Food and Clothing in a Hanseatic Town:

Straupe during the 14th–16th Century

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Contents

Introduction: the town of Straupe as a member of the Hanseatic League

During the 13th/14th–16th century, at the time of the Hanseatic League, trade in the Baltic Sea region flourished, which contributed considerably to the development of towns with their legal status and the way of life. Social hierarchy in the Middle Ages was very distinct and the society was divided into classes. Townspeople formed a separate social group, their legal status differed from that of peasants, knights and clergymen as well.

During the 14th-16th century, the town of Straupe had all the distinctive characteristics of a medieval town[1] – it had its own law based on Rīga Law, urban environment enclosed by stone walls, residences and burial grounds of its burghers, a mill, a market place and a town seal. The town had its own municipal government – citizens who owned houses and plots of land and voted for the town council and the mayor. The way of life of townspeople could have been similar to that in other Hanseatic towns in Livonia in the Middle Ages and across the entire German speaking Hanseatic region. However, the closest parallels could be found with small towns that applied Rīga Law in the Archbishopric of Rīga and other Livonian lands – Koknese, Limbaži, Viljandi, Pärnu, Rīga and Tartu. Among the members of the Hanseatic League Straupe was not of the greatest importance,[2] but it was closely tied to the most important Hanseatic town in Livonia – Rīga. A peculiarity of Straupe compared to the rest of Livonia was that it had a liege lord – the Rosen family of knights, on whose land the town was raised. During the 14th–16th century they let out plots of land in town and had certain judicial power in the town. Straupe was situated near an important long-distance land trade route that connected the territories populated by Livs and Latgallians with Old Russian lands even before the 13th century, but connected the trade centre of the region Rīga with Tartu, Pskov and Novgorod, from the 13th century onwards. The importance of this overland or sleigh route increased, when in 1293 a military conflict impeded the sea route to Novgorod (Swedes conquered the Finnish lands).[3]

Straupe may be considered a Hanseatic town from 1350 onward, but it was a significant trade centre with German population even earlier than that. Records about merchants from Straupe, Inciems (*de Ymekyle*), Turaida (*de Toreyden, de Thoreydia)* mentioned in the Rīga Debt Book at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century provide evidence of a trade route in the direction of Rīga as well.[4] Merchants from Straupe are mentioned in the Rīga Debt Book relatively

[1] Although their interpretations vary, see Isenman, E. *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150–1550: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*. Böhlau. 2014, pp. 44–48.
[2] Hamels-Kīzovs, R. *Hanza*. Rīga, 2003: marked Straupe on the map as a Hanseatic town of 4th degree of importance.
[3] Johanek, P. Die mittelalterlichen Fernhänder In: *Sozialgeschichte der baltischen Deutschen*,1997, pp.31-45; Angermann, N. Deutsche Kaufleute im mittelalterlichen Novgorod und Pleskavu. In: *Deutsche im Nordosten Europas*. Koln, Wien, 1991, pp. 58–6.
[4] *Via Magna* led from Rīga past Jugla and Baltezers, crossing the river Gauja near Iļķēni, passing Vikmeste castle mound in Turaida, Kārļa Mountain, Kaupo's great castle through Vendu village, Inciems, to the centre of

