A story of two pies:
structural and functional characteristics of Medieval and Early New English apple pie recipes

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Abstract. This paper explores the apple pie recipe in its earlier versions: *For to make Tartys in Applis* (1390) and *To make pyes of grene apples* (1575), which has been specifically chosen because of its global popularity. The current paper examines some linguistic, textual, and functional peculiarities of these recipes from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. As the study aims primarily to test Görlach's textual components and social characteristics (2004) on the selected recipes, it will also provide insight into the interplay between language and socio-cultural relationships during these historical periods.

Keywords: apple pie recipe, Middle English, Early New English, variation, text, writer/reader, register, function.

As Carl Sagan, an American astronomer and author, once said "You have to know the past to understand the present" (Sagan 1980). It is true that in order to understand the development of literate mentalities and the history of the written word, we must also examine ideas that date back to Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and more recent times (Mostert 2002: 40-41). In this respect, recipes have been selected as subject matter since they serve as "cultural narratives" which shed light on the history of a particular era, the language, the community, the culture, and, of course, the culinary tastes of the time (Cotter 1997: 51). In Cotter's view, when analysing historical recipes, it is often the language that fascinates us since "a tumblerful of flour" feels more "evocative" than a precise quantity (Cotter 1997: 52). Therefore, the main *aim* of this paper is to study two apple pie recipes in accordance with Görlach's textual characteristics (2004: 124-125), which define the main linguistic features relating to text type.

The criteria are presented in Table 1 below. They include well-definedness, social considerations, linguistic criteria, and technical language use such as measurements. In what follows, the two recipes will be analysed in a chronological order along the above-mentioned criteria.

Table 1
Textual features of recipes adapted from Görlach (2004)

A. Well-definedness on macro- and microlevel
1. Is the text found, together with others of its kind, in a collection exclusively meant as a collection of recipes, and possibly called so explicitly, (a) or is at least a *section* of the book devoted to recipes? (b) What is the order of entries (grouped according to subject matter? alphabetically?) 2. Analysis of terms: when did the expressions *book of/ art of/ system of cookery* occur in book titles (and what alternatives were used?) Analysis of the words *receipt* and *recipe*.
B. Social
3. Language used   4. Readers addressed (normally on the title page, in blurbs/flaps, forewords), especially the noble/genteel/court vs. 'middling', family contexts, and the professional vs. amateur/housewife;
C. Linguistic
5. Analysis of eight main features, and their development through time (and correlation with the type of user): a) form of the heading b) full sentences or telegram style c) use of imperative or other verbal forms (Haegeman 1987) d) use of possessive pronouns with ingredients and implements e) deletion of objects f) temporal sequence, and possible adverbs used g) complexity of sentences h) marked use of loanwords and of genteel diction
D. Technical
6. Specification (especially weights, measures, aspects: types of instruments/ovens used, temperatures and times) 7. Standardization of arrangement (e.g., subsections 'title', 'ingredients', 'procedure', 'how to serve up').

Apple pie recipes must have existed long before they were first written down; however, due to the absence of recorded Old English recipes, the conclusions as regards their form "may be drawn from the medical recipes" (Bator 2015: 570). In other words, the roots of culinary writing "are embedded in the tradition of medical writing" (Marttila 2014: 289), which goes back as far

as Roman Antiquity (ibid., 290). This is also evident from the terminology used since it was only in the 14th century that this lexical gap became filled with the Romance *receipt* (Görlach 2004: 123).

As to the terms *receipt* and *recipe*, the former already appeared in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale": "and whan that this preest shoolde / Maken assay, at swich tyme as he wolde, / Of this *receit*, farwel!" (Chaucer 1957: 222). This term functioned along with Latin *recipe* (the imperative form of *take*) up until the 17th century and initially was exclusively used by doctors who would write 'recipe' at the top of prescriptions, meaning, of course, (please) 'take' the following. Thus, instead of the word 'recipe', the printed cookbooks oftentimes use 'secrets', 'experiments', or 'ways of making' (Marttila 2014: 312). As a direction for the preparation of food, the word 'recipe' was recorded around 1716 (Online Etymology Dictionary).

For to make Tartys in Applis

The earliest apple pie recipe *For to make Tartys in Applis* was found in a cookbook *Forme of Cury* (Method of Cooking) named so by Samuel Pegge. Detailing 196 recipes, it originally existed in the form of vellum rolls of cookery compiled by master cooks of King Richard II. Pegge assures that among medieval cooking guides, "it is far the largest and most copious collection of any" (Pegge 1780: xi). According to historians, this is one of the earliest records of the modern apple pie. In England, printing had not yet been introduced when the recipe was written, so the book was not published until later. Together with its translation to Modern English, it is presented below as Text 1. The colour coding has been added by the authors of the present study to illustrate the occurrence of various parts of speech and important phrases.

