

*Recipe, receipt and prescription in the history of English*¹

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Nowadays, the term *recipe* is immediately associated with the kitchen, various spice cupboards and cookbooks. Very few people realize that the word (with relation to cookery) appeared only in 1631 (OED: s.v. *recipe*). Earlier, since 1400s, *recipe* was a common term used by physicians and apothecaries. Hence, it was recorded mainly in medical writings as the heading of medical formulas. In the field of cookery, it was the term *receipt* which was used on everyday basis to denote the culinary instruction. Additionally, in the late sixteenth century, the term *prescription* began to be used with reference to doctors' written instructions and was slowly replacing the term *recipe* in the context of medical prescription.

The main aim of this paper is an analysis of the rivalry between the three terms, *recipe*, *receipt* and *prescription*, and the examination of their distribution in the history of English. Particular attention will be paid to various uses of the terms and their semantic development. Also, a causal link between the semasiological and onomasiological changes will be considered. Moreover, the fate of the few Old English synonyms (e.g. *læcecraft*, *gesetednes*) will be traced.

The conclusions concerning the present topic are drawn on the basis of a corpus study. The data have been selected from a number of electronic text corpora including *Dictionary of Old English*, *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, *Helsinki Corpus*, *Middle English Medical Texts*, *Early Modern English Medical Texts*, and *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts*.

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1. Introduction

The recipe has already been widely discussed in various contexts. Some of the studies which deserve to be mentioned dealt with: (i) the analysis of the recipe as a text type (for instance Görlach 1992, 2004; Carroll 1999; Taavitsainen 2001; Alonso-Almeida 2014); (ii) the investigation of the particular features of the recipe (e.g. Massam & Roberge 1989; Culy 1996; Jones 1998; Mäkinen 2004, 2006; Quintana-Toledo 2009), (iii) the issue of synonymy and word rivalry within recipes (e.g. Sylwanowicz 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014; Bator 2013a, 2013b), or (iv) translation techniques within medical texts (e.g. Voigts & McVaugh 1984, Wallner 1987, Jones 1989, Pahta 1998) and the strategies used in the process of vernacularization of medical treatises (articles in Taavitsainen & Pahta 2004). The bulk of previous studies deals with the medical recipe, and is based on the electronic corpora prepared by the scholars established in Finland (e.g. Taavitsainen, Pahta, Mäkinen).² The present paper aims at a more general discussion of the term *recipe* and its synonyms in the history of English.

The term *recipe* is immediately associated with the kitchen, various spice cupboards and cookbooks. Very few people realize that the word (with relation to cookery) appeared only in 1631 (OED: s.v. *recipe*). Earlier, since 1400s, *recipe* was a common term used by physicians and apothecaries, and it was recorded mainly in medical writings as the heading of medical formulas. In the field of cookery, it was the term *receipt* which was used on everyday basis to denote the culinary instruction.

Nowadays, the terms *recipe* and *receipt* have distinctive meanings and no one uses them interchangeably. However, they have a common origin. Both were derived from post-classical Latin. The earlier one, *receipt*, stems partly from Anglo-Norman (AN) *recepte*, *receite*, *receyte*, *resceite* and partly from AN *recept*, *recet*, *recept*, *reset*, *resset*. In Anglo-Norman it was used with the following senses: “receptacle; receipt, receiving; collection (of money); money received; receipt (document); right of admission into a court; reception; act of accepting; jurisdiction; recipe (medical)” (AND: s.v. *receite*). The word was present in English from the fourteenth century. The first record of *receipt* with the sense which is of interest for the present study comes from Trevisa (1398) and is purely medical. The term referred to “a statement of the ingredients and

² For a comparison of the typological features of the culinary and medical recipes, see Bator & Sylwanowicz (forthc.).

procedure necessary for making a medicinal preparation, a prescription; also a medicine made according to such a prescription” (OED: s.v. *receipt* n. IV.12.a). The first culinary reference of *receipt* comes from the end of the sixteenth century (1595), from *Widowes Treasure*, in which it was used as “a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making a dish or an item of food or drink”, see (1), (OED: s.v. *receipt* n.IV.14).

- (1) A notable receite to make Ipocras (*Widowes Treasure*, 1595)

The noun *recipe* occurred in English later than *receipt*, in the sixteenth century (see (2)). It was derived from post-classical Latin *recipe* “formula for the composition or use of a medicine”, also “a medicine prepared according to such a formula, a remedy” (OED). A century later, the sense “a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making something, esp. a dish in cookery” was added, see (3).