often and they are comparatively numerous, thus one may deduce that at the time (from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century) Straupe was an important station for local (flax, wax) and long-distance trade, and merchants would have settled there. In 1303, there was a house in Straupe that could be pledged for 5 silver marks.[5] At the end of the 13th century, merchants who could be identified in relation to Straupe, i.e. '*de Ropa'* in Latin, were Dītrihs Azgalis, Gizelers and Gizelers Mazais (*minor*), Johans Rodenhoze, Johans Skolotājs (*Scolaris*), Rolike, [the nobleman] lord Verners[6] or Vernike, Vinandus.[7] Trade transactions were also conducted by [the nobleman] lord Otto from Rosen family.[8] These merchants were probably of German ethnic origin, but Dītrihs Azgalis from Straupe (*Thidercus Asegalle de Ropa*) could be linked to the Germanised minor family of vassals of Liv origin by the name of Azgalis.[9] In the middle of the 14th century, several merchants from Rīga were called "from Straupe" (*de Ropa*) – Rīga Councilman Johans, Verners, Tomass, Tonike. All of them had real estate in Rīga. Tonike leased the town's tower and used it to store goods.[10] The proximity of the Straupe district to Rīga was important for the development of local trade. Rīga was relatively densely populated and its inhabitants needed food. Merchants bought goods for export from Riga as well. Trade with Rīga was conducted in various ways. Agents or journeymen from Rīga visited rural regions on a regular basis, some of them travelled with goods from village to village. Others bought up goods – wax, honey, grain, flax, hemp, livestock, meat, butter, fish, cabbage, black radish, ashes and pitch (tar) at fairs. Peasants transported the produce from their farms to Rīga – usually in autumn after the payment of duties. There were no restrictions on this until the end of the 15th century, however, various limitations were imposed on peasants from private manors thereafter. The role of money in commerce was rather limited in the Middle Ages, it often served merely as a denominator of value, not as means of payment. The principle "goods for goods" applied – it was common knowledge, for example, how much cloth one could get for a certain amount of wax.

Idumea – Straupe. This road is also mentioned in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle. The road Rīga–Turaida–Valmiera–Tartu was also referred to as the Turaida road (*via Treydende*) in 1463 and marked on the road map of Rafaels Berberini as one of the most important roads in Vidzeme in 1564. The road maintained its importance, to a certain degree, during the Swedish times as well – it is mentioned in the Land Law of 1668. (see *Krimuldas novada vēstures grāmata*, Rīga, 2011.)

[5] Hildebrand, H. (Hg.) *Das Rigische Schuldbuch.* St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 60, No. 894: Johannes Bremere (or Johannes from Bremen?) tenetur Lentphardo de Wenda V mrc arg., pro quibus hereditatem suam proposuit, quam habet in Ropa (1303 Nov 11).

[6] LUB I, 2, No. 741: 1330 *Werner van der Rope, vaget.*

[7] Hildebrand, H. (Hg.) *Das Rigische Schuldbuch..,* p. 60, No. 894 – *Assegalle, Thidericus, de Ropa*, 1389, 1468. ; *Giselerus de Ropa* 1639, 1640, 1644; *Giselerus de Ropa, minor*, 1643; *Rodenhose, Johannes, de Ropa*, 168, 723, 799, 815, 817-819; 821, 822.837. 839, 852. 881, 896. 897. 902. 903. 941. 951-953. 957. 960. 962. 964-967.1121. 1486. ; *Johannes Scolaris de Ropa* 651; 656; *Rolike de Ropa* 1302; *Wernerus (Wernike) de Ropa, dominus,* 983,1590,1632, 1639, 1640,1641,1643,1644; *Winandus de Ropa* 1602.

[8] Ibid. *Otto de Rosis, Dominus*, 650, *Frater ejus v. Ludolphus de Wenda.*

[9] Merchants from Turaida at that time – Aleksandrs, Andrejs, Ivans and Zigfrīds, Folkvīns, the Semigallian Konrāds, Johans with Russian names, it would seem.

[10] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum der Stadt Riga II.* Hg. von. Napiersky. Liepzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humbolt, 1881, p. 190 etc.

