Original Documents.

BENEDICTIONES AD MENSAS EKKEHARDI MONACHI.

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IN the collection of remarkable manuscripts preserved in the library of the convent of St. Gall is the "*Liber Benedictionalis*," a work written A.D. 1000 or thereabouts, the contents of which throw considerable light on the cloister-life, as also on the customs and general state of culture of that period.

Ekkehard the Fourth, or the younger (born A.D. 980, deceased 1036), was a monk and "*magister scholarum*" in the convent of St. Gall, and author of the "*Casus S. Galli*,"¹ a work of inestimable value for a knowledge of the mediæval period, and especially so with regard to Germany. While a student under the direction of his tutor Notker (Labeo), and also in after life, Ekkehard composed a number of poems on various subjects, such as epitaphs, inscriptions on pictures, hymns on the yearly festivals, short graces for meals, etc., which form collectively a considerable volume. It bears the name of "*Liber Benedictionalis*," and is numbered 393 among the manuscripts in the library of the convent.

All these poems are in Latin, and in the rhyming hexameter verse called *leonine*. They are by no means remarkable for elegance of diction, nor correct in form; occasionally they are so obscure that the author has felt himself obliged to render his meaning more intelligible by the addition of detached words, or notes, in Latin and German. In the case of several poems it is evident that they are no effusions of poetical inspiration, but must be regarded as exercises for making Latin verse, or as themes—"dictamina magistri diei debita"—as the author himself terms them, the purport and development of which the tutor had explained. Occasionally they are mere memoranda of Notker's lectures on rhetoric, logic, dialectics, astronomy, etc., or quotations from Greek and Latin poets and historians read with the tutor. With all their imperfections and want of poetical merit, these poems, and among them the "*Benedictiones ad Mensas*" especially, a precise reproduction of which we now give, form a part of those interesting works which afford us a glance of the inner life and social condition of the middle ages.

It is well known that the term *Benedictiones*, or blessings, is given to those solemn acts so frequent formerly in the Mosaic ritual, and adopted by the Christian religion, whereby, by means of certain prayers, the grace and favor of Heaven were to be extended to some project, or person, or thing. The ceremony in use since the first centuries of the Christian Church, at the rite of benediction, and also at that of exorcism so closely connected with it, has been the making the sign of the cross, and the aspersion of holy water. Under the former formula the blessing and the adjuration

¹ This domestic record of the convent is published by Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ*, vol. ii., with explanatory notes by Von Arx.

were practised not merely by the priests at important ceremonies, but also by the laity at the commencement of almost every daily occupation. They made the sign of the cross on forehead and breast, or on whatever came in their way. They made it on coming in or going out, on retiring to rest, at striking a light, over weapons and books, over vessels and garments, and especially over the meats of which they were about to partake. That the use of the sign of the cross was associated with the enunciation of each of the following blessings is plain from the tenor of a number of the verses.² It may be asked whether these and similar formulæ really were made at meals, and for individual dishes, in convents; or whether we are to consider the examples before us merely as poetical essays. In favor of the former view is the fact that at the time when the author lived the most trivial events, such as putting on new clothes, trimming of the hair and beard, or letting blood, were in this and other convents preceded by certain prayers;³ and further, that this pious mode of regarding the external events of life did not merely prevail in the convents, but throughout Christendom generally. The second view is undoubtedly correct as regards a number of verses which contain medical prescriptions, recipes for certain dishes, and so forth, which have nothing to do with blessings. Graces are also enjoined in convents by the Benedictine rule, and by the Capitularies of the Frankish emperors. Among the poems of Alcuin⁴ we find a benediction at meals. Benedictions of bread, water, and salt occur in several forms, both in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon. Besides these examples very few graces have come down to us from the early middle-age period.

Each of the lines in the following benedictions stands by itself, and has no connection with the rest; each contains the blessing of some dish, or of some drink, that has just been brought to table. Sometimes the form of blessing of the same object is repeated with trifling variation. But what sets a value on the actual position of the verses is the circumstance that the individual groups appear to betoken the separate parts or courses of a repast, which not only includes the dinner, but also the dessert and the *symposium*. That it was, at least, the author's design not merely to quote a list of dishes, but to give a poetic description of the real repast with its individual accessories, appears from the tenor of the first three lines, and from the heading of the different divisions being marked by the repetition of the word "item."

Mention is naturally first made of bread, the most sacred of all elements of food, in its various forms and modes of preparation; and then of salt, a

² Prudentius, Hymn. vi.
Fac cum, petente somno,
Castum petis cubile,
Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet,
Crux pellit omne crimen,
Fugiant crucem tenebræ.
Tali dicata signo
Mens fluctuare nescit.

³ Von Arx, Geschichte von St. Gallen. 1. 254, and in Pertz ii., p. 75, "Ekkehardus versibus leoninis benedictiones multiplices in usum superiorum scripsit, quibus eæ ad lectiones in choro et preces mensales rhythmicè pronuntiandæ erant."—Haupt's Zeitschrift, iv. 577: "Wherefore they bless vessels, measures,

eggs, lights, water, salt, flesh, etc."—*Benedictio uvarum, novellæ fabæ, novelli panis, musti.* Stat. Ord. Clun., etc.

⁴ *Fercula nostra pius Christus benedicat in aula,*
Et sua multiplicet clementer munera servis,
Qui mannam populo celesti misit in imbre,
Rupibus et sic ei sitiæ flumina fudit,
Panibus et quinis satiavit millia quinque,
Qui convertit aquas mirandi in vina saporis,
Nos, et nostra simul benedicat fercula mitis,
Conservetque suos famulos in pace serena.