- (2) This phisition whan I was wrytyng these thynges, and takyng my iourney from Frankeford, wher he was wrytyng his recipe, was asked [...] what he thought of Guaiacum. (T. Paynell, *De Morbo Gallico*, 1533)
- (3) Thou art rude, And dost not know the Spanish composition [...] What is the recipe? Name the ingredients. (B. Jonson, *New Inne*, 1631)

However, it should be mentioned that the form *recipe* was known much earlier, since the verb *recipe*, borrowed from classical Latin *recipe*, was present in English from 1300. It was used in medical writings, at the beginning of a medical prescription to denote ‘take’, see for instance (4). Its traces can be found also in culinary writings, e.g. (5).³ The verb became obsolete in the seventeenth century.

- (4) Recipe alisaundir-rote, persil-rote [...] simul terantur et coquantur in dulcidrio, anglice wrt, et fiat inde cervisia et bibatur. (T. Hunt, *Pop.Med.*13th cent. Eng., 1300)

³ For a discussion on the verb *recipe* in culinary texts, see Bator (2014: 177–182).

- (5) Paste Ryall. Recipe your sugour clene claryfyede & put yt in a clene panne & seth yt softlye unto þe hyeghe aforseyde of your quynces, þen set yt from þe fyere uppon a hedles vesell & with a rownde staffe fast stere it tyll he be whyzte as snowe. þen put þerto fyne pouder gynger & put yt in bokes, & þen set hym in stewes & fiat. (A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes, eMus CS 17, Paste Ryall, 1495)

Additionally, the term *prescription* appeared in English with reference to medicine in the late sixteenth century and was slowly replacing the term *recipe* in the context of medical instruction. Earlier it was used with reference to law (from the beginning of the fifteenth century). The term was derived from Anglo-Norman *prescripcioun*, *prescriptioun* and denoted (among others) “a doctor’s instruction, usually in writing, for the composition and use of a medicine; the action of prescribing a medicine; and a medicine prescribed” (OED: s.v. *prescription*, n.1 II.5.a) (see (6)). Table 1 presents the medical and culinary senses of the analyzed terms together with their origin and date of appearance in English.

- (6) Quhairin I am constrynit of necessitie to vse the prescriptioun of sum medicinis in Latine. (G. Skeyne, Breve Descr.Pest in Tracts, 1568)

Table 1. The culinary and medical references of the analyzed lexemes.

| Lexeme | Sense | Origin | Introduced (OED) |
|----------------|--|-----------|------------------|
| <i>receipt</i> | MEDICAL: a statement of the ingredients and procedure necessary for making a medicinal preparation, a formula; also a medicine made according to such a formula. | AN < Lat. | 1398 |
| | CULINARY: a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making a dish or an item of food or drink. | | 1595 |
| <i>recipe</i> | MEDICAL: formula for the composition or use of a medicine. | Lat. | 1533 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|--|----|------|
| | CULINARY: a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making something, esp. a dish in cookery. | | 1631 |
| <i>prescription</i> | MEDICAL: a doctor's instruction, usually in writing, for the composition and use of a medicine; the action of prescribing a medicine; and a medicine prescribed. | AN | 1568 |

The main aim of the present paper is to present the co-existence or rivalry between the three terms – *recipe*, *receipt*, *prescription* – and to examine their distribution in the history of English. Special attention will be paid to the medical and culinary uses of the terms and their semantic development. Moreover, we shall begin with the presentation of the fate of the few Old English synonyms (e.g. *læcecraft*, *gesetednes*) which disappeared after the introduction of the Romance terms.

The material used for the research comes from various corpora including *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), *Helsinki Corpus* (HC), *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (IC), *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT), *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (EMEMT), *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* (LC), and a corpus of medieval culinary recipes (Bator 2014).

2. The medical context

In the Old English period all the vocabulary items referring to ‘medicine’ were formed from the base *leech*, which referred to “a physician, one who practises the healing art” (OED: s.v. *leech* n.1). *Leech* was extremely productive in forming compounds and derivatives expressing various medical senses, such as *leechbook*, *leechcraft*, *leechdom*, *leeching*, etc., but also senses less directly connected with medicine, as for instance *leechwort* which referred to a plant or herb (see for instance (7)–(8)).⁴ The total number of occurrences of the *leech*-terms found in the analyzed corpora has been shown in Table 2.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the term *leech* and its Middle English synonyms, see Sylwanowicz (2003).

