

## Supply and Distribution of Foodstuffs in Northern Europe 1450—1500

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By the late medieval period a number of established distribution networks and transportation systems interconnected the major commodity markets of northern Europe, facilitating the movement of a wide variety of goods over vast distances. Within this broad commercial framework a key sector was the seaborne traffic in bulk foodstuffs, whose basic structure and scope is quite discernible in various customs and toll records at three corners of Europe's northern maritime network – the Prussian staple at Danzig, London and ports in eastern England, and finally the Brabantine fair towns of Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp and their outports in Zeeland. Together these sources provide an indication of the fundamental commodity structure as well as the maritime distribution networks that linked the markets of England, the Lowlands and the eastern Baltic in the second half of the fifteenth century.

A principal eastern link in the long-distance carriage trade of northern Europe at the close of the Middle Ages was the Baltic port of Danzig, where the traffic in seaborne imports centred primarily on three main commodities: salt, herring and cloth. Locally based Hanseatic merchants controlled the Skania herring fisheries that supplied Danzig and much of the eastern Baltic, and some Atlantic herring was shipped there by Hollanders. Foremost among the sources for imported salt was the Bay of Bourgneuf, while the supply of imported cloth was tied to the woollen industries of Flanders, Brabant, Holland and England.

Although it dates from 1460, when Baltic commerce was disrupted by war between Poland, the Prussian towns and the Teutonic Order, the earliest surviving Danzig toll book for this period nevertheless illustrates the essential characteristics of the maritime trade.<sup>1</sup> The majority of high-value cloth imports at the Prussian staple came via Lübeck, while from the Bay and ports in the Lowlands twenty-two ships reached Danzig either in ballast or laden exclusively with salt. It is very evident that many of the same merchants importing these cloth and salt consignments also shared in other cargoes brought from England and the Atlantic seaboard. There was, in fact, an element of specialization, for while members of this circle of merchants occasionally imported bulk forest

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<sup>1</sup> *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku* (= *WAPG.*) 300.19/1.

products and iron from Reval and Stockholm, they were noticeably insignificant in the brisk coastal traffic to and from the Wendish ports of Rostock and Stralsund. Nor were they important in another major facet of intra-Baltic commerce – the substantial trade in Danish meat and butter. Within the port's mercantile community as a whole, however, there was wide participation in the seasonal importation of herring from Skania. The traffic in imported cloth and Bay salt therefore was tied to a fairly well-defined core of merchants, whose trade had a distinctly western focus, with Lübeck as a major transit point. The next surviving record of seaborne imports at Danzig reflects no appreciable change in this basic pattern again in 1468.<sup>2</sup> The end of the war two years earlier had foreshadowed a surge in the volume of shipping from west of the Danish Sound, but many large consignments of cloth continued to reach Danzig distributors via Lübeck, and Bay salt also continued to rank as one of the three principal imports.

Though not in itself a food, salt was of course an indispensable preservative and therefore part and parcel of the foodstuff trade. Moreover, the traffic in cheap Bay salt from Bourgneuf, Brouage and La Rochelle was an integral feature of the European trade structure in the fifteenth century, not only for the Atlantic seaboard, but as well for the Baltic, where demand far exceeded supply from indigenous sources like those at Lüneburg. So large convoys of Lowland and Baltic ships weighed anchor for the Biscay coast each year, in ballast or sometimes carrying fish, grain or cloth, and returned to northern waters laden with salt. Some also brought back wine cargoes from La Rochelle, while still others ventured as far south as Lisbon for spices, fruit, sugar and Iberian salt from Setubal.<sup>3</sup> Some salt was off-loaded in English and Lowland ports, and large shipments were brought to the Baltic in Hanseatic hulks and other vessels chartered in Holland and Zealand. Much of it supplied the fish curing industries at Skania and at the Hanseatic comptoirs in Norway, which in turn furnished the eastern Baltic with fish imports. Other fleets, including those from Holland,<sup>4</sup> hauled salt directly from the Bay to Danzig, Königsberg, Riga and Reval, for redistribution to the markets of the Prussian and Livonian hinterland. In 1468 some sixty ships reached Danzig with salt and wine cargoes

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<sup>2</sup> WAPG. 300.19/3.