no less important requirement of life. The meal then commences with fish, as is still the custom in many countries. Then follow poultry, butcher's meat, game, made-dishes, and vegetables, and the repast closes with dessert and various drinks. We must not conclude that at that period, even at great entertainments, meats and drinks were displayed in such profusion and diversity ; the purpose of the poet doubtless was, that no dish known at St. Gall at that period should remain without its appropriate blessing. Hence each separate verse tells us of some article of food considered in Ekkehard's times acceptable and rare, the produce either of the adjacent mountains or the warmer plains of Germany, or placed within the power of wealth by the stream of commerce that flowed near St. Gall through the valley of the Rhine. In the eighth and ninth centuries the greatest abstemiousness, both as regarded the quality and the quantity of aliments, prevailed as a rule in the monasteries and was strictly observed. Later, however, after wealth and the need of a more generous mode of living had entered their walls, these very institutions became the places where care of the body, and especially its daily nourishment, obtained particular consideration.⁵ The art of preparing food then attained such a degree of culture that, just as the cloister-dwellers surpassed their contemporaries in the department of knowledge, so did they also excel in that of agreeable and delicate living ; for centuries afterwards the convent-kitchen was held to be the school of cookery. In the case of St. Gall this transition from early simplicity and austerity to profusion and luxury is very remarkable, and of this the *Benedictiones* give us a striking proof. "Even in the ninth and tenth centuries," says Von Arx, "the monks were not allowed to eat meat, although their forests were full of game and their stalls full of cattle, and though, through lack of Italian fruits, and the high price of fish, they were compelled to live on pulse and on *muss*."⁶ This *muss* diet was so usual at St. Gall, that Gero knew no better translation of the words *cibi* and *cœnari* than *mus* and evening *mus*. The bill of fare which Abbot Hartmuot, elected A.D. 872, made out, and which was followed at St. Gall for two centuries afterwards, was completely indited in this spirit. There is no departure from the Italian rule, except in the matter of drink and kitchen stuff, when the bottle of wine, which the rule allowed, was changed for two bottles (maass) of beer, and lard took the place of olive oil in cookery. Each had his separate portion of meat and drink." The aspect of the table was entirely changed after they had taken to eat meat.

Nor are the dietary precepts and the medicinal remarks altogether without interest. Thus we learn that mushrooms, to be eaten safely, must be boiled seven times ; that hazel-nuts are injurious to the stomach, while, on the contrary, garlic is wholesome ; that millet is poisonous in fevers, and leeks can only be safely taken with a liberal allowance of wine ; that the flesh of peacocks, swans, and ducks is indigestible, but goat's milk is very wholesome. Several of the statements betray the superstition and ignorance of the period. Thus the beaver is classed with fishes, and called a fish ; and it is further told how the quail, to draw the sportsman's pursuit

⁵ As regards the convent-diet in the eleventh century, compare S. Wilhelmi Constitutiones Hirsaugiensis in Vetere Disciplina Monastica (auctore P. Marquardo Hergott), cap. vi., &c. ; Parisiis, 1726.

⁶ Also in the Engelberg gloss. Haupt. Zeitschrift iii., *cœnaculum* is rendered by *muosgadem*, and elsewhere by *muosstete*. *Mus* may be translated porridge, and from it is derived the American mush, or porridge of maize flour.

from her young to herself, will feign lameness ; that pigeons have no gall, etc.

Many of the things mentioned, the fruits in particular, point to the vicinity of the commercial route to Italy, or to the close connection of the cloister with that land. That St. Gall was in friendly intercourse with Bobbio, a monastery founded by St. Columbanus, the master of St. Gallus, is clear from several passages in the "*Casus S. Galli*." By means of the Italian convents it is probable that this famous and greatly frequented abbey obtained not only æsthetic support in valuable manuscripts, musical compositions, etc., but also many corporeal enjoyments, as rare and costly provision for the larder. If we allow that chestnuts, peaches, plums, mulberries, figs, and other fruits were brought from the convent property on the shores of the Lake of Constance and in the valley of the Rhine—yet, in any case, melons, pomegranates, olives, almonds, citrons, dates, kidney-beans, and many other such things are the produce of southern countries. The customs and usages of Upper Italy are also visible in the mention of wine thickened by boiling, the use of capons, the dish of eel-pouts served up with mushrooms, and the use of these fungi as vegetables ; also in the taking of little birds by threads (*in roccolo*), a pursuit in which the inhabitants of Lombardy still evince as much pleasure as dexterity. Many of the dishes which, beyond doubt, were regarded as delicacies not easily obtainable, as herrings and stock-fish, the spices and condiments required for made dishes (*cibi arte facti*), and prepared wines, testify of the commerce of Central Europe with the North and also with the remote East.

With regard to the order of the lines and the period of the composition of these forms of benediction, it must be observed that, although for the most part the verses are written immediately in sequence, yet the poet has inserted no inconsiderable portion between the lines, and not always in their proper places, at later periods, during numerous revisions of his work. These interpolations betray themselves sometimes by the color of the ink, sometimes by the smaller writing.

The letters, words, and sentences which are introduced between the lines and above the words to which they refer are partly changes of expression, partly more precise definitions and interpretations. The object of the first is either to furnish the person saying grace with a formula which accurately describes the quantity, (*panis, panes*,) or the quality, (*niveus, rubeus, coctus, frixus*,) or the nature (*volatile—natatilis*) of the dish actually before him. The last explain, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German, the object in question, as—*tenera lanugine mala—citoniæ* ; *cambissa* (*Gemse*), *i.e.*, *fera Alpina* ; *panis elixus—cesotin* (*gesotten*) *brod* ; or they refer to diet, or to natural history.

It must be further observed that in the manuscript the inscription and the greater part of the initial letters of each line are in red ink.

To facilitate consideration of the plan of the repast and its courses, it may be well to enumerate the dishes in the order in which they appear.

First, the poet prays Heaven to keep the guests assembled at the richly-spread board from contention. This was by no means superfluous, when we consider the quarrels which at that period were continually taking place, and especially among Germans, at festal occasions.

Bread, and salt, which are already on the table, give occasion for the mention of the various farinaceous preparations and of the sauces.

Bread (v. 6, 7)—bread in the form of cakes, twists (v. 8, 9), crescent-shaped bread (v. 10), boiled bread (v. 11), toasted bread sprinkled with salt (v. 12), egg-cakes (v. 13), bread made with yeast (v. 14), bread made with leaven (v. 15), wafers (v. 16), unleavened bread (v. 17), spelt bread (v. 18), wheaten bread (v. 19), rye bread (v. 20), barley bread (v. 21), oat cakes (v. 22), new bread (v. 24, 25), bread, hot and cold (v. 26, 27), bread baked under hot ashes (v. 28). The list closes with the blessing of the fragments (v. 29, 30); for, as the bread had been blessed, the remnants could not be applied to any unworthy purpose (John vi. 12).