- (7) *Lychanis stephanice* = *lecevyrt*. (DOE, Latin-Old English Glossaries: Von Lindheim 1941)
- (8) *quinqueneruia* = *leciuyrt* (DOE, Latin-Old English Glossaries: Pfeifer 1974)

Table 2. The number of occurrences of the *leech*-terms in the analyzed corpora.

| Lexeme | Sense | Old English | Middle English | early Modern English |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>leechbook</i> | 'a collection of (med.) recipes' | 14 | - | - |
| <i>leechcraft</i> | '(prescribed) medicine' | 29 | 1 | - |
| | 'medical science' | 30 | 18 | - |
| <i>leechdom</i> | '(prescribed) medicine' | 281 | - | - |
| | '(med.) recipe / medical formula' | 1 | - | - |
| <i>leechery</i> | 'medical science' | - | - | 3 |
| <i>leeching</i> | '(med.) recipe / medical formula' | 5 | - | - |
| | 'medical care / healing' | 8 | 10 | - |
| TOTAL | | 368 | 29 | 3 |

Leechbook "a collection of (med.) recipes" seems to have been a clearly defined term, which is evidenced by examples (9) and (10). The term *leechbook* is usually found in titles and in fragments where the author directs the reader to a collection of recipes and/or medicines, or refers to a particular recipe collection (see (10)).

- (9) Læcedomas gif omihtre blod yfele wætan on þam milte syn þindende, þonne sceal him mon blod lætan on þas wisan þe þeos læceboc segþ be þæs bloddes hiwe. (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)
- (10) Læcedomas wiþ wifa gecyndum forsetenum eallum wifa tydernessum, gif wif bearn ne mæge geberan oþþe gif bearn weorþe deadon wifes innoþe oððe gif hio cennan ne mæge do on hire gyrdels þas gebedo swa on þisum læcebocum segþ; (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)

The remaining three lexemes (*leechcraft*, *leechdom* and *leeching*) could have referred to at least two senses, which were very often close to one another. For instance, a number of occurrences of *leechdom* do not clearly indicate the exact meaning of the word (the context may suggest two senses, i.e. 'a prescribed medicine' or 'a medical formula/instruction'), see (11)–(13).

- (11) Læcedomas gif men yrne blod of nebbe, eft blodsetena ge onto bindanne ge on eare to donne ge horse ge men, (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)
- (12) Læcedom wiþ gesnote wiþ geposum. (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)
- (13) Læcedomas wiþ sarum weolorum. (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)

In most cases when the Old English text was accompanied by its Latin translation, *leechdom* was translated as Lat. *remedia* 'cure, remedy', e.g. (14). However, in a number of examples it was translated as *medicina* 'medical art, treatment', see (15), which serves as evidence for the two senses of the noun.

- (14) Benedic domine creaturam istam ut sit remedium salutare generi humano presta per inuocationem nominis tui quicumque ex ea sumpserit corporis sanitatem et anime tutelam percipiat per [...]
bloesta driht' giscæft ðas þætte sie lecedom halvoende cynnes mennisc'
gionn ðerh ongiceigingnome' ðines se ðe suahvoelc of ðær onfoe lichomes
hælo savles scildnisse onfoe.
(DOE, Liturgical Texts, Durham Ritual: Thompson and Lindel[ouml]f_1927)

- (15) Medicina per te quem diligere super omnia appetit quo est professa custodiat ut et ostem anticum deuincat et uitiorum squalores expurget quatenus centesimi fructus dono uirginitas decorari uirtutumque lampadibus exornari et electarum tuarum uirginum consortium te donante mereatur uniri per [...]
 lecedome ðerh ðec þæt gilvfa of alle giviga ðona is ondetenda gihalda þætte fiond se halda of cyme scylda' fvlnisso giclænsiga oð þæt hvntantiges wæstmes' gefe hehstaldhad þætte giwlitgega ðec mæгна æc ðæccillvm þætte ðv sie gihrinad gicorenra ðinra hehstaldra gihlytto ðec gefende giearniga þætte gimoete.
 (DOE, Liturgical Texts, Durham Ritual: Thompson and Lindel[ouml]f_1927)

Although, following the data, we see that it was the term *leechdom* which dominated the semantic field in the Old English period, the Middle English corpora do not show any records of the term, though, according to MED, *leechdom* was still present in the early Middle English period with a range of senses, see (16)–(19).

- (16) 'a medicine, remedy'
 Raphaæl bitacneþþ uss [...] Drihhtiness hall3he læchedom & sawless e3hesallfe [...] he wolde himm senndenn Wiþþ heofennlike læchedom To læchenn Tobess e3hne. (MED, Orm_1200)
- (17) 'a medical treatment'
 Þisne læcedon do þan manne, þa hym beoð on hyra brosten nearuwe [...] Do hyne into þan huse, þe beo nærþer [read: næþer] ne to hætt ne to ceald, [etc.]. (MED, PDidax_1150)
- (18) 'medicinal use'
 Þeos wyrt [...] dweor3e-dwosle [...] hæfed mid hire læcedomes, þeah hi feala man ne cunna. (MED, Hrl.HApul._1150)
- (19) 'the art or science of medicine'
 Þet mon gistas underuo [...] oðer unhalne lechnað 3if he lechedom con. (MED, Lamb.Hom._1225)

A similar confusion occurs in the case of a much less frequent *leechcraft*. This lexeme is a combination of *leech* 'healer, leech' and *craft* 'skill, expertise', which suggests the senses 'ability to heal/to apply medicinal leeches' or 'art of

healing'. However, the *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) and the OED ascribe it two senses: (i) 'art of healing/medical science' and (ii) 'remedy/medicine, medical formula/instruction'. The former is easy to deduce as the term usually occurs in a context in which *leechcraft* is identified as a learned, acquired, trained or practiced skill, see (20)–(23).

