Textes et contextes

ISSN: 1961-991X

: Université de Bourgogne

13-2 | 2018

Approches diachroniques des discours et cultures spécialisés

Table vs. mete boord: Old French culinary terms and Germanic native vocabulary in two late Middle English cookery books

Table, mete boord that ys borne a-wey whan mete is doon, cillaba ("Table, meal board that is borne away when the meal is over, cillaba"). 1440, SEM (Norfolk), attributed to Galfridus Grammaticus (i.e. Geoffrey the Grammarian), "Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum": 485/1

Article publié le 21 juin 2019.

Juan José CALVO

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Juan José CALVO, « Table vs. mete boord: Old French culinary terms and Germanic native vocabulary in two late Middle English cookery books », *Textes et contextes* [], 13-2 | 2018, publié le 21 juin 2019 et consulté le 27 avril 2024. Droits d'auteur : <u>Licence CC BY 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)</u>. URL : http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/textesetcontextes/index.php?id=2255

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0. Introduction

- In the first chapter of Scott's "Ivanhoe" (1819), Wamba the jester informs his fellow Saxon the swineherd Gurth, and with him the readers, about the clear-cut name differences between living and cooked animals in Anglo-Norman England, something which will become an English trait from the Middle Ages onwards, e.g.: swine and sow vs pork, ox vs beef, calf vs veal.
- The Durham recipes also take us to that period, but in a Latin text. Set down ca. 1160 to 1180, at least eight years after the wedding of Henry II Plantagenet to Eleanor of Aquitaine (18-5-1152) and purposed to be the oldest extant list of its kind in Medieval Western Europe, they consist, according to the University of Durham web-page, of
 - (...) sauces to accompany mutton, chicken, duck, pork and beef. (...) The sauces typically feature parsley, sage, pepper, garlic, mustard and coriander (...). According to the text, one of the recipes comes from the Poitou region (...). This proves international travellers to Durham brought recipes with them. https://www.dur.ac.uk/news/newsitem/?itemno=17380.

This acceptance of food and cooking-related loans is not limited to foodstuffs. The nouns *kitchen* (ca. 1000, WS standard, "Anglo Saxon and Old English Vocabulary"), *cook* (ca. 1000, WS standard, "Anglo-Saxon Psalter") and, most obviously, *cuisine* (1786, More, "Florio") are Latin and French loans. As a matter of fact, the kitchen as a separate part of the house (the *culina* in a Roman *domus*) was unknown in Northern Europe; the long-house, the hall (OE *heall* = OS and OHG *halla* or ON *hqll*, *hall*-) where humans and animals huddle together, has a mere hole in the middle of the roof and eating and sleeping take place around the central fire within a shallow pit in the ground ...the closest technological approach of the Germania to the Roman *hypocaustum!*

0.1. Latin and Common Germanic food and cooking

If we consider the Flavian period, the end of the first century AD, with the stabilization both of the Empire itself and of the *limes* against the Germanic tribes and compare the meals described in the Coena Trimalchionis of Petronius' "Satyricon" (arguably, end of the 1st century AD) and Tacitus' "De origine et situ germanorum" (ca. 98 AD), the contrast between the sheer luxuriousness of the dishes presented to Trimalchio's guests and the paucity and austerity of the trans-Rhenanian and trans-Danubian eating habits beggars all description. Since the presentation of the *Coena* would require too much space, let us recall what Tacitus has to say about the Germanics: ²

To drink night and day without interruption is not considered shameful. Quarrels, such as [habitual] among drunks, are seldom settled by insults, more frequently with deaths and wounds. (...) They drink a liquid made from barley or wheat, which, once fermented, resembles wine; those near the river banks [of the Rhine or Danube] also buy wine. Their eating is simple: wild fruit, recently fresh[ly killed] venison or curdled milk; with no trappings or fineries they sate their hunger. On the contrary, there is no temperance when it comes to quenching their thirst. (Our translation)

0.2. Anglo-Saxon food references

Scarcely any mention is made of actual food in Anglo-Saxon literature. Indeed, in his presentation of Anglo-Saxon culture, Mitchell's (1995 : 221) references to food, not even to cooking, merit one single paragraph of sixteen odd lines, in which he basically lists the names found in the "Colloquy".

0.2.1. Poetry

0.2.1.1. "Beowulf"

Beowulf' (composed 975 to 1025) and Germanic poetry in general is brimming with drinking references; the nobility showing off their wealth and their generosity by presenting drinking cups and goblets to chosen followers and/or fellow carousers in the hall. ³ In the various banquets found in "Beowulf", the only subjects the scop sings about are: drinking (verses 480, 485, 1016), specifically beer drinking (verses 495, 531, 2021), and killing someone while drunk (verse 2179); ⁴ nothing is said about food and the only edible animal mentioned is a deer that is fleeing the hunting dogs (verse 1369).

0.2.2. Prose

0.2.2.1. Bede

In the eWS (late 9th century) translation of Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum", we learn that the late 7th century, would-be first Old English religious alliterative poet, Caedmon, leaves the *gebeorscipe*, ⁵ the drinking party (*conuiuio* in Bede's original), because he cannot sing to the accompaniment of the harp; no mention is made about what they were eating.

0.2.2.2. Aelfric

As we already said, in the "Colloquy", the teacher interviews his would-be pupils as part of a didactic role-play. Three of them represent primary-sector workers: the hunter (hunta), the fisher (fiscere) and the fowler (fugelere). As expected, the list of the animals men-

tioned is almost purely native West-Germanic: birds (fugelas) and hawk (havoc) by the 'fowler'; harts (heortas), boar (bár), dogs (hundas), horses (hors), roes (rann), she-roes (rægan) and hares (haran) by the 'hunter'; eels (ealas), pike(s) (hacod), minnows (mynas), eelpouts (ælepútan), trout(s) (sceotan), lampreys (lampredan), herring(s) (herincgas), salmon (leax), dolphins (mere-swýn, literally "sea-swine"), sturgeons (styrian), oysters (ostran), crabs (crabban), mussels (muslan), periwinkles (winewinclan), cockles (sæcoccas), plaice (fagc), flukes (flóc) and lobsters (lopystran) by the 'fisherman'. All in all: 24 edible animals, 18 of which are fish or sea-food, one refers to birds in general and four to land mammals. The four Latin loans are mentioned by the 'fisherman'; the sea mammal whale (hwal) is also named, but not as prey, since he thinks it too dangerous to hunt.