After the blessing of the salt and the sauces (v. 37, 38) the dinner begins. First, fish are brought in: boiled fish (v. 39), stock-fish or tunny (v. 42), sturgeon (v. 43, 73), varieties of salmon (v. 44, 45, 47), varieties of eels (v. 46, 57, 58), pike (v. 48), *rubulgra* (v. 49)? lampreys and lamperns (v. 50, 55), varieties of trout (v. 51, 52), herrings (v. 53, 54), perch (v. 59, 60), roach (v. 61), roasted fish (v. 62), cray-fish (v. 63), fish broiled and peppered (v. 65, 66), char (v. 67), gudgeon, chub (v. 69), small fry (v. 70), beaver (v. 71).

Birds (v. 74, 75)—peacock (76), pheasant (v. 77), swan (v. 78), goose (v. 79, 80), crane (v. 81), duck (v. 82), quail (v. 83), pigeon (v. 84), turtle-dove (v. 85), and other kinds of pigeons (v. 86), boiled fowl (v. 87), capon (v. 88), chicken (v. 89), ptarmigan (v. 91); small birds taken in snares (v. 92, 93).

Butcher's meat—beef (v. 96, 97), veal (v. 98), mutton (v. 99), lamb (v. 100), goat (v. 101, 103), kid (v. 102), roasted meat (v. 104), shoulder of beef, roasted or boiled (v. 105), pork, roasted or boiled (v. 106, 107, 108), ham (v. 109), young pork (v. 110), bacon (v. 111), sausage meat (v. 112), flesh of the domesticated boar, boiled and roasted (v. 113, 114), meat roasted on the spit (v. 115), boiled and roasted (v. 116).

Game (v. 117, 118)—bear's flesh (v. 119, 120), wild boar (v. 121), stag and hind (v. 122), roasted venison (v. 123), bison (v. 124), urus (v. 125, 126), wild horse (v. 127), buck (v. 128), roebuck (v. 129), roe (v. 130), fawn (v. 131), ibex (v. 132), chamois, boiled and roasted (v. 133), hare (v. 134), marmot (v. 135).

After courses—milk (v. 137, 138), cheese (v. 139, 140), cheese with honey, pepper, and wine (v. 141), with honey alone (v. 142, 143), cheese of goats' milk (v. 144), honey (v. 145, 146, 147), honeycomb (v. 148), mulberry jam made of yellow and white mulberries (v. 149), mulberry wine (v. 150), warm drinks (v. 151), spiced honey-wine (v. 152), made dishes (v. 153), dishes seasoned with pepper and vinegar (v. 154, 155), mustard (v. 156), mashed herbs (v. 157), spices (v. 158, 159), thin cakes (v. 160), cakes of fine meal (v. 161), eggs (v. 162), pulse (v. 163, 164) purée of beans (v. 165), beans (v. 166), chicory (v. 167, 168), vetches (v. 169), lentils (v. 170), purée of red lentils (v. 171, 172), purée of millet (v. 173, 174), kidney-beans (v. 175).

Fruit (v. 177)—apples (v. 178, 186), olives (v. 179), citrons (v. 180, 181), figs (v. 182), dates (v. 183), grapes (v. 184), pomegranates (v. 185), pears (v. 187), wild pears (v. 188, 189, 190), quinces (v. 191), chestnuts (v. 192), peaches (v. 193), plums (v. 194), cherries (v. 195, 196), bitter cherries (v. 197), hazel-nuts (v. 198), walnuts (v. 199, 200), nuts of all kinds (v. 201).

Garden stuff—roots (v. 204), seeds (v. 205, 206), medicinal herbs (v. 207), herbs (v. 208), cabbage (v. 209, 210), leeks, cooked and raw

(v. 211), mushrooms, cooked (v. 212), all the *brassica* tribe (v. 213), melons (v. 214), garlic (v. 215, 216), pumpkins (v. 217), lettuce (v. 218), salads (v. 219).

Drinks—wine (v. 223—234), must (235—240), new and old wine (v. 241, 242), wine, honied or spiced (v. 247), sage-wine (v. 248), cider (v. 249), mulberry-wine (v. 250), boiled wine (v. 251), mead (v. 252, 253), honied wine (v. 254, 255), beer (v. 256—259), water (v. 260—265).

BENEDICTIONES AD MENSAS

YMMONI ABBATI DE SANCTO GREGORIO FRATRI GERMANO
COMPACTÆ ROGANTI.

discordiam uel inimicitias

Non sinat offensas super has deus affore mensas.

Taliter

Largiter impensis assit benedictio mensis.

Rite superpansas repleat benedictio mensas.

us is sit is

Appositi panes sint damnarantis inanes.

Hunc esum

5. Hoc munus panum faciat benedictio sanum.

uel sit fraudis et hostis

Uerbum cum pane non sit uirtutis inane.

perceptio

Egris et sanis bona sit benedictio panis.

Hanc panis tortam faciat benedictio fortem.

Erige Christe manum tortis benedicere panum.

ITEM.

in lune modum factum

10. Panem lunatum faciat benedictio gratum.

cesctin brot

Hoc notet elixum benedictio per crucifixum.

Mulceat hoc frixum benedictio cum sale mixtum.

rex christe

oua leuant sicut fex

Panem fac gratum crux sancta per oua leuatum.

Sit cruce signatus panis de fece leuatus.

V. 8. Torta panis (tortelli, tourte), refers to all kinds of cakes made with white flour, also to wheaten bread in general.

V. 10. Panis lunatus.—Small crescent-shaped rolls of the finest flour were eaten in convents, and especially during fasts. They are still known in various parts of Switzerland under the name of *gipfel*.

V. 11. Panis elixus.—Boiled bread—small rolls, first boiled, then baked, in the shape of a ring, as still made at Schaffhausen. Panis elixus is identical with lagana, lagana.