Text 1
Middle English apple pie recipe from *Forme of Cury* (1390)
Key to colour coding: verbs, adjectives / adverbs, conjunction, clause introducer

> **XXIII. For to make Tartys in Applis.**
>
> Tak gode Applys and gode Spycis and Figys and reysons and Perys and wan they are wel ybrayed colourd with Safron wel and do yt in a cofyn and do yt forth to bake wel. (Pegge 1780: 119)
>
> 'To make apple tarts. Take good apples and good spices and figs and raisins and pears and when they are well chopped [and] coloured with saffron well and do it [put them] in a coffin and do it forth to bake well.'

The recipes in the cookbook are placed together in a rather haphazard fashion. As for the recipe ordering, they are only listed and numbered in the book's *Explicit Tabula* but are not alphabetized or thematically organized. Being rather arbitrary, such numerical ordering can hardly be considered as a proper organizational principle (Marttila 2014: 305). Some ingredients, words, and expressions are clarified in the *Glossary* and *Index* sections, which were presumably added later. The collection itself is called 'cury' not because it "was ever reckoned a branch of the Art Medical", but "the verb *curare* signifies equally to dress victuals, as to cure a distemper…" (Pegge 1780: xv).

At the time this recipe was created, the characteristic terms used today were either missing or equipped with a different meaning. For instance, only the very basic ingredients are mentioned. Because this recipe does not contain a separate list of ingredients, the form of this genre does not yet show the most characteristic convention of modern recipes; therefore, it has barely separated itself from other genres.

Considering the implications of its language use, this early recipe was written in the vernacular judging by its simple wording. Notaker (2017) claims that "a study of early written recipes reveals certain features that are possible to interpret as "echoes" of the original oral instruction" (2017: 56) and, thus, is perceived as more of a suggestion or a reminder. According to Görlach (2004), there were also rhymed versions of recipes (2004: 128) presumably to facilitate memorization as Middle English literature is known for its oral quality and was meant to be listened to rather than read. Thus, the style of the recipe follows the informal oral tradition and is written in a "reader-friendly" (2004: 130), or perhaps rather in a "listener-friendly" style. Conversely, had the recipes been more detailed, they would have been too demanding to remember.

Early recipe writers and readers were also very different from today. As is evident from the preface, the recipes were written or compiled by educated male writers (probably, professional cooks):

> It were to be wished indeed, that the Reader could be made acquainted with the names of our *master-cooks*, but it is not in the power of the Editor to gratify him in that; this, however, he may be assured of, that as the Art was of consequence in the reign of Richard, a prince renowned and celebrated in the Roll, for the splendor and elegance of his table, they must have been persons of no inconsiderable rank: the king's first and second cooks are now esquires by their office, and there is all the reason in the world to believe they were of equal dignity heretofore (Pegge 1780: xviii).

Cookbooks were essentially designated for "aristocratic and upper bourgeois" audience as "written recipes were in fact not really necessary to the professional medieval cook" (Scully 1995: 5). Because these manuscripts were made of parchment, an expensive form of vellum skin, and were elaborately decorated by an illuminator and scribe, possessing such a cookbook would have been considered an important feat of social achievement (Albert 2018: 1-2). And of course, it was a way to distinguish and define themselves by "letting others of their class know how well they eat" (Scully 1995: 9).

The linguistic analysis of the recipe text reveals several interesting features. With respect to the heading, it contains an imperative, unlike modern recipes. Being quite explicit, the *title* of the recipe *For to make Tartys in Applis* is represented by the *for to* infinitive in the imperative mood. In Old English, the inflected infinitive (e.g., *smokian, sinʒan*) was by far the most frequent of the infinitives (Fischer 1992: 317). As the language was shifting towards analyticity during the Middle English period, grammatical inflections were levelled and eventually lost during the Early New English period. Hence, the infinitival inflection *-an* gradually gave way to *to* as an indicator of purpose. As a result of its grammaticalization, *to* alone is no longer able to fulfil this function, thus *for* was introduced before *to*. During the late 13th-14th centuries, *for to* alternated freely with *to*, and the difference between them was purely grammatical (Albert 2014: 8-10).

