

Festive Food in Medieval Riga and Reval¹

Anu Mänd (Tallinn)

Food and nutrition in the Middle Ages, a subject extensively explored in western scholarship since the late nineteenth century, is still a relatively new field of research in many eastern European countries. This is also true for Estonia, where research on medieval food in fact began in the 1990s.²

This article will be devoted to one specific aspect of diet, namely food and drink consumed on festive occasions. It is a case study of Reval (Tallinn)³ and Riga, the two largest and most important towns in

¹ This article is an extended version of a paper presented at the *International Medieval Congress* in Leeds, July 1998. I am grateful to Melitta Weiss Adamson for many useful suggestions.

² In particular the writings of Inna Pölsam, based on the study of written sources, have created a good basis for further research: I. Pölsam, "Essen und Trinken in den livländischen Städten im Spätmittelalter," in *Quotidianum Estonicum*, ed. Jüri Kivimäe and Juhan Kreem (= *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, Sonderband, 5), (Krems 1996), 118-27; *idem*, "Söömine ja joomine keskaegses Tallinnas" (Eating and drinking in medieval Tallinn), *Vana Tallinn* IX (XIII), (Tallinn: Estopol, 1999), 9-118. In recent years, the archaeological material has been increasingly studied from archaeobotanical and -zoological point of view: Maria Abakumova and Ülle Sillasoo, "Taimeleiidur arheoloogilistes proovides" (Plant remains in archaeological samples), *Botaanilised uurimused / Scripta Botanica*, 6 (1991): 197-217; Ülle Sillasoo, "Eesti keskaegsete linnade ja nende lähikümbruse arheobotaanilisest uurimisest 1989-1996.a." (About the archaeobotanical investigation of Estonian medieval towns and their surroundings in 1989-1996), in *Arheoloogilisi uurimusi / Archaeological investigations* 1, ed. Heiki Valk, Tartu Ülikooli Arheoloogia Kabineti toimetised 9 (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 1997), 109-19; Liina Maldre, "Koduloomad keskaegses Pärnus" (Domestic animals in medieval Pärnu), *Pärnumaa ajalugu* 1 (1997): 99-123; *idem*, "Tartu VII kvartali jäätnekastide arheozooloogilisest materjalist" (About the archaeozoological material from the medieval cesspits from Tartu), in *Arheoloogilisi uurimusi* 1, 99-105.

³ Throughout the article, I use medieval (German) place names and give the present names (Estonian or Latvian) in brackets when they first occur.

medieval Livonia (a region which covered approximately present day Estonia and Latvia). The archives of only these two towns have survived, and very few if any documents are extant from other urban centres.

Towns in Livonia were founded during the thirteenth century as a consequence of the Livonian crusade and the German expansion eastwards. The towns were granted German civic laws, and the urban upper and middle classes consisted of German merchants and artisans. The Germans brought with them their lifestyle, including cookery traditions. However, the natural environment on the one hand, and the economic and cultural contacts on the other hand, were factors that strongly influenced diet and shaped local characteristics in food consumption.

Riga and Reval were important Hanseatic towns, where power was in the hands of German merchants. The two merchant associations in both towns were the Great Guild (*Grosse Gilde*) and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads (*Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter*). The Great Guild consisted of great merchants, involved in wholesale trade. Town councillors were elected from among the members of this association alone. Some members of the Great Guild formed the Table Guild (*Tafelgilde*), a charitable association, which distributed food to the poor twice a week. The Brotherhood of the Black Heads united unmarried merchants (often sons of members of the Great Guild) and also foreign merchants staying in a town for a certain time. The Great Guild and the Black Heads had close connections with each other, as is also shown by the fact that they organised certain festivals in common.

The main sources for this article are the account books of these merchants' associations. Hence the results presented here will reflect the upper and upper-middle class's notions of festive food. In Livonia, where no medieval cookbooks or household books have survived, the municipal and guild accounts undoubtedly offer one of the best possibilities for the study of local dietary habits. The earliest accounts of the town councils of Riga and Reval survive from the second half of the fourteenth century, whereas continuous bookkeeping began in the fifteenth century.⁴ The

⁴ The extant accounts for Riga are: *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348-1361 und 1405-1474*, ed. August von Bulmerincq, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1909, 1913); *Zwei Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga* (contain the accounts for 1514-16 and 1555-56), ed. A. von Bulmerincq (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1902). These account books will be henceforth referred to as *KB Riga 1348-61*, *KB Riga 1405-74*, *KB Riga 1514-16*, and *KB Riga 1555-56*. The extant accounts for Reval are: *Die ältesten Kämmereibücher der Stadt Reval 1363-1374*, ed. Otto Greiffenhagen (Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv 3) (Tallinn, 1927); *Das Revaler Kämmereibuch von 1376-1380*, ed. Dieter Höckmann, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 41 (1992): 186-247; *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432-1463*, ed.

first documents of guilds and confraternities in which information on food can be found, are extant from the last third of the fifteenth century and grow considerably in number during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵

Each type of source has its limitations as do account books. They do not list all the items used in a kitchen nor do they give information on ingredients needed for individual dishes.⁶ On the other hand, the advantages of the accounts are that they provide evidence on actually purchased foodstuffs (something that normally cannot be checked in the case of normative sources) as well as their amounts and prices. Secondly, the systematic entries of the account books over a longer period of time make them particularly suitable for quantitative as well as qualitative study and thus enable us to observe long-term preferences in consumption of certain foodstuffs, as well as to recognise changes over time, which might have emerged due to shifts in trade, in taste, or in the concept of what constituted a festive food.

Due to the specifics of the sources available, I will primarily focus on the question of what was eaten at feasts, that is, what food was considered to be festive in the view of merchants, and what were the "obligatory" components of their banquets. My impression based on the sources, and what I hope to explain in the following, is that in general we can speak of three different categories of festive food. The first I would propose to call 'standard' festive food or 'ordinary' festive food. This 'standard' festive food can be found repeatedly in different feasts; it does not depend on the type of feast nor on the time of year. Secondly, it is possible to distinguish food connected to certain feasts or to a certain season. The third term, 'extraordinary' festive food, I would use in the context, when merchants had an opportunity to consume food which was more associated with a social status higher than their own. The first two categories were connected to 'ordinary' recurrent feasts, such as the main

Reinhard Vogelsang (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte 22/1-2) (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976); *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463-1507*, ed. R. Vogelsang (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte 27/1-2) (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983); Tallinn City Archive (*Tallinna Linnaarhiiv*, abbr. TLA), coll. 230, inv. 1, no. A.d. 32: *Städtische Kämmerer-Rechnungen 1507-1533*. These account books will be henceforth referred to as *KB Reval 1363-74*, *KB Reval 1376-80*, *KB Reval 1432-63*, *KB Reval 1463-1507*, and *KB Reval 1507-33*.

⁵ The accounts of the merchants' associations of Riga and Reval are unpublished and scattered in different archives of Estonia, Latvia, and Germany.

⁶ See also Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), 16-17; Melitta Weiss Adamson, "Researching the Diet of Medieval Germany: Possibilities and Limitations of Written Sources and Material Evidence," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 38 (1998): 29.

annual festivals of the urban associations, whereas the last category was connected to 'extraordinary' feasts such as receptions in honour of high ranking visitors.

Before turning directly to festive food itself, it would be useful to review the major medieval festivals in Riga and Reval. The main festivals in both towns were Christmas and Carnival, celebrated by the guilds in a form of an approximately two-week drinking feast (*winachten drunke, vastelauendes drunke*). The third favoured feast time was around Pentecost, when two festivals, the bird-shooting and the election of the May Count (*meygreve; Maigraf*), took place.⁷

Whereas the Great Guild and the Black Heads basically had four major annual festivals, the number of the feasts celebrated by the town councillors was relatively higher. In Riga the town accounts contain regular expenditures on the *drunke* at Christmas, Carnival, Pentecost, and Martinmas. Occasionally there are provisions also for Michaelmas, Easter, and the feast of St. John (June 24). In Reval, the major feasts besides Christmas and Carnival were All Souls' Day and Martinmas. Less frequently we find expenses (mainly for wine) for feasts celebrating Michaelmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption of the Virgin (Aug.15).

The duty to purchase food for the town councillors' feasts was given to two stewards (*schaffer*), who were appointed from among the councillors themselves. Information on their feasts can be found in two types of sources. The first are the official account books of the towns, which were meant to keep record of all kinds of expenditures and incomes.⁸ Entries on food in these books are far from detailed. Most often only the total cost of a feast is indicated.⁹ One of the earliest more detailed lists of foodstuffs is found in the town accounts of Reval for the All Souls' Day (*hinkepe*) banquet in 1376. The list includes beer, wine, chicken, goose, pork, honey, pepper, butter, onions, cheese, nuts, and bread.¹⁰ Such a detailed enumeration remains exceptional, and mainly we are confronted with laconic entries such as "wine, bread, and other items." However, for fourteenth-century feasts, these town accounts are the only source we possess.

⁷ On these two festivals, see Anu Mänd, "Shooting the Bird and the *Maigraf* Festival in Medieval Livonian Towns," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 38 (1998): 46-65.

⁸ See note 4.

⁹ For example, *KB Reval 1363-74*, 27 (1371): *It. 7 mrc. que in convivio hinkepee consumpte fuerunt* ('hinkepe', in Estonian *hingedepäev* = All Souls' Day); 31 (1372): *It. to Vastelavende vnde to winagten to der vorterinc des rades behoff* 13.5 *mrc.*

¹⁰ *KB Reval 1376-80*, 214.

The reason for the lack of detailed lists in the account books, as can be shown in the case of Reval, is that elaborate expense lists were in fact compiled but were recorded on separate loose sheets by the stewards responsible for the provisioning. Only the total cost of a banquet was copied into the main account books. The accounts of Reval occasionally contain a clause that the expenditure for a feast was reimbursed on the basis of a sheet (*zceddel*) or calculation (*rekenschop*) presented to the treasurer.¹¹ This procedure usually took place several months after the feast had actually taken place.¹² Luckily, some of such sheets with detailed lists of provisions have also been preserved, the earliest ones reaching back to the beginning of the fifteenth century (table 1).¹³ However, a closer comparison between these individual sheets and the main account books reveals that even the first ones do not contain everything acquired for the feasts and that records for some provisions, for example wine, were kept separately. Therefore, it is relevant to examine both types of sources together as they complement each other.

The rare records on feasts in the fourteenth-century account books provide interesting information on which foodstuffs and beverages were considered worth listing individually, thus indicating their degrees of importance. It becomes clear that these are predominantly the imported, expensive, and therefore prestigious items: wine, exotic fruits and spices, sugar and confectionery.¹⁴ Of the local products it is mainly beer, mead, and bread which turn up in these early records.

The high price of spices (in Latin *species* / in Middle Low German *krude*) made them a sign of social distinction. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that each purchase was written down with great care. The fourteenth-century account books provide evidence for well-developed trading contacts, for next to such widespread spices as pepper (*piiper* /

¹¹ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 79v, 85v, 124r, 149r, 166r, 171r, 191v, 199r, 202r, 205v, 217r, and others.

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 149r (31. May 1522): *Botalet her Hinrick Stummen vor de Winachtendrunk na lude syner rekenschop 97 mr. 11 s.* *Botalet her Evert Rotert vor de Vastellavendesdrunk na lude syner rekenschop 114.5 mr. 13 s.*; fol. 171r (1. Oct. 1524): *Botalet her Joan Kock vor de Winachten- und Vastellavendesdrunk na lude syner zceddel 241.5 mr. 4 s. 2 d.*; fol. 205v (10. Aug. 1527): *Botalet her Joan Selhorste na syner zceddel, wes de Vastellavendesdrunk gekostet hebben, is 83 mr. 1 s.*

¹³ TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. B.a. 6 / IV: *Verschiedene städüsche Ausgaben.*

¹⁴ For example *KB Riga 1348-61*, 18 (1348): *Item 25 or pro speciebus et pro dadelen quibus honorabantur domini festo beati Martini*; 67 (1359): *Item pro diversis speciebus consumptis per hyemem Martini et in nativitate Christi scilicet pro 10 punt ladenkrude et 6 punt dyeterici et 1 punt confecti et 1 punt albe zuccure et 1 punt florum muscatorum et 3 punt zinziberis et aliis speciebus 4 marcas 7 or. minus.*

pepper), ginger (zinziber / engefer), nutmeg (*muscata* / *musschaten*), mace (*flora muscatorum* / *musschaten blomen*), and cloves (*gariofilum* / *negelken*)¹⁵ saffron (/ *safferan*), cubeb (/ *kobebe*), and grains of paradise (/ *paradiskorn*) are also mentioned.¹⁶ In the fifteenth century, the variety of spices imported to Livonia increased. The "new" sorts appearing in the feast accounts are cinnamon (*kanel*), cardamom (*kardemom*), anise (*annis*).¹⁷ Many of the spices or their mixtures can no longer be identified with certainty: for example *dieterici*, *ladenkrude*, *backenkrude*, and others.¹⁸ The ingredients for spice-mixtures were also likely to vary. For the Christmas and Carnival feasts in 1427-28, the following spices are listed under the common name *klen krude* ("small spices"): cloves, cubeb, grains of paradise, and *palschen hauerer*.¹⁹ In 1526, the term *backen krude* ("baking spices") comprises ginger, grains of paradise, mace, nutmeg, saffron, and cloves.²⁰

Sugar was regarded as a spice in the Middle Ages and carried an equally high prestige. It is frequently mentioned already in the early town accounts of Riga and Reval,²¹ as are various forms of confectionery (*confect*, *drossie*), that is, spices covered with sugar.²² Both spices and

¹⁵ Ibid., 46 (pepper), 63 (ginger), 67 (ginger, mace), 69 (cloves), 70 (nutmeg).