Written confirmation of the foundation of the town of Straupe and its involvement in the Hanseatic League dates back to the 14th century, but documents preserved from the 15th–16th century mention scenes from the everyday life of Straupe townspeople: it had a church with Saint George's Chapel,[11] a marketplace[12], a mill.[13] Just like any other Hanseatic town it had a town council[14] and rich merchants whose lifestyle – in the choice of food, clothes and accessories – was close to that of the nobility, resided there.[15] In the 15th century, Straupe was a stopping and meeting place for the faction of burghers in the Livonian Landtag – so in the autumn of 1438, three councilmen from Rīga stayed in Straupe from 2 September for several days to consult other classes of the Archbishopric of Rīga before the Landtag, which took place in Valka.[16] The presence of German speaking long-distance merchants from the Hanseatic region and wealthy local merchants in Straupe is evidenced by the mentioning of the so-called "parrot tree"[17] in the vicinity of the town at the end of the 15th century, as well as *Maystede*[18] near the town, where the townsmen, together with their liege lords (Rosens), and the guests of the town, presumably in a similar manner to Rīga, Tallinn, Limbaži and other towns with all due pomp celebrated Vastlāvji (Shrove Tuesday) and the Count of May festival (Mayfest), which was very popular among German merchants.[19] The Count of May festival had a significant role in the way of life of townspeople in Livonia, with entertainment characteristic of urban environment and suited to the tastes of townspeople. [20]

After Hansa's Kontor at Novgorod was closed (in 1494 and repeatedly – in 1524) Rīga gradually ceased trading actively with Russian towns by inland waterways and overland routes, Russian merchants came to Rīga instead. The result was very beneficial for Rīga, but it is likely that these

[11] GU I, 636.
[12] GU II, 295, 692.
[13] GU II, 52.
[14] Mayor 1420/ 21 -LUB I, 5, No. 2521; council 1535 (GU II, No. 637), 1548 (VTVA, No. 234) council. In other small Livonian towns councils are mentioned around that time as well – in Koknese in 1350, Cēsis in 1356, Kuldīga in 1355, Vīlande in 1385, Limbaži in 1418, Straupe in 1420, Vana-Pärnu in1412. Czaja R. Livonian Towns from the 13th to the 16th century. In : *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: The political and ecclesiastical Structures during the 13th–16th century*. Eds. Roman Czaja, Andrej Radziminski. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Weimar, Wien, Torun, 2015. p. 225–252.
[15] Hamels-Kīzovs, R. *Hanza*, p. 41 : The author refers to Middle High German and Western European examples of similar lifestyles of long-distance merchants and knights during the early Hanseatic period. Among early Hanseatic merchants were ministeriales, persons close to German landlords.
[16] The expenses of the town of Rīga – *her Herman Vosz, her Thomas Wyttenborgh unde her Henrik Eppinchusen tor Rope up navitatis Marie* [2 Sept.], LUB I, 9, No. 374, note 1. IN STRAUPE 2 September – 29 mrc. 3 sol. (the total participation costs in the Landtag in Valka for the representatives of Rīga amounted to 50 mrc. 8 sol.). Representatives from Straupe did not participate in this Landtag, which took place at Miķeļi (Michaelmas) on 29 September, however, they were represented by the faction of burghers from Rīga, Tallinn, Tartu.
[17] GU I, 636.
[18] GU I, 456.
[19] Pentecost tournaments sponsored by the town were established as a part of the festivities in Hamburg in the 15th century as well. Paulsen, R. *Schifffahrt, Hanse und Europa im Mittelalter: Schiffe am Beispiel Hamburgs.* 2016, p. 51.
[20] Pabst, E. *Der Maigraf und ihre Feste*. Reval, 1864; Mänd, A. *Urban carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic 1350–1550*, Brepols, 2005, p. 60.

events did not benefit Straupe and it lost its former importance in long-distance trade. However, it kept its role as a local trade centre.