- (20) he him tæhte þone mæran læcecraeft þe hine swa mihtelice gehealde. (DOE, Saint Sebastian)
- (21) And het hine þæt he him getæhte ælcne læcecraeft. (DOE, Saint Pantaleon)
- (22) hine mon lærde ælcne læcecraeft. (DOE, Saint Pantaleon)
- (23) Witodlice þær wæs sum munuc, þam wæs nama Iustus, se wæs gelæred on læcecraefte, (DOE, Gregory the Great, Dialogues)

As we can see the term is accompanied by such verbs as: *tæhte*, *getæhte* 'taught', *(ge)lærde* 'instructed, taught', which identify *leechcraft* as a learned skill. The latter sense ('remedy/medicine, medical formula/instruction') shows that even the editors of the dictionaries found it difficult to deduce the real sense of the term, especially the difference between *medicine/remedy* 'a drug/treatment' and *prescription* 'a written formula'. When confronted with particular quotations this difficulty becomes apparent, see (24)–(25).

- (24) On þissum ærestan læcecraeftum gewritene sint læcedomas wið eallum heafdes untrymnessum. (DOE, Cockayne, Bald's Leechbook)
- (25) Genim geoluwne stan salt stan pipor weh onwæge drif þurh clað do ealra gelice micel do eal togædere drif eft þurh linene clað. Þis is afandan læcecraeft. (DOE, Cockayne, Recipes)

There are a couple of records of the term which could as well refer to the sense 'medical formula', see (26)–(27). However, one may say that these two examples could as well be translated as 'remedy/medicine'.

- (26) Þanne ys se læcecraeft þarto: Nim sumne dæl of heortes hyde and anne niwne croccan and do wæter on and seoþ swa swyþe, þæt hit þriwa wylle, swa swyðe swa wæterflæsc. (DOE, Cockayne, Medical Recipes)

- (27) Þis ys þe læcecræft: Sule hym supan gebræddan hrege ægeran and hunig to and do hym bryð of meolce gemaced, and syle hym ceruillan etan and fæt flæsc, þæt beo wel gesoden, etan, and he byd sona hal. (DOE, Cockayne, Medical Recipes)

The third term, *leeching*, is underrepresented and probably did not have any significant influence on the development of the analyzed concept. It occurred only thirteen times in the Old English corpora, however, apart from its medical sense (see (28)), it could also refer to religion, suggesting the general sense ‘treatment’, see for instance (29).

- (28) Gif þonne sio yfele wæte of þære wambe oferyrneþ ealne þone lichoman þæs mon sceal mid maran lacnunge tilian, hwilum him mon sceal of ædran blod lætan gif þæs bloddes to fela þince & þære yflan wætan, & eac wyrtdrenc sellan, ac ærest mon sceal blod lætan æfter þon wyrtdrenc sellan. (HC, Laeecebok)
- (29) gif he sweðunga gegearwode and godcundra myngunga sealfunga, haligra gewrita lacnunga, and æt nyhstan amansumunge bærnnet and swingella wita þurhteah (HC, The Benedictine Rule)

Additionally, following the *Historical Thesaurus of English* (HTE), the term *gesetednes* was used throughout the Old English period with the sense ‘recipe’. However, such a sense of the term has not been found in any other dictionary. The analyzed corpora contain the term exclusively with legal and religious reference, i.e. “a constitution, law, ceremony” (cf. Bosworth & Toller). The only record of *gesetednes* with its possible medical sense is found in the following fragment (30). However, its strict medical sense ‘medical formula/instruction/recipe’ seems dubious and it is possible that the compiler used the term to emphasize the fact that one should follow some rule/formula.

- (30) Eac ure ealdras cwædon sædun þæt ðeos gesetednys healicost fremade. (DOE, Cockayne, Bald’s Leechbook)

Although the Anglo-Saxons possessed sufficient resources of their own to represent various medical ideas, soon after the Norman Conquest, English

assimilated thousands of words borrowed from Norman French, which resulted in both the reduction and the loss of Old English heritage.⁵

The Old English terms *leechdom* and *leechcraft* were being steadily replaced by at least five Romance items (*medicine, remedy, pharmacy, antidote, receipt*) which stood for ‘some curative substance’ or ‘medical treatment’, as in (31)–(35).