¹⁶ KB Reval 1363-74, 53, 79 (saffron); KB Riga 1348-61, 68 (1359/60): *Item 6 or. pro speciebus dictis paradysskorne*; 69: *Item 6 or pro gariofilis et kobebeis*. Such an early reference to grains of paradise or melegueta pepper (*Aframomum melegueta*) is particularly noteworthy: this spice from coastal areas of western Africa is known to have been traded to Europe since the middle of the fourteenth century; see Julian Wiethold, "Plant remains from town-moats and cesspits of medieval and post-medieval Kiel (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany)," in *Res archaeobotanicae: Proceedings of the 9th Symposium Kiel 1992*, 379.

¹⁷ See table 1.

¹⁸ KB Riga 1348-61, 47, 58, 67; KB Reval 1432-63, no. 397, 842. For these and some other unidentifiable spice mixtures (e.g. *kruserkrum*, *morfus*, *murfick*), see also Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch, 2d series (henceforth LECUB II), ed. Leonid Arbusow, vol. 1 (Riga, Moscow: Deubner, 1900), no. 31, 34, 158.

¹⁹ TLA, no. B.a. 6, fol. 259r, 259v. See also table 1. August Lübben identifies *poles haverse* as *Siler montanum* (brook willow), or *semen seseleos* (seeds of meadow saxifrage), *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), 281. Since the item is listed among the spices, meadow saxifrage seems to be a more plausible explanation.

²⁰ TLA, no. B.a. 6, fol. 282r.

²¹ KB Riga 1348-61, 63, 66, 67, 72. Table 1.

²² Ibid., 67, 70, 73. A. Lasch and C. Borchling, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Hamburg: Wachholtz, 1928ff.), Lfg 4, 485: *drossie* — a candy made out of spice and covered with sugar; often consumed together with wine. In the town accounts of Reval, ginger candies and anise candies are mentioned; TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. B.a. 6, fol. 282r: *to dem konfectte 2 lb. engeffers*, fol. 285r: *anis konffeckt*.

candies were naturally obtained not only for the councillors' feasts, but also sent as presents to distinguished guests and delegations.

Further luxury items, found on the tables of the councillors, were imported fruits (above all dates and raisins, later on olives), nuts (walnuts and almonds), and rice.

All the items discussed above were either used in desserts or as condiments. The main staples of the feast meals naturally consisted of meat, fish, and bread. What is striking about all these types of foodstuffs, is their variety. Among the meats, the feast accounts of Reval list primarily beef (cow or ox), which was served either as a roast prepared from freshly butchered animals or as salted meat. Pork appears only in the fourteenth- and early fifteenth century accounts, either in the form of pigs' feet (which could be purchased for making aspic) or as a roast (*swines brade*, *swines ruggen*). The disappearance of pork from the later accounts is somewhat puzzling because pigs were widely bred in the region and were also kept in urban communities.²³ Massimo Montanari has pointed out that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the town-dwellers attempted to distance themselves from rural diet, of which the pig was a symbol, and this was one of the reasons that led to the increasing popularity of sheep in urban societies.²⁴ Sheep and wether (a castrated male sheep) are indeed frequently also to be found in the feast accounts of Reval, and we may assume that in the course of time, pork became rather associated with everyday diet and was no longer considered 'proper' to be consumed at the feasts of the urban elite.

Riga and Reval as harbour-towns never lacked provisions of fish. Herring and stockfish formed an important part of the Hanseatic trade to Livonia. A large variety of salt- and freshwater species can be found on the feast tables of the town councillors. In addition to the two fish already mentioned salmon (*lass*), cod (*dorss*), plaice (*butten*), *Strömling*²⁵ (*stromelink*), pike (*hekede*), and several other species were also consumed (table 1). Freshwater fish were not only caught in the lakes and rivers of Livonia, but also bred in the moats belonging to the town council. The councillors took care that their ponds were well-stocked: the species mentioned the species mentioned in Reval are pike (*hekede*),

²³ For example, among the animal bones found in the cesspits of medieval Dorpat (Tartu), pig bones comprise 78.4 %, cattle 12.9 %, and goat and sheep 8.8 %. Maldre, "Tartu VII kvartali," 99.

²⁴ Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, trans. Carl Ipsen (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994; reprint 1996), 76-77.

²⁵ *Clupea harengus membras*, a small species of herring in the Baltic Sea.

crucian carp (*carussen*)²⁶, vimba (*wemegallen*)²⁷, bream (*bresseme*), and perch (*barsse*).²⁸

Both meat and fish dishes were flavoured with a number of condiments. In addition to the imported spices discussed above, the feast accounts list herbs and vegetables which were locally grown. These included onion, mustard, horseradish, garlic, and parsley. The most important condiment was without doubt salt, imported to Livonia from Germany, France and Portugal.

The choice of bread and cakes at the councillors' feasts was likewise fairly rich. The main type of bread was *wegge*, baked from fine wheat flour. Other types, appearing less frequently, were *zwieback* (*tweback*)²⁹, *stakelwegge* (a wheat bread with sharp edges, resembling *Timpenbrod*), *talior brot* (table bread?), and *scherf brot* (a cheap bread whose name derives from *scherf*, i.e. half a penny). Among the ingredients added to bread, the town accounts list fine salt and caraway³⁰ (most likely resulting in a salty type of bread) and cinnamon³¹ (most likely for sweet buns). Sweet pastry is usually simply called *koken* (cakes). Baked goods with special names, such as *peperkoken* (gingerbread), *heidensche koken*³² ("heathen cakes"), *kringel* or *ringelkoken* (knot- or ring-shaped pastry), appear in the sixteenth-century accounts.

Concerning the beverages consumed at the town councillors' banquets, the following remarks can be made. According to the fourteenth-century accounts, beer was dominant, being purchased

²⁶ *Carassius carassius*.

²⁷ *Vimba vimba*.

²⁸ *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 381 (30. May 1439): *Item vor hekede in den diik 6 f. 3 s. Item vor 1 grot 100 bresseme in den diik 4 mr. min 1 s. Item vor 100 wemegallen in den dyk 1 mr. min 2 s. Item noch vor 50 carußen 10 s. Item vor 50 unde 20 hekede 6 f. unde 2 s.*, no. 385; *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 1316, 1676, 1864 (25. Oct. 1483): *Item betalt vor bresseme, hekede unde barsse, in des stades diick gesettet, 4 mr. 12 s.*

²⁹ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 93v: *Uthghegheven up Dagheden 1 last roggen, daraff tweback ghebackenn.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 46v: *Betalt vor 5 lisp. 5 markp. gartkome to deme brode, dat deme rade wert ummegesant, in all 6.5 mr.*; 208v, 236v, 252r: *Botalet vor des rades brode tho backen, vor klensolt unnd komel.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 173r: *Botalet vor des rades broth to backen... Botalet vor canel to dissem brode gedan 3 mr. 12 s.*

³² TLA, no. B.a. 6, fol. 277r (1511). Several recipes for "heathen cakes" are known from medieval cookbooks. The one containing in the fourteenth-century *Daz buoch von guoter spise* is not a sweet pastry but made from meat and bacon, see <http://www.cs.bu.edu/students/grads/akatlas/Buch/recipes.html> (Alia Atlas, *Das Buch von guter spise*, recipe no. 5*).

virtually for every feast, whereas wine occurs relatively rarely. Another popular beverage was mead (*mede*), a fermented mixture of honey and water. In some regions of medieval Europe, mead was particularly consumed at Christmas.³³ In Livonia, however, this does not seem to have been the case: for instance in the accounts of Riga, mead appears in connection with Carnival, Michaelmas, and Martinmas, but not with Christmas.³⁴ Mead from Riga seems to have enjoyed popularity outside the region as well. It was repeatedly purchased for the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Marienburg, Prussia.³⁵ In general the prestige of mead declined in late medieval Europe. However, in Livonia it remained one of the greatly appreciated beverages even in the sixteenth century, though no longer at the councillors' feasts, but at those of the guilds and confraternities.

On the basis of the town accounts, a shift of preference from beer and mead to the more prestigious wine can be observed. Although beer was still provided for the councillors' feasts, from the fifteenth century wine was dominant. Such a development reflects both the increasing economic opportunities as well as the growing needs of representation of the urban elite. The (social and economic) value of wine was even more emphasised by the fact that Livonia was not a wine-growing region, and all wine had to be imported.

In addition to the general term *win*, the term *Rinschen win* occurs most often in the town accounts, and as we shall see later, these two were often used as synonyms in Livonia. True, the name 'Rhenish' is likewise a very general one, being used for a number of different wines from the areas along the Rhine and Mosel as well as from Alsace.³⁶ 'Rhenish wine' was the most widespread of all the wines traded in Livonia and also one of the cheapest. The more expensive wines, such as malmsey

³³ Gerhard Jaritz, "Die Reiner Rechnungsbücher (1399-1477) als Quelle zur klösterlichen Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters," in *Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quelle in der Sachkulturforschung* (= SB der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 304/4), (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976), 208-209.

³⁴ *KB Riga 1348-61*, 19, 30, 32, 48.

³⁵ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg: Thomas & Oppermann, 1896), 102, 344, 393.

³⁶ Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London, New York: Routledge, 1991), 185. In the towns of southern Germany, the wines of Alsace were distinguished from those of the 'Rhenish'; however, in the Lower-Rhine, Netherlands, and the Baltic Sea region, such a distinction was not made; see Klaus Militzer, "Handel und Vertrieb Rheinischer und Elsässischer Weine über Köln im Spätmittelalter," in *Weinbau, Weinhandel und Weinkultur*, ed. Alois Gierlich (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993), 174, 183.

and romney, were consumed less often and were mainly sent as presents to particularly distinguished visitors.³⁷

The person in charge of the wine cellars of the town council, was the *winman*, the cellar-master. He was usually paid a large sum once or twice a year, and since this sum covered the wine consumed (and used as presents) by the councillors on several occasions, it is difficult to estimate how much wine was intended for each individual feast.³⁸ However, a few more precise records reveal that this amount could be very different even for the feasts which took place in the same year, not even speaking of longer periods of time.³⁹

A spiced wine, claret, appearing in the accounts of Reval from 1434,⁴⁰ was another much favoured drink of the town councillors, being particularly frequently consumed at their Christmas drinking feast. In some years it appears that claret was reserved for some special days within this longer feast-cycle: it was drunk at New Year and on the day of the Three Kings.⁴¹ Usually the apothecary was paid for the spices and for mixing the claret,⁴² but sometimes the councillors themselves tried their hand at flavouring this drink.⁴³ In January 1511, a list of ingredients for claret prepared for the just completed Christmas feast was recorded in the town accounts, exceptionally including the precise amounts. The list contains cinnamon, ginger, grains of paradise, galingale, sugar, saffron,

³⁷ For example: *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 302: *Item Corde vor 1 vlassche Romnie unde 1 Malsie unde 1 kulmet apple 5 f. 3 s., demen deme bisscoppe sande*; no. 1017: *Item deme kumpthur van Sweden gesant 1 t. unde 1 vlassche Malmesie unde Romenie, stunt to hope 10 f. 4 s.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 627 (14. Aug. 1445): *Item Claus deme winmanne vor 200 unde 90 stope wins upp Winachten, upp Vastellavent unde Passchen, up deme huse gedrunken unde vorsant, 56 mr. unde 14 s.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 367 (7. March 1439): *Item betalt Isenbrande deme winmanne vor 29 vlasschen wins, de in deme Winachten gedruncken worden. Item vor 8 vlasschen, de in deme Vastellavende worden gedruncken, to hope 12 mr. 12 s.* See also TLA, no. B.a. 6, subsection "Weinrechnungen des Rats."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 103.