In the 16th century Straupe still had its mayor and councilmen (1535), but during the second half of the 16th century, names of Straupe townspeople preserved in the Rosens' archive indicate only to the presence of artisans, no municipal government officials have been recorded. In 1585 Rosens owned several plots of land in town and kept a residence there; some plots of land near the town were leased out to artisans (tailors, locksmiths etc.) by Rosens, and the number of permanent residents in the town was rather small – 12 households.[21] But the immediate vicinity of Straupe and the former Idumea region was rather densely populated, there were many villages in the area during the 16th century.[22] Straupe still remained a part of important local trade routes[23], and the intensity of local trade is evidenced by the fact that in the 17th century, fairs in Straupe took place 3 times a year – „Philippi Jacobi" *the day of the apostles Philip and Jacob (1 May), "*Peter Pauli" the feast day of the apostles Simon Peter and Paul (Saul of Tarsus), (29 June), at Miķeļi (27 September).[24]

Due to prolonged military conflicts during the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century (Polish-Swedish War 1600-1629) the town of Straupe withered.

[21] The list of citizens and inhabitants of Straupe (9 men and 3 widows), who pay 3 marks for the teacher's maintenance (firewood), VSVA, p. 300 –301 – all citizens and widows, all inhabitants of the town of Straupe in the presence of the esteemed liege lord pledge to give for the schoolmaster's maintenance 3 marks at Easter: *Hans Fresz, Otto Cärlein, Peter Spode, Hansz Mauritz, Hans Szülken, Melchior Backhausz, Laurentz Lange, Jeronimus Öhemken, Edde die Kleinschmidische , die Borchardische, die Matzische, Jacob der Schnitzker, die Blombergische*. .. [..] the schoolmaster's money is collected by *Hans Fresz, Otto Kärlein, Peter Spode*. There are also 3 German subjects in Rozbeķe (*Hansz von Stettin; Meister Henrich, Jacob Tolcke*), who pay 3 marks.

[22] Auns, M. Turaidas un Krimuldas novada apdzīvotība un iedzīvotāju etniskā piederība Livonijas laikā. Book: *Pa somugru pēdām Baltijas jūras krastā. Starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences materiāli, 2009.gada 11.aprīlis.* Turaida, 2009, p. 53.

[23] Dunsdorfs, E. , Spekke, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600.* Stockholm, 1964, p. 475. According to the calendar printed in 1602 Straupe was one of 6 places in Livonia (presently Vidzeme and Latgale, and the southern part of Estonia), where fairs were organised.

[24] Brežģis, K. *Baznīcu vizitāciju protokoli.* Rīga, 1931, p. 7.

I. Eating habits in Livonia during the time of the Hanseatic League

When researching gastronomic traditions of towns at the time of the Hanseatic League one must first consider crops cultivated and domestic animals reared at the time. There is wide variety of products that were not known **at the time** and became widespread in Europe only after the decline of the Hanseatic League. These include vegetables that were brought from America – potato, tomato, maize, pepper, chilli, the common bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris),* pumpkin, pineapple, vanilla, cocoa, from poultry – turkey. Some of these were brought to Europe as early as in the 16th century and were then viewed as new and exotic, however, they cannot be considered as characteristic foods at the time of the Hanseatic League.[25] Coffee too was brought to Western Europe at the end of the 16th century from Arabian cities in the Middle East, where Turks introduced and refined the African custom.

Secondly, crops cultivated in the region before the so-called Little Ice Age, but abandoned later, should be mentioned. From the end of the 13th century/throughout the 14th century until the 19th century, winters in Eastern Europe were severe and long, and summers wet and cool. During that period millet could not be cultivated (there is archaeological evidence of its presence up to the 13th century), the same applies to various types of lentils and other crops. Millet has been found in medieval toilets at several locations, mentioned in the Pärnu inventory of the Teutonic Order in 1562, but it was imported, not locally grown.[26] Lentils were cultivated in Central Europe. They are used in some medieval recipes, but were likely not widely used in Livonia.

Thirdly, merchants and townspeople, including inhabitants of Straupe, in addition to seasonal products of local origin, also imported spices and condiments, as well as fruit (dried), almonds, wine and other products. There is a record of the so-called pepper lease (in Limbaži, Sigulda[27] etc.) from the Livonian time – merchants used pepper instead of money to pay for their plot of land in the town or village. It was an expensive product, available to merchants in towns. We still use the expression – „peppered (steep) prices", known across the Hanseatic region in the Middle Ages.