V. 12. Panis frixus cum sale.—Slices of bread toasted and prepared with butter and salt, like English buttered toast.

V. 13. Panis per ova leuatus.—A sort of bread made with eggs and milk.

15. Hoc ^{leuatum fermento} fermentatum faciat benedictio gratum.
 Has deus oblatas faciat dulcedine gratas.
 Azima signetur cruce paschaque commemoretur.
 Panem de spelta repleat benedictio multa.
 Triticeum panem faciat crux pestis inanem.
 20. Numen diuinum ^{repleat uel solidet} signet panem sigalinum.
 Ordea si panes fuerint sint pestis inanes.
 Robore sit plena fuerit si panis auena.
 Omne genus panis repleat benedictio donis.
 Tam nouiter cocti cruce panes sint benedicti.
 25. Iste recens coctus cruce panis sit benedictus.
 Hi ^{uel gelidi} calidi panes sint fraudis et hostis inanes.
 Hic gelidus panis sit pestis et hostis inanis.
 Peste procul Christe sit subcineritius iste.

SUPER FRAGMENTA.

- Nil leue nil uanum ^{sacra} uiolet tot fragmina panum.
 30. Fratrum fragmentis ^{prope sit} assit manus omnipotentis.

AD DIUERSA VICTUALIA.

- Assit cunctorum fons largitorque bonorum.
 Det deus illæsus sit noster potus et esus.
 Sit cibus et potus noster benedictio totus.
 Omne quod appositum est cruce sancta sit benedictum.
 35. Sit cibus appositus crucis hoc signo benedictus.
 Sit noster uictus uirtute crucis benedictus.

V. 16. Oblata, i.e. "panis ad sacrificium oblatus, hostia nondum consecrata. Nomen inde datum pani tenuissimo ex farina et aqua confecto, ad ignem ferreis prelis tosto;" in French, *oublies*. Du Cange.—In German Switzerland they are called *offeten*. When, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, fine baking was introduced in the convents, persons were especially appointed to

prepare the different sorts of wheaten cakes, as wafers, tarts, &c.

V. 17. Panis azymus. — Unleavened bread.

V. 28. Panis subcineritius. — Bread baked under hot ashes. "*Fouace*, panis subcineritius, sorte de gros gâteau bis, qui se fait ordinairement au village." Richelet.

- Hunc salus ipsa salem faciat non exitialem.
 Istam ^{sulza} salsuram faciat benedictio puram.
 Hos pisces coctos cruce sumamus benedictos.
 40. Hos benedic pisces qui talibus æquora misces.
 Pneuma sibi sanetum perfundat aquatile cunctum.
 Sit cruce millena benedicta marina balæna.
 Danubii piscis sit huso ^{huso sit odor} saporus in escis.
 Salmo potens piscis sit sanus et aptus in escis.
 45. Fortis in esocem mittat benedictio uocem.
 Faciat grauidam fungi dulcedine triscam.
 Illanch præcellat alemannicus et mala ^{uel suetus datus} pellat.
 Omnibus unus aquis sit lucius esca ^{non habet species sicut alii pisces. idem ubique est.} suavis.
 Crux faciat sanam uirtute potente rubulgram.
 50. Lampredam raram nimum benedic dee caram.
 Multiplici ^{troctas} troctam ^{benedictas} cruce sumamus benedictam.
 Omne genus troctæ benedic super omnia macte.
 Sit salsus piscis bonus almarinus in escis.

V. 38. Salsura, salsa, condimentum, Gallis *sauce*, seu quæ salsis vel condimentis inserviunt, videlicet piper, sinapi: assaisonnement. Du Cange.—What the middle ages understood by *salsa* may be clearly seen from the old cookery recipes published in the Bibliothek des Literar. Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. ix., according to which the salsa (No. 43) is made of sour grapes, sage, and garlic; or (No. 49) from wine, pure honey, ginger, pepper, and garlic. Sulza, salsura, salsugo, murium, nitrum, etc., have all the same meaning.

V. 42. Marina balena.—Doubtless stock-fish, also called strumulus. The mode of dressing is given in the recipes just referred to. As, however, balena would appear to imply a large fish, the tunny may be meant, which also formerly was salted, and formed an article of commerce. According to Oken, it was often reckoned among the whale tribe by old writers, and is the largest fish which was caught for food.

V. 44. As is well known, salmo and esox designate the same fish, the salmon. It bears the former name in summer, and the latter late in autumn,

when it enters the small rivers.

V. 46. Faciat, sc. benedictio. Trisca (Swiss Germ. trüsche), gadus lota, eel-pout.—How favorite a fish this was in the middle ages, and especially its liver, is shown by the comment of the chroniclers that the Abbess of the St. Felix and Regula convent at Zurich, Elizabeth of Matzingen, “had swallowed up the vineyard called the Golden Slope, at Zollikon, with eel-pout livers.”

V. 47. Illanch.—This is the name of the lake salmon (salmo lacustris), which ascends the river Ill from the Lake of Constance, where great numbers are caught.—“Vel suetus datus,” I cannot interpret.

V. 49. Rubulgra.—What fish is intended, I have not been able to ascertain.

V. 50. Lampreda.—This was always a favorite fish, and expensive by reason of its scarcity. It ascends the Rhine as far as Strasbourg, but is not found in the rivers of Switzerland.

V. 51. Trocta, tructa (truite, trout), salmo lacustris, salmo fario.

V. 53. Almarinus.—This name is not to be found in any romance, or in any mediæval work on natural history, and

Sit dulcis prorsus piscis dee sic sale morsus.

55. Anguillas gratas fac crux novies oculatus.

Fercla superstantem signet crux sancta natantem.
uel uolantem

Mittit in anguillam dextram qui condidit illam.

prensi
Pars tanta piscis nostris benedicta sit escis.

Non sinat hanc percem deus in dulcedine parcam.

60. Hunc piscem coctum cruce sumamus benedictum.

rutin
Hunc rubricum coctum factor fore fac benedictum.

Piscis adest assus. benedicat eum cruce passus.

Cancerorum uescas faciat qui condidit escas.

Piscis sit gratus crucis hac uirtute notatus.

65. Pisces sint grati grato studio piperati.

Piscis sit gratus signo Domini piperatus.

Hanc uualaram crassam fratres cruce sumite pressam.

Pisciculis tantis crux obuiet altitonantis.

Sub cruce febre sine sit crundula cum capitone.

uel captorum
70. Millia coctorum benedic dee pisciculorum.

Sit benedicta fibri caro piscis uoce salubri.

Omne natans trinus licitum benedicat et unus.

has possibly been invented by the poet, like many other names in the Benedictiones. It may be an abbreviation of alex or alec (herring) and marinus.