⁴¹ *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 812, *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 1363, 1392, 1795, 2236, 2409, 2449, 2681, 2712. Sometimes it is even specified that claret was drunk on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day as well as on the eve and the day of the Three Kings: *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 64r (1515), fol. 92v (1517): *Botaldt vor denn klareth, de ghedrunckenn wort up dem rathuße to nygejars avent unnd nygejars dage unnd to der Hilgenn drekonighe avende und der daghe, ßunder den canel, de is to vornn gescreven, 20 mr.*

⁴² For example: *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 243, 812, 1008; *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 1339, 1763, 1795, 1872, 2043, 2409.

⁴³ *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 2236: *Item betalt her Gotzschalck Rummelinckraden vor de clarete, de he deme rade van synem wyne, cucke unde crude gelecket hadde in den druncken up Nigejar unde der Hilgen dre konige dach, 20 mr. 2 s.*

and Rhenish wine.⁴⁴ Though predominantly connected with Christmas, claret was occasionally provided for Carnival and All Souls' Day as well.⁴⁵

Taking into account how common the entries for claret are in the accounts of Reval from the second half of the fifteenth century, it is somehow surprising that in the accounts of Riga from 1405-1474 this drink does not occur at all. Still, by 1515, claret also reached the councillors' tables in Riga, being consumed at Carnival.⁴⁶

Items purchased for the town councillors' feasts reflect the notion (and the economic resources of) festive food for the top of the merchants' class. In order to examine the preferences and opportunities open to an "average" merchant, it is most relevant to compare the accounts discussed above with those of the guild festivals.

One of the most popular guild festivals in Livonian towns was called the bird-shooting or popinjay-shooting. In Riga, it was arranged by a special Shooting Company (*schutten kumpanie*), which united members of the Great Guild, the Black Heads, and the town councillors, that is, the three elite corporations.⁴⁷ Some lists of provisions for this feast, likewise recorded on separate loose sheets, survive from the period between 1466 and 1543 (table 2).⁴⁸ The earlier lists are not very detailed and record merely the basic components of a banquet: beer, meat (beef, mutton, ham, tongues, mettwurst), fish, bread, spices and other condiments (ginger, salt, pepper, saffron, mustard). Along with the development of account-keeping practices, more comprehensive lists began to be completed. The accounts from around 1540 enumerate several ingredients which previously were perhaps not considered worth recording, such as milk products and local herbs (parsley, sage, horseradish). These accounts also document an economic development (both in trade connections and in growing wealth of merchants), best reflected in the appearance of wine and several "new" items among the

⁴⁴ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 30v: *Sonnavende vor der Hilligen Dreekonninge. Item betalt vor kruth, clarethe to leckende uppe Wynnachtendrucken, alße vor 1.5 punt cannell - 6 mr., 3/4 engever - 2 mr., 1.5 punt pardißkorn - 13 s., 3 loth gallegan - 11 mr., 8 punt zucker - 4 mr., 1.5 loth saffran - 0.5 mr. Noch vor 30 stoppe Rinsches wyn hirtto gekamen - 5 mr.*

⁴⁵ *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 243; *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 2009, 2020, 2279.

⁴⁶ *KB Riga 1514-16*, 43 (records for the years 1515 and 1516).

⁴⁷ Mänd, "Shooting the Bird," 50.

⁴⁸ Latvian State Historical Archive (in Latvian *Latvijas Valsts Vestures Arhivs*, abbr. LVVA), coll. 4922, inv. 1, no. 124 *Kämmerei-Rechnungen von 1466-1582* (This "book" consists of loose sheets with accounts for different feasts, mainly for the bird-shooting and Carnival. The sheets have been bound together in later centuries).

imported foodstuffs (e.g. olives, limes⁴⁹, walnuts, and anise), as well as in the increasing variety of local foodstuffs. The latter concerns above all meat and fish (beef, wether, lamb, dried meat, chicken, crayfish, salmon, and pike), but also condiments (onions and vinegar) and bread (wheat bread, table bread, zwieback or biscuit).

Despite these changes over a period of time, it is possible to point out articles which we could call the 'standard items' on the menu of the bird-shooting festival. Among the beverages these include beer and wine, among the foodstuffs first meat products such as beef and mutton, ham, tongues, and mettwurst; second a number of spices and other condiments to season the meat, such as ground ginger, pepper, salt, and mustard; third bread; and finally apples, nuts, and ingredients for cakes (eggs, flour, butter, etc.). The named items are worthwhile keeping in mind because they occur again in the accounts for other feasts which will be discussed below.

Information about food for the bird-shooting festival can also be found in normative sources. The ordinances of the Black Heads in Reval from the year 1522 prescribe the items which the two popinjay-stewards, that is persons responsible for organizing the feast, had to purchase, namely around 18 tuns of good beer (depending on the current size of the confraternity, either slightly more or less), 7 good sheep or wethers, 3 good hams, 6 mettwursts and 6 tongues; then spices like saffron, pepper, cumin⁵⁰ and ground ginger; then almonds and raisins, parsley roots, fine and coarse salt, rye flour, 150 eggs, vinegar, honey, onions, crayfish, wheat bread, simnel cakes (buns), alms bread, and finally sheep entrails for making sausages.⁵¹ If we compare the foodstuffs listed in these two

⁴⁹ The term in Middle Low German is *limone*, which means lime and not lemon, Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Lfg 21, 824.

⁵⁰ Cumin (*Cuminum cyminum*) is called *peperkome* in Livonian sources (in modern German *Kreuzkümmel*, *Pfefferkümmel*, *römischer Kümmel*), and it is not to be confused with *gartkome* (or *kommel*), which is the name for caraway (*Carum carvi*). Karl Schiller and August Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Bremen, 1875-80), vol. 2, 15; vol. 3, 319.

⁵¹ Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, coll. 614-1/41 Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter aus Reval, no. F 3: *Schafferschragen und Gesetzbuch 1514-1535*, pag. 35-36: *Item dey gekorenn werden to papegoyenn Schaffers ... Inth erste sollen se sick saten to gudem bere alsz se sick vormoden de selschop groet to fyne to 18 t. bers myn offte mer, dar to sollen se kopen 7 gude schape offte botelynge, 3 gude schenken, 6 metworste, 6 gude tungen, 12 loet safferan, 1 punth pepper, 1 punt pepperkome, 0.5 punt (engefer) puders, 3 punt mandelenn, 1 lisp. rosynen, 1 kulmet pettercylien wortelen, 1 kulmet kleyn solt, 1 kulmeth groff solt, 0.5 kulmet roggen mel, 300 becker, 150 eyer, 3 stop guden ettick, 6 punt honiges, ... , (vor) 4 sch. sipollen, vor 0.5 marck kreute, vor 7 f. wegge, vor 12 sch. semelen, vor 12 (sch.) almissen broeth, noch sollen se kopen bruchen vnd hertslach van schapen to den*

types of sources, the accounts from Riga and the ordinances from Reval, it becomes apparent that they practically coincide. This observation allows us to assume that the 'standard' components of a feast meal (for the social group under discussion) not only remained to a large extent unchanged over time, but were also the same in different Livonian towns.

More evidence for such a constancy is provided by the accounts for the annual feast of the Table Guild in Reval, usually held on the second Sunday after Easter (table 3).⁵² Items occupying the top of the list, and consequently the most important ones, are again meat products: beef, mutton, ham, tongues, and mettwurst. Among the spices and other condiments salt, pepper, ginger, saffron, vinegar and onions are found regularly, whereas some others, such as cumin, cloves and cinnamon, came into use around the mid-sixteenth century. Two types of bread occur in these accounts: wheat bread for the guild members and alms bread (sometimes called coarse bread) for distributing to the poor. Other constant items on the list are almonds, raisins, cheese and butter. The main beverages were different sorts of beer and to a lesser extent mead and cider (*appeldranck*). Imported wines were absent on those feasts. As already indicated, the content of these accounts became more varied in the 1540s and 1550s: in addition to a growing number of spices we can find imported fruits (olives, limes, damsons⁵³), and most notable is the occurrence of wild game and fowl (hare, crane, swan, and capercaillie). Thus, the items listed in these accounts clearly mirror the status of merchants as the urban upper class.

Nevertheless, one can see that the 'standard' foodstuffs at the annual feast of the Table Guild in Reval were practically the same as at the shooting festival. The same items are also to be found on the expense list of the Table Guild in Riga, although there the feast was held in another season, in October.⁵⁴

Perhaps the best example of the strength of traditions is the accounts for the May Count festival in Reval from the years 1526-1543, the content of which remained practically unchanged throughout this eighteen year period (table 4).⁵⁵ Again we find beef, ham, tongue, and

worsten to maken. An incomplete version of this list, translated into modern German, is to be found in Friedrich Amelung and Georges Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter* (Reval: Wassermann, 1930), 78.

⁵² TLA, coll. 191, inv. 1, no. 193: *Rechnungen der Tafelgilde 1482-1554*; inv. 2, no. 3: *Zuhauer-Rechnungsbuch der Tafelgilde (Foliant K) 1514-1563*.

⁵³ Damsons are called 'plums from Damascus' (*plumen van damassche*).

⁵⁴ *LECUB* II, vol. 2, no. 679. See also Pöltsam, "Essen und Trinken," 126-27.

⁵⁵ TLA, coll. 191, inv. 1, no. 179: *Gilderechnungen 1520-1588* (incl. *Maigrafen-rechnungen 1526, 1529, 1532*); coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 19: *Maigrafenbuch 1527-1543*.

mettwurst as meat products; salt and ginger to season the meat; wheat bread and alms bread; cakes with pepper, saffron, and butter; and finally apples and nuts. The drinks include beer (a local one and occasionally Hamburg beer), Rhenish wine, and *berckhoren*, probably a locally produced beverage.⁵⁶ These accounts also allow us to observe how the general terms wine, bread, and nuts were meant to refer to Rhenish wine, wheat bread (*wegge*), and walnuts and hazelnuts.

In the next example, the lists of provisions of the Great Guild of Reval for its feasts at Christmas and Carnival in the years 1509-1552 (table 5),⁵⁷ we immediately notice the similarity of their contents. Both feasts lasted for approximately two weeks which necessitated large provisions of beer. For each feast, the guild bought approximately 4-5 lasts of malt and 1.5-2 *schippunt* of hops for brewing.⁵⁸ Beer was to be available every day; a multi-course festive meal, however, was served only on some special days during these longer periods of feasting. The accounts for both Christmas and Carnival distinguish between food served on two separate occasions. For the main banquet of the guild members, referred to in the sources as the beer-tasting day (*alse de brodere dat ber smeckeden*), the following foodstuffs were provided: beef for a pot roast (*smorbrad*); herring and rotscher; ham, tongues and mettwurst; wheat bread and alms bread; various spices and condiments. On the day when the town councillors, women and maidens were invited to the guild hall (*alse wy den raet, vrowen und junckvrowen hadden*), cakes, apples, and nuts were served. In some years the elders of the guild had their separate beer-tasting "up in the chamber"⁵⁹ (*do de oldesten smeckeden vp der kamer*), and for this event they were served herring,

⁵⁶ Reference books give two explanations for *berkoren*: 1. grapes, and 2. grains for brewing. Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Lfg 2, 222; Eero Alanne, *Die deutsche Weinbauterminologie in althochdeutscher und mittelhochdeutscher Zeit* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1950), 116. However, neither of these meanings is satisfying in Livonian context. In the accounts under discussion, *berckhoren* is always listed among the beverages and its measure is *stop*, a measure for liquids; for example *Maigrafenbuch*, fol. 70: *It. vor 12 stop wyns is 2 mr. 16 s. It. vor 27 stop berckhoren is 1.5 mr. It. vor 29 stop hamborger ber vor den stop 8 d. is 2 mr. 5 s. 1 d.* Besides these accounts, *berckhoren* also appears in some other sources: *KB Riga 1405-74*, 273: *46 mark geuen Johan Vaken vor den Berckhorne unde andere wyn den de rad gerdunken hefft to bytiden. 8 mark vor beer den Berckhorne to vorfullende.* See also table 6 (1536).

⁵⁷ TLA, coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 15: *Rechnungen und Bruderverzeichnisse der Grossen Gilde zu Reval 1509-1603*. (Ending the sample years with 1552 is my subjective choice.)

⁵⁸ In Reval: 1 *Schiffpfund* = 162.9 kg, 1 *Last* = 12 *Schiffpfund* = 2316 kg.

⁵⁹ This chamber was the so-called Bride chamber (*brutkammer*); see fol. 120r. It got its name from the wedding feasts which took place in the guild house.

fresh fish (pike, bream) and dried fish (stockfish, rotscher⁶⁰) bread, butter, cheese, sturgeon's roe, and so forth — in other words everything salty to provoke thirst.