Fourth, eating habits were dictated by the religious practice – there were numerous fasting days (approximately 150 per year[28]). It is plausible to assume that they were observed rather strictly by townspeople in Livonian towns, since they wished to set themselves apart from the local „non-Germans" or peasants, who were ascribed certain barbarism and paganism in the Middle Ages for a

[25] However, as early as in the16th century, these products started to spread, and in the herb book (*Krauterbuch*) of 1543, Leonhard Fuchs refers to them as Turkish Seeds; in other sources – Turkish Wheat (Reith, R. *Umwelt Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit*. München, 2011).
[26] Sillasoo, U. A Cultural History of Food Consumption in Medieval Livonian Towns. In: *Landscapes and Societies in Medieval Europe East of the Elbe . Interactions between Environmental Settings and Cultural Transformations.* S. Kleingärtner, T. P. Newfield, S. Rossignol, D. Wehner (eds.) 2013. p. 316–328.
[27] In Sigulda: 1442, GU I, No. 309b.
[28] Dirlmeier,U. Fouquet,G. Ernährung und Konsumgewohnheiten im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland, in: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 44*, H. 8, August 1993, pp. 504–526, hier p. 512.

long time after the German conquest. Products that were used as substitutes for meat, milk and eggs – freshwater fish, almonds, rice, various bakery products – became very important as a result of the fasts. Towns had fishermen guilds. Rivers were richer in water and fish, including large fish, until the 16th century. Regardless of the fact that fishing was subject to regulation, as was construction of ponds, wealthy townspeople ate salmon, pike, pike perch etc. too. Fasting encouraged the trend in illusion food as a „substitute" for meat and eggs – imitation of partridges, fake roast, eggs made from almonds or white fish meat with saffron etc. – among the upper classes, especially noblemen.

Fifth, the society was hierarchically organised, and this reflected on eating habits as well. The opportunities available to monarchs and noblemen could not be compared to those of lower classes, including townspeople. However, that disparity tended to diminish quickly – things that were considered a luxury in the 14th century, to which some few people of upper classes had access, had become available to a much wider public in the 16th century, and the necessity arose to regulate what foods people from the lower classes were allowed to eat. A good example here would be luxury sweets *crude* and *konfett* – candied spices and fruit, fruit pastilles with spices etc. available at the papal court in Avignon in the 14th century. In the 15th century they were already consumed at the Malbork Castle of the Teutonic Order and by the highest lords of Livonia, but appeared on townspeople's tables during wedding feasts at the end of the 16th century. Sugar became more and more accessible due to economic progress – cultivation of plants from which sugar could be derived began in Sicily and on islands owned by Portugal in the 15th–16th century. However, it reached peasants very late – historians believe that it became an everyday product for Latvian peasants only as late as the end of the 19th century or even during the second decade of the 20th century, when the sugar beet processing industry had been developed. It was a similar story with fruits, although they, like game, were reserved for consumption by the rich and privileged for a long time even after the Middle Ages. Many varieties of fruit trees spread in Europe in the 12th–13th century. They were grown in monasteries and castles and in orchards in towns.[29] In the 15th–16th century, they spread further to the north. In the classical Middle Ages, during the 14th–15th century, the food of the nobility or knights and landlords was finer and they consumed separate groups of products (game, roasted wild birds). When taken from a symbolical level, fruit that did not grow in the earth, but on the branches of trees, was reserved for them. However, as early as in the 15th and the 16th century, townspeople had begun to consume these luxury goods rather widely. At that time the so-called luxury prohibitions (sumptuary law) were introduced in towns concerning clothing and food as well. They are known to have been introduced in Rīga, Tallinn, Tartu. Initially, food regulations concerned quantity, not composition, but at the end of the 16th century, certain foods were determined that maidservants were not allowed to offer to their wedding guests – apples, pears, cakes, almond