- Additionally, the teacher interviews three secondary-sector craftsmen: a 'salter' (sealtere) —who underlines the fact that salt was highly recommendable for the preservation of food (cf. Tannahill 1979 : 184 ff.)— a 'baker' (bæcere) and a 'cook' (cocc) and asks each one to tell the rest "how thy skill benefits us" (hwæt ús fremaþ cræft þín). The 'cook' declares that his craft would allow them to eat vegetables (wyrte) which are not green (gréne), meat (flæścmettas) that is not raw (hréawe)⁶ and rich (literally "fat") soups (fætt broþ). Interestingly enough, the teacher rejects him, since a monastery is self-sufficient and, as he says, can roast or fry (brædan)⁷ its food with no help from the outside.
- As far as the monastic kitchen is concerned, we learn from one of the novices that the staple diet is obviously non-carnivorous (so the Benedictine "Regula": XXXIX, 11) and consists of vegetables (wyrta) eggs (æîgra), fish (fisc), beans (béana), cheese (cyse) and butter (butera); the last two being CGmc OE Latin loans. This said, the "Regula" (XXXVI, 9 and XXXIX, 11) allowed minors and sick monks to eat meat and, while Ælfric's novices can drink ale whenever available, monks ("Regula": XL) were also allowed to drink wine, especially if they suffered from any physical weakness.

2. Corpus

2.1. Works

When it comes to medieval recipes, one of the principal references is Tirel's "Le Viandier", composed between 1340 and 1390. Within the Iberian Peninsula, Jewish and Arabic cooking influenced the "Llibre de Sent Sovi" already, published in 1324; but, in the main, Western European recipe collections begin to be written in the vernacular in the second half of the 14th century. Around 1350, we have the "Buch von guter Spise" in Germany and "Le Grand Cuisinier de toute Cuisine" in France. England sees "Ancient Cookery" in 1381. Finally, "Le ménagier de Paris" (1392-1394) includes many of the "Viandier" recipes, and so does the first of the two books in our corpus (Paczensky & Dünnebier 1999 : 70 f.).

2.1.1. "The forme of cury"

The two books of our corpus pivot around the first and last of the Lancastrian kings: Henry IV and Henry VI. Team-drafted by King Richard II's master-cooks in 1390, the year of his deposition by Henry Bolingbroke, in the closing decade of half a century marked by the Black Plague and the demographic, social and religious crises it triggered off, the "Forme of Cury" (henceforth F) brings us 196 recipes. For our purposes it is ground breaking, since it documents 13 of the first citations of the (medieval) French cookery loans in English. We have used Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler's EETS edition, published by the Oxford University Press in 1985.

2.1.2. Harleian MS 4016

Dated ca. 1450, in the middle of the turmoils that England suffered under the weak-willed and mentally unstable Henry VI and a few years before the onset of the Wars of the Roses, the Harleian MS 4016 (henceforth H) presents some 77 recipes [with collations from the Douce MS 55 (ca. 1450) and the Harleian 279 (ca. 1430), by the editor] which may complement or restate recipes already given in the latter. It first documents two of the Gallicisms and one of the Germanic phrasal lexemes in our corpus. We have used Thomas Austin's EETS edition of 1888, reprinted in Millwood (N.Y.) by Kraus Reprints in 1988.

2.2. Recipes ⁹

- I. Soups, salads and cold dishes
- salat (F, pg. 115), roo broth (F, pg. 101), sauce verte (H, pg. 77), ffelettes in galentyne (H, pg. 82).
- II. Fish and sea-food
- gele of fyssh (F, pg. 121), cawdel of muskels (F, pg. 126 f.), stokffissh in sauce (H, pg. 100), pike boyled (H, pg. 101).
- 17 III. Meats: fowl and poultry, venison and livestock
- chykens in hocchee (F, pg. 105), for to boile fesauntes, partruches, capons and curlewes (F, pg. 106), hare in wortes (H, pg. 69), pigge or chikenn in sauge (H, pg. 72).
- 19 IV. Desserts
- blank maunger (F, pg. 106), crème of almaundes (F, pg. 117), custarde (H, pg. 74), payn purdeuz (H, pg. 83).

3. Analyses

3.1. Germanic and Romance lexical distribution

3.1.1. Nouns

3.1.1.1. Plants, vegetables, spices and condiments

Some malevolent Continentals are of the opinion that the English love for sauces, condiments and spices is the natural consequence of their utterly insipid cooking. If so, the late Middle Ages must have been a case-study of such maladroitness ¹⁰; though, to be fair, this craze for spices was not peculiar to Britain: the Island alone could not make the wealth of Venice. Out of 57 plant and vegetable lexemes, 32 are spices, condiments and seasonings, with two WGmc lexemes [garlic (garlec) and salt (salt)); 6 OE Latinisms (beet (betus), fennel (fenel), hyssop (isoppe), mint (mintes, myntes), parsley (parcel, parsel,

parsle, persel, parcelly), pepper (peper) and savory (sauerey) and 25 Gallicisms (anise (aneys), avens (auens), betony (betany, betayn), borage (borage), cinnamon (canel(l)), (spring) onions (chibolles), cloves (clo(u/w)es), flower of cinnamon (flour of canel), ginger (g(i/y)nger), maces (mac(e/y)s), mustard (mustarde), onions (oyno(u)ns), porrettes (porretes), powder (po(o/w)der, powdour), powder of ginger (powder of ginger), powder douce (po(u/w)der/podour douce), powder fort (powdour fort), powdring (powdryng), rue (rew), rosemary (rosemarye), saffron (saf(f)ro(u)n(n)), sauge (sa(u/w)ge), syrup (sirippe), verjuice (vergeous, verious) and vinegar (vinegar, v(i/y)negre, vynegour)]. Such a stark unbalance might be explained in part because spices would reach Britain through France, but let us bear in mind that many herbs were both medicinal (officinalis) and culinary and that the texts of reference were written in Medieval Latin or else in Old French. As far as the greens is concerned, the distribution is much more balanced with leeks (leek, lekes), and cresses (toun cressis, literally "the one (of) cresses") on the one side, patience (pacience), purslane (purslarye) and the generic salad (salat) on the other, plus the CWGmc and OE Latin loan beet (betus) as a sort of 'balance pointer'. As usual in this kind of society, doublets and triplets will spring up, regardless of etymology. We have, the OE-OE crop (croppe) and stalk (stalkes), the OE-ON-OF wort (wort(e/y)s), cole (cole, colys) and herb (erbes), the OE-MF nettle (netle) and pellitory (peleter) or the ONF-F dates (dates) and raisins or currants (raysouns de corauns).