The food of the main banquet was also a concern in the normative sources. In 1555, the alderman and the elders of the guild decided that the following three dishes must be served: stockfish, pickled herring, and roasted or salted meat.⁶¹

Accounts for the Carnival feast of the Great Guild in Riga have not been preserved from a time earlier than 1548.⁶² In this year, the food was purchased for two days, and the list contained: large quantities of meat (2 oxen, 1 calf, 7 wethers, 7 sheep, 7 hares, 2 capercaillie), herring, 'fresh fish', sugar, honey, lard, butter, bread, a number of spices (ginger, pepper, saffron, cloves, cinnamon, and anise), almonds, nuts, apples, cakes, and some other items.⁶³

In general, the food provided for the drinking feasts at Christmas and Carnival did not significantly differ from that of the previously discussed festivals. However, as the specifics of these feasts deserve special attention, we shall return to them later.

As could be seen on the basis of the accounts examined, there were a number of 'standard' foodstuffs and beverages provided for the merchants' banquets: beer and wine, beef and mutton, bread and alms bread, spices and condiments (salt, ginger, pepper, etc.), butter and cheese, cakes, apples and nuts. Such items, occurring from year to year and from feast to feast, indicate the durability and strength of traditions on the one hand, and on the other hand, they point to a standard general notion of festive food. These were the items of which merchants knew that they had appeared on feast tables of the previous generations, and these were the items which they expected to be found there in coming years — they were the components which made a feast a 'proper' one. Many of these foodstuffs and their quality can be considered clear status

⁶⁰ Rotscher is in fact one type of stockfish and both terms are frequently used in Livonian sources as synonyms. Both stockfish and rotscher refer to cod (*Gadus morhua morhua*), cut in half, gutted, and then dried. Volker Heim, "Der hansische Handel mit Nahrungsmittel," in *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum*, ed. Günter Wiegmann and Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Beiträge zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland 91), (Münster, New York: Waxmann, 1996), 30.

⁶¹ *Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval*, ed. Eugen von Nottbeck (Reval: Kluge and Ströhm, 1885), 63, 95 § 105: ... *wenner men smecket, so sollen de gardelude 3 gerichte geuenn, alse stockuisch, seetherinck, braden edder soltflesch...*

⁶² Robert Jaksch, "Von den Fastelabend Drunken auf der Grossen Gildstube im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Rigasche Stadtblätter* 85, no. 21-22 (1894): 163-68, 171-76.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 166-68.

symbols, for instance fresh meat, refined white bread, and a variety of imported spices.

An additional, but no less an important, explanation for the repetitive menus is a practical one: it was much easier for the stewards to make calculations and to purchase food for around one hundred guild members,⁶⁴ if the types of foodstuffs and their amounts were known in advance.

Though, in general, the foodstuffs provided for different feasts remained the same, some important variations can also be traced. This observation leads us to the second category of festive food, which might be called feast-dependent or time-dependent. Religious prescriptions and the availability of certain foodstuffs at certain times of the year explain why we find some items at given feasts and not at others. For instance, if to search for differences between the accounts for Christmas and Carnival (table 5) and for those of the other feasts discussed here, then our attention is immediately drawn to fish, above all to herring and stockfish. Christmas and Carnival were related to the two major fasts of the year, Advent and Lent, which had significant impact also on the feast menus. Although herring, and other fish were predominantly the food for the fast days,⁶⁵ they occupied an important place at the feast tables as well, as the documents discussed above from the Great Guild clearly demonstrate.

Interesting information about the impact of the fast on food served at Christmas and Carnival is found in the normative sources of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads. According to the ordinances of 1514, the Black Heads in Reval began their drinking feast at Christmas with a beer tasting on Friday before St. Lucia's day (13. Dec.).⁶⁶ Why they chose what appears to be at first sight the most unsuitable time (it was still Advent, and moreover, Friday was the main fasting day of a week), at this point remains unclarified. However, the ordinances reveal that only proper fast dishes were served at this occasion: first pickled herring (*spyck herinck*), after a time sturgeon's roe (*stor roghen*), then dried salmon (*droge lass*) followed by roasted (baked) apples (*braden appele*),

⁶⁴ For example, the average number of participants at the Christmas and Carnival feasts of the Black Heads in Reval was 80-120 (1450-1550), and for the Great Guild 100-120 (1510-50). TLA, coll. 87, inv. 1, no. 20 *Bruderbuch der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter zu Reval 1446-1499*; no. 21a *Bruderbuch der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter zu Reval 1500-1581*; coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 15 *Rechnungen und Bruderverzeichnisse der Grossen Gilde zu Reval 1509-1603*.

⁶⁵ On the influence of the fast on the consumption of herring and stockfish, see, e. g., for example Ulf Dirlmeier and Fritz Schmidt, "Die Hanse und die Nahrung im südlichen Mitteleuropa," in *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum*, 267-302.

⁶⁶ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, no. F 3: *Schafferschragen und Gesetzbuch 1514-35*, pag. 2.

and at eleven o'clock at night roasted herring heads (*bradene heringes houede*).⁶⁷ The menu of the day, when women and maidens were invited to dance in the confraternity (it was on Dec. 28), was quite similar to that found in the accounts of the Great Guild: cakes, nuts, and apples. However, the choice of beverages at the house of the Black Heads was richer: Rhenish wine, Hamburg beer, and *berckhorne*.⁶⁸

While the Christmas feast began within the period of fasting, Carnival ended in it. The Black Heads of Reval finished their drinking feast at Carnival on the first Sunday in Lent⁶⁹ (*Invocavit*), the Black Heads in Riga continued for two more days.⁷⁰ What deserves special attention is that on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, after a rich and filling banquet,⁷¹ herring was carried around, and this event marked a turning-point to the fast.⁷² Although the drinking feast itself continued for almost one more week, meat dishes were no longer served. Another characteristic sign of the fast was the serving of expensive spices — ginger, nutmeg, grains of paradise, and dragée, a spiced candy — on Ash Wednesday, and on the following Friday, when town councillors, the bailiff, and the elders of the Great Guild paid a visit to the Black Heads.⁷³ The amounts of the spices to be provided for these occasions was likewise prescribed in the regulation.⁷⁴ Merchants were a social class who obviously could afford such a luxury and for whom Lent did not mean

⁶⁷ Ibid., pag. 5-6.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pag. 9-10.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pag. 22.

⁷⁰ *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter Riga bis 1621*, ed. W. Stieda and C. Mettig (Riga: Häcker, 1896), Carnival regulation of the Black Heads from the year 1510: 584 § 24, 623 § 214-15.

⁷¹ Ibid., Carnival regulation of the Black Heads from ca. 1500: 573 § 108. The food for the general banquet is not specified, but the alderman and his assessors were served three dishes consisting of capons, eggs, and cheese.

⁷² Ibid., Carnival regulation from ca. 1500: 574 § 109: *Item up den sulven avent horet den vastelavendt schafferen tho hebben twe watt heringes uth der pekell unndt so vele brodes, alss men dar tho behoff hefft; dar gahn se mede in de fastenn*. See also § 111 and 114. Ibid., Carnival regulation from 1510: 611 § 150, 153; 612 § 154: ... *so solen de schaffer herink na ummedregen, dar se mede in vasten gan aver dat gantse hus*.

⁷³ Ibid., 575 § 118, 122; 614 § 165-66, 168; 620 § 198-200, 202; 621 § 204, 206.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 623 § 216: *Des krudes, dat men behoff hefft up asschedach, unde wen men den radt to gaste hefft, is sal to hope 2 markpunt engever, 2 markpunt muschaten, 4 markpunt pardyskorn, 9 punt drossye affte 0.5 lispunt. (1 Markpfund = 32 Lot = ca. 416 g).*

any serious self-restrictions — the consumption of expensive and luxurious food transformed fast into feast.⁷⁵

Herring in connection with Christmas and Carnival has also been recorded in the town accounts of Reval. The councillors were yearly provided with one tun of herring for Advent.⁷⁶ The records with individually listed items for the feasts are, as already mentioned, quite rare, but among those existing for Christmas⁷⁷ and Carnival⁷⁸ herring was one of the items important enough to be written down.

The town accounts of Reval reveal another seasonally dependent foodstuff, namely geese. Geese were slaughtered in the fall, and therefore it is not at all surprising that we find them as a traditional food at feasts in late autumn. These feasts were actually two in number: All Souls' Day on Nov. 2, and St. Martin's Day on Nov. 11. In the years 1463-1533, the town council annually paid for approximately 30-40 geese for All Souls' Day, and 12-30 geese for Martinmas.⁷⁹ The eating of geese at Martinmas was practiced in medieval Scandinavia⁸⁰ as well as in German lands,⁸¹ but I am not aware of a connection between geese and All Souls' Day elsewhere.

Another food associated with All Souls' Day was fish (and we may only guess whether the symbolic connection between souls and fish played any role here). As becomes apparent from the regular payments to a fisherman, the fish provided was to be fresh fish, and not salted or dried.⁸² Occasionally we learn that the fish purchased was pike or crucian carp, and that they were caught in the ponds of Reval.⁸³ These ponds

⁷⁵ On this topic, see Gerhard Jaritz, "Fasten als Fest? Überlegungen zu Speisebeschränkungen im späten Mittelalter," in *Geschichte und ihre Quellen: Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard Härtel (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1987), 157-68.

⁷⁶ *KB Reval 1463-1507* and *KB Reval 1507-33*, passim.

⁷⁷ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 131v, 143v, 176r: *Botalet Clawes Duker vor eth jenige, wes he yn den Winachtendrucken vor herinck, tweback unnd andere persele utgegeven heft. 7.5 mr.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 66v, 79v: *Botalet Clawes Duker na syner czedele vor zolt, broth, etich, storroghen unde herinck in den Vastelavendesdrucken vorteret, 3 mr. 1 f.; 133r, 166v, 180r, 202r, 214r, 235v.*

⁷⁹ *KB Reval 1463-1507* and *KB Reval 1507-33*, passim.

⁸⁰ *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, vol. 5, 687.

⁸¹ Jürgen Küster, *Wörterbuch der Feste und Bräuche im Jahreslauf* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1985), 123; *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 3, 290.

⁸² *KB Reval 1463-1507* and *KB Reval 1507-33*, passim.

⁸³ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 23v: *Item betalt den vyskers vor de vyskerie in deme Hinckenpe unde ock vor heckede do sulvest gekofft 5.5 mr. 6 s.; 73r, 86r, 98r, 219r:*

belonged to the town and fishing there without the permission of the councillors was met with punishment.⁸⁴

When speaking of feast-dependent festive food, it is necessary to add that in the medieval period there was still no dish connected exclusively to certain feasts. Our modern minds would immediately think of the "traditional" foods of Christmas, Easter, or Carnival, but very often such traditions do not reach back further than to the nineteenth century. For example, gingerbread (*peperkocken*), one of the modern symbols of Christmas, was eaten by the members of the Table Guild in medieval Reval on the second Sunday after Easter.⁸⁵ Sources from elsewhere in German lands, for example from Prussia, likewise indicate that gingerbread was consumed at various occasions.⁸⁶ It was also eaten at Christmas, but it was certainly not specifically a Christmas sweet.

In his recent article, E. H. Segschneider attempts to prove that another baker's product, a 'hot bun' (*hedewäggen* or *hete wegge*), was a specific Carnival cake in the Hanse region and that its spread in late medieval Hanseatic towns coincided with the emergence of the Carnival feast as such.⁸⁷ However, one of the earliest documentations of this cake, which Segschneider himself cites (but through a secondary reference), comes from Riga and is connected to weddings.⁸⁸ The source in question is found in the ordinances of the town of Riga from 1502. Its content is comparable to sumptuary laws, and the reference to the *heten weggen* is to be found in a section which regulated and restricted luxury at wedding feasts.⁸⁹ Hence, although there are indeed records from different towns in northern Germany (in particular Hamburg, Lübeck, and Wismar) that associate *hete wegge* with Carnival, in the Middle Ages it was not exclusively connected to this feast.

Botaeth den fischers des rades dieke tho botehende up Hengepe, wen de karusen umgesant werden, 4.5 mr. 1 f.

⁸⁴ Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973), appendix 1, 442, *bursprake* of Reval from the second decade of the fifteenth century, § 78e: *Item so ene sal nymant vischen in des stades diken sunder des rades vulbord, by 1 mark...*

⁸⁵ TLA, coll. 191, inv. 1, no. 193 *Rechnungen der Tafelgilde 1482-1554*, fol. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14. See also table 3.

⁸⁶ Ulrich Tolksdorf, *Essen und Trinken in Ost-und Westpreussen*, part 1 (Marburg: Elwert, 1975), 320-21.

⁸⁷ Ernst Helmut Segschneider, "Heißwecken als Fastnachtsgebäck im Hanseraum," in *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum*, 429-61.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 437.