[29] Schubert, E. *Essen un Trinken im Mittelalter*. 2010. p. 154.

cheese, marzipan and gilded dishes. Medieval cooks liked to add colour to food. They obtained blue from cornflowers, violet from violets, yellow from saffron. Food at courts of nobility had to look splendid – fiery pig's head, hedgehogs – white hedgehogs (almonds and sugar), black hedgehogs (raisins and sugar), red hedgehogs (figs and sugar). It was not unusual to gold or silver plate the food (gilded roast salmon) to display it in a more sumptuous manner.[30]

Sixth, we have no knowledge of any recipes of Livonian dishes, and modern reconstructions of medieval food in Latvia are based on cookery books from a more or less broad region of Western Europe in the 13th–16th century. A total of 133 recipe books have been identified from the late Middle Ages as of the beginning of the 21st century (2004). The most important ones are those that were written in German – there is 45 of those. There are some recipe books in English (39), Latin (14), Italian (13), French (12), Dutch (6), a couple in Danish and Icelandic. Some of them are written in the language of the Hanseatic League – Middle Low German. One of these books dates from the middle of the 13th century: *"Libellus De Arte Coquinaria"*. The cookery book "*Daz bouch von gouter spise*" written in Würzburg in 1350 was the first cookery book written in German, and just like other older cookery books, it was used in royal households.[31] Wealthiest townspeople wrote their own cookery books – "Le Menagier de Paris" – a guidebook on running a household, as well as a cookery book[32] – was written around 1393. Shortly after the invention of the printing press the cookery book "*De honesta voluptate et valentudine*" was published in Italy. It was later translated from Latin to Italian, French and German. The German "*Kuchenmeystery*" was published in Nuremberg in 1485, and was used widely in the following centuries[33].

Dishes described in medieval Europe's cookery books reflect contemporary ideas about proper nutrition. Properties of products and plants were emphasized, it was not unusual for a book of recipes to include descriptions of plants (*Kräuterbuch* etc.). They were mainly meant to be used by professional cooks working for royal and noble families. The rule of health (*regimina sanitatis*) was based on the understanding of trained doctors of that time of the concept of health (Schola Medica Salernitana, Aristotle's teaching about the juices of life, Paracelsus and other works). Around the beginning of the 16th century, teachings, initially intended for monarchs and noblemen, reached secular clergy and townspeople in the form of printed books too, not just individual manuscripts. The *Tacuinum sanitatis* – a handbook on health – was published in 1531–1532 and translated into

[30] *Um die Wurst : vom Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter* / Wien-Museum ; Hrsg. von R. Pohanka; mit Beiträgen von S. Czeika, D. Hecht-Aichholzer, T. Riebesehl. Wien Museum, 2005, p. 35.
[31] Hajek, H. *Daz buoch von guoter spise, aus der Würzburg-Münchener Handschrift neu herausgegeben* (= Texte des späten Mittelalters 8), Berlin 1958. Several digitalized versions of this cookery book, based on the original manuscript, are available on the internet along with copies and translations into modern languages.
[32] At that time Paris had a population of approximately 200,000 people, London was home to about 50 thousand people, but Lübeck and Nuremberg had 20,000 inhabitants each. The population of Rīga was around 8,000, but Straupe could have had 30 citizens with their families.
[33] Blume, J. *Das Buch von guter Speise. Mittelalterlich kochen.* Göttingen, 2004.

German as "*Schachtafelen der Gesuntheyt*".[34] This medical treatise so popular in the Middle Ages was written by Ibn Butlan, a physician born in the family of a Christian (Nestorian monk) in Baghdad, who died around 1064 in Antioch. All his life, he was active in the Eastern (Constantinople) Christian world, became a physician and a monk, and was a very popular physician in Aleppo. His work was translated into Latin at least 17 times, these translations have been preserved as manuscripts. In the 13th century, his work spread from Sicily to the rest of Europe. Abbreviated and illustrated translations were especially popular. Ibn Butlan divided the environment of the human being into six categories: the air, food and drink, physical activity and rest, sleep, bodily fluids and feelings, like joy and fear. One must always strive to keep them in balance, since good health is the result of balance between a human being and his surroundings. Products were divided into cold and warm, wet; suited for different humours and ages.[35] Bad, even dangerous effects of products were accentuated too, along with ways to neutralize them by adding other products. These combinations of products and mixtures of flavours are reflected in medieval recipes and the understanding of good taste.

