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## THE EARLIEST POLISH COOKBOOKS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

### Abstract

The tradition of writing down culinary recipes started much later in Poland than in other European countries (as for instance France, England or Germany). The earliest Polish (known) cookbook is *Compendium Ferculorum* written by Stanisław Czerniecki and dated to 1682. Its author highly valued Polish cuisine and claimed that foreign tastes should not influence native ones. The collection was very popular and well known. At approximately the same time, an anonymous author collated another cookbook, *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. It was dated to the period 1686-88 and is believed to be closely related to the Austrian *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch* from 1686. The latter Polish collection has only been discovered recently.

The two collections were briefly compared by Dumanowski (2011: 52–66). However, his comparison is purely of a cultural and historical character. In the present study, a linguistic analysis of the two collections will be offered in order to compare the structure and selected features of the text type as represented in *Compendium Ferculorum*, whose author openly valued native over foreign ways, and *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], which was clearly inspired by foreign (mostly German and Austrian) instructions.

**Keywords:** culinary recipe, foreign influence, text type features, authorship, readership.

### 1. Introduction

*Compendium Ferculorum* is said to be the first cookbook written in Polish. Its authorship has been assigned to Stanisław Czerniecki, the master cook at the Princes Lubomirskis' court. The author himself claimed that the book was the first such publication in Polish. The collection was published in 1682, but it must have been compiled earlier, considering the fact that Czerniecki referred 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 18<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in some 20 re-editions and translations into other languages (e.g. Russian: *Russkaya stryapnya*, cf. Leeming 1974). Czerniecki valued Polish cuisine and openly criticised foreign tastes, which – as he claimed – should not influence Polish dishes. Nevertheless, his collection is not void of foreign dishes, which were included in the volume – as Czerniecki writes – for those who do not like Polish cuisine. The foreign elements are explicit in the names of the dishes, for instance *Sposób robienia Ciasta Angielskiego* [To make English pastry (JD)]<sup>1</sup>, *Tort Hyszpański* [Spanish tart (JD)], *Potrawa Włoska* [Italian dish (JD)], or imposed by including recipes known from (earlier) French collections, for instance *Kapłon całkiem w Flaszce* [Whole capon in a bottle (JD)] which is a translation of the recipe *Poulet en ragoust dans une Bouteille*.<sup>2</sup> The author also suggests foreign ways of preparing some components of the presented dishes, for the reader to decide which variant to choose, for instance “Węgrowie / chleb smażą z Słoniną w kostkę pokraianą / co y ty możesz tak uczynić / ieżeli chcesz.” [The Hungarians fry their bread with diced lard, and if you wish you can follow this example (JD)].

The second collection selected for the present study, *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], originates from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and is related to the court of the Radziwiłł family. It lacks the title page, thus its author is not known,<sup>3</sup> and the current title was added only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following Dumanowski (2011), the manuscript was written in six hands, and the main part (pages 2–83) represents the neat style of a single scribe. The estimated date of origin of the manuscript is 1686–88. The collection consists of two parts: culinary and medical. Dumanowski indicates a strong relation of this collection to *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch*<sup>4</sup>; he also draws attention to a significant number of chefs of German origin working for the Radziwiłł family, which might have enhanced the foreign influence on the recipes.

<sup>1</sup> The English translations of the Polish recipes will be given in square brackets. 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. Most of the translations of the fragments from *Compendium Ferculorum* were conducted by the author of this article, in a number of cases translations were taken from Dumanowski (2014) – these are marked in the text as (JD).

<sup>2</sup> The recipe was published in *Le cuisinier françois: enseignant la maniere de bien apprester...* by François Pierre de La Varenne in 1659.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on possible authorship of the cookbook, see Dumanowski (2011: 35–40).

<sup>4</sup> The first Austrian cookbook, published in 1686 in Graz. It consists of two parts, which contain culinary and medical recipes respectively. The cuisine is typical of southern Germany and Austria. Dumanowski (2011: 45–49) discusses similarities between the two cookbooks, rejecting direct translation of the German/Austrian recipes into Polish.