⁸⁹ *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, vol. 4 (Riga, Leipzig: Frantzen, 1844), no. 148, page ccliii (253): *Ock schal nen brudegaem in dagen des lofften de brut besenden mit hekeden, wine, heten weggen...*

Thus far we have discussed only the items purchased for feasts, and not the food itself as it appeared on the table. The account books obviously are not very revealing in this area. Even though the order in which the foodstuffs have been recorded, together with expressions like "butter and pepper for cakes" or "ground ginger for meat," as well as our general knowledge from medieval recipe collections helps us to reconstruct how certain foodstuffs were combined into dishes, the exact ingredients and methods of preparation remain to a great extent uncertain.

It becomes evident from our account books that beef and mutton were mainly prepared as a pot roast (*smorbrad*, *grapenbrad*) and seasoned with ground ginger, salt, pepper, and mustard. Animal fat (*speck*, *fet*) was the most common substance for frying and roasting, but butter, and to a lesser degree oil, were also used. In general the sources do not specify what kind of oil was meant, but there are occasional references to both poppy-seed oil (*man olie*; see table 2), a native product, and to 'Lissabon oil' (*Lisbonis olie*), that is, imported olive oil.⁹⁰ We learn from the feast accounts that fish was eaten with butter, onions and other condiments. Ham, tongues, and sausages served as cold dishes. Bread for the merchants' banquets was mainly *wegge*, baked from wheat flour; whereas a coarse bread out of rye was distributed as alms.⁹¹ Besides these and the kinds of breads discussed in connection with the town councillors' feasts, other types of bread occasionally turn up in the accounts, for example *schottelbrod*, referring to big loaves of bread used as plates, and *schonroggen*, a wedge-shaped fine bread, baked from the mixture of wheat and rye flour.⁹² Ingredients for cakes included wheat flour, eggs, and milk, and (combined or variably) saffron, anise, pepper, and raisins. Cakes were often served with butter.

The limitations of the account books become especially visible concerning the information on local herbs and vegetables. The accounts mention mainly parsley, mustard, and onions, and in single cases caraway, sage, and garlic. At the same time we know from archaeobotanical evidence that the choice of herbs used in cookery was much more varied. Although on the basis of macro-rests of plants from archaeological excavations we cannot distinguish between everyday and festive food, it is highly likely that such widespread condiments as dill and celery⁹³ were used in flavouring feast meals as well. The reasons for

⁹⁰ *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 1739; *LECUB II*, vol. I, no. 31.

⁹¹ TLA, coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 3, fol. 6r: *groff brot to almussen*; no. 15, fol. 61r: *roggenbrot to almussen*.

⁹² Pölsam, "Essen und Trinken," 118.

⁹³ Sillasoo, "Eesti keskaegsete linnade," 110-11, 113.

not listing them in the account books can be manifold. On the one hand, the native herbs were very cheap and consequently not important enough to be written down. On the other hand, they might have been obtained via channels other than buying and were therefore not recorded. The lack of evidence for many types of legumes and vegetables known to have been locally cultivated may also derive from the fact that these were not considered to be festive foods.

Information on combinations of different foodstuffs increases from the mid-sixteenth century. One of the characteristics of medieval cookery, the mixing of flavours (sweet and bitter, sweet and salty) in order to balance the 'temperaments' of the various ingredients,⁹⁴ becomes visible, for example, in the town accounts of Riga, which record roasted hare with sugar, or pike with saffron, almonds, and raisins.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, if we wish to know more about the dishes in different courses and about the order in which they were served, we have to seek additional information from other types of sources. In a sumptuary law, issued by the town council of Reval ca. 1540, the menus for wedding meals were fixed according to one's social status.⁹⁶ At the banquets taking place in the Great Guild and at midday (*Middageskost*), the following six courses were to be served:

Firstly: a black sauce or sop (*swart Juchen speise*). It was forbidden to serve a yellow sauce (*gele Juchen speise*) as had been an earlier practice; also fresh meat, such as that of capons, flavoured with horse-radish.

Secondly: roast meat (*gebradt*), and one kind of wine, such as Rhenish wine. Wine was allowed on the table only as long as the meat was eaten.

Thirdly: ham, mettwurst, and tongues.

Fourthly: rice, and no almond purée.⁹⁷

Fifthly: butter and cheese, but in moderate quantities.

Sixthly: apples, nuts, and cakes, according to the old custom.

⁹⁴ See Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, 41-46, 51-53.

⁹⁵ *KB Riga 1555-56*, 72, 83.

⁹⁶ TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. B.s. 7: *Kleider-, Hochzeits-, Kindtauf- usw. Ordnungen 1497-1738*, fol. 15-17; published by Eduard Pabst, "Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte Revels," in *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Curlands*, ed. F.G. von Bunge, vol. 1 (Dorpat, 1842), 220-29.

⁹⁷ This line is damaged and reads: *T...erden r... ..d kein M...mus*. However, the extant letters and spaces between the words allow us to reconstruct the text: *Tom verden ris und kein Mandelmus*.

On the same evening it was permitted to serve a pot roast (*grapenbrade*) and cold dishes left over from the banquet at midday. The meal was to be finished with butter and cheese.

The food to be served at artisans' weddings, in St. Canute's guild and in St. Olaf's guild, was of a more restricted variety and quantity. For example, the dishes allowed for the members of St. Olaf's guild were: pot roast, one type of roast meat, ham, butter and cheese. Wine is not named; neither do we find luxury desserts (rice, almond purée) made out of imported foodstuffs. Social distinction was reflected not only in food but also in the number of guests which could be invited: for the members of the Great Guild it was 120 male and 80 female persons, for the members of St. Canute's guild respectively 80 and 60, and for the members of St. Olaf's guild, depending on whether they celebrated in the house of St. Canute's guild or in their own house, either 60 and 60, or 30 and 30.

One characteristic feature in the case of feasts discussed thus far is the rarity of wild game and fowl. Wild game was in general an aristocratic food, reserved for members of nobility, and this distinction remained even in the late Middle Ages, despite the growing attempts of well-off burghers to adapt standards of the noble lifestyle. Still, the town councillors, the top of the urban elite in Livonia, occasionally had a chance to enjoy wild game (and here I do not refer to the festive receptions of noble visitors which will be discussed below). The town accounts of Riga reveal that once a year, at Carnival, the councillors customarily ate deer (*re*).⁹⁸ Although in a number of cases it is specified that deer was sent to them by the master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order (henceforth *Ordensmeister*), in other years the councillors obviously purchased the animal themselves. Reval, which was situated far from the *Ordensmeister's* residence and had a less important role in the politics of the Order than Riga, rarely received presents of game from him. One example originates from the year 1454, when the councillors enjoyed a deer and a wild swine, sent by the master.⁹⁹ However, as in Riga, the councillors of Reval occasionally purchased a stag or a deer themselves, mainly for their banquet at Carnival.¹⁰⁰ The situation changed towards the middle of the sixteenth

⁹⁸ KB Riga 1405-74, 126: *It. 3.5 mark to der koste do de heren to vastelauende eten vp der bode do de mester dat ree sande.*; 129, 282, 285, 301, 308, 313.

⁹⁹ KB Reval 1432-63, no. 944: *Item kostede de kost dre mr., do de raet upp deme rathuse to hope at dat re unde wildeswin, dat unse here de mester hiir sande.*

¹⁰⁰ KB Reval 1463-1507, no. 1640: *It. betalet vor kruth yn den Vastelavende, do de radt dat herte ath. is 7 f.*; no. 1674: *It. to Vastelavende wart eyn rehe gekofft to des rades behoff und up deme radhuse gegeten, und dat kostede myt wyne, brode und anderen dinge, dat dar to quam, 9 mr.*; no. 1945: *Item betalt Hans Alvuse vor eyn*

century, when some species of wild game and fowl (hare, crane, capercaillie, swan) gradually began to reach the tables of the merchants' guilds (tables 3 and 5). However, even at this point bigger game animals such as boar or deer, do not appear in the feast accounts.

The subject of wild game takes us to the next and last category of festive food, namely the 'extraordinary' one. The same town accounts, which are not very revealing in the case of the yearly feasts of the councillors, are much more detailed concerning the receptions organised in honour of particularly distinguished guests such as ambassadors of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the Livonian *Ordensmeister*, bishops, and so forth. One can observe how the economic resources of the town increased over time, the examples starting with relatively modest banquets in the 1430s, and finishing with lavish celebrations in honour of Hermann von Brüggeneý in 1536¹⁰¹ (table 6). The expenditures for these events, in particular receptions connected to the festive entries of the *Ordensmeister*, have been recorded in the town accounts with great care and detail.¹⁰² The most remarkable difference from 'ordinary' feasts is the variety of food served. This variety especially concerns the different sorts of meat purchased: in addition to domestic animals, such as oxen and cows, sheep, chicken, and geese, we find wild game and fowl, such as deer, hare, partridge, and even peacock, a bird not at all native to Livonia. The variety involves basically all types of foodstuffs: the accounts list several sorts of cheese, especially imported cheese, and a number of imported fruits and nuts (dates, limes, olives, almonds, and walnuts). The choice of spices was rich and their amounts conspicuous. Some of the spices were turned into candies like *drossye* (dragée)¹⁰³ and *regal*.¹⁰⁴ Other desserts served were rice and almond purée. The variety

herte unde ree, dat van Dantzike quam, 11 D.g. TLA, no. B.a. 6, fol. 295 (1546 Carnival): vor 2 ree van ryge 14 mr.

¹⁰¹ TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. B.a. 6, fol. 288, published by Arnold Süvalep, "Ordumeister Hermann von Brüggeneý külaskäik Tallinna 1536.a. ja turniir Raekoja platsil" (The visit of the master of the Livonian Order Hermann von Brüggeneý to Tallinn in 1536 and a joust in the Town Hall square), in *Vana Tallinn I* (Tallinn: Tallinna Ajaloo Selts, 1936): 55-76. The publication contains a few mistakes, e.g. Süvalep has read "peperkorne" (peppercorns) instead of "peperkome" (cumin).

¹⁰² On this subject, see Anu Mänd, "Signs of Power and Signs of Hospitality: The Festive Entries of the *Ordensmeister* into Late Medieval Reval," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebok (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 281-93.

¹⁰³ On *drossie*, see Hartmut Boockmann, "Süßigkeiten im finsternen Mittelalter: Das Konfekt des Deutschordenshochmeisters," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften*, vol. 42 *Mittelalterliche Texte*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 179-80. See also Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, 130-31.

¹⁰⁴ On *regal*, see Boockmann, "Süßigkeiten," 180.

likewise concerns the beverages: in addition to local beer some of the most famous sorts in Germany, the Einbeck beer and Hamburg beer, were purchased for these occasions. The wines included several expensive and well-known sorts: Rhenish wine, claret, wines from the Mediterranean (malmsey, romney), and France (Poitou). The highlight of those receptions were without doubt the "surprise" dishes, in which the emphasis was laid on visual theatrical effects, for example gilded and silvered candy in 1470¹⁰⁵, and a gilded peacock in 1513.¹⁰⁶

Although the festive entry of Wolter von Plettenberg in 1525 took place during Lent (*Oculi* Sunday), the tables in the town hall were covered more richly than ever before. Instead of meat dishes a large variety of fish was prepared: herring, rotscher, salmon, sturgeon, eel, and 'fresh fish', and a fortune of 45 marks was spent on 12 butts of jelly (*galreyde*¹⁰⁷) brought from Dorpat especially for this occasion. Jellies were considered to be high-status dishes, which owed much of their prestige to the skills required for their preparation.¹⁰⁸ Another special delicacy served at this banquet were beaver tails (*beversterle*).¹⁰⁹ Although beaver is a mammal, its tail, covered with scales, was categorised with fish.¹¹⁰ Because of its nutritional value (high fat content!), beaver tails were much appreciated Lenten food, and medieval cooks tended to prepare them as alternatives to meat particularly on days

¹⁰⁵ KB Reval 1463-1507, no. 1396: 4 punt regal vorguldet und vorsilvert.

¹⁰⁶ KB Reval 1507-33, fol. 50r: *Item eynen pawen to vorgulden 1 mr.* The excerpts from the town accounts concerning the visits of Plettenberg in 1500, 1513, and 1525, have been published in Paul Johansen, "Ordensmeister Plettenberg in Reval," *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands* 12 (1927), 108-15.

¹⁰⁷ On different ingredients and methods of preparation of *galraid*, see Johanna Maria von Winter, "Interregional influences in Medieval Cooking," in *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 47-48.

¹⁰⁸ Barbara Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," in *Food in the Middle Ages*, 66.

¹⁰⁹ Johansen, "Ordensmeister," 114.