V. 55. Anguilla novies oculata (Petro-myzon fluviatilis), lampern, or river lamprey.—In the time of Ekkehard this was a very favorite fish in the German convents. In England it occasionally bears the local name of "seven-eyes" and "nine-eyes." Yarrell.

V. 56. Fercla is the accusative. May the holy cross bless the fish now lying in the dish.

V. 61. Rubricus (Cyprinus rutilus), the Roach.

V. 65. Piperatus, i.e. pipere conditus. "Unusquisque fratrum accipiat duas portiones piscium, unam salsuginatam, alteram piperatam." Du Cange.

V. 67. Walara, waler, wels (char?), Silurus, Ausonii Mosella, v. 135, is not found in the lakes of German Switzerland, but in the small lakes of Suabia.

V. 69. Crundula (Cobitis barbatula),

the gudgeon. Capito (Cyprinus cephalus), the chub. In Upper Italy, cavedo and capidone.

V. 70. Millia coctorum. — These are evidently the "heuerlinge," or young perch-fry, which are caught in great numbers in the Swiss lakes in August.

V. 71. Fibri (Castor fiber, Linn.).—The beaver has disappeared from the Swiss rivers, in which it was frequently to be found in the time of Gessner, the Swiss naturalist. "The Aar, Reuss, and Limmat," he writes, "contain many of them, also the Birs, near Basel." Rüttimeyer (Thierreste aus den Pfahlbauten) mentions the occasional appearance of the beaver in the canton of Lucerne, as late as 1804, and, in the Valais, in 1820. In the middle ages the flesh of the beaver was in request, and might moreover be eaten on fast-days, probably from the notion that it was rather fish than flesh. The chase of the beaver was also a popular amusement, for which dogs, properly trained, were used.

Pneuma donis pars hæc bona sit sturionis.

ITEM.

- Piscibus æquipares benedic rex christe uolucres.
uel hanc signet es
75. Crux benedicat auem faciatque sapore suauem.
uel dapes indigesta
 Nil noceat stomachis caro non digesta pauonis.
i.e. pauo albus
 Sit stomachis sana cruce nobilis hæc phasiana.
 Iste cibus cigni noceat nihil arte maligni.
 Anseris illæsus nostris sit faucibus esus.
80. Fauce malum rauca nullum paret hæc deus auca.
 Crux benedicta gruem benedic faciendo salubrem.
 Escis decretam benedicat Christus anetam.
coturnix simulat se claudam, ut post se currentes a pullis abducatur.
 Sit dulcis pernix simulataque clauda coturnix.
sine felle
 Pneuma potens propriam benedic uirtute columbam.
85. Turtureis paribus benedicat trinus et unus.
 Omne columbinum dominus benedicat in unum.
 Gallinam coctam sacra crux faciat benedictam.
 Castrati galli sit jam caro noxia nulli.
 Plurima tantillis assit benedictio pullis.
uel licentia
90. Sit bona se functis uolucrina comestio cunctis.

V. 73. Sturio.—The sturgeon ascends the Rhine as far as the falls at Schaffhausen.

V. 76. Caro pavonis.—That the peacock, still eaten in England, was already reared in the eighth century, partly for its beauty and partly for the table, is apparent from Charlemagne's Capitulare de Villis, according to which poultry-yards in the royal farms were to be provided with peacocks, pheasants, ducks, partridges, and turtle-doves.

V. 77. Pavo albus.—These words in the gloss doubtless belong to the word "pavonis," just above them, and only prove that Ekkehard was acquainted with the white peacock.

V. 78. Cignus.—The swan, a bird of Northern Europe, very seldom appears in Switzerland. In the Salic land it figures as a domestic animal.

V. 81. Gruem.—The crane also is a rare bird in Swiss valleys. It was preserved

in Germany, and must formerly have been more common. By the Alamannic laws a fine was imposed on those who should steal or kill this bird (xcix. 17).

V. 84. Sine felle.—The people on the banks of the Rhine still hold this tradition. There was no fine for killing pigeons, and he who found them on his ground might take them. This perhaps gave rise to the saying, "Pigeons have no gall, therefore they belong to all." Galen had already exposed the popular error among the Romans that pigeons have no gall.

V. 88. Castrati galli, capones.—The castration of the cock, known to the Romans, appears to have been commonly practised on the Swiss side of the Alps in the eleventh century.

V. 90. Se functis.—Perhaps this word is to be divided—*se* standing for *ea*—that is, comestione—those who have partaken thereof

Sub niue se pernix mersans sapiat bene perdix.

Infer tantillis dee mille cruces uolucellis.

Nil noceant ulli de decipulis uolucelli.

Crux faciat salubres quibus est sua forma uolucres.

95. Sub cruce sit sanctum licitale uolatile cunctum.

ITEM.

Sit bouis illæsus stomachoque solubilis esus.

Sub cruce diuina caro sit benedicta bouina.

Inpinguet uitulum crucis alma figura tenellum.

Signa crucis mille carni socientur ouillæ.

100. Christe crucis signum depinxeris hunc super agnum.

Omne malum pelle deus hac de carne capellæ.

Crux sacra nos lædi uetet his de carnibus ædi.

Sit cibus illæsus caper et sanabilis esus.

Omnia qui cernis benedic ^{uel assamina} crustamina carnis.

105. Omnipotens sermo ^{frixo} cocto superintonet armo.

^{assus} Coctus adest porcus. procul hinc satan absit et orcus.

Per sacra uexilla caro sit benedicta suilla.

Scultellæ porci procul omnis sit dolus orci.

Pradonem coctum cruce signamus benedictum.

110. Dextera porcellum benedicat summa tenellum.

Lardum lixatum faciat benedictio gratum.

^{kehaechot} Carnes conflictas cruce sumamus benedictas.

^{carnis. piscis.} Hanc uerris massam dulcem faciat deus assam.

Pars uerris cocta cruce Christi sit benedicta.

115. In cruce transfixum gerat assa ueru caro Christum.

V. 95. Licitale volatile.—Just as the 72nd verse, which closes the fish-list.

V. 104. Crustamen. — Whatever is covered with a crust, assamen. There is in these lines a remarkably frequent abbreviation of words ending in *entum*.