<sup>3</sup> *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (= HUB.), ed. K. Höhlbaum, K. Kunze, W. Stein, Halle/Leipzig, 1876-1939. 11 vols., VII no. 21, 84, 215, 538; *Hanserecesse* (= HR.), ed. K. Koppmann, G. von der Ropp, D. Schäfer, Leipzig, 1870-1913. 24 vols., (2) V no. 666-71. Also A. R. Bridbury, *England and the Salt Trade in the later Middle Ages*. (Oxford, 1955), 76-93.

<sup>4</sup> For the Hollanders trading to the eastern Baltic see HUB. VIII no. 412 and H. A. Poelman, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Oostzeehandel*. (1) II ('s Gravenhage, 1917), no. 2278.

from the Bay.<sup>5</sup>

The crucial consumer link in Danzig's trade is revealed in a 1465 record of inland commerce,<sup>6</sup> the only one of its kind to have survived for the later fifteenth century, which shows that the same merchants who imported from Lübeck and points west heavily implicated in the exchange of salt, herring and cloth for the grain and forest products that reached Danzig via Thorn and the river Vistula, and ultimately formed the cornerstone of Danzig's seaborne export trade. Of interest in the foodstuff sector are the cereal exports – especially barley, rye and wheat from Mazovia and greater Poland – that were transhipped to western markets from ports in Prussia. Originally, much of Prussia's grain export trade was controlled by agents of the Teutonic Order, who relied heavily on tithes to fill quotas. But the subjugation of the knights by Poland in the middle decades of the century opened the way for the Danzigers themselves to monopolize access to producers, especially in Poland, where advance cash and cloth payments were common practice, and producers pledged sums to cover failure to deliver.<sup>7</sup>

Reduced to its simplest terms, then, the commodity structure of Danzig's overseas trade in the 1460s and 1470s can be summarized, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned, as a consumer-driven traffic in fish and fish products, primarily from Skania and the Hanseatic controlled Norwegian fisheries, plus salt and subsidiary wine cargoes from the Bay. Relatively little of the salt and fish imported into Danzig was transshipped elsewhere by sea. Meat and dairy imports were part of the intra-Baltic trade, and Danzig's food export sector was concerned principally with grain shipments. It is the relative importance of these key products – grain, fish and salt – on western markets, and specifically in England and the Lowlands, that helps establish the broader distribution network and identify any subsequent changes in the trade structure.

English customs accounts offer a second essential source for delineation of the international traffic in foodstuffs, and the records of a number of different ports are fairly complete for short periods in the late fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> WAPG. 300.19/3 20r–29r.

<sup>6</sup> WAPG. 300.19/2.

<sup>7</sup> M. Malowist, "A certain trade technique in the Baltic Countries in the 15th–18th Centuries", *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Studies in Stockholm*. (Warsaw, 1960), 103–12.

<sup>8</sup> *Public Record Office* (= PRO.) E122 9/53, 54, 56, 59, 65, 68; 10/1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25, 26; 11/2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 14, 17, 18, 20 [Boston], E122 61/71, 75; 62/1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11; 63/1, 2, 8, 13 [Hull], E122 52/42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 55, 58; 53/3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18 [Ipawich], E122 96/37, 40, 41; 97/1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18; 98/1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 [Lynn], E122 107/53, 61; 108/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 [Newcastle],

In order to retain the northern European focus in this brief study, however, analysis here is necessarily confined to London and ports of eastern England. Discernible trends in this sector therefore may or may not apply to the south coast and particularly Southampton, whose overseas trade had a more southern orientation and strong Iberian links.