As to the sentence structure, it is also different from modern-day recipes. This apple pie recipe is one sentence long and structurally corresponds to *a complex-compound sentence* which is marked by the excessive use of the conjunction '*and*' (seven times), a very fashionable way of joining words and sentence parts of that time (Crystal 2011). Likewise, a temporal

complementizer '*wan*' opens a secondary clause: *wan they are wel ybrayed colourd with Safron wel.*

All the verbs used in the recipe reflect the simplicity of cooking techniques and are of Germanic origin: *make, tak*, *do, bake.* The transitive verbs (*tak gode Applys…, make Tartys…, do yt…*) are used in the imperative mood and are accompanied by an object. The passive voice can also be found in the text: *they are wel ybrayed colourd with Safron.*

The use of pronouns, adverbs and adjectives is far less pronounced than in later recipes. There is no use of possessive pronouns with ingredients. The text contains only one evaluative adverb of manner *wel* (three times) and also one such type of adjective (*gode*, two times). The use of such a plain adverb and adjective is an important piece of pragmatic information. On the one hand, it certainly requires prior knowledge of what '*wel*' in the course of preparation actually means. The same pertains to the usage of the adjective '*gode*' when the author refers to *gode applis* and *gode Spycis,* assuming that the cook was familiar with the type of apples and the specific spice blend used for the preparation of this pie. Although temporal/sequential adverbs are missing from this recipe, the recipe is not very confusing since the cohesion is ensured by the adequate ordering of ingredients and instructions in the description.

Furthermore, reflecting the peculiarities of a specific dialect of that time, the spelling is quite erratic (*yt-in, Applis* vs *Applys*) which would only be codified by Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755. Capitalizing important nouns is another salient feature that has survived until Shakespeare's day. In terms of punctuation, only a full stop is used after the title and at the end of the sentence.

The complete lack of measurements is perhaps the most dramatic and puzzling characteristic that can be noticed in this early recipe text. The measurements and quantities are not provided and are "too much left to the taste and judgement of the cook" (Pegge, xvii). As it was stated above, it can be assumed that these recipes targeted experienced cooks and allowed an individual some freedom in preparing food to satisfy their taste. Cookbooks were designed to guide rather than teach, that is to remind readers about any ingredients or the sequence of adding them. It is important to note that the ingredients reflect the tastes, flavours, and ingredients' availability of the period (Cabanillas 2017: 17). Diemer claims that Middle English recipes, for example, are clearly made for professional cooks, since the modern measurements or cooking time are almost completely missing" (2013: 140; Brears 2008: 13). Hence, the recipes "were essentially *aides-mémoire* for skilled cooks", i.e., to refresh the cook's memory since this was a predominantly oral society where knowledge was transmitted by memory (Brears 2008: 13).

It may be partly for this reason that this early recipe text is so brief: writing was not the primary means for the transmission of knowledge. In fact, if one was orally taught and expected to remember a recipe, and was skilled in cooking, writing was really superfluous. To proceed with the concrete example, if a cook was able to bake an apple pie, there was really no point in putting down that one sentence that constituted the 14th-century recipe. Moreover, the most outstanding chefs were believed to be probably reluctant to reveal all the details of their craft and were convinced that some recipes were too obvious and needed no further explanation. As Scully (1995) mentions, "not everything that was done in the kitchen was mentioned in these books", meaning that stages or tasks performed by the chef's helpers were simply skipped as they were "rarely worth written space" (Scully 1995: 8). For instance, Guillaume Tirel or 'Taillevent', one of the greatest chefs in the 14th century France, the author of *Viandier,* explains the omission of instructions on how to cook some of the dishes contained in his collection since "everyone knows how to do them" (Scully 1988: 311). Not surprisingly, this is exactly the case with the missing instruction in the examined recipe for *cofyn* preparation: *do yt in a cofyn*. For the modern reader, it may imply that such crusts were available in a pre-prepared form (see Text 1). As well, the author of the cookbook did not know whether the recipe was prepared for a couple of people or a large gathering, which is one of the reasons why the early recipes do not specify quantities. As a result, it was considered one of the major responsibilities of the cook as well as his freedom to decide on the right amount of ingredients to use (Scully 1998: 309-310). Alternatively, the cookbooks could describe complicated and sophisticated dishes in detail, which only a master chef with a team of qualified assistants could stand a chance of preparing, thus serving to demonstrate his competence. Lastly, no time for baking is specified, it just instructs to *bake wel* for the reasons discussed above.