The two collections chosen for comparison are the earliest known cookbooks written in Polish. They come from approximately the same period, with *Compendium Ferculorum* being slightly earlier than *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The former has been very well known for centuries, and the latter manuscript has been discovered in the archives only recently. The former praises Polish tradition, while the latter is most likely related to a German cookbook. Thus, the aim of this study is to conduct a linguistic analysis of the two collections in order to check the degree of overlap between them. The fact that both collections represent the same text type and originate from the same period suggests that they should be (close to being) identical in terms of their typological features. However, bearing in mind the plausible German origin of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], it is argued that this collection might represent more contemporary features of the text type than *Compendium Ferculorum*, which would be closer to the earliest (medieval) collections published in other languages. The first German cooking recipes were compiled in the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>5</sup> and since then the text type developed. Assuming that *Compendium Ferculorum* was a reflection of Polish cuisine, and (being the first Polish cookbook) was not modelled on any foreign collection, one may expect the instructions to have been structured in a rather basic and simple way.<sup>6</sup> In the following sections the structure of the two collections and of the recipes included in each of them, as well as a selection of features typical of recipes, will be discussed.

## 2. The structure

*Compendium Ferculorum* is divided into three (carefully designed) chapters on (i) meat, (ii) fish, and (iii) dairy and flour dishes, respectively. Each chapter, according to Czerniecki, should consist of one hundred recipes, ten additional recipes and one special instruction. However, such a regulated order (desired by the author) has been blurred by the fact that some instructions have not been numbered, and some others consist of the heading alone<sup>7</sup>. All in all, the collection contains 365 texts (be it either a full recipe or a heading with no procedure)<sup>8</sup>. Additionally, the collection begins

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<sup>5</sup> See Bator and Pawlikowska-Asendrych (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> Such was the case with early American recipes which, even though they were written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, resembled medieval English recipes in terms of their structure and linguistic features (cf. Dylewski 2016).

<sup>7</sup> These are usually elliptical and refer to the procedure mentioned in another recipe, as in the case of *Potrawa z Kaulefiorami także* [A dish with cauliflowers, the same] which refers to the preparation of *Potrawa z Karczochami* [A dish with artichokes].

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the structure of the recipes in *Compendium Ferculorum*, see also Bator (2019).

with a long dedication to Lady Tekla Lubomirska, a word to the reader, a general memorial which is in fact a long list of foodstuffs to be used at banquets, an instruction “on the cook” in which Czerniecki enumerates the qualities and the duties of a cook, and a note on garnishing and decorating dishes. Only then does he proceed to the recipes.

The individual recipes range from three words – where no procedure is included and the recipe consists of a heading alone, to 250 words – as in the case of the very first recipe in the volume, which not only instructs how to prepare broth but also suggests how to decorate the table and how to cut certain meats. Such a long instruction is an exception; the average length of the texts in *Compendium Ferculorum* is 46 words.

*Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] contains 363 recipes, organised in thirteen chapters of unequal length. The main part is written in a single hand and consists of 317 culinary instructions. Most of the instructions refer to the preparation of desserts and confectionery. The first 168 instructions seem to have been organised in a well-thought out and logical manner and form thematic sections, such as ‘fish’, ‘tarts’, ‘patés’, ‘biscuits’, etc. The remaining sections in this part of the collection seem more chaotic, where the author incorporated recipes for different kinds of dishes within the same section (e.g. patés next to tarts). Instructions from 318 to 363 are, according to Dumanowski (2011: 41–43), later additions by various scribes. They cover a variety of subjects from the storage of food to healing and veterinary issues.

The individual culinary recipes range from several words – as in the case of a recipe which, instead of giving the instructions, refers to the previous recipe, see (1); to 250 words (Tort gołębi [Dove tart]<sup>9</sup>). The average length of the recipes included in this collection is 72 words.

- (1) Pigwowy cale takiż, tylko miasto muszkatełek pigwy.  
[Of quinces, also. Only instead of nutmeg use quinces.]

**Table 1.** The corpus (\* based on an automatic count in a .docx file)

	(estimated) date of origin	no. of recipes	length (no. of words)*
<i>Compendium Ferculorum</i>	1682	365	18 150
<i>Moda Bardzo Dobra</i> [Very good trends]	1686–88	317	22 800
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>682</b>	<b>40 950</b>

<sup>9</sup> All the fragments taken from *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] were translated by the author of this article.

The present study is based on (i) the first edition of *Compendium Ferculorum* (published in 1682) available from the Digital Library of Wielkopolska, and (ii) 317 recipes, that is the main part, of Dumanowski's (2011) edition of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]; see Table 1. The remaining forty six instructions found in the latter collection have been excluded from the study due to their non-culinary character.