The trade of Hanseatic merchants, and in particular the traffic in bulk goods from the Baltic, was an integral part of England's maritime commerce. However, while Danzig skippers were predominant in the Hanseatic trade to eastern England in the late medieval period, there is scant evidence of Baltic grain cargoes being off-loaded there. Indeed, cereal imports were rare on the whole, and those recorded in English customs accounts usually coincided with shortfalls in the kingdom or periods of war, during which food supplies had to be found for military expeditions. Such quite possibly was the case, for example, of a large cargo of rye freighted from Danzig to Hull in 1453,<sup>9</sup> the final year of fighting in Brittany. Otherwise England seems to have been largely self-sufficient in grain production, and in the later years of the century exports of wheat and corn from East Anglian ports were not uncommon.

Nevertheless, England was integrated into the seaborne trade between Baltic and Atlantic centres, particularly insofar as the traffic in Bay salt was concerned. Hanseatic ships, off-loaded in England before late autumn, often saw winter service in southern waters where they were freighted with salt. The English also sent their own salt ships to the Biscay coast, but customs records for the 1450s and 1460s contain numerous examples of Hanseatic and Lowland shippers bringing in Bay salt and wine, especially to London and Ipswich, for both denizen and non-denizen merchants.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the grain producers in Prussia and Poland who often enjoyed the security of advance payments for their commodities, the Atlantic salt shippers had few if any guarantees that sojourns to the Bay would be profitable. Prices fell at Danzig when the market there became glutted periodically, and in the mid-1480s Cologne merchants who had salt shipped to London lost heavily on their investment when the mayor arbitrarily fixed the selling price far below cost.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, there always existed

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E122 76/42, 48; 78/3, 9; 79/12; 194/11, 12, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 [London], E122 151/69, 70, 75, 77; 152/3, 5, 7, 12 [Yarmouth].

<sup>9</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*. 1452-1461. (London, 1911, 174; *HUB*. VIII no. 297.

<sup>10</sup> *PRO*. E122 151/69, 70; 76/42, 46 [Hans Schomaker], E122 52/43, 44 [Heyne Yake bringing salt to Ipswich in May 1462], and E122 52/46 [Deryk Berne, Thomas Jonnesson and Walter Hermannsson bringing salt to Ipswich in May 1464]. See also *HUB*. X no. 1130.

<sup>11</sup> B. Kuske, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter*. II (Bonn, 1917), no. 1206#36; "Caspar Weinreichs Danziger Chronik", *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*. IV ed. T. Hirsch et al., (Frankfurt, 1965), 733.

the prospect of contractual default. While this was true of any commercial transaction, it likely was a particularly important consideration for the Bay salt traders freighting salt over long distances for foreign clients. Baltic skipper Gasper Sculte, for instance, was freighting salt to England in the late 1450s, and agreed to haul seventy charges of Bay salt to London for Winchelsea merchant John French, only to discover on his arrival at the Bay that the Englishman did not have the means to pay for a cargo. The resultant confusion caused the ship to be delayed at the Bay for eight weeks while Sculte secured a loan on behalf of his client. When he eventually did reach the Thames with his cargo of salt he was delayed at least another twenty-four days awaiting payment, and again obliged to "abide behynd other hulkes of his contre in grete peril".<sup>12</sup>

During the early decades of the period under review large quantities of fish were imported into England by non-denizens to supplement the catches of the domestic fleets off north Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglia. There were numerous varieties of pickled, smoked or salted herring, as well as whiting, mackerel, and dried or salted cod: staplefish or stockfish. A number of the peculiar names used to identify several other types – "blakfyssh", "lotfyssh", "rokelfyssh"<sup>13</sup> – shed little light on the species or the way they may have been packed or preserved. One of the more curious examples comes from the customs accounts of Ipswich for 1466, wherein Hamburg merchants are listed as having off-loaded several hundred "halfwayfyssh".<sup>14</sup>

Some though not all ports in eastern England were dependent on the Hanseatic *Bergenfahrer* – primarily Lübeckers and other Hansards from the neighbouring Wendish ports – who supplied stockfish through their Norwegian factory. Until the late-fifteenth century English reliance on the Bergen connection could be legally circumvented only through direct trade by special licence<sup>15</sup> to Iceland. At the northern ports of Hull and Newcastle, however, fish cargoes imported by non-denizens were rare, as local fleets, drawing on North Sea stocks and eventually penetrating the Icelandic trade, evidently were able to meet regional consumer demand throughout the second half of the century.