- (31) Skabbe is curable wiþ metisines þat [...] clensiþ wiþinne & wiþoute. (MED, a1398 *Trev. Barth.(Add 27944) 99a/a)
- (32) Comyn [...] acordiþ to many medicynes and remedyes and namely of þe stomak. (MED, a1398 *Trev. Barth.(Add 27944) 220a/b)
- (33) Formacie [vr. ffarmasye], þat is laxatiuis purgyngre þe colere & brent humouris. (MED, a1400 Lanfranc (Ashm 1396) 83/19)
- (34) Þe first doctrine is of vniuersale antidotez or helpyngez. (MED, ?a1425 *Chauliac(1) (NY 12) 6b/b)
- (35) This receyte [vrr. ressaite, resceyte, receiht] ys boght of non apothecary. (MED, c1450(a1449) Lydg. Diet.(Sln 3534) 78)

Out of the five Romance synonyms of *leechdom* and *leechcraft*, *receipt* deserves our attention as this noun was also used with the sense ‘medical written formula’. The earliest occurrences of the term date back to the second half of the fourteenth century, when it was used with the senses ‘formula, statement of ingredients’ and ‘amount of received money’, e.g. (36)–(37).

- (36) What schal this receyt coste? telleth now. (OED, c1386 Chaucer Can. Yeom. Prol. & T. 800)
- (37) Þenk also [...] Þat longe hast lyued and mucche reseiued..hou þou hast spendet þat reseit. (OED, c1390 Mirror St.Edm.(1) (Vrn) 145)

In the fifteenth-century records we find the noun in a medical context, usually as ‘medicine/remedy’ (see (38)–(39)) or ‘a medical formula’ (see (40)–(41)).

⁵ See Sylwanowicz (2007, 2009) for her discussion of Old and Middle English synonyms of sickness nouns and names of medicines.

The compilers/translators of these texts, unlike the Old English ones, are quite consistent in the use of the lexeme and there is no confusion in identifying a particular sense ('medicine' or 'written formula').

- (38) What may helpen þe stomak or þe hed [...] any receyt or confeccioun, Herbe or stoon, or al þat leches knowe, Whan þat a cors is leied in erþe lowe. (MED, c1425(a1420) Lydg. TB (Aug A.4) 1.3630)
- (39) Do of that pouder in mylke and hit sleys fleys that light ther on; And that resyte castith oute wekyd humers þrowe vomyte and olde evillis. (MED, ?a1425(1373) *Lelamour Macer (Sln 5) 83b)
- (40) Þe firste is ane oynement of maister Anselm of Jene, of þe whiche he solde þe Resseit to kynge philip of ffrauce for a grete soumme of golde. (MED, ?a1425 *MS Htrn.95 (Htrn 95) 170a/a)
- (41) Þe receites schal be founden in þe Antitodarye. (MED, ?c1425 Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25) 307/9)

The use of *receipt*, instead of the Anglo-Saxon heritage (*leechdom*, *leechcraft*), might be explained by the fact that Middle English medical texts (especially the fifteenth-century works) were mostly translations of French and Latin originals. Thus, the introduction of the term, which might have already been familiar to medical practitioners, seemed an obvious choice. Also, the foreign term might have been perceived as more learned and prestigious, whereas *leech*-terms were regarded as the remains of popular/folk medicine. Although *receipt* is found in reduplications, this does not have to indicate that the term was unknown. Rather, this strategy might have been used to state precisely the actual sense of the term in a given context, see for instance (42)–(43).

- (42) In alle goode resceytes and medicyns amomum is ofte y-do. (MED, a1398 *Trev. Barth.(Add 27944) 214b/a)
- (43) Yf thou take any medycyne or receyte, that it be made of a certeyn weight and mesure as the sekenesse may require. (MED, c1475 Abbrev.Trip.SSecr.(UC 85) 330/1)

In Middle English medical texts we also find the first occurrences of the lexeme *recipe*. However, *recipe* is used exclusively as a head word in physicians' prescriptions and it stands for Latin imperative second person verb form, meaning 'to take', as in (44)–(45).

- (44) Also be þer made suche a vntment þat is riȝt mitigatiue. Recipe: tame comon maluez M. i or M. ij, & brisse þam in a mortar, and put þam in a quart of oyle of olyuez and lat þam putrifie þerin 7 dayes or 9. (MEMT, Arderne, Fistula)
- (45) And to þe same entensioun Auicen enditeþ þis medecyne expert, & Brune graunteþ it: Recipe draganti rubei z/+Q j, calcis viue, Alum, corticis granatorum ana .+Q. .6., thuris, gallarum ana +Q 4, cere, olei ana þat sufficeþ, be þer made vnguentum. (MEMT, Chauliac, Ulcers)

The verb was so frequent that it was often replaced by the symbol Rx (see example (46)), a pharmacy symbol found nowadays in most medical prescriptions. Today, this symbol is the only indicator of the original sense of *recipe*.