¹¹⁰ As Hugo von Trimberg wrote: *bibers zage vischin ist*; cited in Gertrud Blaschitz, "Der Biber im Topf und der Pfau am Spieß," in *Ir sult sprechen willekommen: Grenzenlose Mediävistik, Festschrift für Helmut Birkhan zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Tuczay, U. Hirshager, and K. Lichtblau (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 422. The same concept is revealed in medieval cookbooks, for example *Koch und Kellermeister / von allen Speisen vnnd Getränken / viel guter heimlicher Künste* / etc. (Frankfurt am Main: Herman Gulfferich, 1547), 7: *Vom Biber. Der Biber ist ein Thier wie ein Meerhundt / lanng vnd schwanger / hat sehr lang Zeen / er mag nit la(n)g lebenn er hab denn den schwanz im Wasser / den(n) er ist halb fleisch / vnd d(a)z ander theil der Schwa(n)z ist Visch...*

of abstinence.¹¹¹ The amount of jelly purchased for this particular banquet indicates that it was meant for a larger number of diners; the three beaver tails, on the contrary, were most likely reserved only for the *Ordensmeister*.

By calling these feasts and the food served 'extraordinary', I am suggesting that they were extraordinary from the merchants' (town councillors') point of view, and not from that of the *Ordensmeister*. Studies on food and drink purchased for the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order have shown that wild game, Mediterranean fruits, a rich choice of spices and candies, and several sorts of wine commonly appeared on his table.¹¹² Though there are no similar surveys on the living standards of the Livonian *Ordensmeister*, the situation could not have been significantly different. It is justifiable to ask to what extent the town councillors were able to taste all the delicacies served at the receptions in honour of the *Ordensmeister*. These banquets included hundreds of guests seated at the tables according to their rank, and the dishes meant for different tables depended on the status of the persons. However, the arrangement of the tables in 1525 reveals that the councillors were seated in the '*dornitze*', in the same room as the *Ordensmeister*, some of his most influential commanders, and the representatives of the nobles from Harrien and Wirland. The rest of the guests on the other hand, were placed at tables laid in the '*vorhus*' and presumably also in the cellar.¹¹³ Hence it is quite likely that at the receptions in honour of their lord, the councillors had a chance to try dishes which were in fact "above" their status.

The cooks in the service of the town council had to be familiar with how to prepare for such grand feasts, both in qualitative and quantitative terms. After all, the festive entries of the *Ordensmeister* were rare

¹¹¹ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976; 5th reprint 1994), 47. Some recipes for preparing beaver tails are discussed in Blaschitz, "Der Biber im Topf," 422.

¹¹² Tomasz Jasinski, "Was aßen die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und ihre Gäste am Anfang des 15. Jhs?" in *Studia historica slavo-germanica*, vol. 18 for 1991-1992, ed. Anton Czubinski (Poznan: Wydawnictwo naukowe, 1994), 15-25; Boockmann, "Süßigkeiten"; Klaus Militzer, "Der Wein des Meisters: Die Weinversorgung des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen," in *Zwischen Lübeck und Novgorod: Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jh*, ed. Ortwin Pelc and Gertraud Pickhan (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1996), 143-55.

¹¹³ Johansen, "Ordensmeister," 113. It is not directly stated that there were tables laid in the cellar, but we may assume it was on the basis of records on the quantities of beer and wine sent to the cellar. The persons celebrating there were obviously of lesser importance, e. g., the servants of the knights.

occasions, and could take place only once during the chef's lifetime. The town accounts of Reval record payments to the cook of the *Ordensmeister* as well.¹¹⁴ Thus we may assume that he assisted the local cooks in the preparations for the banquets and perhaps also introduced some novel dishes and cooking methods.

Such grand receptions cost the town council ten up to even a hundred times more than their own annual festivals and the food served there was certainly more varied and costly than what the councillors could afford for their 'ordinary' feasts. However, such expenditure was unavoidable – the feast had to correspond to the status of the guest.¹¹⁵ Besides, the benefits the town expected to reap in response to such receptions, for example the confirmation or enlarging of the privileges, were obviously worth every penny spent.

By analysing the feast accounts of Livonian urban associations, I hope to have demonstrated how strongly the choice of certain foodstuffs, their quality, and methods of preparation depended on one's status and served as signs of socio-cultural identity. It is true that many of the foodstuffs discussed above were basic for medieval feasts in general, and not only for these of the merchants class. Certain features, however, such as extensive consumption of luxury goods (imported wines, fruits and nuts, and a number of exotic spices, including sugar) and the quality and variety of local foodstuffs (in particular of bread and meat), are characteristic of merchants and differentiate them from the artisans and the lower social strata of the urban population. At the same time, the rare consumption of wild game and fowl draws a line between merchants and members of the nobility. One should also not overlook the social distinctions within the merchants' class itself. The quality and variety of certain items at the town councillors' tables were without doubt higher than in the guilds. This was especially the case in the choice of wines, in particular the consumption of prestigious claret, as well as spices and confectionery.

In the course of time, such distinctions became less strict, and the food consumed began to depend more on one's wealth than status. Around the middle of the sixteenth century, wild game increasingly

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 114: *Botalet h des hern meysters kocke vor 6 floel em thom wamboys vor syn arbeit to kaken geschenket - 30 mr.*

¹¹⁵ On the cost of the banquets arranged in honour of the *Ordensmeister*, see Mänd, "Signs of Power," 286.

appears in the accounts of the merchants' guilds and many of the luxury goods were no longer a rarity at the tables of wealthy artisans.¹¹⁶

In the end, there is one more aspect I would like to address briefly in this essay, namely local characteristics in food consumption. Although the sources discussed above are limited to social elites, they reflect to a degree some general features of diet in the Livonian urban environment. One can say that the towns with their German upper and middle class largely followed German cookery traditions, however vague such a classification may be. In particular we can draw parallels with consumption patterns in North Germany and other regions around the Baltic Sea. These similarities were determined by the natural environment and further promoted by the Hanseatic trade. The dominant position of beer as compared to wine, the consumption of mead and other drinks out of honey, the widespread use of honey itself, the use of lard and poppy-seed oil, the extensive consumption of fish (both salt- and freshwater species), the baking of various kinds of rye breads in addition to wheat bread, the rare appearance of Mediterranean fruits – these named features are characteristic of dietary models in Livonia as well as in northern Germany and Scandinavia. At the same time, it is obvious that extensive generalizations about regional nutrition cannot be drawn only on the basis of festive food. It is relevant to study patterns of consumption of day-to-day food of the different social strata and to combine the results from various types of written sources with archaeological and archaeobiological data.

¹¹⁶ For example, in 1563, such luxury items as rice, sugar, and olives first appear in the feast accounts of St. Canute's guild. TLA, coll. 190, inv. 1, no. 60 *Alte Nachrichten der St. Kanutigilde*, part 2, fol. 43.

**TABLE 1a. Foodstuffs purchased for the town councillors' feasts
in Reval 1404/05 and 1427/28¹**

w = Christmas (*winachten*), f = Carnival (*vastelauend*), h = All Souls' Day
(*hinkepe*)

	1 4 0 4 w	1 4 0 5 f	1 4 0 5 h	1 4 2 7 w	1 4 2 8 f	1 4 2 8 h	Original terms
Pepper			x	x	x	x	<i>peper</i>
Saffron			x	x	x	x	<i>safferan</i>
Ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engever</i>
Cloves		x		x	x		<i>negelken</i>
Cinnamon		x	x				<i>kanell</i>
Cubeb			x	x	x		<i>kabeben</i>
Grains of paradise		x	x	x	x		<i>pardiskorne</i>
Seeds of meadow saxifrage (?) (<i>semen ex seseli</i>)	x			x	x	x	<i>polse hauere</i>
'Baking' spices					x		<i>backen krude</i>
Cardamom			x				<i>kardemom</i>
(White) sugar		x	x				<i>(wyth) sucker</i>
Dates	x	x					<i>dadelen</i>
Raisins			x				<i>rosinen</i>
Rice			x				<i>ris</i>
Sweat wine for (almond?) purée			x				<i>sote win to den mose</i>
Beef (cow, ox), roast, pot roast	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>ko vlessch, ossen, brade, rinderen brade, gropen brade</i>
Pork roast	x		x				<i>swines brade</i>
Salted meat	x	x	x				<i>vleß met solte</i>
Pigs' feet	x		x	x	x	x	<i>(swyns) vote</i>
Mutton			x	x	x	x	<i>schape</i>

¹ Beverages are excluded from this table.

Chicken		x	x	x	x	x	<i>honre</i>
Hare	x	x		x	x		<i>hasen</i>
Ham		x	x			x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue			x			x	<i>tungen</i>
Mettwurst			x			x	<i>metworste</i>
White sausages			x				<i>wytworste</i>
Geese			x			x	<i>gose</i>
Boar's gristle (?)						x	<i>beren schilde</i>
(Fresh) fish	x	x		x	x	x	<i>(verssche) vyssche</i>
(Fresh) pike	x	x	x				<i>(verssche) hekede</i>
Small species of herring (<i>Strömling</i>)		x	x				<i>stromelink</i>
Herring	x						<i>herynck</i>
Perch			x				<i>barss</i>
Stockfish			x				<i>stockvyssche</i>
Vimba	x	x					<i>wemgallen</i>
Salt	x		x				<i>solt</i>
Bread	x			x	x	x	<i>brot</i>
Wheat bread		x	x				<i>wegge, wit brot</i>
Sort of bread	x	x	x				<i>stakelwegge</i>
Sort of bread	x	x					<i>talyor brot</i>
Sort of bread		x	x				<i>wrenen brot</i>
Sort of bread			x				<i>scherf brot</i>
Cheese	x	x		x	x	x	<i>kese</i>
Butter	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter</i>
Lard				x	x	x	<i>speck</i>
Onions			x	x	x	x	<i>sypollen</i>
Vinegar			x	x	x	x	<i>etyck</i>
Mustard			x	x	x	x	<i>sennep</i>
Parsley roots			x			x	<i>petercilien wortelen</i>
Garlic			x			x	<i>kluglok, knufflock</i>
Apples			x	x			<i>appel</i>
Nuts						x	<i>note</i>
Honey			x				<i>honnig</i>
Milk			x				<i>melk</i>
Eggs			x				<i>eyer</i>

**TABLE 1b. Foodstuffs purchased for the town councillors' feasts in
Reval, 1477-1547**

	1 4 7 7 f	1 5 0 7 f	1 5 1 1 f	1 5 1 5 w	1 5 2 6 f	1 5 2 8 f	1 5 3 1 f	1 5 4 1 f	1 5 4 4 f	1 5 6 7 f	Original terms
Pepper		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>peper</i>
Saffron		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>safferan</i>
Ginger	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engever</i>
Cloves				x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>negelken</i>
Cinnamon				x		x	x		x	x	<i>kanell</i>
Cubeb					x		x		x	x	<i>kobeben</i>
Grains of paradise	x			x	x		x	x		x	<i>pardiskorne</i>
Mixture of 'baking' spices				x	x					x	<i>backen krude</i>
Mixture of spices				x		x		x			<i>spisekrut, ladenkrut</i>
Nutmeg					x		x	x		x	<i>musschaten</i>
Mace	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	<i>musschaten blomen</i>
Anise						x ¹					<i>anis</i>
Dragée	x	x				x	x				<i>drossie</i>
Confectionery				x	x ²	x ¹					<i>konfeckt</i>
Sugar			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>(hot, wyth, kanarrys) sucker</i>
Dates	x		x								<i>dadelen</i>
Raisins								x			<i>rosinen</i>
Almonds								x			<i>mandelen</i>
Olives								x			<i>oliuen</i>
Deer									x ³		<i>re</i>
Beef (cow, ox), roast	x	x	x	x				x			<i>ko vlessch, ossen, smor brade</i>
Mutton	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schape, botlinge</i>

Chicken, capons			x	x					x			<i>honre, kappunen</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>tungen</i>
Mettwurst	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>metworste</i>
(Fresh) fish								x	x		x	<i>(verssche) vyssche</i>
Pike (from Dorpat)				x						x		<i>(derpsche, van dorpte) hekede</i>
Cod									x			<i>dorss</i>
Herring								x		x	x	<i>herynck</i>
Bream		x		x			x	x		x		<i>bresseme</i>
Stockfish, rotscher		x		x	x							<i>stockvyssche, rotscher</i>
Dried salmon	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>droghe laß</i>
Plaice										x		<i>buiten</i>
(Fish?) jelly											x	<i>galraid</i>
Crayfish									x			<i>kreuete</i>
Salt	x		x					x	x	x	x	<i>solt</i>
Bread		x		x				x	x		x	<i>brot</i>
Wheat bread			x					x	x	x	x	<i>wegge, wit brot</i>
Alms bread									x	x		<i>almussen brot</i>
Zwieback										x	x	<i>tweback</i>
Cakes	x	x	x ₄	x	x	x		x			x	<i>koken</i>
Ginger-bread(?)									x			<i>peperkoken</i>
Ring- or knot-shaped pastry								x	x	x	x	<i>kringell, ringellkoken</i>
Cheese	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					<i>kese</i>
Butter		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter</i>
Lard				x							x	<i>speck, fet</i>
Onions							x		x	x		<i>sypollen</i>
Vinegar								x	x	x	x	<i>etyck, win etyck</i>
Horseradish										x	x	<i>merredich</i>
Parsley									x	x		<i>petercilien wortelen, p. bladen</i>