<sup>12</sup> PRO. C1/26/193. Sculte's undated petition to Chancery regarding this episode is addressed to the bishop of Winchester, Chancellor during 35–38 of Henry VI. He also freighted Bay salt to London for another English merchant in December 1457. PRO. E122 203/4.

<sup>13</sup> PRO. E122 52/43, 44, 49; E122 10/22, 24, 25, 26.

<sup>14</sup> PRO. E122 52/49 [skipper Tydkyn Miller off-loading fish and bulk cargo at Ipswich for Hamburg merchants on 01 August 1466].

<sup>15</sup> 45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, appendix 2. (London, 1885), 5; Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1446–1452. (London, 1910), 156, 430; Calendar of French Rolls – Henry VI: 48th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, appendix 2. (London, 1887), 385, 386, 395, 405, 408, 427, 437, 438, 441, 442, 448, 449.

In particular the Danzig shippers, who otherwise were very important in the overseas trade of northern England, were not significant in the fish trade there during the 1450s and 1460s, nor in the foodstuff sector as a whole. Except for some cargoes of "rye mele" delivered to Hull in 1461, the Baltic contribution amounted to a few barrels of beer, eels, and spiced bread occasionally shipped as subsidiary cargoes with the skippers hauling bulk freight to England.<sup>16</sup> Far greater quantities of imported fish were brought to the Lincolnshire port of Boston, headquarters for the Hanseatic *Bergenfahrer*. They imported vast quantities of herring and Norwegian stockfish, and there was a considerable trade in herring from the Lowlands as well.<sup>17</sup> In return, Boston offered occasional grain shipments to the Lowlands, as did the East Anglian ports of Lynn and Yarmouth. At Yarmouth, local fleets also competed with the Hollanders in a brisk herring import trade,<sup>18</sup> while at Lynn the Hansards were more significant, especially as the *Bergenfahrer* gradually abandoned the Hanseatic fish trade at Boston in the waning years of the century. Shippers from Hamburg and Danzig eventually supplanted the Lübeckers as the principal Hanseatic fish importers, and brought herring, eels, sturgeon and Icelandic stockfish seldom to Boston, but regularly to Lynn.<sup>19</sup> Further south, at Ipswich and London, denizens, Hansards and alien skippers alike served a flourishing fish import trade, which toward the end of the century became heavily dependent on the Icelandic fisheries.<sup>20</sup> As far as exports from England were concerned, other than a few cross-Channel shipments of Suffolk cheese, butter, English beer and grain, little in the way of foodstuffs was sent abroad to foreign markets, although some Gascon wine was transshipped from English ports to the Baltic along with the regular consignments of English woollens.<sup>21</sup>

Shippers from Holland and Zealand were the principal non-Hanseatic carriers in the trade that exchanged Atlantic salt for Baltic grain. Fleets of four or five dozen vessels continued to reach Danzig from Brouage and the Bay from 1468 through the early 1470s, and in 1470 they brought so much salt to Danzig

<sup>16</sup> PRO. E122 61/71; 62/1-7.

<sup>17</sup> PRO. E122 9/68; 10/1, 3-10.

<sup>18</sup> PRO. E122 151/69, 70, 75, 77; 152/3, 5, 7.

<sup>19</sup> PRO. E122 10/22, 24, 25, 26; 11/2, 3, 4, 6, 7 [Boston]; E122 96/37, 40, 41; 97/1-4, 6-9, 17, 18; 98/1, 2, 5, 7-11 [Lynn].

<sup>20</sup> PRO. E122 52/42-49, 52, 54, 55, 58 [Ipswich]; E122 76/42, 48; 78/3, 9; 79/12; 80/2; 194/11, 12, 19, 20, 22-26 [London].