- (46) Brothre leches haue a queynt maner writyng and hard for to rede in makyng of hir medicynes. Brothre when ye seeth in bookes of phisique thes writynges that is comynly the begynnyng of hir medicines ye shul vnderstond Recipe that is to say take. (MEMT, Thesaurus Pauperum)

In Early Modern English medical texts the following terms referring to 'written formula' are used: *receipt*, *recipe* and *prescription*. As shown in Table 3, *receipt* is the most frequent term used with reference to 'prescription', which is not surprising as the term was used with this sense already in the medieval medical context. We can also observe the emergence of two nouns: *recipe* (formerly used only as a verb) and *prescription*, which became serious "rivals" for *receipt*, which later stopped being used in the medical context.

As stated earlier, *receipt* entered English lexicon early and became a commonly used term in the medical context. Although first recognized as a general term for 'some formula or statement of ingredients', it soon narrowed its sense to 'prescribed medicine' and 'medical formula', which is exemplified by examples (47)–(49).

- (47) [A receipt to restore strength, in them that arr brought low with long sicknesse. chapter. xxxix.}] Take of the brawne of a Fesant or Partridge, and of a Capon. (EMEMT, 1573, Partridge, *Treasurie of Commodious Conceits*)
- (48) That most of Men do very readily take upon trust any Remedies or Receipts, that are confidently recommended to them, can scarce be contradicted; and their fond passion in the inconsiderate belief of ‘em is so great, that without any loss of time, they are to be Registered in their Book of Receipts. (EMEMT, 1700, Harvey, *Vanities of Philosophy and Physick*)
- (49) It is true, Sir Robert Talbor did not always observe the directions prescribed in his Receipt, touching the time of the infusion of Quinquina; (EMEMT, 1682, Talbor, *English Remedy*)

Table 3. The number of occurrences of the analyzed terms of Romance origin.

| Lexeme | Sense | Middle English | early Modern English |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>receipt</i> | ‘(prescribed) medicine’ | 5 | 49 |
| | ‘medical instruction’ | 3 | 86 |
| <i>recipe</i> | ‘(prescribed) medicine’ | - | 1 |
| | ‘medical instruction’ | 8 | 11 |
| <i>prescript(ion)</i> | ‘(prescribed) medicine’ | - | 10 |
| | ‘medical instruction’ | - | 49 |
| TOTAL | | 16 | 206 |

A thorough analysis of the occurrences of *receipt* in medical texts reveals that it is not always clear whether the term refers to ‘prescribed medicine’ or ‘medical formula/instruction’. For instance, in example (47), does receipt stand for ‘a medicament/remedy’ or ‘a medical formula/instruction’?

Another problem encountered while analyzing the data concerns the use of *receipt* as a derivative of another Latin loanword meaning ‘act of receiving’, see (50)–(51).

- (50) of decumbiture, or for the time of any strong fit (if any be) or upon the receipt of the Urin, or time of the first visitation of the Patient, (EMEMT, 1671, Blagrove, Astrological Practice of Physick)
- (51) And truely if nothing else should make one out of fancie with the vse of Tabacco, it might be sufficient for an equall iudge to thinck with himself how vnnaturall a thing it is to peruert the naturall vse & offices of the parts of the bodie, for by the force of Tabacco the mouth, throate, and stomacke, (appointed by nature for the receipt of food & nourishment for the whole body) are made emunctuary clensing places and sincks, (supplying heerein the office of the most abiect and basest part) for the filth and superfluous excrements of the whole body. (EMEMT, 1602, Philaretus, Work for Chimny-sweepers)

Thus, it may be concluded here that *receipt* and its various senses (including also the non-medical sense ‘received amount of money, etc.’) made it prone to be soon replaced by other equivalent terms.

Recipe, being seemingly the best candidate to take the place of *receipt* as it has been present in medical remedy-books since the earliest Middle Ages, as a noun did not gain sufficient attention of medical writers. The noun is found mostly in the titles of some compilations or in general statements, which refer to some treatises being collections of recipes, see for instance (52). We have also found one example in which it is used as an explicatory term for ‘medical formula/instruction’, see (53).