The recipes found in *Compendium Ferculorum* very much resemble medieval instructions in terms of their structure (see Bator 2019). They begin with a heading, usually in the form of a title which states the name of a dish (81%), as in (2); the remaining 19% of headings state the purpose of preparing a certain dish, as in (3). The heading is followed by the procedure, in which ingredients are incorporated into the body of a recipe, rather than being isolated from the text. Most of the recipes end with a serving component in the form of a conventional formula, such as *a day* [and give], *a day na Stół* [and serve forth to table], without specifying the way of serving a dish.

- (2) Pyszki na zimno  
[Pyszki served cold (JD)]

Ryby z Pinellami  
[Fish with pine nuts (JD)]

- (3) Z Masłem tak gotuy Ryby  
[On cooking fish in butter]

Po Węgiersku żółto tak zaprawisz  
[Hungarian style served yellow]

Dorsz y Pomuchle tak gotuy  
[To cook cod and Baltic cod, proceed this way]

All the instructions in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] begin with headings. 95% of them take the form of a nominal phrase which includes the name of a dish, as in (4). The remaining headings either refer to the preceding recipe (see (5)), or state the purpose of preparing a dish (as in (6)).

- (4) Jabłka w cukrze albo w likworze  
[Apples in sugar or in liqueur]

Potrawa włoska [Italian dish]

- (5) Insze z cytryn [Another of lemons]

Inszy takowy [Another such]

- (6) Jako ciasto zrobić do tretowania, aby się samo w sobie w różne figury na kształt wiórów, które spod chleba padają, będzie nawieło  
[How to make pastry for frying, so that it takes different shapes resembling pieces which fall off bread]

Ślimaki tak gotować [To cook snails, proceed this way]

Z pigw rzeczy różne [Of quinces, various]

The procedure, which follows the heading, is more varied in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] than in the other collection. It takes the forms of (a) the preparation into which ingredients are incorporated, as in (7), or (b) a list of ingredients followed by the preparation, as in (8). The former is typical of the earliest recipes, while the latter characterises later recipes and might have resulted from the influence of *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch*. Following Carroll (2005–06: 309), “Such separate listing of ingredients can be found as early as the mid-sixteenth century (in some German recipes) – but to date the present researcher has never seen such a division in medieval manuscripts.”

(7) Ciasto smażone postne

Urobić ciasto z winem, jabłek nakrajać w talarki i maczać w tym cieście, i kłaść w oliwę gorącą, a nie tykać nożem, boby nie rosło.

[Fried pastry for Lent

Knead pastry with wine, slice apples and dip in the pastry, and put into hot olive, and do not touch with a knife, so that it rises.]

(8) Past cesarski

Ostrego cynamonu łut, imbieru łut, gwoździków łut, gałganu, kwiatu muszkatałowego, (...). Weźmij do tego półtora funta kanaru, ten z półtorą kwart wódki różanej, cynamonowej albo sałwiowej warz, (...).

[Emperor's paté

One lot of strong cinnamon, one lot of ginger, one lot of cloves, galangal, mace, (...). Add 1.5 pounds of canary sugar, and boil it with 1.5 quarts of rose, cinnamon or sage liquor, (...)]

The recipes may end with some information on serving or storage of the food prepared. The choice between these two depends on the dish itself, whether it is to be eaten right after its preparation or, in the case of preserves, whether it is to be saved for later use. The serving information usually takes the formula *dać do stołu* [to take to the table].

### 3. References to the author

The author of *Compendium Ferculorum*, Stanisław Czerniecki, is well known, and his life has been well documented; see Dumanowski (2014: 27–31) for more details on Czerniecki's life. In the collection he called himself a master cook (*kuchmistrz*), which he explains as a kitchen teacher. At the beginning of his book, Czerniecki enumerates a number of qualities a cook should have, such as to be clean and have a sense of taste, and some duties of a chef, for instance:

it is his duty to grasp the intention of his lord or that of the author and instigator of a banquet, the number of guests to be entertained as well as to understand the table,

and in accordance thereto accommodate the table, not to indulge in excess, (...) not to shame his lord through foolish parsimony.

(Dumanowski 2014: 59)

Apart from the direct description of the chef in the section prior to the recipes, the cook's presence can also be found in the instructions, for instance in the form of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular references. Czerniecki mentions his preferences and dislikes; see examples under (9).

(9) Tertufolle upiecz w popiele zawinąwszy w Pakopie / a możesz y uwarzyć / (ale lepsze pieczone)

[Bake truffles in ashes, wrapped in a cloth; you may also boil them, but baked ones taste better]

są niektórzy / co mieszaia Rożenki drobne / Pinelle / Agrest ; ja na wolą daie / [there are those who add small raisins, pine nuts, and gooseberries; I do it according to my fancy (JD)]

Są też różne Sapory do pieczystego (...) niechcę ich specyfikować / y onemi zatrudniać.