3.1.1.2. Fish and sea food

In an insular society, marine and fresh water fish as well as sea-food ought to be household names. And indeed, out of the nine lexemes (three sea, five freshwater and the hypernym fish proper), two of the freshwater ones (eels and pike) are found in OE and mussel (muskels) is a Second Period OE Latin loan. Three of the four Gallicisms: plaice (plays), salmon (samond) and tench (tenches), replace native Germanic lexemes (see 3.2.3. below) while turbot (turbut) is a gap-filling loan.

3.1.1.3. Meats

3.1.1.3.1. Fowl and Poultry

As with the fish names, most of the fowl and poultry lexemes are of OE stock: the hypernym fowl (fowle), but also goose (gose) and chicken (chiken, chikenns, chykens, chykenns); additionally, the three poultry-related names, OE yolk (yolkes) and (eyren) alongside its correlative ON/regiolectic N eggs (egges), and the hybrid OE-ON white of eggs (white of egges). The three Gallicisms are capon (capouns), pheasant (fesauntes) and partridge (partruches). The first one is a pre-Norman Conquest (ca. 1000), ONF borrowing and the other two were first documented in the late 13th century: 1290 (N, (Durham)) and ca. 1270-1285 [SW (Worcester?)] respectively.

3.1.1.3.2. Venison and Livestock

The nine lexemes referring to venison and livestock are, as Wamba said, 'Saxon' (i.e. OE) when the animal is alive and 'Norman' (recte OF, since all are first dated around 1300, except veal which is documented ante 1325) when dead, cooked and served: boar (boor), hare (hare), pig (pigge) and roe (roo) vs. beef (beef, beff), mutton (mottonn), pork (pork(e)) and veal (vele). The related noun milk [mylk(e)] is OE, but phonetically influenced ([łk] instead of [łtʃ]!) by Old Norse.

3.1.1.4. Body parts

Even in such a mongrel language as English, one of the most resilient lexical fields to borrowing is that of human or animal anatomy. No surprise, then, that, out of 19 lexemes, only five are Gallicisms: *quarters* (*quarters*) and its hybrid fore *quarter* (fore *quarter*), (fish) pouch (pou(u)che), fee (fey) —which will doublet with liver (lyuer) in ME—, and grease (grece, grees).

3.1.1.5. Processed Foods

On the other extreme, the Processed Foods group is the one with the greatest number of Gallicisms: 25 out of 35 lexemes. Except for ale (ale), bread (brede), broth (bro(th/p)) and its ME near-synonym sew (sewe), meal (mele, which also meant "flour"), and the CGmc OE Latinisms butter (butur) and wine (wyne), we only find Gallicisms: caudle

(brede), broth (bro(th/b)) and its ME near-synonym sew (sewe), meal (mele, which also meant "flour"), and the CGmc OE Latinisms butter (butur) and wine (wyne), we only find Gallicisms: caudle (cawdel), comfit (confyt), cream (crème), custard (custarde), fillet (ffelettes), galantine (galentyne), jelly (gele), gravy (gravey), †hachy (hochee) 11, oil (oile, oyle), pottage (potage), sauce (sauce) and sauce verte (sauce verte), all of them documenting the importance of French cookery in late medieval England. Last but not least, let us underline the ca. 1325 OF loanword brawn (brawn) (in ME "boiled flesh"), which had evolved from CGmc *brádon (cf. G braten, Du. braden) and was, thus, related to OE brædan.

3.1.1.6. Utensils

Out of the 12 lexemes related to cooking utensils, there are only five Gallicisms: the large serving dish called *chargour*, *coffin* (*coffin*, *cof(f)yns*), *mortar* (*morter*) and *strainer* (*straynour*, *streyn*(*o*)*ur*). Worth pointing out are the CGmc OE Latinism *dish* (*dish*, *dishes*, *dysshes*) and the ON loanword *knife* (*knyfe*).

3.1.1.7. Others

Together with the unmarked verbs and the immense majority of the adjectives, this group is of little interest, since it does not correspond to the technical terminology of cookery: the culinolect. Nonetheless, six of the nine lexemes are OF loans: ME cury ("cuisine") and leche (long slice); but also pieces (peces, pecys), places (peces, placys), portion (porcioun), and quantity (quantite). Germanic are the core-vocabulary lexemes fire (fire, fyre) and water [water(e)], plus the abstract noun wise (wise) "way" (cf. G Weise).

3.1.2. Verbs

3.1.2.1. Unmarked Verbs

We have 40 non-marked verbs in our corpus, including several ON loans which have entered the common-core language and abound in all our recipes: cast [cast(e)] (27 times) and once its phrasal cast out (cast abrode), take [tak(e)] (48 times), plus three times its phrasal take

up (take vppe). Gallicisms are colour (colour), florissh ("garnish"), press (in the phrasal presse out) and serve (serue, seruyst) —which, here, is implicitly culinary, in a restricted sense first found ca. 1300 in the SEM (London) romance "Kyng Alisaunder".