- (52) Pharmacopoeia Bateana: OR Bate’s Dispensatory. Translated from the Last Edition of the Latin Copy, Published by Mr. James Shipton. CONTAINING His Choice and Select Recipe’s, their Names, Compositions, Preparations, Vertues, Uses, and Doses, as they are Applicable to the whole Practice of Physick and Chirurgery. (EMEMT, 1700, Salmon, Pharmacopoeia Bateana)
- (53) Some recipeis or prescriptions in some remedies may be used instead of one another, as a conserve for the syrrop of the same simple whether of fruit, flower or Root [...] (EMEMT, 1649, Rondelet, Countreymans Apothecary)

The reason for such a limited use of *recipe* as a noun in the medical context might be explained by a high frequency of its verbal form, which became a fixed part of a traditional formula giving ingredients for a medical preparation, see (54)–(55).

- (54) The second Intention is the vse of breaking, attenuating, mundifying & opening Medicaments; as are these Remedies now following. viz. Recipe. Rad, Ireos. Cort. Sambucj. (EMEMT, 1602, Clowes, Cure of Struma)
- (55) Also, many learned men, of a certaine knowledge and sound vnderstanding, haue in their bookes greatly commended a playster made thus: Recipe. Olde dried Goates dung, Hony and Uineger, being decocted at an easie fire, to the consistence of a playster. (EMEMT, 1602, Clowes, Cure of Struma)

In addition, in the texts studied we found 682 occurrences of the symbol Rx, which pigeonholed *recipe* as a verb used as a head word of prescriptions, see (56)–(58).

- (56) +R of the roots of the hearb dogstooth, of Sperage, of Parsly ana, +o i. of Sage leaues, of Betony leaues. (EMEMT, 1632, Bruele, Praxis Medicinae)
- (57) She was purged with the following, +R Sena +o j. Agarick +Q iij. Rubarb +Q ii. Cinnamon +o i +s. (EMEMT, 1679, Hall, Select Observations)
- (58) You may make an excellent Injection for a Virulent Gonorrhoea with this Water, thus; +R of this Lime Water +o x. Mercurius dulcis levigated +o j. mix, and shake them so long together, till the Mercurius dulcis precipitates down to the bottom of a black colour. (EMEMT, 1700, Salmon, Pharmacopoeia Bateana)

This leaves us with the third noun, *prescription*, which entered the medical realm in the late sixteenth century, as in (59)–(61).

- (59) Eating [...] raw app[les] and things contrary to the prescription of Physicke. (OED, 1579 FENTON Guicciard. x. (1599) 413)
- (60) Phisitians, by whose directions and prescriptions such medecines are to be ministred, [...] (EMEMT, 1603, Lodge, Treatise of the Plague)

- (61) because that Prescriptions never mention the regulation of the Decoction, nor the degrees of fire, nor the length of time requisite for the Decoction, which is all left to the prudence of the Apothecary. (EMEMT, 1678, Charas, Royal Pharmacopoea)

The noun *prescription* had only two senses: (i) 'a written formula', and the later sense (ii) 'a medical formula/instruction'. In addition, it coexisted with its verbal form *prescribe* 'to write down directions' (263 occurrences in EMEMT), which must have strengthened the position of the noun as the 'right' term for 'a medical formula'.

- (62) For suppose the remedie be hotte or cold, a purger of flegme, melancholy, or choler: it is the worke of inuention, the cause and kind of the disease being considered, to dispose the remedy in a iust quantity: to prescribe the same in a conuenient form, (EMEMT, 1609, Pomarius, Enchiridion Medicum)
- (63) For a Fume was prescribed the following: +R Frankinsence, Mastich, each +Q i +s. Brimstone +Q ii +s. Juniper +q ii. Storax +q i. (EMEMT, 1679, Hall, Select Observations)
- (64) Or it may be prescribed thus: +R Of this Water +o iij. Syrup of Violets +o i+s. (EMEMT, 1700, Salmon, Pharmacopoeia Bateana)
- (65) These are the Medicins I prescrib'd him (EMEMT, 1697, Cockburn, Continuation of the Account of Distempers)
- (66) He being called vnto her prescribed such remedies as are vsuall in this case, and within few dayes recouered her, to the great admiration of the beholders. (EMEMT, 1603, Suffocation of the Mother)

As seen in the examples above, the verb *prescribe* co-occurs with the symbol Rx (meaning 'recipe'), which partly confirms the previously stated assumption that *recipe* was restricted to a very formulaic context.

3. The culinary context

When it comes to the culinary terms in the Old English period, not only did the Anglo-Saxons leave no cookbooks, which would help us understand the Anglo-Saxon culinary tradition, but also it seems that none of the terms for ‘recipe’ carried the culinary sense.

The earliest culinary reference was found in a fifteenth-century text, in which the term *receipt* was applied to a set of instructions how to prepare a certain dish (see (67)). Even though the lexeme was used as a heading, it proves an earlier use of *receipt* with the culinary sense than indicated in the dictionaries (according to which *receipt* with the sense “a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making a dish or an item of food or drink” was first introduced at the end of the sixteenth century (OED)).