<sup>21</sup> For example, shipper Richard Outlawe departing Lynn for Danzig on 12 May 1468 with a cargo of cloth and seven barrels of Gascon wine. PRO. E122 97/9. Danzig shippers also brought wine home from England. WAPG. 300. 19/3 21v, 28v.

that prices fell.<sup>22</sup> Actually, many shippers who sailed to Prussia from the Bay are easily identifiable as Hollanders, Zealanders and Danzigers, although there is little doubt that most of them were in fact returning from the Biscay coast. Many other ships identified as coming from Zealand likely weighed anchor at the Bay as well, and had called at Middelburg, Veere or Arnemuiden to re-victual and take on additional cargo. Or, alternatively, they refreighted salt already stockpiled at the Zealand quays. The role of the Zealand carriers in the salt trade to Danzig was especially important in 1472, when a Bay fleet of 29 vessels was augmented by 26 Zealand and Veere ships also laden at least partly with salt.<sup>23</sup>

The Zealand quays not only functioned as depots, transit centres and provisioning stations for the Bay salt traders, they also formed the gateway to the great Brabantine fair towns of Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp and the vast inland markets they served. Moreover, it was here that the long-distance carriage trade that linked the Atlantic to the Baltic was transected by the flourishing cross-Channel trade between England and the Lowlands.

During the middle decades of the fifteenth century a number of economic circumstances combined with political developments to favour the ascendancy of the Brabantine fair towns. Above all, protectionist statutes at Bruges, aimed specifically at the competitive English textile industry, invited a general shift to the comparatively unrestrictive markets of Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom, and the transfer was accelerated when the Bordeaux trade of the merchant adventurers was pushed northward after 1453. Also, Bruges and her outport of Sluis were waging a losing battle against the silting of the Zwin estuary, and were increasingly unable to accommodate the deep-draft vessels from Prussia and their heavy cargoes. By mid-century cargoes from and for the Flemish staple were routinely handled at Middelburg, Veere, Arnemuiden and other quays on the easily navigable Scheldt-Honte channels that also served the seaborne trade of the great fair towns in Brabant. Bruges' susceptibility to civil revolt after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 also worked in Antwerp's favour, and as political turmoil engulfed Flanders during much of the 1480s, the flourishing market and comparative security of the Brabantine ports attracted an expanding foreign merchant community.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Caspar Weinreichs Danziger Chronik", *op. cit.*, 733.

<sup>23</sup> WAPG. 300.19/3 177r-180v, 181r, 186r-188r. Several were laden exclusively with salt, as were nine ships reaching Danzig "uth Amsterdam". *Ibid.*, 179r-182v. For Hanseatic shippers hauling salt to and from the Zealand ports see *De tol van Iersekeroord: Documenten en rekeningen 1512-1572*. ed. W. S. Unger, 'sGravenhage, 1939, 310-11, 325.

<sup>24</sup> R. Davis, "The Rise of Antwerp and its English Connection 1406-1510", *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*. ed. D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, (London,

Records of the maritime commerce in Zealand and Brabant for this period are fragmentary, however, and especially so since the destruction of the Middelburg archive in Word War II. Moreover, there were numerous exemptions from ducal tolls, which in any event were very often farmed in the fifteenth century. However, in conjunction with the English and Danzig records, surviving toll accounts do offer some insight into the maritime trade links of the Lowlands *vis à vis* England and the Baltic for substantial periods from the 1470s until the end of the century.<sup>25</sup> From the Danzig sources it is evident that the Bay salt ships continued to call at the Zealand outports on a regular basis.<sup>26</sup> The Zealand toll records indicate that Hanseatic fish imports to the Lowlands also were common, as were shipments of beer, especially from Wismar and Hamburg.<sup>27</sup> And, although references to Baltic grain imports in the toll accounts are few, exhaustive research by M.-J. Tits-Dieuaide has shown that the trade was significant enough to cause speculative price rises whenever shipments were unavailable.<sup>28</sup> Much of the vital cross-Channel traffic was geared to the trade in English woollens, which were marketed at Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom. But in addition, English cheese, butter and beer were off-loaded in Zealand, as were occasional cargoes of meat and grain from East Anglia.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, by the end of the century, if not before, such cargoes had become quite typical. In 1499, for instance, Lynn merchant Thomas Bose off-loaded cargo at Veere that included "6 tonnen vleesch, ... 12 hoet roggen, 14 hoet geersten", while still other English venturers from Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Woolwich brought in several tons of butter, "Ingels bier" and "Ingels caes".<sup>30</sup> Virtually nothing in the way of locally produced agricultural products was sent in the opposite direction to English markets, except onions and onion seed.<sup>31</sup> But English accounts also