V. 108. Scultella, for scutella.

V. 109. Pradonem.—Ham. Cartular. S. Crucis Quemperleg. "Samam vini et

duodecim formellas, vel unum lardi bradonem det monachis. Hoc est, si bene conjicio, petasonem seu pernam. Hollandi etiamnum vocant brade pulpam petasonis, seu partem ejus magis carnulentam." Du Cange. Brât, pulpa, pinguedo; brato, assatura. Graff's Wörterb. Glossa interl. München, prat, pulpa, caro mollis. In another gloss, brado, sura. Schmeller i.

Carnibus elixis benedicimus atque refrixis.

ITEM.

Sub cruce diuina benedicta sit ista ferina.

Sub cruce diuina sapiat bene quæque ferina.

Et semel et rursus cruce sit medicabilis ursus.

120. Hunc medici sanum memorant nullique nocivum.

^{petulcus}

Dente timetur aper. cruce tactus sit minus asper.

^{uel ceruus}

Cerui curracis caro sit benedictio pacis.

Hæc satan et laruæ fugiant crustamina ceruæ.

Signet uesontem benedictio cornipotentem.

^{uel benedicat}

125. Dextra dei ueri comes assit carnibus uri.

^{crucis hoc signamine}

Sit bos siluanus sub trino nomine sanus.

V. 119. Medicabilis ursus. — Gessner minutely enumerates the medical uses made of the flesh of the bear. This animal, now only to be found in the Alps of the Grisons, in Tessin, and the Valais, and rarely even there, must formerly have abounded on the Sentis mountains in Appenzell. This appears to be the case from the biography of St. Gall, also from the narrative of a hunting expedition undertaken in the lands of the convent in honor of Conrad I., given in Ekkehard's "Casus St. Galli," and further by the statements that the "villici majores" of the convent kept bear-hounds. Mention occurs in the Alamannic laws of the bear as a preserved animal.

V. 124. Vesontem cornipotentem (Bos bison, Linn., Bos priscus, Bojanus).—This animal bears the name also in Latin of bison, bubalus, bucerus, bonasus. The Alamannic law (xcix.) shows the existence of the bison formerly in southern parts of Germany. "Si quis bisontem, bubalum, vel cervum," etc. As also does the name of the village of Wisentdangen, near Zurich, written in the year 808, Wisuntwanges, namely, a meadow where the bison pastures. The bison, mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat., viii. 15, was found in a wild state in Central Germany till the beginning of the last century. At present it is only to be found in a forest of Lithuania, where it owes its existence to the protection of the Russian Government.

V. 125. Uri (Bos urus, Linn., or Bos primigenius, Boj). Cæsar, De B. Gall. vi. 28. According to Cuvier the urus also was found wild in Europe till the sixteenth century, and in England down to the seventeenth century, after the bison had been long extinct. That both the bison and the urus were numerous in Switzerland in the pre-historic period is proved by the numerous remains of the animal discovered in so many Pfahlbauten, or lake-dwellings. A horn of the urus, set in silver, was to be seen some fifty years since at the convent of Rheinau. Even in the time of Pliny these horns were used as drinking-cups, and they served the same purpose down to the middle ages. "Uris cornua sunt immensæ concavitatis, ex quibus ampla satis et lævia pocula fiunt." Fulco, lib. i. Viæ Hierosol. The elk (Cervus Alces) is not mentioned here, though its horns are met with in the Pfahlbauten. It appears to have become extinct between the period when these lake-habitations existed and the time of Ekkehard. Cæsar, De B. Gall. vi. 27.

V. 126. Bos silvanus, also bos silvestris, vitulus agrestis, bubalus, bufalus, appears, on comparing the numerous passages in mediæval works, in which the wild ox is referred to, to be the same animal with the bison. Names and animals, however, were often confounded, as it was not the intention of the authors to make an accurate distinction between the different species.

Sit feralis equi caro dulcis in hac cruce Christi.^{sub}

Imbellem dammam faciat benedictio summam.

Capreus ad saltum benedictus sit celer altum.

130. Sit cibus illæsus capreæ. sit amabilis esus.

Capreoli uescam^{us} dent se comedentibus^{det} escam.

Carnes uerbicum nihil attulerint inimicum.

Pernix cambissa^{i.e. fera alpina} bona sit elixa vel assa.

Sub cruce diuina caro dulcis sit leporina.

135. Alpinum cassum faciat benedictio crassum.

Sit caro siluana crucis omnis robore sana.

ITEM.

Hoc muletro lactis sit uita uigorque reflectis.

Primitus^{lactando} hoc macti memores benedicite lacti.

V. 127. Equus feralis, ffor erus, the wild horse, or rather a horse become wild. Strabo relates that wild horses lived in the Alps; but if this even were so, it was no longer the case as far back as the time of Pliny. It is yet less probable that the upper regions of Switzerland should still have contained wild horses after the lapse of a thousand years, and when they had become to a certain extent populated. In Anton's History of German Agriculture, iii. 371, we find that, so late as the year 1316, wild horses, "vagi equi," were found near Münster in Westphalia. "But these can only have been such as remained night and day in the woods, and never lived in stables." By "equi feri," therefore, we can only understand horses which had become wild and ranged at liberty over the Alps. That the Germans, and especially the Alamanni, did eat and relish horse-flesh, even after their conversion to Christianity, is stated by credible authors. Thus Pope Gregory, writing to St. Boniface, A.D. 732. "Inter cætera agrestem cavallum aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, perosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam feri deinceps, sanctissime frater, sinas, etc. immundum enim est, et execrabile." Again, we find in a letter from Pope Zachariah to St. Boniface, A.D. 751. "Imprimis de volatilibus, id est, graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis, quæ omnino cavendæ sunt ab esca Christianorum. Etiam et fibri

et lepores et equi silvatici multo amplius vitandi." It is to be presumed that, with the extinction of heathenism, a corresponding change must have occurred in the feelings of the clergy as to the lawfulness of adopting the flesh of certain animals for food. The objections to their use probably had arisen from the fact of such animals being commonly eaten by the heathen Teutons, and offered in their sacrifices. In any case, we see in the passage just quoted, that at least four of the standard dishes at St. Gall had been anathematised by Pope Zachariah some 250 years before.

V. 128. Damma (C. dama, L.), Fr. daim, Engl. the buck, was often taken in the woods near Lucerne, even in Conrad Gessner's time. It has since been entirely extirpated by the chase. When the Lake of Lungern was drained, horns of this animal were found in the mud.