This 14th-century recipe text is at a stage of development at which the most important structural characteristic is not present. It is apparent from the recipe organization that there are two subsections only: 'title' + 'preparation'; however, 'ingredients' as well as 'how to serve' are missing. According to Carroll, the separation of 'ingredients' from 'preparation' is essential in the evolution of recipes, which sets them apart from other genres (Carroll 2010: 67). He states that

> This switch to the ingredients list is important for two reasons. Firstly, this is what makes recipes visually distinct from other short texts structured in a title + prose paragraph format. The recipe consisting of title + list + paragraph(s) is more recognizable as

belonging to a specific genre. Secondly, the ingredients list is now considered the most important recipe component (after the title) to highlight visually. (Carroll 2010: 67)

Being at its early stage, recipes were difficult to distinguish from other entries published in books on household maintenance as all of them had the same structure consisting of a title and a body: *To keep Peares.* vs. *To kill lyce* (see Figure 1).
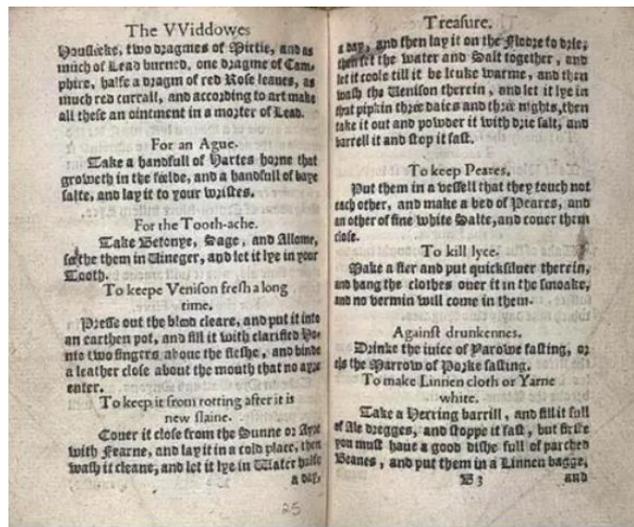

Figure 1
A facsimile of John Partridge's *The Widdowes Treasure* (1582-1639)

To make pyes of grene apples

The second recipe *To make pyes of grene apples* was written during the Renaissance, a period which is considered to be revolutionary in many respects. For one thing, the mass production of books began, which hastened the dawn of "technical" writing or "how-to books" or manuals. In fact, "population growth and proliferation of knowledge through printed word meant that knowledge no longer needed to be transmitted solely by oral means or to depend on oral context to help give meaning to the printed word" (Tebeaux 1997: 5). Due to the books' lower price and widespread availability, their content and the language were designed to address an average middle-class literate individual who wished to study and acquire some practical skills in gardening, farming, household management, or cooking (Tebeaux 1997: 4-5). As a matter of fact, the first English cookbooks were very short and listed several basic meat and bread recipes. Yet, by 1615, when the supply started to meet the demand, "these books were 60-100 pages long and contained instructions for making sachets, perfumes, dentifrices, and preservatives in addition to elaborate recipes for breads and confections" (Teberaux 1997: 22-23).

The 16th-century recipe is also located in a cookbook. This cookbook from the same century includes some accounts of domestic life, cookery, and feasts, and contains a recipe for an apple pie. It is also in this period that cookery book writers begin to provide some practical instructions as to choosing ingredients, food preservation or serving:

> A *Proper New Booke of Cookery* declarynge what maner of meates be beste in season for al times in the yere and how they ought to be dressed and served at the Table, both for fleshe dayes and fyshe dayes with a new addition verye necessarye for all them that delyghteth in Cokerye (Frere 1913: 123).

The cookbook is logically organized: it begins with a *Table of Subjects, Recipes* section which lists 49 recipes. Further, it contains some explanations of the best seasons for certain meats, a list of courses, and details on how to serve them on 'fleshe dayes' and 'fyshe dayes'. However, the recipes are neither alphabetically nor thematically grouped.

Text 2
Early New English recipe from *A Proper New Booke of Cookery* (1575)
Key to colour coding: verbs, possessive pronouns, conjunction, sequential adverbs, personal pronoun, measurements, tool.

To make pyes of grene apples.

Take your apples and pare them cleane and core them as ye wyll a Quince, then make youre coffyn after this maner, take a lyttle fayre water and half a dyche of butter and a little Saffron, and sette all this upon a chafyngdyshe tyll it be hoate then temper your flower with this sayd licuor, and the whyte of two egges and also make your coffyn and ceason your apples with Sinemone, Gynger and Suger ynoughe. Then putte them into your coffin and laye halfe a dyshe of butter above thẽ and so close your coffin, and so bake them (Frere 1913: 29).