Garlic									x			<i>kluglok, knufflock</i>
Apples	x	x	x	x	x	x	x ³	x	x		x	<i>appel</i>
(Baked) pears	x	x ⁶		x	x	x	x	x			x	<i>(brat) beren</i>
Hazelnuts	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	<i>hasselnote</i>
Walnuts		x		x	x	x	x	x			x	<i>walnote</i>
Honey									x			<i>honnig</i>
Sweet milk								x				<i>sote melk</i>
Flour									x	x		<i>mel</i>
Eggs		x						x	x		x	<i>eyer</i>

x¹= anise candy, x²= ginger candy, x³= 2 deers from Riga (2 ree van ryge), x⁴= heathen cakes (*heidensche koken*), x⁵= ~~ryges~~ *appel*, x⁶= *bratberen*

TABLE 2. Food and drink purchased for the bird-shooting festival in Riga 1466-1543

	1 4 6 6	1 4 9 5	1 4 9 9	be- fore 15 11	1 5 1 8	1 5 2 ?	1 5 3 9	1 5 4 0	1 5 4 3	Original terms
Beer	x	x	x	**	x	**	x	x	x	<i>ber</i>
Table beer							x	x	x	<i>tafel ber</i>
Sort of weak beer							x	x	x	<i>dunneber</i>
Sort of weak beer									x	<i>sachte ber</i>
Mead							x	x	x	<i>mede</i>
Rhenish wine							x	x	x	<i>Rinsck win</i>
Beef (ox or cow), pot roast	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>flesk, oss, rinnden brad, grapenbrad</i>
Meat with mustard			x	x						<i>Sennip flesk</i>
Dried meat			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>Droge flesk</i>
Mutton			x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>Botelinge, schape</i>
Lamb							x	x	x	<i>Lammer</i>
Ham		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>Schinken</i>
Tongue			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>Tungen</i>
Mettwurst		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>Metworste</i>
Chicken							x	x	x	<i>(junge). Honer</i>
Fish	x	x		x	x					<i>Fiske</i>
Pike					x				x	<i>Heckede</i>
Salmon							x		x	<i>Lesse</i>
Stockfish					x					<i>Stockfisk</i>
Crayfish							x	x	x	<i>Kreuete</i>
Saffron			x				x	x	x	<i>Safferan</i>
Ginger			x	x			x	x	x	<i>Engefer puder</i>
Pepper			x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>Peper</i>
Herbs		x			x		x		x	<i>(gron) krut</i>

Anise						x	x	x	<i>annis</i>
Salt		x		x		x	x	x	<i>solt</i>
Mustard				x		x	x	x	<i>sennep</i>
Vinegar						x	x	x	<i>ettick</i>
Poppy-seed oil	x					x	x	x	<i>man olie</i>
Lard							x		<i>smolt</i>
Honey, honeycomb	x					x	x	x	<i>honich, honich sem</i>
Sugar						x	x		<i>sucker</i>
Bread		x			x		x		<i>brot</i>
Wheat bread			x	x		x		x	<i>wegge</i>
Sort of bread			x	x					<i>wressenbrot</i>
Sort of bread						x	x	x	<i>schottelbrot</i>
Zwieback						x	x	x	<i>tweback</i>
coarse bread (?)						x		x	<i>grewen brot</i>
(Wheat) flour						x	x	x	<i>(wetenn) mel</i>
Eggs						x	x	x	<i>eiger</i>
Butter		x				x	x	x	<i>botter</i>
Sweet milk, cream						x		x	<i>sote melck, smant</i>
Raisins				x		x	x	x	<i>rossinen</i>
Olives						x		x	<i>olliuen</i>
Limes								x	<i>limomm</i>
Apples						x	x	x	<i>appell</i>
Hazelnuts						n	x	x	<i>hasselnote</i>
Walnuts						n	x	x	<i>walnote</i>
Onions					x		x	x	<i>sipollen</i>
Horse-radish								x	<i>merredick</i>
Parsley						x		x	<i>petersillie</i>
Sage								x	<i>salwie</i>

** The beginning of both lists is missing, therefore no drinks are found.
n = a general term 'nuts' (*note*) is used.

**TABLE 3a. Annual feast of the Table Guild of Reval on the 2nd
Sunday after Easter 1482-1534**

	1 4 8 2	1 5 1 4	1 5 1 8	1 5 2 0	1 5 2 2	1 5 2 4	1 5 2 6	1 5 2 8	1 5 3 0	1 5 3 2	1 5 3 4	Original terms
Beer	x			x			x	x	x	x	x	<i>ber</i>
5-ferding beer		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	<i>5 ferdinck ber</i>
6-ferding beer												<i>6 ferdinck ber</i>
Table beer		x										<i>tafelber</i>
Mead		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>mede</i>
Beef			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>flesch, oss</i>
Mutton		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>boltinge, schape</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>tungen</i>
Mettwurst	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>metworste</i>
Saffron	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>safferan</i>
Ground ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engeuer puder</i>
Pepper	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>pepper</i>
Cumin		x										<i>peperko- men</i>
Salt (fine and coarse)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>klen und groff solt</i>
Vinegar	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>etick</i>
Mustard		x	x									<i>sennep</i>
Onions		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>sipollen</i>
Wheat bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>wegge, wit brot</i>
Alms bread, coarse bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>almussen brot, groff brot</i>
(Rye) flour			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>(roggen) mel</i>
Cheese	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>kese</i>
Butter							x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter</i>

Raisins	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>rosinen</i>
Almonds			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>mandelen</i>
Olives									x			<i>oliuen</i>
Honey, honeycomb					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>honnich, honigsem</i>
Ginger- bread									x			<i>pepper- kocken</i>
Eggs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>eier</i>
Parsley roots	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>petersilien wortelen</i>

**TABLE 3b. Annual feast of the Table Guild of Reval on the 2nd
Sunday after Easter 1535-57**

	1 5 3 5	1 5 3 7	1 5 3 9	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 3	1 5 5 5	1 5 4 7	1 5 4 9	1 5 5 1	1 5 5 3	1 5 5 5	1 5 5 7	Original terms
Beer	x	x	x	x	x	x							<i>ber</i>
6-ferding beer	x	x											<i>6 ferdinck ber</i>
Strong beer							x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>starck ber</i>
Jug beer							x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>kroch ber</i>
Mead	x	x											<i>mede</i>
Cider			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>appeldranck</i>
Beef	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>flesch, oss</i>
Mutton	x	x	x	x									<i>botlinge</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>tungen</i>
Mett- wurst	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>metworste</i>
Hare									x	x	x	x	<i>hasen</i>
Crane										x	x	x	<i>kranen</i>
Caper- caillie										x			<i>vrhanen</i>
Swan											x	x	<i>swanen</i>
Pike									x	x		x	<i>heckede</i>
Salmon												x	<i>lass</i>
Saffron	x	x	x	x									<i>safferan</i>
Ground ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engeuer puder</i>
Pepper	x	x	x	x									<i>pepper</i>
Cumin					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>peperkomen</i>
Cin- namon				x					x	x	x	x	<i>kannell</i>
Cloves				x					x	x	x	x	<i>negelken</i>
Salt	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>klen und groff solt</i>
Vinegar	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>etick</i>
Mustard							x	x					<i>sennep</i>
Onions	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>sipollen</i>

Wheat bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	wegge
Alms bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	almussen brot
Rye flour	x	x											roggen mel
Cheese	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	kese
Butter	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	botter
Lard											x	x	speck
Honey	x	x	x	x									honnich
Sugar								x	x	x	x	x	(hot, kanerye) sucker
Damson plums								x	x	x	x	x	plumen van damassche
Raisins	x	x	x										rosinen
Almonds	x	x	x	x									mandelen
Olives							x	x	x	x	x	x	oliuen
Limes							x	x		x		x	limonen
?									x		x	x	vritsen
Ginger-bread	x	x	x	x									pepperkocken
Eggs			x										eier
Parsley roots	x	x	x	x									petersilien wortelen

**TABLE 4. Food and drink purchased for the May Count festival in
Reval 1526-43**

	1 5 2 6	1 5 2 7	1 5 2 8	1 5 2 9	1 5 3 0	1 5 3 1	1 5 3 2	1 5 3 3	1 5 3 4	1 5 3 5	1 5 3 6	1 5 3 7	1 5 3 8	1 5 3 9	1 5 4 0	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 2	1 5 4 3	Original terms
Beer	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>ber</i>
Table beer	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>tafelber</i>
<i>Ber- ckhoren</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>Ber- ckhoren</i>
Hamb- urg beer		x	x	x					x						x	x	x	x	<i>ham- borger ber</i>
(Rhen- ish) wine	x	x	x	x	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	x	x	x	r	x	x	<i>(Rinsch) win</i>
Beef	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>flesch, oss</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>tungen</i>
Mett- wurst	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>met- worste</i>
Ground ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engefer puder</i>
Salt (fine, coarse)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>klen und groff salt</i>
(Wheat) bread	x	x	x	x	w	w	x	x	w	x	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	<i>wegge, brot</i>
Alms bread					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>almus- sen brot</i>
Cakes		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>koken</i>
Flour for cakes		x	x	x	x				x		x								<i>mel to koken</i>
Butter for cakes		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter to koken</i>

Saffron	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>safferan</i>
Pepper	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>pepper</i>
Apples	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>appelen</i>
Hazel-nuts	n	x	x	x	x		x	n		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>hassel-notte</i>
Wal-nuts	n	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		<i>walnotte</i>

r = specified as Rhenish wine

w = specified as wheat bread (*wegge*)

n = a general term 'nuts' or 'two sorts of nuts' is used (*notte, twigerleie notte*)

**TABLE 5a. Carnival and Christmas feasts of the Great Guild in
Reval 1509-1523**

w = Christmas (*winachten*) f = Carnival (*fastelauend*)

I. Food for the elders, when they 'tasted the beer up in the chamber'

II. Food for the main banquet ('beer-tasting day')

III. Food for the day, when the town councillors, women and maidens
were invited

	1 5 0 9 f	1 5 0 f	1 5 1 w	1 5 2 f	1 5 3 w	1 5 5 f	1 5 5 w	1 5 6 w	1 5 7 f	1 5 8 w	1 5 1 f	1 5 2 w	1 5 3 f	
I.														
Herring						x	x						x	<i>herinck</i>
Pike													x	<i>hecket</i>
Stockfish, rotscher						x		x						<i>stockfisch, rotscher</i>
Butter for rotscher								x						<i>botter up den rotscher</i>
Beef								x						<i>rindes brad</i>
Mutton								x						<i>botelink</i>
Ground ginger						x		x						<i>engefer puder</i>
Bread						x	x	x					x	<i>brot</i>
Alms bread								x	x					<i>almussen brot</i>
Salt								x						<i>solt</i>
Butter						x		x						<i>botter</i>
Cheese						x		x						<i>kese</i>
Sturgeon's roe								x						<i>storrogen</i>
Spices								x						<i>spisekrut</i>
Mustard								x	x					<i>senp</i>
II.														
Beef, pot roast	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>oss, rint, (smor)brad</i>
Fat (for roasting)					x	x	x	x	x	x	x			<i>fet</i>
(Skania) herring	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		<i>(Schonsse) herinck</i>

Rotscher						x							x	<i>rotscher</i>
Butter													x	<i>botter</i>
Salt (fine, coarse)	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>(klen und groff) solt</i>
Ground ginger				x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	<i>engeuer puder</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>tungen</i>
Mettwurst	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>metworste</i>
Wheat bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>weiten brot, brot</i>
Alms bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	<i>almussen brot</i>
(Rye) flour									x	x	x			<i>(roggen) mel</i>
Mustard		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x		<i>sennep</i>
Sage					x									<i>salfie</i>
III.														
Cakes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>kocken</i>
Butter for cakes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter to kocken</i>
Pepper	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>pepper</i>
Walnuts	x	x	x	x	x	n	x	x	n	x	x	n	n	<i>walnotte</i>
Hazelnuts		x	x		x	n	x	x	n	x	x	n	n	<i>hasselnotte</i>
Apples	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>appel</i>
(Baked) pears	x	b								x				<i>beren, bratberen</i>

S = specified as herrings from Skania

n = a general term 'nuts' is used

b = specified as baked pears (*bratberen*)

**TABLE 5b. Carnival and Christmas feasts of the Great Guild in
Reval 1524-1539**

w = Christmas (*winachten*) f = Carnival (*fastelauend*)

