaieczny. Usmaż Jajecznicę miękko / a usiekat drobno / nakray Cytryny w Cukrze w kostkę (...) ‘Egg tart. Scramble eggs, chop fine, dice some candied lemon (…)’ (transl. MB);
(9) Ryby z Grzybową Polewką. Wstaw Grzybów tak iako na Potaść / urób rosół / oczesana Rybę zrzuć y na dzwona pokray (...) ‘Fish with mushroom pottage. Put mushrooms on to boil as you would for pottage, make broth, scale, scrape, and cut your fish into portions (…)’;
(10) Bigosek z Iarząbka. Uwarz / albo upiecz Jarząbka / odbierz mięso osobno / skray bardzo drobno (...) ‘Bigosek12 of hazel grouse. Boil or roast a hazel grouse, take out the flesh, chop it very fine (…)’;
(11) Baranek z Substancyą. Baranka weźmię części mięsistą / porąb cienko / ociągnią w maśle (...) ‘Lamb with substance. Take a lamb, chop finely its fleshy parts and blanch them in butter (…)’;
(12) Arkas. Mleka weźmię słodkiego / ile chesz / wstaw w pięknym naczyniu / włóż Cukru (...) ‘Arkas.13 Take sweet milk as much as you will, put it on the fire in a fine vessel, add sugar (…)’;
(13) Kapłon z Perdytą. Kapłona warz rozebranego w rosół / Pietruszki y Masła włożywszy (...) ‘Capon with perduta14. Boil a capon cut into limbs in broth, having added some parsley and butter (…)’.

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11 Carroll uses the term ‘procedure’ with reference to what I call ‘preparation’.
12 “a dish of minced meat or fish” (Dumanowski 2014: 169).
13 ‘Arkas’ is “milk jelly prepared by adding lemon juice or wine vinegar to boiling sweetened milk” (Dumanowski 2014: 169).
14 ‘Perduta’ refers to “eggs boiled without shells, cast into boiling water” (Dumanowski 2014: 171).
A number of recipes, instead of beginning with the conventional formula, start with a brief passage which complements the heading, e.g. (14)-(16). It offers additional information concerning the dish and may be treated as a kind of statement of purpose. Similar ‘complementing statements’ occurred in the 13th-century Anglo-Norman culinary instructions (cf. Bator 2016a), medieval English medical recipes (cf. Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017), and medieval German cooking instructions (cf. Bator and Pawlikowska-Asendrych 2018); but they were not found in the Early Modern material (cf. Bator 2018).

(14) Rosół Polski. Sposób Polskiego Rosolu gotowania taki: weźmię materyę mięsną / wołową albo Cielęcą (…) ‘Polish broth. This is the way to cook Polish broth. Take a joint of beef or veal (…)’;

(15) Żółwie. Takiem sposobami Żółwia gotować będziesz / któremu wprzód żywemu poucinay nogi y głowę (…) ‘Turtles. Follow this method to cook your turtle. Cut off the head and the legs (…)’;

(16) Sposób robienia Ciasta Leykowego. Takimże sposobem na Leykowe Ciasto zarożysz / a w leiek lać będziesz na rozpalone masło (…) ‘To make funnel pastry. You will proceed in a likewise fashion to make funnel pastry which you will pour onto hot butter through a funnel (…)’;

(17) Potrawa czarno gotowana z Powidłami. Jelenia / lubo Daniela / Wieprza dzikiego / Sarnę / Dzika Kozę / kocioł czarno / tak gotuy; Weźmię Jelenia albo Losia (…) ‘Black dish of meat cooked with plum jam. If you want to cook deer or fallow deer, wild boar, roe deer, wild goat, and whatever of the livestock black, this is how to go about it. Take deer or elk (…)’;

(18) Z Rakami tretowanymi Ryby. Masz sposób na inszym mieyscu tretowania Raków / całkiem / których do tery potrawy / odtretowawszy; weźmię Szczupaka oczesz / zrysu / we dzwona pokray (…) ‘Fish with butter-fried crayfish. You will find another method to fry whole crayfish in butter elsewhere, which you will use for this dish. Scale your pike, scrape it and cut into pieces (…)’;

(19) Zwierzyny w Sztuffacie, albo Duszone. Nasyobliwszy to iest sposób gotowania Zwierzyn różnych, około których piłność zalecam wielką. Weźmię świeżego Żebra albo Losia / Jelenia albo Daniela / Sarnę albo dzikę Kozę (…) ‘Venison in estouffade or braised. This is the most peculiar way to cook all sorts of beasts which I recommend to be treated with great care. Take of fresh bison or elk, deer or fallow deer, roe deer or wild goat (…)’.