3.1.2.2. Cookery Verbs

30

With 20 Gallicisms out of 31 lexemes, in third place after the Processed Foods and the Plants Spices and Condiments, the Cookery Verbs group also underlines the relevance of French gastronomy in medieval England. Basically associated with liquids or fats and applying heat or not (boil and parboil, cole, fry, lave, skim, strain), these verbs also cover the other actions upon solids, either in a purely mechanical way (couch, carve, leche, scotch) or else through the application of heat (roast, scald). In a group apart, those referring to the preparation of the dishes, e.g. alay (actually taken from metalmixing), season; or else, like ME mess, "waiting the table". Some, like bray "to crush small" and mince (myce) will doublet with OE verbs like grind (grinde, grynd(e), yground) or pick (pyke), and certainly, boil (boile, boyle, boileth, boyled, boyling) is a regular doublet of the more frequent OE seethe (seeb, seeth(e), sodden, ysode). Purely WGmc are bake (bake), be enough [spelt inogh, ynogh and ynow(e)] in the sense of "suffice", steep (stepe), plus the near doublets hew [hew(e)] and the originally MDu. chop (choppe). Of unknown origin is the denominal verb nape, with our H selection documenting its first culinary entry: "to cut a fish's neck".

3.1.3. Adjectives

It is not easy to substitute modifiers, neither the purely physical ones, i.e. those related to temperature (colde, hote), colours (grene, rede, whyt) 12, size (faire, ful, grete, litul/littul, small), age (fresh, rawe, olde, yonge) and texture (hard, styff) nor to cultural values like clean (clene) —both "unblemished" and "fully, totally"— or good (gode/goode). There are only four Gallicisms, two of which are culinary or can be associated with cooking. The deverbal blaunched referred to "cookery whitening". As to round (rownde), it is remarkable that the Romance modifier will be accepted in all Germanic languages, to wit: German Swedish and Danish rund or Dutch rond.

3.2. Loan analyses: baptism, specialization, replacement

When a foreign lexeme enters a language, we observe a line of procedure similar to that of colonization in the course of history: a) it occupies wilderness b) it crams together with the previous dweller, sharing the space given c) it expels the prior inhabitant and appropriates the entire area. Thus, we could classify three varieties of loan entry: Type I would imply foundation or baptism, Type II diatopic/distratic/diaphatic allocation or specialization and Type III eviction or replacement. We shall now sub-classify them accordingly.

3.2.1. Old English Latin loans

The OE Latin loans have been traditionally divided into three periods, 33 variously labelled Continental or Zero Period; Celtic, Settlement or First Period (often associated with toponyms); Christian or Second Period. 13 The first and the third ones are present in the commoncore terms of our corpus. The Type I lexemes are gap-fillers, incorporated alongside with their physical referents and augmenting the given thesaurus. Continental, CGmc Latinisms in our corpus are: betus (< beta), butter (buttur), dissh (< discus), mintes (< menta, menthe), muskels (< muscula), peper (< piper) and wyne (< uinum). Latinisms of the Christian Period are betus (ca. 1000, WS standard, "Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms" béte < bēta) and isoppe (ca. 825, eMerc. 'Vespasian Psalter' l. 9. [li. 7] < L hyssōpus < Gr. ὕσσωπος (hýssōpos), ultimately < Heb. 'ēzōb'). Our ME parcel, parsel, parsel, persel and parcelly result from a second borrowing, in which the OE Second Period Latinism petersilian (ca. 950, eWS "Bald's Leechbook" < post-classical Latin pretesilium) is replaced by the Gallicism (first ca. 1390, N (York), "Pistel of swete Susan" (Vernon) 107 persel [v.rr. percel, percel, percele, persile] < OF persil). In the case of savory, the lME loan (ante 1400, Mirfield, "Sinonoma Bartholomei" (1882) 37 saverey < OF savoree, documented since the 13th century.) also superseded an OE Second Period Latinism: saeberige (< L satureia) in the same text, the ca. 950, eWS, "Bald's Leechbook" (Royal) (1865) iii. xii. 314.

3.2.2. Old Norse and West Germanic loans

- The corpus contains seven ON (plus the heads of two phrasal verbs) and two WGmc, ascertained or probable MDu. loans: to chop (doublet to hewe) and stockfish (stokfissh) (1290, Scots, "Chancery Rolls in the Public Record Office" 249 stocfihs) which specifies one of the most common ways (Tannahill 1979: 191) to preserve fish like cod and haddock in Northern Europe: halved and air-dried.
- Type II.
- The noun skin (ON skinn) will diaphatically specify both OE hýd and fell as appertaining to animals, even though in its first English citation (in an Old English charter of a gift made by Bishop Leofric to Exeter Cathedral), reference is made to a bear (bera scin), not to a person.
- 37 Type III.
- The denominal verb cast, taken from ON kasta, begins to supersede OE weorpan (cf. G werfen) from the late 12th century, (MSS ca. 1230-1250, SWM, (Wigmore Abbey, Herefordshire) "Ancrene Riwle"/"Ancrene Wisse" (Cleo. C.vi) (1972) 47 kasten) and definitely since 1513, Douglas' translation of the "Æneis" I. Prologue 280 warp being the last OED entry.
- In ME, the noun cole (probably from ON kál) begins to supersede OE cawel (ca. 1000, WS standard, "Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms" II, 80), both descending from a CGmc Latinism of caulis; while cál will evolve to PDE, mainly N (Scots), kale.
- The geolectic, Danelaw noun *egg* (< ON *egg*), began to supersede OE æg as of lME (1376-1377, SWM, Langland, "Piers Plowman" B. xi. 343 egges). In our corpus, the substitution has not been fully achieved yet and we see it alongside with its close relative, OE eyren. Substitution will take place, as fowl product in 1486 ("Book of St. Albans" A ij. a) and as food product in 1596 (Shakespeare, "First Part of King Henry IV" II, i, 164).
- The noun *gall* (< ON gall) supersedes, as of eME [(ca. 1200, SEM (London, with Essex traits)] "Vices and Virtues" (1888) 119), the closely related OE gealla.

- The noun *knife* (IOE *cnif* < ON *knifr*) begins to supersede OE *seax* (cf. the tribe of the *seax*-wielding Continental Saxons!), in the general sense before 1100 and definitely after 1298 (SW, Robert of Gloucester "Chronicles"). The noun *sax* would be allocated a very restricted, technolectic and regiolectic sense of "slate-chopper", its last OED citation being a West Somerset lexicographic entry in 1866.
- The verb take already documented in OE as tacan, will not definitely supersede the OE *niman* until 1486 ("Book of St. Albans" b iiij). In 1547 and his "Fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge", Boorde allocates it as regiolectic Cornish.