[There are also various flavourings which go with roast meat, (...) I do not want to describe them and deal with them]

It is not known whether the author of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] signed the collection because the title page of the manuscript has gone missing. Following Dumanowski (2011: 35–40), the author must have been a confectioner due to the dominance of recipes for desserts and sweet meals. Thus, he points to Jan Mikołajewski as one of the possible authors, due to the fact that Mikołajewski, who specialised in confectionery and preserves, was working for the Radziwiłł's at the time the book was written.

The recipes do not shed any light on who the author of the collection is; there is no mention of the author nor any 1<sup>st</sup> person reference, as was the case in *Compendium Ferculorum*.

#### 4. References to the reader

As far as references to the author were rare or none, the reader is addressed frequently in both collections. On the one hand, the fact that the author defines some ingredients or tools mentioned in *Compendium Ferculorum* suggests that the collection was aimed at non-professionals (see examples under (10)); but on the other hand, references to the reader's preference or taste (see examples under (11)) lead to the conclusion that the cookbook must have been aimed at cooks; however of less knowledge than Czerniecki's (see (12)).

(10) Weźmij Animelli niemało / to iest Mleczka z Cieląt

[Take a fair quantity of 'animelle', that is of veal sweetbreads]

włóż w kociołek nakray Botwiny / to iest / Liścia Cwikłanego wszatki  
[put it in a pot, shred some 'beet leaves', that is beetroot leaf tops (JD)]

a przez Zufan / to iest / łyżkę żelazną / na to umyślnie zgotowaną / dziurawą /  
[through a 'zufan', an iron strainer spoon, made specifically for this very purpose (JD)]

- (11) a ieżeli też będziesz chciał / a potrzeba będzie przydasz rożenków lubo małych  
/ lubo wielkich / abo też oboygą według potrzeby  
[Should you so wish or should such a need arise, you can also add some raisins,  
large or small, or some of either size, according to your need (JD)]

ieżeli chcesz przywarz / a możesz y nieprzywarzać  
[if you wish, you can give it a boil, although it is a matter of choice (JD)]

Kosztuy iednak smaku / dla soli  
[Taste if it's salty enough for your liking (JD)]

wprzód iednak tę polewkę zaprawisz według smaku /  
[Before you run it, season it to your liking (JD)]

- (12) a formuy w rękę ptaki / iakie chcesz / albo umiesz;  
[Mould the paste into bird-shapes, according to your fantasy or skill (JD)]

*Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] is even richer in direct references to the reader. Similarly to *Compendium Ferculorum*, the reader is told how to conduct certain procedures, which tools to use or how to choose good-quality ingredients, see examples under (13), but he is also supposed to make certain decisions on his own, as in (14).

- (13) dać temu we[z] wrzeć raz tylko, bo gdyby więcej, szcerniałyby.  
[let it boil only once; if more it would burn]

Wiedzieć naprzód potrzeba, że cytryny te tylko zejda się do smażenia w cukrze i w miedzie, które około św. Symona Judy ze Włoch przywożą, nadto jeszcze te wybierać, które gładkie są i zielonawe,  
[You should know that only those lemons are good for frying in sugar and honey which are brought from Italy around St.Simon Juda's Day; also choose those which are smooth and greenish]

- (14) To wszystko warz wespół, aż zrozumiesz, że nawrzał dosyć.

[Boil all this together until you know that it has boiled enough]

a podług upodobania sokiem porzyczkowym czerwonym, wiśniowym brunatno albo fijołkowym modro ufarbować.

[and colour after your discretion with redcurrant, cherry or violet juice]

## 5. Verbal forms

Following the types of verbal structures used in cooking recipes, Donalies (2012) distinguishes two categories: instructional and descriptive recipes. The former make use of a strong, invigorating tone, which is to make the



addressee act directly as instructed by the author, who is an authority. The latter type of recipes are written in a moderate tone which allows the addressee to participate in the cooking.

In *Compendium Ferculorum* the imperative {Imp.} dominates; additionally the 2<sup>nd</sup> person Sng. Indicative {Ind.} clauses can be found, (see (15)). *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], apart from these two types of clauses, contains verbal structures such as infinitives {Inf.}, impersonal verbal forms without modal verbs {Impers.} and passive forms, see (16).