These introductory passages may also take a longer form, in which case they offer (i) variants of the presented dish, (ii) a cross-reference to another recipe, and (iii) evaluative information or advice (see examples (17)-(19) above, respectively). The last example could as well be categorised as an efficacy phrase, whose function is to “cast the recipe in a beneficial light” (Mäkinen 2011: 162).15

15 Mäkinen’s approach to efficacy phrases (EP) deviates from that of the earlier scholars (e.g. Jones 1998). He states that the EPs do not have to be limited to recipe-final position, but may as well be placed in recipe-initial or -medial positions.
3.3. The serving component

As the available studies show, the serving component is very brief in the early recipes. It usually takes the form of a single clause, as in the examples from English and German below (20)-(22). It may take the form of a simple statement, such as *and serve forth*, which informs the reader about the completion of the preparation rather than about any details concerning the process of serving a dish. Jones (1998: 200) calls such structures ‘tag phrases’, and suggests that they are redundant. In the later collections more details on serving can be found. These include information about the temperature of the dish, type of vessel, decoration and additional foods to go with the dish, or the place, time or people for whom the dish is appropriate (see e.g. Bator 2018).

The majority of the Polish recipes (73%) contain the serving component. It takes the form either of a tag phrase, as in (23), or of brief statements concerning the temperature of the dish and the vessel in which it should be served at the table, see (24)-(25).

(20) (...) *gib sie gantz hin*. ‘(...) and serve the hen whole forth’ (transl. MB) (*Ein Buch von guter Speise*. 1350);
(21) (...) *an þanne serue it forth for a goode potage*. (*Potage Diuerse*. 1435);
(22) (...) *and so serve it in saucers with the Turkey, in manner of Gallantine*. (*The English Housewife*. 1683);
(23) (...) *a day na Stół*. ‘(...) and serve forth’;
(24) (...) *a przywarzywszy to wszytko day gorąco na Stół*. ‘(...) and having boiled it all, serve hot’ (transl. MB);
(25) (...) *a gdy upieczesz / day z Rynką na Stół*. ‘(...) when you have baked it, serve forth in the stewing pan’ (transl. MB).

Following Bator (2018), the serving component included in the 16th- and 17th-century English recipes could have been replaced by information about storage, a component introduced by Alonso Almeida (2013) to the structure of medical recipes. However, in the Polish collection storage was found only in four recipes. Two of them were tag phrases (26), and the other two referred to the temperature and length of keeping the dish, see (27)-(28).

(26) (...) *a uwędziwszy dobrze / schoway*. ‘(...) being smoked, store safely’;
(27) (...) *a ochłodziwszy nakryi / przechowasz długo*. ‘(...) having cooled the fish, cover and it will stay fresh for long’ (transl. MB);
(28) (...) *[zaley Ryby / a choway na zimno]*. ‘(...) pour onto the fish and store cold’ (transl. MB).

The infrequent occurrence of the storage component in *Compendium Ferculorum* can be accounted for by the fact that the collection includes instructions for dishes to be served shortly after their preparation, rather than to be kept for later (as might be the case with various preserves).
4. Conclusions

Despite the fact that the analysed cooking instructions were written in the second half of the 17th century, that is, at the time when the text type was fully developed and standardised in Europe, the collection reveals a number of features typical of the text type from the medieval period (14th–15th centuries). The elements which point to the early stage in the evolution of the instructions, which are absent or infrequent in the later recipes, are as follows:

- the heading type: the dominance of titles over statements of purpose;
- the occurrence of complementing statements, which occur between the heading and the preparation;
- the use of conventional formulas at the beginning of the preparation section;
- the presence of a very brief, virtually uninformative, serving component.

The lack of a clear cut boundary between the list of ingredients and the preparation is a feature common to recipes of both medieval and early modern periods, and it cannot be used to categorise the collection as representative of either of the two. However, the properties typical of medieval recipes (enumerated above) and the lack of certain features representative of the later instructions, such as an informative heading and details on serving, prove that Compendium Ferculorum, which is the oldest (known) collection of Polish culinary recipes, resembles, in terms of its structure, a medieval collection, despite the fact that it was written much later. However, such a statement should be further verified by studying other aspects of the recipes, such as their typological features (for instance verbal forms, use of elliptical language, presence of measurements, etc.).16

References


16 These and other typological features of the earliest Polish recipes will be discussed in Bator (in preparation).