3.2.3. Old Northern French and Old French loans ¹⁴

- 44 Type I.
- As indicated above (see 2.1.), our corpus contains 15 first citations: 13 in F and two in H, of which 12 are absolute first entries and three culinary first entries.
- Absolute first citations in the 'Forme of Cury" (1399) are: cole (vb.), gravy, ME leche (vb.), mess (vb.), powder of ginger, powder douce, powder fort, rosemary, salad and sauce verte ... although this last one is neither documented in OED nor in MED; and custard and fee in the 1450, Harleian 416. The culinary first entries are all found in the "Forme of Cury": coffin, flourish (vb.) and raisins of Corinth.
- 47 Among other first entries we can list the following:
- The noun blancmange (< OF blanc-manger) is first documented ca. 1376-1377 SWM in Langland's "Piers Plowman" B xiii, 91 as blanc-mangere.
- The verb *boil* (< OF *boillir*) is first documented in eME (ante 1225, "Juliana" 172) in the past participle form *boili*.
- The noun *fillet* (< OF *filet*) is first documented as a culinary term in the Harleian MS 279 (1430).
- The verb fry (OF frire) appears in 1290 in the nominal present participle form frijnge within the SW (Worcester), "South English legendary" 187/86.

- The noun jelly (< OF gelee) is first found in the lME (1393) Latin narration of the Earl of Derby's expedition.
- The ME noun payn purdeuz appears ca. 1420 for the first time, in the Harleian MS 279 as Payn pur-dew; it is an adaptation of OF pain perdu (1384).
- The verb *parboil* (< OF *parboulir*) is first documented 1381 in the lME "Diuersa Servicia", included by Hieatt & Butler in their 1985 "Curye on Ynglisch" edition.
- The verb skim (probably derived from OF escumer) is first documented in the 1430 Harleian MS 279.
- 56 Type II.
- The ME verb *blaunchen* (< OF *blanchir*) as a culinary term specifies OE *hwitan*, which still meant "to whiten" in general.
- The noun *grease* (< OF *graisse*, *greisse*, etc.) will result in a technolectic (not only as a cookery term) specification vs. WGmc *fat*.
- The noun *herb* (< OF *erbe*), first found 1290 in the SW (Worcester) "South English legendary" will, in eModE, impose itself diaphatically to OE *wort*, which —in contrast, say, to G *Würze* only remains extant in word-combinations and in very restricted senses.
- 60 Type III.
- The verb *bray* (< OF *breier*) begins to supersede OE *cnucian* in the lME translation of the Bible undertaken by Wycliff (1382, SEM, 'The First Book of Samuel' xxv, 18 *brayid corn*) ¹⁵.
- The noun *cream* (in our corpus as the adoption *crème*) superseded two OE nouns, *fliete* "cream, curds" (cf. Da. *fløde*) and *réam* "cream" (cf. G. Rahm, Dutch room), first as "milk cream" in 1332 ("<u>Document" edited in Rogers' "Hist. Agric."1 (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/hyp-id x?type=id&id=hyp.736.19991101T123123) 404: Creyme) and, in 1381 (Pegge (ed), "Cooking Recipes" (Dc 257) (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/hyp-idx?ty pe=id&id=hyp.810.19981211T105002) 103: crem of Almaundys) as a culinary term.</u>
- The noun mustard (< OF mo(u)starde) substitutes, in 1298 and in a private household entry, the CGmc 16 OE Latinism sen(e(a)p (< L $sin\bar{a}pi$

- < Gr. σίναπι (sínapi)).
- The noun oil (< OF oile, olie) superseded the CGmc OE Latinism ele from the eME period onwards (its last MED entry is 1451 in the sense of "holy oil"); in 1221, we find it in the hybrid Romance-Germanic and artisan-derived surnames Vlimaker and Hulimakiere.
- The noun onion (< OF oignon) begins to supersede OE hwitléac (literally "white leek") in IME (1356-1357, N (Durham), "Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham" (1899) II 558 unyon) 17.
- The noun *pheasant* (< ONF *faisant*) superseded the OE compounds wildhænn (literally "wild-hen") and worhana (literally "moor-cock") since ca. 1299, as documented in the northern "Extracts Acc. Rolls Abbey of Durham", edited by J.T. Fowler in 1888.
- The adjective *round* (*rownde*) superseded OE *sineweal*(t/d) in the physical sense and the spiritual *fulfremed* "perfect" in the hagiographic "St. Edmund Rich" of the ca. 1300, SW (Worcester), "South English legendary" and Chaucer, ca. 1380, in the "Second nun's tale" respectively.
- The noun saffron (< OF safran) substitutes OE croh in the eME, ca. 1200, SEM (London and East Anglia), "Trinity College homilies".
- The noun salmon (< OF saumon) superseded (or geolectically specified) OE leax (cf. G Lachs, Swed. lax and Da. laks) in the lME (ante 1387, SW with Midland traits) Trevisa translation of Higden's "Polychronicon". Today the OE noun remains regiolectal and nonstandard.
- 70 The noun *tench* (< OF *tenche*) began to supersede OE *slíw* since the lME (1390) Latin narration of Earl Derby's 1390-1391 expedition.
- 71 The noun *vinegar* (< OF *vyn egre*) substitutes the CGmc OE Latinism eced ¹⁸ towards 1315, in Shoreham's Kentish "Poems" I: *fynegre*. ¹⁹

4. Conclusions

The highest percentage of Gallicisms is to be found in the Processed Foods (71.42%) group, followed by the Plants, Spices and Condiments (69.64%) and by the Cookery Verbs (67.81%). Unexpectedly, 6 out of 9 (66.66%) of the Other groups are Gallicisms. Then come the Fish

(55.55%) and the Venison and Livestock groups (44 %), the Fowl and Poultry (37.50) and the Cooking Utensils groups (36.36%) being almost even. Unsurprisingly, Body Parts (30%), Unmarked Verbs (10%) and Adjectives (8.33%) close the list. In counterbalance, of CGmc or WGmc OE ascendancy are 95% of the Unmarked Verbs, 91.66% of the Adjectives, 70% of the Body Parts, 55.55% of the Meats in general 62.50% of Fowl and Poultry 60% of the Fish, 55.55% of Venison and Livestock, 45.45% of the Cooking Utensils, 33.33% of the Others, 25% of the Cookery Verbs, 20% of the Processed Foods and 17.85% of the Plants, Spices and Condiments group. Of the OE Latin loans, those of Plants, Spices and Condiments are most significant (12.50%), followed by the Fish (11.11%), Cooking Utensils (9%) and Processed Foods (5.71%) ones. The ON loans represent 12.50% of the Fowl and Poultry groups, 10% both of the Body Parts, and of the Unmarked Verbs, 9% of the Utensils and 1.78% of the Plants, Spices and Condiments. The two MDu. loans represent 11.11% of the Fish and 3.5% of the Cookery Verbs, in which last group, to nape, of unknown etymology, as said above, perfects the addition.