In the late Middle Ages during the 15th–16th century, more refined eating habits were adopted by wealthier townspeople and recipe books were published for their use. A considerable number of recipes 'travelled' from one region to another, these were translated, often from French. All in all, medieval recipes in Western Europe have been studied extensively. Scientific publications, web resources and food reconstruction practice is available.[36] However, the actual eating habits are construed not so much from cookery books as from diverse written and archaeological sources, which demonstrate that different social classes or groups had different eating habits and that there were marked differences between day-to-day and festive food in all regions of Europe.

Historical sources of Livonian towns on this aspect have not been fully identified yet. Lists of duties, merchants' documents, reviews, bills for the purchased products, inheritance documentation as well as legislation, chronicles and various documents provide only fragmented information and are supplemented by evidence of products consumed, tableware and household items found in archaeological research, along with bioarchaeology data, which analyses evidence provided by human remains. Regrettably, information often is insufficient and data about Straupe in particular is sparse due to the lack of archaeological or written historical sources, however, the regional context provides us with a considerable amount of material. Eating traditions, festive meals and daily diet in the Hanseatic region vary from the ones on the French or Italian lands or in Southern Germany. Eating habits in the towns of Rhineland and the North of Germany were different as well.[37] European ideas about proper dietary practices reached medieval Livonia and Vidzeme in the 17th

[34] Rippmann, S. Der Körper im Gleichgewicht: Ernährung und Gesundheit im Mittelalter. In: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 52, Krems 2005, pp. 20–45.
[35] http://www.moleiro.com/en/books-of-medicine/tacuinum-sanitatis
[36] For example, in German http://www.dasmittelalterkochbuch.de/.
[37] Wiegelmann, G., Mohrmann, R. *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum.* Münster, New York, 1996. p. 4

century, as demonstrated by the book of economic advice published in Vidzeme "*Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent"*, which contained some recipes with the "taste of Hansa". It is based on a manuscript written by Zaharias Stopius in the 16th century, published in 1645 by the pastor in Suntaži and Mālpils Salomo Gubert (before 1600–1653). The book is a scientific and practical guidebook on rational farming with notes on cooking and influence of foods on human health. The advice contained in the book often continues the ideas of medieval cookery books and *Tacuinum sanitatis* – i.e. ascribing to various foodstuffs such properties as cold or warm, suitable for different humours etc.[38]

Eating habits in towns of the Hanseatic region have been investigated using the archaeobotanical approach. In 2001, the HANSA Network Project was launched by the National Museum of Denmark. Towns in Germany, Poland, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway in the period from 1160 to 1650 have been explored in the framework of the project. Estonian scientists analysed towns in Livonia for this project. 175 plants, 156 spices – cultivated and wild plants – were analysed. The result indicates that Germans and non-Germans in Livonia had different eating habits with some common elements, for example, hemp was grown in industrial proportions[39]. It became evident that archaeology is able to provide more information than written sources.[40]

Products consumed in the Middle Ages

Cereals formed the basis of the medieval diet, along with dishes made of meat of domestic animals (mainly – pork), poultry (chicken), game and wild birds' meat and saltwater and freshwater fish were eaten much less.