'To make pies of green apples. Take your apples and pare then clean and core them as you will a quince, then make your coffin after this manner, take a little faire water and half a dish of butter and a little saffron, and set all this upon a chafing dish till it is hot then mix your flour with this said liquor, and the white of two eggs and also make your coffin and season your apples [with] the right amount of cinnamon, ginger and sugar. Then put them into your coffin and lay half a dish of butter above them and then close your coffin, and then bake them.'

The two centuries that passed from the first text to the second greatly influenced the language of the second recipe. The most obvious change can be observed in the dish itself and its name. In Text 1, the term *'tarte'* is used (meaning that there is no upper crust yet), yet in Text 2, the tart receives the upper crust and is now called a *'pye'*. Pies with different fillings were very popular in the 16th century since they were nutritious and relatively cheap. Furthermore, the word '*coffyn*' over the years has changed its meaning, but, originally, it meant a crust made of water and flour thick enough to withstand heat in the process of cooking. It was common for servants, beggars, or animals to consume the 'coffins', whilst the upper class ate only their contents.

Judging by the presence of more detailed instructions, publishers and cookbook authors assumed a different audience in the second text. They began to perceive their readers as exclusively females, and made this evident from the prefaces, dedications, and notes to the reader. Indeed, British cookbooks in the late 16th century were generally predominated by gendered literature aimed at women as in John Partridge's *The Widdowes Treasure* (1582-1639), Thomas Dawson's *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (1585), Sir Hugh Plat's *Delights for Ladies* (1600), or Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife* (1615), because it was women who were responsible for their household, their servants, and feeding their families (Lehmann 2003: 23).

In addition, the reader in Text 2 is addressed via the second-person pronoun '*ye',* commonly used to address more than one person or, as in French, one person in a more polite or formal manner. Only in the Late New English did the form '*ye*' come to be treated as both a singular and plural pronoun which over the years transformed to '*you*'. With this, a semi-conversational form between author and reader was implied, and a respectful manner of addressing the reader seems to be accepted.

The title of the Renaissance text indicates pure purpose and not an instruction. Contrary to the title expressed by means of *for to* infinitive in Text 1, the heading *To make pyes of grene apples* is now expressed by *to* infinitive and indicates purpose. In Middle English, *to* and *for to* infinitive (often spelt as *forto*) forms coexisted and were used interchangeably as functional and semantic alternatives. However, in Early New English, due to the "tendency towards the stabilization of language means" (Albert 2014: 8-9), *for to* infinitive becomes redundant and is used only sporadically.

The second recipe is two sentences long. With respect to their structure, both are *compound sentences* with an overuse of the conjunction '*and*' (12 times). The recipe is written in simple repetitive structures and contains succinct and straightforward instructions, making it easy to follow.

The imperative form of verbs is quite common and all of them are transitive, that is, accompanied by an object: *putte them….., pare them cleane…, core them…, settle all this…, bake them…*

In this later text, possessive pronouns are widely used as determiners before nouns in the author's instructions, making them conversational: *take your apples…., make your coffyn…, ceason your apples…, close your coffin...* As the editor Frere notes these forms "if literally copied into print, might startle the casual reader, or even seem like a grim joke: *Tie your tongue with string to a jack in front of the fire*" (Frere 1913: xviii).

Some sequential adverbs have appeared, such as *tyll, then, after* which help to follow the steps of the recipe. Besides, more concrete referential instructions are given as compared to Text 1, for example: *core them as ye wyll a Quince* or *make youre coffyn after this manner*, meaning that the author is alluding to a previous recipe found in the same collection or to the cook's background knowledge. Such intertextuality also makes this text much more complex than the previous one.

French loanwords as '*pare', 'core', 'quince', 'chafyndyshe', 'temper', 'licour', 'ceason'* indicate more complex process and method of preparation.

Besides, the spelling remains inconsistent (*your – youre, coffyn – coffin, dyche – dyshe, little – lyttle, half – halfe, flower* for *flour*) due to the conflicting printing practices and the absence of standardized spelling. Abbreviation of *them* is represented as *thẽ* with a tilde. The capitalization of some nouns remains but is not as prevalent. As regards the punctuation marks, along with full stops, commas are introduced, but their position is quite unpredictable.