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1976), 2-20; *HUB*. VIII no. 244; *HR*. (2) IV no. 52; S. T. Bindoff, *The Scheldt Question to 1839*. (London, 1945), 34; J. Munro, "Bruges and the abortive staple in English cloth", *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XLIX (1966), 1137-59; H. van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*. (The Hague, 1963), II 70-83.

<sup>25</sup> W. S. Unger, *Iersekeroord*. 260-516.

<sup>26</sup> *WAPG*. 300.19/5-10.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 332, 386, 387, 482.

<sup>28</sup> M.-J. Tits-Dieuaide, *La formation des prix céréalières en Brabant et en Flandre au XVe siècle*. (Brussels, 1975), and "The Baltic Grain Trade and Cereal Prices in Flanders at the end of the Middle Ages", *The Baltic Grain Trade*. ed. W. Minchinton, (Exeter, 1985), 11-20.

<sup>29</sup> W.S. Unger, *Iersekeroord*. 287, 293, 334, 344, 388, 491-93, 501.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 504, 505, 508, 513, 515.

<sup>31</sup> *PRO*. E122 96/37 [shippers Lambart Domeson and Johann Walterson bringing onions and other miscellaneous cargo to Lynn in January 1458], E122 52/42 [shipper Walter Hermansson bringing onion seed to Ipswich for Hanseatic merchants in January 1459] and E122 108/2



show that shippers from the Lowlands did bring herring to England, and many a cargo of Gascon or Rhinish wine, Bay salt, or Norwegian stockfish was transhipped there from the Zealand quays. This was especially true during periods when England's political relations with the Hansards were strained.<sup>32</sup>

As with the Danzig records it is possible to identify in the Lowland sources a primary extension of the inland distribution network, for while the Zealand water toll accounts offer a picture of the seaborne imports, surviving certificates for overland traffic to and from Antwerp<sup>33</sup> ultimately lead to the markets of the Rhineland and points south and east. In addition to imported salt and the herring supplied by the Lowland fishing fleets, fish brought by the Lübeckers and merchants of the Hanse's North Sea ports was distributed via the Lowlands to Cologne and inland centres like Frankfurt. Overland grain shipments, however, were very rare, as most imported cereals – from the Baltic and from England – were intended for local Lowland markets.

The seaborne commercial traffic to and from Danzig, England and the Lowlands over the final quarter of the fifteenth century points not so much to an altered trade framework as an expanding commodity base within the food-stuff sector.<sup>34</sup> True, the English fish import trade shifted away from dependence on the Hanseatic comptoir at Bergen as English fleets and ships from Hamburg and Danzig exploited the Icelandic fisheries. English presence at the Danzig staple remained quite nominal until the 1490s, and in any event the English traders did not send food products there. The most important development was the ascendancy of Antwerp and the expansion of trade from and through the Lowlands. For a combination of reasons, both political and economic, Antwerp and the Zealand outports collectively became the focal point of the northern European trade and evolved as the principal transit and distribution conduit for an extended network in which the traffic in foodstuffs played an increasingly significant role. Salt, fish and grain remained central to the trade, but Baltic and Hamburg shippers began to bring more beer with their grain and bulk freight cargoes, and English cloth shipments were supplemented more regularly with consignments of cheese and dairy products. As the international

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[shipper Werner Brownson bringing Bay salt, Rhinish wine, "resyns", garlic, onion seed and onions to Newcastle in January 1489].

<sup>32</sup> *PRO*. E122 customs accounts.