- The results confirm the sensible hypothesis that the majority of the Medieval French loans would correspond to the *termini technici* proper —among other reasons already pointed out, because many of the recipes were versions of previous French ones—, with a special mention for plants, spices and condiments, either imported through France or else found (see 3.1.1.1. above) in French pharmaceutical or culinary texts.
- One fact does remain indisputable. For 400 years, the culture of the English court had been French: not only had the English kings systematically (minor exceptions would be Berengaria of Navarre wife to Richard Lionheart, Eleanor of Castile-Leon first wife to Edward I and Anne of Bohemia wife to Richard II) married French noblewomen up until the Wars of the Roses; but, from William the Conqueror (1066-1087) onwards, we shall have to wait until Henry V (1413-1422) to find a monarch capable of speaking the English vernacular fluently.
- 75 Abbreviations
- 76 Table of abbreviations
- 77 CEM Central East Midland

Table vs. mete boord: Old French culinary terms and Germanic native vocabulary in two late Middle English cookery books

78 CGmc Common Germanic 79 CWGmc Common West Germanic Da. Danish 80 Du. Dutch 81 eME early Middle English 82 83 eMerc. early Mercian eModE early Modern English 84 eOE early Old English 85 eWS early West Saxon 86 F French 87 88 G German Gr. Greek 89 90 Heb. Hebrew It. Italian 91 92 L Latin lME late Middle English 93 94 lOE late Old English 95 MDu. Middle Dutch 96 ME Middle English MED "Middle English Dictionary" 97 MF Middle French 98 99 N Northern regiolect 100 OE Old English 101 OED "Oxford English Dictionary" OF Old French 102 103 OHG Old High German 104 ON Old Norse

- 105 ONF Old Northern French
- 106 OS Old Saxon
- 107 OSp. Old Spanish
- 108 PDE Present-day English
- S Southern (also called Southwest) regiolect
- SE South Eastern (and Kentish) regiolect
- 111 SEM South East Midland regiolect
- SW Southwest (also called Southern) regiolect
- 113 Swed. Swedish
- 114 SWM South West Midland regiolect
- 115 WGmc West Germanic
- 116 WS West Saxon
- 117 Annex I: Corpus
- 118 I. SOUPS, SALADS AND COLD DISHES ²⁰
- 119 SALAT. (F)
- Take persel, sawge, grene garlec, chibolles, oynouns, leek, borage, myntes, porretes, fenel and toun cressis, rew, rosemarye, purslarye, laue and waische hem clene. Pike hem. Pluk hem small wiþ þyn honed, and myng hem wel with rawe oile. lay on vyneger and salt, and serue it forth.
- 121 ROO [1] BROTH. (F)
- Take the lire of the boor oper of the roo, perboile it. Smyte it on smale peces; seep it well half in water and half in wyne. Take brede and bray it wip the self broth and drawe blode perto, and lat it seeth togydre with powdour fort: of gynger oper of canell and macys, with a grete porcioun of vyneger, with raysouns of corauns.
- 123 SAUCE VERTE. (H)
- Take parcely, Mintes, Betany, Peleter, and grinde hem smale; And take faire brede, and stepe hit in vinegre, and drawe it thorgħ a streynour, and cast thereto pouder of peper, salt, and serue it fortħ.

125 FFELETTES IN GALENTYNE. (H)

- Take faire porke of be fore quarter, and take of the skyn, and put be pork on a faire spitte, and roste it half ynogh; and take hit of, and smyte hit in peces, and cast hit in a faire potte; and ben take oynons, and shred and pul hem, not to small, and fry hem in a pan with faire grece, And then caste hem to be porke into be potte; And then take good broth of beef or Motton, and cast thereto, and set hit on be fire, and caste to pouder of Peper, Canel, Cloues & Maces, and lete boile wel togidur; and ben take faire brede and vinegre, and stepe the brede with a litull of be same broth, and streyne hit thorgh a streynour, and blode with all; or elles take Saundres and colour hit therewith, and late hem boile togidur, and cast thereto Saffron and salt, and serue hit forth.
- 127 II. FISH
- 128 GELE OF FYSSH. (F)
- Take tenches, pykes, eelys, turbot, and plays, kerue hem to pecys. Scalde hem & waische hem clene; drye hem with a cloth. Do hem in a panne; do perto half vyneger & half wyne & seep it wel, & take the fysshe and pike it clene. Cole the broth thurgh a cloth into an erthen panne; do perto powdour of peper and safroun ynowh. Lat it seep & skym it wel. Whan it is ysode dof grees clene; cowche fisshe on chargours & cole the sewe thorow a cloth onoward, & serue it forth colde.
- 130 CAWDEL OF MUSKELS. (F)
- Take and seep muskels; pyke hem clene, and waisshe hem clene in wyne. Take almaundes & bray hem. Take somme of the muskels and grynde hem, & some hewe smale; drawe the muskels yground with the self broth. Wryng the almaundes with faire water. Do alle þise togider; do þerto verious and vyneger. Take whyte of lekes & perboile hem wel; wryng oute the water and hewe hem smale. Cast oile þerto, with oynouns perboiled & mynced smale; do þerto powdour fort, safroun and salt a lytel. Seeþ it not to to stondyng, & messe it forth.
- 132 STOKFISSH IN SAUCE. (H)
- Take faire brot \hbar of elys, or pike, or elles of fress \hbar samond, And streyn hit thorg \hbar a streynour; and take faire parcelly, And hewe hem small,

And putte the brot \hbar and be parcelly into an erthen potte, And cast berto pouder ginger, and a litul vergeous, And lete hem boyle to-gidre; and ben take faire sodden stokfiss \hbar , and ley hit in hote water; and whan bou wilt serue it forth, take be fiss \hbar fro be water, and ley hit in a diss \hbar , And caste the sauce al hote there-on, and serue it fort \hbar .