- (15) & mieszay to wszystko społem / przydawszy Jaiec Kilka / dasz Pieprzu  
[and mix {Imp.} all together; having added a few eggs you will add {2p.Sng.Ind.} pepper]

a potrzeba będzie przydasz rożenków lubo małych / lubo wielkich / abo też obojga według potrzeby zrobiwszy spuść na wrzącą wodę  
[if necessary you will add {2p.Sng.Ind.} raisins either small or large, or both; having done as required put {Imp.} into boiling water]

- (16) Cukru weźmij go funt, a do tego półtory miary wody ciekącej, na węglu to mocno zwarz i odszumuj.  
[Take {Imp.} a pound of sugar, add a pound and a half measures of water, and boil {Imp.} it hard on coals and skim {Imp.}.]

Weźmiesz tedy, uwarzywszy, z uczynionej wprzód wagi pomiarkowanie na dwa łuty cukru trzy krople anyżowego (albo czym przyprawić te kołaczki zechcesz) olejku. Takimże sposobem bierze się na ćwierć funta cukru kwinta proszku perłowego lubo czego zażyć chcesz.

[Then you will take {2p.Sng.Ind.}, having boiled, three drops of anise oil for every two lots of sugar (or whatever you want to season them with). In this way, one takes {Impers.} one drachm of pearl powder for quarter of a pound of sugar or whatever you want to eat.]

Owoce także robione w cukrze być mogą, ale ich dobrze podsuszyć trzeba.

[Fruit may also be prepared {Passive} in sugar, but one should dry them well.]

Tragant moczyć w wodzie różanej, przez chustkę przecisnąć i łyżkę cukru zmieszać, aby to rzadko było. (...) na dekiel miedziany położyć i suszyć z wolna przy piecu.

[Tragant soak {Inf.} in rose water, strain {Inf.} through a cloth, and add {Inf.} a spoonful of sugar, thin. (...) put {Inf.} on a copper tray and dry {Inf.} slowly by an oven.]

According to Donalies' categorisation (2012), clauses with the imperative and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular indicative forms are typical of instructional recipes, whilst the infinitive, impersonal structures without a modal verb, and passive constructions, are characteristic of descriptive recipes. The variety of clauses encountered in the two analysed collections groups *Compendium Ferculorum* as a collection of instructional texts, whilst *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] should be labeled as a collection of mixed (instructional and descriptive) type recipes.

## 6. Measurements

It is generally known that medieval recipes were rather imprecise in terms of stating the measures, temperatures and times of dish preparation (cf. for instance Carroll 2009, Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017). Only those recipes which were incorporated into (more precise) medical collections (cf. Bator 2017) and later ones (aimed at a lay audience) contain precise measurement terminology.

The two Polish collections differ with respect to the measurement terminology used by their authors. Czerniecki in his *Compendium Ferculorum* relies on the reader's taste and discretion and instructs on the quantity of particular ingredients with non-specific measure terms,<sup>10</sup> such as *niemało/niewiele* [(not too) little], *trochę* [some], *parę/kilka* [a few], *z potrzebę* [as needed], or *według smaku* [according to taste]; see examples under (17). Specific or container-related terms are used in the collection sporadically, that is: *kwarta* [quart] – once, *funt* [pound] – twice, *uncja* [ounce] – twice, *łyżka* [spoonful] – four times, see examples under (18).

An opposite situation is found in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The author is much more precise than Czerniecki and the recipes are rich in the variety of the metric (= specific) terminology: *funt* [pound], *libra* [apothecaries' pound], *kwinta* [drachm], *kwarta* [quart], *ćwierć* [quarter], *łut* [lot], *miarka* [measure]; as well as container-related terminology, for instance *garść* [handful], *łyżka* [spoonful], and *łyżeczka* [teaspoonful]. The non-specific terms, such as *trochę* [some], *kilka* [a few], *niemało* [not too little], and *ile potrzeba* [as needed] are in the minority. See examples under (19) for the use of particular terms in the collection.

- (17) przyday masła niemało / soli według smaku / Czosnku wwieść nie mało / włoż / rozpuść rosołem / a dowarzywszy day na Stół ; możesz też Cytrynę wycisnąć jeżeli chcesz / albo Octu winnego mocnego trochę przydać.

[add butter decently, salt to taste, crush in garlic decently, put in, dilute with broth, serve to table when boiled; you may also squeeze in a lemon if you wish, or add some strong wine vinegar.]