- (67) A RECEIPT
 +Ge must take wurte, and barly, and comyn, and hony, and a lytyll curtesy of salte, and sethe them in a potte togedyr tyl the barly be brostyn. And sythen, caste it abowte in +te hows wheras dowys ben vsyng etc. (HC, Reynes, The Commonplace Book)

The electronic corpora analyzed for the present study have shown the first appearance of *receipt*, other than as a heading, only in 1701, see example (68). But its reference is not clearly culinary, it could as well be medical. It should be mentioned, however, that a closer look at some culinary collections (not included in any of the electronic corpora used for the present study) reveals even earlier records of *receipt* with a purely culinary sense, i.e. ‘the instructions to prepare a particular dish’. *The Compleat Cook*, for instance, which is a collection of culinary recipes published in the middle of the seventeenth century, contains seven records of the noun: six of them included in the headings and one within the body of a recipe, see example (69).

- (68) The Cook, Confectioner or Perfumer have as much pretence to learning, or the knowledge of the uses of what they prepare. Have not our Servants the skill to make up all our domestick collections of Receipts, which are many of them the same with theirs? (LC, The Present State of Physick & Surgery in London_1701)
- (69) The Lord Conway his Lordships receipt for the making of Amber Puddings.

First take the Guts of a young hog, and wash them very clean, and then take two pound of the best hogs fat, and a pound and a halfe of the best Jurden almonds, the which being blancht, take one half of them, & beat them very small, and the other halfe reserve whole unbeaten, then take a pound and a halfe of fine Sugar and four white Loaves, and grate the Loaves over the former composition, and mingle them well together in a bason having so done, put to it halfe an ounce of Ambergreece, the which must be scrapt very small over the said composition, take halfe a quarter of an ounce of levant musk and bruise it in a marble mortar, with a quarter of a Pint of orange flower water, then mingle these all very well together, and having so done, fill the said Guts therewith, this Receipt was given his Lordship by an Italian for a great rariety, and has been found so to be by those Ladies of honour to whom his lordship has imparted the said reception. (The Compleat Cook, 1658)

The term *recipe*, whose culinary reference is said to have been introduced in the seventeenth century (cf. OED), was found once at the end of the fifteenth century. Similarly to *receipt*, this first nominal attestation of *recipe* was used in a heading to a culinary formula, see example (70).

- (70) For to make floure of rys, recipe.
Tak rys and pyke hem clene and wasshe hem, and þenne druye hem a lyte ageyn þe sonne, and affter bete hem in a mortar small and þen sarse hem, and þenne druye hem wel agayn þe sonne and put hit in a vescell and sture hit offte for mustyng. (A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes, TCC_115_1490)

Additionally, *recipe* was found in the fifteenth-century culinary collections as a verb, meaning 'to take', ninety times, see for instance (71).

- (71) Recipe your sugour clene claryfyede & put yt in a clene panne & seth yt [...]. (A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes, eMus_CS_17_1495)

Following the OED, the verb was used at the beginning of medical instructions from 1300. Its presence in the culinary material might serve as evidence that the boundary between medical and culinary formulas was

blurred.⁶ On the other hand, taking into account that ninety percent of its occurrences were found in the same collection (MS Harley 5401), we may assume that it was used due to the writer's misinterpretation of the recipes.

4. Conclusions

The study has shown that the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary has been completely replaced in the Middle English period. In fact the small number of Middle English occurrences of the analyzed terms (see Table 2) shows that it was the period of transition from the Germanic word-stock to vocabulary derived from Anglo-Norman. The former are clearly on their way to disappear, whilst the latter are only making their way into the lexicon.

Another striking conclusion is that the culinary reference of the analyzed items has been highly underrepresented, which might be accounted for by the fact that the culinary issues were of a lower status than the medical ones.

In case of the medical reference, the presented examples reveal that the early Anglo-Saxons did not have a clearly defined term for what we understand today as 'a medical prescription/recipe'. Surely, they must have realized that there were some formulas to be followed whenever a given substance was prepared. But, instead of coining a term for that they made use of the already existing lexemes, which partly reflected the sense 'written formula'. This also throws a light on their understanding of medicine/remedy, which was not only 'a drug/a healing substance' but rather 'a substance made according to some formula', hence the lack of a separate lexeme.

In the early Modern English period we can observe how the multi-meaningful lexemes became arranged within the semantic field. Thus, the term *recipe* gained dominance with the culinary reference, *prescription* became the medical term, and *receipt* was rejected from either of these, denoting 'a statement confirming the reception of something'.

⁶ Very often medical and culinary recipes were found in the same manuscripts, which may suggest that they might have been perceived by the contemporary reader/writer as one and the same text type. On the other hand, a detailed comparative study of the two reveals a number of differences (cf. Bator & Sylwanowicz *forthc.*).

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