- 134 PIKE BOYLED. (H)
- Take and make sauce of faire water, salt, and a litull Ale and parcelly; and þeñ take a pike, and nape him, and drawe him in þe bely, And slytte him thorgħ the bely, bak, and hede and taile, witħ a knyfe in to peces; and smyte þe sides in quarters, and wassħ hem clene; And if thou wilt have him rownde, schoche him by þe hede in þe backe, And drawe him there, And skoche him in two or iij. Peces [Douce MS placys] in þe bak, but no3t thorgh; And slyt the pouuche, And kepe the fey or the lyuer, and kutte awey the gall. And whañ þe sauce biginneth to boyle, skem hit, And wassħ þe pike, and cast him þere-in, And caste þe pouche and fey there-to, And lete hem boyle togidre; And þeñ make the sauce thus: myce the pouche and fey, [in. Douce MS and Harl.] a litul gravey of þe pike, And cast þere-to pouder of ginger, vergeous, mustarde, and salt, And serue him fortħ hote.
- 136 III. MEAT: FOWL AND POULTRY, VENISON AND LIVESTOCK
- 137 CHYKENS IN HOCCHEE (F)
- Take chykenns and scald hem. Take parsel and sawge, with[oute eny opere] erbes; take garlec & grapes, and stoppe the chikenus ful, and seep hem in gode broth, so bat bey may esely be boyled berinne. Messe hem & cast berto powdour dowce.
- FOR TO BOILE FESAUNTES. PERTRUCHES. CAPOUNS AND CURLEWES. (F)
- Take gode broth and do perto the fowle, and do perto hool peper and flour of canel a gode quantite, and lat hem seep perwith; and messe it forth, and cast peron powdour dowce.
- 141 HARE IN WORTES. (H)
- Take Colys, and stripe hem faire fro the stalkes. Take Betus and Borage, auens, Violette, Malvis, parsle, betayn, pacience, be white of the lekes, and be croppe of be netle; parboile, presse out the water, hew hem small, And do there-to mele. Take goode broth of ffressh beef,

or other goode fless \hbar and mary bones; do it in a potte, set on be fire; choppe the hare in peces, And, if bou wil, wass \hbar hir in be same brot \hbar , and then drawe it thorg \hbar A streynour with the blode, And ben put all on the fire. And if she be an olde hare, lete hire boile well, or bou cast in thi wortes; if she be yonge, cast in all togidre at ones; And lete hem boyle til bei be ynog \hbar , and ceson hem wit \hbar salt. And serue hem forth. The same wise thou may make wortes of A Gose of a ni3t, powdryng of beef, or eny other fress \hbar fless \hbar .

- 143 PIGGE OR CHIKEN IN SAUGE. (H)
- Take a pigge, Draw him, smyte of his hede, kutte him in .iiij. quarters, boyle him til he be ynow, take him vppe, and lete cole, smyte him in peces; take an hondefull. or .ij. of Sauge, wassħ hit, grynde it in a morter with hard yolkes of egges; then drawe hit vppe with goode vinegre, but make hit not to thyn; then seson hit with powder of Peper, ginger, and salt; then cowche thi pigge in disshes, and caste be sirippe þer-vppon, and serue it forthe.
- 145 IV. DESSERTS
- 146 BLANK MAUNGER. (F)
- Take capouns and seep hem, benne take hem vp; take almaundes blaunched, grynd hem & alay hem vp with the same broth. Cast the mylk in a pot. Waisshe rys and do berto, and lat it seeth; banne take brawn of be capouns; teere it small and do berto. Take white grece, sugur and salt, and cast berinne. Lat it seeb; benne messe it forth and florissh it with aneys in confyt, rede ober whyt.,and with almaundes fryed in oyle, and serue it forth.
- 148 CRÈME OF ALMAUNDES. (F)
- Take Almaundes blaunched, grynde hem and drawe hem up thykke, set hem ouer the fyre & boile hem. set hem adoun and spryng hem wicii Vyneger, cast hem abrode uppon a cloth and cast uppon hem sugur. whan it is colde gadre it togydre and leshe it in dysshes.
- 150 CUSTARDE. (H)
- Take Vele, and smyte hit in litull peces, and wassħ it clene; put hit into a faire potte with faire water, and lete hit boyle togidre; þen take parcelly, Sauge, Isoppe, Sauerey, wassħ hem, hewe hem, And cast hem into flessħ whan hit boileth; then take powder of peper, canel,

Clowes, Maces, Saffron, salt, and lete hem boyle togidre, and a goode dele of wyne with all, And whan the flessh is boyled, take it vppe fro be broth, And lete the broth kele. Whan hit is colde, streyne yolkes and white of egges thorgh a streynour, and put hem to the broth, so many that the broth be styff ynowe, And make faire cofyns, and couche iij. or iiij. peces of the flessh in be Coffyns; then take Dates, prunes, and kutte hem; cast thereto powder of Gynger and a litull Vergeous, and put to the broth, and salt; then lete the coffyn and the flessh bake a litull; And ben put the broth in the coffyns, And lete hem bake till they be ynogh.

- 152 PAYN PURDEUZ. (H)
- Take faire yolkes of eyren, and try hem fro the white, and drawe hem borgh a streynour; and then take salte, and caste thereto; And then take manged brede*. [Douce MS. maynche brede. Manchet.] or paynman, and kutte hit in leches; and þen take faire buttur, and clarefy hit, or elles take fressh grece and put hit yn [folio 12b.] a faire pan, and make hit hote; And then wete þe brede well there in þe yolkes of eyren, and then ley hit on the batur in þe pan, whan þe buttur is al hote; And then whan hit is fried ynowe, take sugur ynowe, and caste there-to whan hit is in þe dissh, And so serue hit forth.