Weźmy on rosół któryś wstawił / przecedź / weźmy Cytryn / wyciśnij tylę ile smak potrzebuie / a jeżeli Cytryn nie masz / Octu winnego / rozbiy żółtków Jaiecznych / ile potrzeba / (...)

[Take broth which is boiling, strain through a sieve, take lemons, squeeze in to taste, in default of lemons add wine vinegar, beat yolks of eggs as many as needed. (...)]

- (18) Oparzonych Migdałów utłucz w Moździerzu funt ieden / Cukru pułfunta / [Beat one pound of blanched almonds in a mortar, and add half a pound of sugar]

<sup>10</sup> Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017) divided measure terms into specific, non-specific and container-related terms. Carroll (2009) distinguishes precise (specified) and vague (approximated) quantities.

- (19) Migdałów półtora łuta, pistacji i cynamonu po pół łuta, gwoździków, skórki cytrynowej z cukru po dwóch uncjach, gałki i kwiatu muszkatowego po półtory kwinty, liścia różej czerwonej trochę, wszystko to skraj miernie. Funt cukru warz [ w ] wódce różanej, (...)  
 [One and a half lots of almonds, half a lot of pistachio nuts and cinnamon, cloves, two ounces of lemon peel in sugar, nutmeg and mace one and a half drachms each, some red rose petals, and hew it all. Boil a pound of sugar in rose liquor, (...)]

Vagueness, being reflected among others in the use of imprecise terminology, is typical of early instructions (cf. Carroll 2009), which might have been written to “testify to the skills of the cook” (Attar 1987: 13) or to document the practices of a noble kitchen (Carroll 2009: 58), rather than to teach and instruct. The more precise recipes were more likely aimed at a non-professional audience with the purpose to instruct; they did not rely on the cook’s sensitive palate but specified the amounts and quantities required for the preparation of particular dishes.

## 7. Conclusions

The following conclusions, although of a tentative character, can be drawn (they have been summarised in Table 2 below): Foremost, collections (written and) published at approximately the same time do not have to be identical, even though they represent the same text type (which in contemporary Europe had been fairly fixed by this time). A brief look at a selection of features typical of the text type has shown that recipes in the two collections differ at least partly. What is noticeable at first sight is the length of the instructions. *Compendium Ferculorum* offers shorter, mostly imprecise recipes, which lack details such as measurements. Also their structure is less reader-friendly, with the ingredients combined into the recipe preparation rather than being clearly presented prior to the directions, which is the case at least in some of the recipes in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The latter collection is much more precise also in other respects; it states specific quantities based on the metric system used in Poland at the time, it often defines the tools which are to be used, and explains how to choose the best quality ingredients. The author’s preferences are not demonstrated in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], and the reader is given the freedom to decide what (s)he prefers. *Compendium Ferculorum* seems to be more authoritative also with reference to the verbal forms used by Czerniecki. The (almost exclusive) use of imperatives puts the reader in the position of the performer of the author’s commands. In the other collection, its author, apart from imperatives, introduces infinitives, and passive and impersonal verbal

structures, which softens his tone and makes the reader a participant in the process of the cooking.

**Table 2.** The comparison of selected features of *Compendium Ferculorum* and *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]

	<i>Compendium Ferculorum</i>	<i>Very Good Trends</i>
<b>length (of recipes)</b>	approx. 46 words	approx. 72 words
<b>structure (of collection)</b>	carefully designed into 3 parts	(part 1): carefully designed (part 2): messy
<b>structure (of recipes):</b>		
<b>heading</b>	title: 81% statement of purpose: 19%	title: 95% statement of purpose: 5%
<b>procedure</b>	preparation	(list of ingredients +) preparation
<b>serving</b>	serving: conventional formula	serving: conventional formula; OR storage
<b>author</b>	known; chef; present in the recipes	anonymous; confectioner; absent from the recipes
<b>intended audience</b>	has some knowledge but still needs certain guidance; role of performer	has some knowledge but still needs certain guidance; role of participant
<b>verbal forms</b>	instructional recipes	mixed recipes (instructional + descriptive)
<b>measurements</b>	non-specific	specific

The analysed features of the two collections may suggest that *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] reveals some characteristics typical of 17<sup>th</sup>-century recipes, whilst *Compendium Ferculorum* is simpler. But to answer the question whether the differences between the two analysed collections can be accounted for by the influence of *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch* on *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], requires that further investigation and an in-depth comparison of the Polish and Austrian/German collections be undertaken.

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