<sup>33</sup> *Stadsarchief Antwerpen*. Cert. 1,2; R. Doehaerd, ed., *Études Anversoises: Documents sur le commerce international à Anvers 1488-1514*. II (Paris, 1962).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*; W. S. Unger, *Iersekerkoord*. 260-516; *WAPG*. 300.19/5-10; *PRO*. E122 107/61; 108/1, 2, 4-9 [Newcastle], E122 63/1, 2, 8 [Hull], E122 10/24-26; 11/3, 4, 8, 14 [Boston], E122 152/12 [Yarmouth], E122 97/17, 18; 98/1, 2, 5, 7-11, 14, 16 [Lynn], E122 52/58; 53/3, 4, 6, 8, 9 [Ipswich], E122 73/41; 78/3, 9; 80/2; 194/26 [London].

merchant community in Brabant expanded, so too did the selection of commodities available there. By the end of the century English and Baltic ships departed the Zealand quays laden with cargoes that typically included Iberian wines, imported fruits, figs, olives, and sugar from Madeira. And all or any of these commodities, together with Baltic beer and English dairy products, could augment the fish and salt cargoes being carted overland from Brabant to Cologne, Frankfurt and points east.

# **MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM**

**newsletter 13**

**Krems 1988**

Herausgeber: Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters. Körnermarkt 13, A-3500, Österreich. — Für den Inhalt verantwortlich zeichnen die Autoren, ohne deren ausdrückliche Zustimmung jeglicher Nachdruck, auch in Auszügen, nicht gestattet ist. — Herstellung: Druck & Kopie Witte • Tel. 587 97 12

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## Editor's Preface

The present volume of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*-Newsletter is an indirect result of the editor's participation at the 23rd International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo this May. Among the numerous other papers delivered there, which have been relevant for historians of material culture and daily life of the Middle Ages, my attention was particularly drawn to a session on medieval food organized by Terence Scully from the Department of French Language and Literature of Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario. Terence Scully is one of the few specialists on medieval food and cooking in North America and well known for his editions of French cookery books and recipe collections (cf., e. g., "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart 1420", *Vallesia* 40, 1985, 130-231; *Chiquart's On Cookery. A Fifteenth-Century Savoyard Culinary Treatise*. New York, Berne, Frankfurt/M., 1986; *The Viandier of Taillevent*, to be published this October by the University of Ottawa Press). For several years now, he has been organizing sessions on "Foods in the European Middle Ages" at Kalamazoo.

When I offered Terence Scully and the speakers of his session - John D. Fudge, Mary Frances Zambreno and Liliane Plouvier - to publish the papers in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*-Newsletter, they all immediately accepted. By that, we get the opportunity to be quickly informed about some important new research. I would like to thank the authors, particularly for their readiness to send their manuscripts in such a short time after the conference, in spite of their many other obligations.

This Newsletter 13 will soon be followed by Newsletter 14, which is dedicated to the conference "Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter. Leben - Alltag - Kultur", organized by *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* and the *Institut für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs*, taking place in Krems from September 27 to 30, 1988. As in the years 1984 and 1986, we would like to present summaries of the papers delivered at the conference to inform our members about the main topics and aspects to be discussed.

Two guest editors will be responsible for Newsletter 15. Grethe Jacobsen and Jens Christian Johansen, both from Copenhagen, have agreed to edit the volume, which will be dealing with the research on daily life and material culture of the Middle Ages in Denmark. It will be the first of the already announced volumes concerning research in particular countries. We hope that this newsletter will be published at the end of 1988.

For 1989, we already have started the preparations for two volumes continuing our select bibliographies. One volume will be devoted to medieval dress, the other to medieval ships. We also plan an updated version of the general select bibliography, which was published as *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*-Newsletter 7/8 in 1986. Numerous new books and articles have come out since then; a second edition seems to be necessary.

At last, I would like to thank those members of our society who have been – some of them continuously – contributing to *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*-Newsletter. All others, I again would like to invite to send us articles, reviews, notes or announcements.

Gerhard Jaritz, editor