I. Food for the elders, when they 'tasted the beer up in the chamber'

II. Food for the main banquet ('beer-tasting day')

III. Food for the day, when the town councillors, women and maidens
were invited

	1 5 2 4 w	1 5 2 5 f	1 5 2 6 w	1 5 2 7 f	1 5 2 9 w	1 5 0 f	1 5 2 f	1 5 3 f	1 5 3 w	1 5 6 f	1 5 8 w	1 5 9 f	
I.													
Herring									x	x		x	<i>herinck</i>
Pike, fresh fish										x		x	<i>fersche heckede</i>
Bream												x	<i>bressem</i>
Rotscher									x	x		x	<i>rotscher</i>
Butter									x	x		x	<i>botter</i>
Ground ginger												x	<i>engefer puder</i>
Wheat bread									x	x		x	<i>wegge</i>
Sugar												x	<i>sucker</i>
Horse- radish									x	x			<i>merredick</i>
II.													
Beef, pot roast	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>ossen, smorbrad</i>
(Skania) herring	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>(Schonsse) herinck</i>
Rotscher		x					x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>rotscher</i>
Butter		x					x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter</i>
Solt (fine)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>klen solt</i>
Ham	x	x	x	x	x	x							<i>schinken</i>
Tongue	x	x	x	x	x	x							<i>tungen</i>
Mettwurst	x	x	x	x	x	x							<i>metworste</i>
Ground ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>engeuer puder</i>

Wheat bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	wegge, brot
Alms bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	almussen brot
Rye flour			x		x	x	x	x	x	x				roggen mel
Onions					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	sipollen
Mustard		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	sennep
Vinegar							x							etick
Caraway												x		gartkomen
III.														
Cakes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	kocken
Butter for cakes		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	botter to kocken
Saffron												x	x	safferan
Pepper		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	pepper
Anise												x		annis
Walnuts	x	n	x	n	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	walnotte
Hazelnuts		n	x	n	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	hasselnotte
Apples	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	appel
Sort of apples ¹				x										krygges appel
(Baked) pears					x	b						x		beren, bratberen

¹ Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Lfg. 20, 672, 677: apples from Krivitz (Mecklenburg).

**TABLE 5c. Carnival and Christmas feasts of the Great Guild in
Reval 1539-1552**

w = Christmas (*winachten*) f = Carnival (*fastelauend*)

I. Food for the main banquet ('beer-tasting day')

II. Food for the day, when the town councillors, women and maidens
were invited

	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	
	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	
	9	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	0	1	2	2	
	w	w	f	w	f	w	f	w	f	w	f	w	
I.													
Beef	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>ossen, flesch</i>
(Skania) herring	S	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	S	S	S	x	<i>(Schonsse) herinck</i>
Bream									x				<i>bressam</i>
Fresh fish									x				<i>verssge vissge</i>
Rotscher	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>rotscher</i>
Butter	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter</i>
Salt (fine and coarse)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>klen und groff solt</i>
Hares	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	<i>hassen</i>
Capons							x		x		x	x	<i>kappunen</i>
Ground ginger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>engeuer puder</i>
Sugar						x	x	x		x	x	x	<i>sucker</i>
Cinnamon	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	<i>kanell</i>
Cloves	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	<i>negelken</i>
Lard	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	<i>speck</i>
Olives										x	x	x	<i>oliuen</i>
Wheat bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>wegge</i>
Alms bread	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>almussen brot</i>
Onions	x	x	x		x		x		x				<i>sipollen</i>
Mustard	x	x	x		x			x	x		x		<i>sennep</i>
Vinegar											x	x	<i>etick</i>
Saffron												x	<i>safferan</i>

Pepper													x	<i>pepper</i>
II.														
Cakes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>kocken</i>
Butter for cakes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>botter to kocken</i>
Saffron	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>safferan</i>
Pepper	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>pepper</i>
Anise	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>annis</i>
Walnuts	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>walnotte</i>
Hazelnuts	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>hasselnotte</i>
Apples	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	<i>appel</i>
Pears		x				x		x		x	x			<i>beren</i>
Wheat bread													x	<i>wegge</i>

**TABLE 6a. Receptions in the town hall of Reval in honour
of distinguished visitors**

OM = *Ordensmeister* (Master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order)

1438 ¹	1439 ²	1451 ³	1460 ⁴	1470 ⁵	1471 ⁶
Gerhard von Cleve	OM H. V. von Overberch	OM J. von Mengede	Bishop of Dorpat	OM J. W. von Herse	OM J. W. von Herse
Rhenish wine	Rhenish wine		Rhenish wine	wine (120 stop)	wine (132 stop)
claret					
beer (5 tuns)	beer (7 tuns)	beer (8 tuns)	beer (7 tuns)	beer (1 last)	beer (16 tuns)
					¼ of a cow
2 wethers		3 sheep	3 sheep	6 sheep	5 sheep
2 hams		4 hams	4 hams	7 hams	6 hams
tongues		8 tongues	tongues	tongues	6 tongues
mett-wurst		sausages	mett-wurst	mett-wurst	7 mett-wursts
chicken, capons					8 chicken
					fresh pike
					fresh cod
	sugar (5 lisp.)	sugar (4 lisp.)			
	cloves				
	cubeb*				

¹ *KB Reval 1432-63*, no. 353 (22. Nov. 1438). On his way to Holy Land, Gerhard von Cleve also acted as an ambassador of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

² *Ibid.*, no. 397 (26. Sept. 1439).

³ *Ibid.*, no. 842 (20. Feb. 1451). The visit took place around Candlemas (2. Feb.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1117 (2. Aug. 1460).

⁵ *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 1396 (7. July 1470). The visit took place on June 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1438 (7. Sept. 1471). The visit took place on Aug. 26.

	(0.5 <i>lisp.</i>)				
	mace (0.5 <i>lisp.</i>)				
	ginger (1 <i>lisp.</i>)	ginger (1.5 <i>lisp.</i>)			ginger (1 <i>lisp.</i>)
	dates (0.5 <i>lisp.</i>)			gilded and silvered <i>regal</i> (4 lb)	
spices	<i>gebacken krut</i>	<i>backen-krude-tabulat</i> (4 <i>lisp.</i>)		<i>gebacken krude, tabulat</i> (4 <i>lisp.</i>)	
spices for claret				<i>queden-krude</i> (3.5 <i>lisp.</i>)	<i>spisekrud</i> (0.5 <i>lisp.</i>)
				<i>clene kruden</i>	
salt		salt		salt	salt
				vinegar	vinegar
				mustard	onions
bread			bread	wheat bread	wheat bread
				rye bread	rye bread
				3 sorts of cheese	3 cheese
butter					butter
		cakes		cakes	cakes
nuts	walnuts	nuts	nuts	nuts	nuts
		apples		apples	apples
					pears

* The original reads *kolebe*, but most probably it is a miswriting of *kobebe* (it is listed among the spices, between cloves and mace).

**TABLE 6b. Receptions in the town hall of Reval in honour
of distinguished visitors.**

1500 ⁷	1513 ⁸	1525 ⁹	1536 ¹⁰
OM W. von Plettenberg	OM W. von Plettenberg	OM W. von Plettenberg	OM H. von Brüggeneý
Rhenish wine (970 <i>stop</i>)	Rhenish wine (10.5 <i>ame</i>)	Rhenish wine (4.5 <i>ame</i>)	Rhenish wine (4.5 <i>ame</i>)
		malmsey (30 bottles)	malmsey (1 <i>ame</i> , 42 <i>stop</i>)
		romney (1 butt)	romney (1 butt)
		wine (50 <i>stop</i>)	wine from Poitou (2 pipes)
		claret (64 <i>stop</i>)	claret (72 <i>stop</i>)
beer (5 tuns)	beer (11 tuns)	beer (33 tuns)	beer (49 tuns)
Einbeck beer	Einbeck beer (2 vats)		<i>berchhornen</i>
	Hamburg beer (1 tun)		
			venison (1 deer)
beef (0.5 of an ox)	beef ($\frac{3}{4}$ of an ox)	jelly (12 butts)	beef (3 oxen)
6 wethers	9 sheep		22 wethers
	hares	3 beaver tails	11 hares
	partridges		111 chicken and capons
	gilded peacock		(gristle?) of a boar
8 hams	7 hams		8 hams
			12 tongues
			16 mettwursts
	cod (1 tun)	rotscher (8 <i>lisp.</i>)	

⁷ *KB Reval 1463-1507*, no. 2523 (24. Oct. 1500). The visit took place around Sept. 8.

⁸ *KB Reval 1507-33*, fol. 50r. The visit took place on Sept. 19-22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 178v-179v. The visit took place on March 19-24.

¹⁰ TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. B.a. 6, fol. 288; Süvalep, "Ordumeister," 76. The visit took place around Candlemas (2. Feb.).

		sturgeon	
	2 fresh salmons	salmon (1.25 tun)	
		herring (1 tun 4 <i>wal</i>)	
		eel	
		fresh fish	fresh fish*
	dragée (<i>drossie</i>)		dragée (<i>drossie</i>)
			rice
		almond purée	
		almonds (3 <i>lisp.</i> 3 <i>markp.</i>)	almonds
	limes	olives (1 <i>lechgel</i>)	
	saffron (0.125 lb)	saffron (2.5 lb)	saffron (1 lb)
	ginger (0.5 lb)	ground ginger (2 lb)	cumin (1 lb)
	cloves (1 <i>lot</i>)	cloves	ground cloves (1 lb)
	pepper (0.25 lb)	pepper (3.5 lb)	pepper (2 lb)
fine and coarse salt		salt	fine salt
		sugar (6 lb)	sugar
		honey (3 <i>lisp.</i> 3 <i>markp.</i>)	honey (2 <i>lisp.</i>)
wheat bread	wheat bread	wheat bread	wheat bread
table bread	<i>alunsbroet</i>	<i>schonroggen</i>	alms bread
cakes	cakes	cakes	cakes
		raisins (4 <i>lisp.</i>)	raisins (1 basketful)
cheese	cheese (4 <i>lisp.</i>)		2 sorts of cheese
	butter	oil (4 <i>lisp.</i>)	lard
vinegar			vinegar
		onions	onions
		mustard	(parsley) roots
apples	apples	apples	apples (2 tuns)

pears	pears		pears
nuts	nuts	nuts	nuts
	eggs		(hundreds of) eggs
			milk

* Fish is not directly named, but the list contains payment to the fisher.

MEDIUM AEVUM
QUOTIDIANUM

41

KREMS 1999

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

Titelgraphik: Stephan J. Tramèr

Herausgeber: Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, Körnermarkt 13, A-3500 Krems, Österreich. Für den Inhalt verantwortlich zeichnen die Autoren, ohne deren ausdrückliche Zustimmung jeglicher Nachdruck, auch in Auszügen, nicht gestattet ist. – Druck: KOPITU Ges. m. b. H., Wiedner Hauptstraße 8-10, A-1050 Wien.

Inhalt

Vorwort	5
Franz Mandl, Mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Tierdarstellungen in den nördlichen Kalkalpen Österreichs und Bayerns	7
Verena Winiwarter, Landscape Elements in the Late Medieval Village: Can Information on Land-Use Be Derived from Normative Sources?	22
Anu Mänd, Festive Food in Medieval Riga and Reval	43

Vorwort

Die Beiträge des vorliegenden Heftes von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* beschäftigen sich mit Problemkreisen mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Alltagsgeschichte, die diesmal den Bereich der Aussage bildlicher Quellen, jenen der 'Umweltbewältigung' und manche Aspekte des Nahrungswesens im Zeitrahmen festlicher Anlässe betreffen. Sie beziehen sich damit alle auf Perzeption, Praxis und Praktiken im Spannungsfeld bzw. Einklang zu Normen, Wünschen und/oder Idealen.

Die folgenden Hefte von *MAQ* werden sich einerseits neuerlich verschiedenen alltagshistorischen Einzelstudien von eingeladenen Beiträgern und von Mitgliedern und Freunden unserer Gesellschaft widmen, welche die Bandbreite der Inhalte und der angewandten Methoden in der Forschung, sowie neuer Zugänge zur Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters vermitteln sollen. Andererseits werden im Jahre 2000 die bereits angekündigte Bibliographie zu den Graffiti des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, sowie die Arbeit von Lothar Späth zu Raum, Raumverständnis und Raumfunktionen in frühen englischen Zisterzen als Sonderbände unserer Publikation erscheinen. Die Planungen für einen Band zu alltagsrelevanten Bereichen der „Neithard-Rezeption in Wort und Bild“ sind ebenfalls schon recht weit fortgeschritten. Die stark erweiterte und überarbeitete Neuauflage der „Bibliographie zu Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters“ (vgl. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 7/8, 1986) ist ebenfalls in den Planungen für die nähere Zukunft enthalten und befindet sich bereits in Erarbeitung.

Gerhard Jaritz, Herausgeber