Another noteworthy feature of this recipe is the presence of measurements and a tool. In their research, Bator & Sylwanowicz (2017: 36) classify the measurements into three categories, such as: *specific, non-specific,* and *container-related.* All of these appear in the later apple pie recipe. For instance, *specific* are those whose measurement is precise and accurate: *the whyte of two egges*; *non-specific* are rather imprecise and subjective: *a lyttle fayre water; a little Saffron; Sinemone, Gynger and Sugar ynoughe*; whereas the container-related category correlates with the size of the container: *half a dyche of butter*. Moreover, a *chafyngdyshe* is mentioned (Figure 2), which is a cooking pot meant for slow cooking or keeping the food warm.

Overall, the appearance of technical language adds even more of the characteristics of the recipe genre.

Figure 2
Chafing dish (16th c.) displayed in The British Museum

As for the ingredients, they are specified (*Sinemone, Gynger* and *Suger*) in this later text as opposed to Text 1 (*gode Spycis*). Sugar is a new ingredient, and for this reason, it is missing from the previous recipe. It is only in the light of this that the importance of using (dried) figs and raisins becomes clear in the first recipe: they were used to sweeten the pie filling.

In terms of structure, this recipe is similar to the first one, since it includes a title in the imperative mood and a body. Even so, with certain measurements and tools, a conversational *ye*, it begins to resemble modern recipes. Nonetheless, it was not until 1887 that the recipe's modern outlook was supplied with a distinct list of ingredients. This started with the publication of *The Boston Cookbook* by Mrs. D. A. Lincoln, first principal of the Boston Cooking School, which "tabulated the ingredients at the head of each recipe and offered a detailed table of weights and measures to guide the housewife who might be confused by the meaning of 'butter the size of an egg'…" (Aresty 1964: 222).

Conclusion

The summary of the main differences and similarities between the two apple pie recipes can be thus presented in Table 2.

Table 2
A simplified summary of the main textual and linguistic features of two recipes based on Görlach (2004)

Textual and linguistic features	Text 1 (14th c.)	Text 2 (16th c.)
Title	*for to* V + NP, imperative mood, one passive form	*to* V + NP, imperative mood

Name	*Tartys*	*pyes*
Language	simple, basic	user-friendly, more detailed
Evaluative elements	*wel, gode* (requires prior knowledge)	*core them as ye wyll a Quince; make youre coffyn after this manner* (more concrete, reference to another recipe)
Writer	master-cooks of Richard II	unknown
Addressee	professional cooks in bourgeois households	housewives in middle-class households; pronoun *ye*
Purpose	to remind	to instruct
Vocabulary	Germanic origin and one of Latin origin (*colourd*)	both Germanic and Latin (Norman French) origin
Body of the recipe	one sentence (complex-compound)	two sentences (compound)
Sequential adverbs	-	*after, then, tyll*
Possessive pronouns before the ingredients	-	*your apples, youre coffyn*
Deletion of objects	-	-
Ingredients	*applys, spycis, figys, reyson, perys, safron* (used for food colouring to make it more appealing), *coffyn*	*apples, water, butter, saffron, egges, sinemone, ginger, suger, coffyn*
Tools indicated	-	*chafyndyshe*
Measurements / quantities	-	specific, non-specific, and container-related
Spelling	erratic, capitalization of nouns	erratic, capitalization of nouns
Punctuation	full stops	full stops and commas
Separate list of ingredients	-	-
Recipe structure	title + preparation	title + preparation
Closing formula	*do it forth*	-

As seen, these two periods are closely related to the then-prevailing socio-cultural and linguistic environments which have contributed differently to the linguistic, textual, and functional characteristics of the analysed recipes. The above study demonstrates that the two recipe texts, separated by only two centuries, changed in quite a few aspects. Regarding their language, Early New English recipes appear to use more French loanwords, sequential adverbs, possessive pronouns before the ingredients, longer and more detailed instructions, measurements, and a tool. However, there is no evidence of object deletion yet, a common feature in modern recipes, as proposed by Görlach (2004). Furthermore, these 14th and 16th century recipes demonstrated the formation of the genre itself mainly as the product of literacy, that is, as new conventions of writing became established and became familiar to authors and their readers alike. Also, a new readership was targeted: instead of experienced cooks, housewives and non-experts were

addressed. Thus, the purpose of recipes became education instead of sketchy reminders of secrets. Nevertheless, since the primary function has remained stable over the centuries–i.e., offer help in the preparation of a dish–, the basic ingredients and the instructions must be there in some form, and this has preserved the core features of this genre.

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