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- 1 Dating is given in accordance with the OED, the MED and, ultimately, A. Taylor at http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~ataylor/txt-dadi-htm, a non-extant literature web-page. A table of abbreviations is included immediately before Annex I: the corpus.
- 2 Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. (22: 2-3). Potui umor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt

famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. (23:1) http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0046/ PM.HTM

- Note that Schenk "cup-bearer" (cf. OE scenc "cup", "draught"), Schenke "tavern", schenken "serve drink" (cf. OE scencan), "give presents" and Schenkung or Geschenk "present, gift" are etymologically and semantically related in German, apparently deriving from IE *[s]keng "askew", "bent", "slanting" (Drosdowski & Grebe 1963: 600).
- 4 Anglo-Saxons specified three types of drunks or drunkenness: ealugál "beer-drunk", meodugál "mead-drunk" and wíngál "wine-drunk" (Pollington 1996 : 159).
- Since this paper's readership is undetermined, we have modernized some OE and ME spellings and, following the OED conventions, have avoided both the specific letters $(3, p, r, f, \sigma, 3)$ and the rune wynn (p). Like the OED and Bosworth & Toller, we have also substituted the macrons by acute accents.
- 6 The Gallicism *crudités* is first loaned in 1960 by E. David, "<u>French Provinc. Cooking</u>" 133 (heading) Les crudités. Raw vegetables.
- 7 WGmc *brædan* "roast", "fry" (cf. G *braten*) would be substituted by *fry*, since 1290 [SW (Worcester), "South English legendary": I 187/86] and by *broil* (< OF *bruler*) in Chaucer's 1386 Prologue to "The Canterbury Tales", it previously having meant "to burn" as in French, since 1375 in Barbour's Scots poem "The Bruce", IV 151.
- 8 Four of the Harleian MS 4016 recipes: Hare in wortes, Pigge or chikenn in sauge, Payn purdeuz and Custarde were included in Fernández, Fuster and Calvo's anthology (2001: 119 f.).
- 9 While medieval 'menus' did not follow any fore-ordained sequence (Tannahill 1979: 195 f.), we have organized the recipes in the usual, present-day 'order' as orientation.
- Austin argues: "Our forefathers, possibly from having stronger stomachs, fortified by outdoor life, evidently liked their dishes strongly seasoned and piquant..." (1888: viii). Tannahill (1979: 192) thinks it was a way to at least counterbalance the taste of the salt used for preservation. Paczensky & Dünnebier (1999: 107) share that opinion and hypothesize the masking effect of spices upon not so fresh food.
- 11 The etymology is unclear. Hieatt & Butler argue an OF houssié ("with parsley").

- The names of colours that were definitely modified like *azure* (1330), *gules* (ca. 1386), *sable* (1352) and up to the tardy –green was associated with envy, the Devil and other ominous referents— *vert* (?1507), were related to heraldry: an entirely new terminology of an imported auxiliary science, initiated in France in the 12th to 13th centuries (Encyclopaedia Britannica vol. 20: 576).
- See, i.a. Baugh & Cable 1993: 77-90, Strang 1970: 388 ff., Fuster & Calvo 2012: 44 f. The reference to Settlement Period toponymic Latinisms is found in Baugh & Cable 1993: 80.
- 14 Since the loan analyses of the 111 Gallicisms would surpass by far the present article, we shall limit them to one third: 37.
- 15 The "Vulgate" says sata polenta, the Anglican, so-called "Authorised Version" or "King James Bible" (1611) gives parched corn.
- 16 So Da. sennep, Swed. senap and G (with Second Vowel Shift /p/ > /f/) Senf, but not Du. mosterd.
- 17 cf. Swed. lök and Da. løg, but not G Zwiebel which derives indirectly from L cipolla.
- From L acetum; cf. OSp. acedo and It. aceto. Among the other Germanic languages, G Essig would be an indirect descendant of acetum through a double metathetic *atecum; but see also Du. azijn, Swed. ättika and Da. edikke.
- Observe the typically S and SE unvoicing of the labiodental fricative /v/ > /f/.
- Headings and their capitals are our decision. Convenient editorial footnotes are given between square brackets.

English

In Ælfric's "Colloquy", (ca. 1000, WS standard), the novices play the roles of a hunter and a fisherman, a fowler, a salter, a baker and a cook and the teacher makes them describe their lives. The animals mentioned and the cooking-related terms used are almost purely Germanic, except for some Latin loans. Beginning with the Norman Conquest (1066-1071), even earlier in single instances like "capon" or "rue", (Medieval) French progressively substituted traditional cookery terms and many of the words used for the foodstuffs, though not the common references to living animals.

With the "Colloquy" as an antecedent, the present paper lists, etymologically traces and analyses the native OE, the loaned ON or MDu and especially, the Romance loan vocabulary in sixteen salads, soups and starters, fish, meat, and dessert recipes, taken from two lME cookery books: the "Forme of Cury" (1390) and the Harleian MS 4016 (ca. 1450).

Français

Dans le «Colloquy» d'Ælfric, les novices jouent les rôles de chasseur, de pêcheur, d'oiseleur, de saleur, de boulanger et de cuisinier et l'enseignant leur demande de décrire leur vie. Les animaux mentionnés et les termes de cuisine utilisés sont presque exclusivement germaniques, à l'exception de quelques emprunts latins. Commençant par la Conquête normande (1066-1071) et même avant dans des cas isolés comme «capon» ou «rue», le français (médiéval) a progressivement remplacé les termes de cuisine traditionnels et beaucoup de mots utilisés pour les aliments, mais pas les références habituelles aux animaux vivants.

Avec le précédent du «Colloquy», l'article énumère, retrace l'étymologie et analyse les termes provenant du vieil anglais, les emprunts à l'ancien scandinave ou au moyen néerlandais et surtout, le vocabulaire roman emprunté, dans seize recettes de salades, potages et hors-d'œuvre, poissons, viandes et desserts, tirées de deux livres de cuisine du moyen anglais tardif : le «Forme of Cury» (1390) et le Harleian MS 4016 (rédigé vers 1450).

Mots-clés

Diachronie, Cuisine, Terminologie, Gallicismes en anglais, Moyen anglais tardif

Juan José CALVO

Professeur, Université de Valence, Av. de Blasco Ibáñez, 13, 46010 Valencia (Espagne) – Juan. J. Calvo [at] uv.es