V. 132. Verbex. For ibex, for the sake of the verse. — The ibex (steinbock, bouquetin, capricorne) is now only found, and rarely, in the Alps of Savoy.

V. 133. Cambissa (chamois). — This animal, in most of the Swiss cantons, bears the name of gambsthier.

V. 135. Cassus Alpinus. — By cassus is undoubtedly meant the marmot. I have not been able to discover whence this name comes. In Ekkehard's time at St. Gall the marmot was called murmenti. Is it from cazza, katze, cat?

V. 138. Hoc for huic.

- Hunc caseum dextra signet deus intus et extra.
s. lumbis, renibus.
140. Parturiat nullos lactis pressura lapillos.
 Mel piper et uinum lae dant minus esse nocium.
 Lactis pressuram crux melle premat nocituram.
 Optime sumetur caseus si melle . . . detur.
 Lac mage caprinum medici perhibent fore sanum.
145. Hoc mel dulcoret deus ut sine peste saporet.
 Hoc millenarum benedic dee mel specierum.
 Tristia qui pellis benedic dee nectara mellis.
 His bone Christe fauis benedic fauus ipse suavis.
 Pultibus et luttis niueis ^{sit} benedictio guttis.
150. Jungatur læto benedictio læta moreto.
uel calidosque
 Gratia feruores inflat quoscunque liquores.
 Hoc pigmentatum faciat crux addita gratum.
 Arte cibos factos deus artis fac benedictos.
 Omnia sint grata perfusa per hæc piperata.
uel gustum. uel tristic condimen aceti. seui.
155. Sumamus læti mixtam mordentis aceti.

V. 141. Mel, piper et vinum.—In all mediæval works which treat of diet, cheese is pronounced unwholesome, and it is recommended not to partake of it without the addition of spices. Hence the practice, at an early period, of mixing up herbs and spice in cheese, especially in the tasteless kind made from goat's milk. The green cheese (schabzieger) owes its origin to this practice.

V. 149. An ill-constructed verse. Luttis for luteis. Does this benediction apply to the sauce of yellow mulberries?

V. 150. Moretum, moratum, moracetum.—Mulberry-wine. "Potio ex vino et moris dilutis confecta." Capitulare de Villis: "Vinum, acetum, moratum, vinum coctum," etc. "Singulis vasis vini, medonis, cervisiæ, pigmenti, morati, sicera," etc. Du Cange. That on this side of the Alps moretum was not only prepared from mulberries, but also from blackberries and other berries, is well known.

V. 152. Pigmentatum.—"Statutum est ut ab omni mellis et specierum cum vino confectione, quod vulgari nomine

pigmentum vocatur, cæsa Domini tantum exceptâ, qua die mel absque speciebus vino mistum antiquitas permisit, fratres abstineant." Statut. Ord. Clun. This drink was also known by the name of claretum, in the preparation of which, in former times, the most favourite of all spices, pepper, was used; it stood in higher estimation than mulsum. "Non solum multo vino sed et mellito: nec solum mellito sed et regiis speciebus vino confecto utentes." Stat. Ord. Clun.

V. 154. Piperata, pepper-sauces, spiced sauces in general, poivrade.—"Piperata vini, vel aceti. Piperis raritas ac pretium fecit ut pro quibusvis aromaticis speciebus hæc vox usurpata est." Du Cange.

V. 155. Mixtam for mixturam.—Condimen aceti is also a sauce of sour flavor, prepared from wine or vinegar, with a mixture of salt, cumin, leeks, anise, pepper, mustard, etc., and was served with roast meat. See the above-mentioned recipes (43-49) in note to verse 33. Condimen means in general a spice for flavoring dishes.

- Crux domini sinapis jungatur morsibus acris.
 Tot p^{is}is erbis salus ipsa sit addita uerbis.
 Istam mixturam faciat benedictio puram.
 H^{ac} cruce pigmentis assit manus omnipotentis.
 160. Grate confimentis crucis assint signa placentis.
 Hac cruce signata comedamus adorea grata.
 In spem natiua benedicat conditor oua.
 Christe tuum numen cruce condat omne legumen.
 Pneuma tuum numen super istud funde legumen.
 165. Pulmentum fabæ faciat deus esse suaue.
 Summe dator fabas benedic quas ipse creabas.
 Hanc speciem ciceris benedic qui cuncta tueris.
 Crux domini pisas descendat in has numerosas.
 Uessicæ inuisas petris benedic dee pisas.
 170. Dextra cibos lentis benedicat cunctipotentis.
 Primatum sit uendenti benedictio lenti.
 Sit primogenita uendens rubra coctio lenta.
 Hoc milium coctum super omnia sit benedictum.
 Non pariat milium febris ulli frigus et æstum.
 175. Christe habitans cælum solabere triste phaselum.
 Sint cruce sub sancta benedicta legumina cuncta.

ITEM.

Arboribus lecta sint dona dei benedicta.
 Hæc pie Christe doma sint nobis mitia poma.
 Hunc oleæ fructum faciat lux pax benedictum.

V. 159. Pigmentis.—Spices.

V. 160. Placentis.—This is a sort of cake still made in Switzerland, and very popular with the peasantry. It consists of a large, flat, round cake of dough, thickly covered with meat, fruit, herbs chopped up, onions, bacon, or cheese, all well baked together. In the above-mentioned old cookery receipts (vide note to verse 38), not less than nine different sorts of placenta (flat cakes) are men-

tioned. In some parts of Switzerland they bear the name of *dünnen*, in others of *wehen*.

V. 161. Adorea.—Cakes of fine wheaten flour.

V. 171. Primatum vendenti.—In allusion to Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage of red lentils.

V. 175. Triste, that is mordens, sævus. See v. 155.

Hoc holeris semen stomacho fac Christe leuamen.

Sub cruce diuina benedicta sit hæc medicina.

Summus ab hac erba dator omnia pellat acerba.

Hortorum fructus sancta cruce sit benedictus.

210. Hoc benedicat holus qui cuncta creat bona solus.

uino multo uincuntur

Coctos seu crudos porros crux det febre nudos.

septies eos coqui iubetur

Sæpius elixos repleat benedictio fungos.

uel erbas

Caules omnigenas faciat benedictio sanas.

Christe potens pones super hos tua signa pepones.

allium stomacho bonum. renibus malum.

215. Uirtutem stomachis solitam dent allia lassis.

Sed non millenas renibus operentur arenas.

Nomine sit domini benedicta cucurbita summi.

Lactucis horti benedictio sit cruce forti.

Concisas erbas in acetum crux det acerbis.

AD OMNIA.

220. Ad crucis hoc signum fugiat omne malignum.

Omne sit edulium uirtute crucis benedictum.

Omne suum munus benedicat trinus et unus.

BENEDICTIONES POTUUM.

Lætitiâ domini sapiant hæc pocula uini.

Sit noster potus domini benedictio totus.

225. Sancta dei dextra benedicat pocula nostra.

Hunc fratrum potum repleat benedictio totum.

Tot calicum munus benedicat trinus et unus.

Christe tuum rorem super hunc effunde liquorem.

Uinitor hæc mitis benedicat munera uitis.

230. Uitibus enatum benedicat gratia potum.

V. 206. Semen holeris.—I am unable to explain what Ekkehard alluded to by this term.

V. 219. Concisas in acetum herbas.—

Salad.

V. 229. Uinitor.—An allusion to the parable of the vine and wine-press.

Uitibus enatum benedic deo christe temetum.

^{Fratres}
Læti haurite de uera gaudia uite.
^{repleat. roboret}

Misceat interna deus hæc uirtute phalerna.

Munere diuino sit huic benedictio uino.

235. Crux det in hoc mustum placida dulcedine gustum.

^{uel signata dei cruce}
Quam sapiant gusta condita pneumate musta.
^{calicis} ^{uel benedictio}

Hunc uitis haustum faciat noua gratia faustum.

Nesciat hæc Bromius. fugiat Carchesia Bachus.

^{huic} ^{rubeo}
Complaceat Christo niueo benedicere musto.

240. Musta recens hausta faciat benedictio fausta.

^{uel benedic}
Christe hiesu musta bona fac et uina uetusta.

Uina uetustatis bona sint simul et nouitatis.

Pneumatis ebrietas mentes det sobrie lætas.

Conditor hoc uinum confortet in omne uenenum.

245. Cor faciat lætum uina de uite temetum.

Christi mixtura sit perflua potio pura.

Hoc pigmentatum supero sit rore rigatum.

Dulce sauinatum faciat benedictio gratum.

^{sicera est ut Aug' ait sucus pomis optimis expressus. Qui melle digestus ut}
Sucum pomorum siceram fac Christe saporum. ^{uinum inebriat. Et}
^{quod uocant moracetum.} ^{diuturnius durat.}

250. Potio facta moris superi sit plena saporis.

^{uinum coctum}
Neminis hoc passum caput efficiat fore lassum.

Pneuma suum rorem det in hunc spirando medonem.

V. 248. Vinum sauinatum.—Perhaps sauinatum stands for saluiatum, sage wine, a favorite drink in the middle ages. "Vinum inde (salvia) conficiunt, quod saluiatum vocant, quo plurimum uti solent in principio mensæ," etc. De Conserv. Valetudine. Parisiis, 1572. In the Capitulare de Villis, savina appears among the garden vegetables. The same word in Gl. S. Blas. p. 52, is rendered by sevinbaum, or savin. The leaves of the savin (*Juniperus sabina*) were kept by apothecaries at a very early period; whether they were used like wormwood to flavor wine, I cannot say.

V. 249. Sicera here means cyder. Siceratores, i.e. qui cerevisiam, vel pomatium sive piratum, vel aliud quodcunque

liquamen ad bibendum aptum fuerit facere sciunt. Capitulare de Villis, cap. 45. Sicera implies therefore every fermented liquor, except wine, made from grain, fruit, &c. Thus in a letter of St. Boniface to Pope Zachariah, A.D. 751. "Monachos constituimus . . . viros strictæ abstinentiæ, absque carne et vino, absque sicera et servis, proprio manuum suarum labore contentos."

V. 250. Conf. v. 150.

V. 252. Medonem, mead, which in Southern Germany and Switzerland has been superseded by wine, cyder, or beer. According to mediæval directions mead was made from water, honey, and aromatic herbs, boiled together and allowed to ferment

Mille saporā bonis sint pocula sana medonis.

^{Ypocras.} Dextra dei celsa uelit hæc benedicere mulsa. ^{Inuentum} est mulsum Con . .

255. ^{... dite pinguis} Hoste propulso sit mulso.

^{i.e. ordea cervisa} Fortis ab inuieta cruce cælia sit benedicta.

^{ebria qua} Dira per hanc fortes subiit Numantia mortes.

^{uel benedictio} Optime prouisæ uix gratia sit cereuisæ.

Non bene prouisæ confusio sit cereuisæ.

ITEM.

260. Cor faciat clarum potus sincerus aquarum.

Hunc haustum fontis mundet manus omnipotentis.

Nulli fons uiuus stomacho sit Christe nociuus.

^{i.e. stomacho} Timotheo uinum Paulus cui dat medicinam.

^{euangelica} Frigidus iste calix mercede sit unice felix.

265. Pneumatis has mundas faciat fore ros sacer undas.

The Institute is indebted to Mr. W. M. Wylie, F.S.A., for the translation of Dr. Keller's Introduction and notes which accompany his Memoir in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zurich. They are here given with the author's revision and additional observations.

We gladly avail ourselves of Mr. Wylie's obliging assistance in giving effect to the wish of our learned friend at Zurich that so instructive a document should be brought under the notice of English archæologists through this Journal. It cannot fail to be acceptable as supplementary to the highly curious Plan of St. Gall given in a former volume (vol. v. p. 85), in which not only are arrangements shown for brewing, baking, and providing various articles of food above enumerated, but many medicinal and culinary herbs mentioned by Ekkehard appear in the *Hortus*. Amongst fruit-trees also the quince, medlar, fig, chesnut, mulberry, walnut, &c., occurring in the foregoing document, are represented as actually growing in the conventual orchard of the ninth century.

V. 254. Mulsum, sc. vinum.—Claretium, a drink prepared from honey and wine, as also from honey and water. In this latter case it is not distinguishable from

mead, which is also sometimes called mulsum.

V. 255. A part of this verse is illegible.