Cereals known during the Middle Ages included rye, wheat, barley, oat, buckwheat. Various groats and flour were used to make gruel/ porridge and bread. In 1379, there was even a special trade in Rīga – Johans the Porridge Maker and/or Seller (Latin: *Pultifex*).[41] The handbook on health *Tacuinum sanitatis* describes wheat porridge (XXX. *Savich, id est Pultes Tritici)* as warm and dry; good for human intestines; indicates as a danger that it causes irritation of airways, which can be avoided by drinking warm water afterwards. It is supposedly good for the temperate humour, old people in winter and spring in all regions.[42] Barley porridge (XXIX. *Savich, id est Pultes Ordei)*, on the other

[38] White bread, for example, is warmer than rye bread, but barley is warm (*Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent...* Riga, Verlag Schröder, 1649, pp. 221, 222. [available at https://books.google.lv/books]
[39] Sillasoo, U. and Hiie, S. An archaeobotanical approach to investigating food of the Hanseatic period in Estonia. In: *Medieval Food Traditions in Northern Europe* . Edited by Sabine Karg. PNM Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History Vol. 12. Copenhagen, 2007. pp. 73-96.
[40] Karg, S., Günther, D. Der Einfluss der Hanse auf mittelalterlichen Ernährungsgewohnheiten. In: *Centre. Region. Periphery. Medieval Europe Basel 2002. Vol. 1* . Ed.G.Helmiga, B. Scholkmann, M. Untermann. Hertingen, 2002. pp. 140-146. Archaeological data indicates that bog-myrtle along with hops has been used for brewing beer in Denmark in the Middle Ages for a long time. This is not mentioned anywhere in the written historical sources.
[41] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum* II, No. 405.
[42] Rippmann, D. Der Körper im Gleichgewicht…., pp. 20–45.

hand, is cool and cold, and is recommended to sick people. A danger is that it can cause flatulence, which can be prevented by adding sugar. Recommended for young people with hot humour, in summer and in a warm region. [43] Barley has been grown in the territory of Latvia for thousands of years. The earliest bread was flatbread made of barley. Barley was also the main ingredient for brewing beer.[44]

A typical medieval recipe used by German townspeople at the end of the 13th century was porridge made from barley and lentils in a three-legged pot: 2 cups of crushed barley, 10 cups of water, 1 large piece of bacon, 1/ 2 cup of lentils, 3-4 handfuls of spring onions or wild garlic and various vegetables, 2 spoonfuls of coriander roots, salt to one's taste. Cut the bacon into small pieces and bring to a boil with the barley. Add the lentils. Then let it steam on a small fire for at least 2 hours. 10-15 minutes before serving, add the cut spring onions and vegetables and crushed coriander. If barley and lentil are soaked prior to cooking, the porridge can be made quicker, but it does not taste as good.[45]

1) A three-legged pot. Reconstruction based on an archaeological find in Bern, 2nd half of the 13th century. Ill. from the book Bauer, S., Karg, R. Steinhauer. Kulinarische Reise in die Vergangenheit. From: Schriften des Kantonalen Museum für Urgeschichte. Zug 44. 1995; 2) Medieval kitchenware discovered in Altene and Sēlpils. Ill. from the book Latvijas PSR arheoloģija, 1974, p. 303.

[43] Ibid.
[44] Dumpe, L. *Alus tradīcijas Latvijā.* Rīga, 2001, p. 33.
[45] Bauer, S., Karg, R. Steinhauer. Kulinarische Reise in die Vergangenheit. *Schriften des Kantonalen Museum für Urgeschichte. Zug 44.* 1995.

Oats were mostly used to feed domestic animals, but there is some evidence of oat porridge consumed as a simple daily food in the Middle Ages. There is also a mention of the so-called Polish oats, which were sold by apothecaries in the 16th century, which suggests that it was some kind of herb. Buckwheat (Middle Low German: *Bokweten*, South German dialects: *Heidenkorn, Taternkorn*) came to German lands from their Eastern neighbours around the 14th century, and was particularly widely cultivated in the 15th century. It was also grown in Livonia. Buckwheat was used to bake bread, mixed with wheat and rye flour. Buckwheat pancakes and dumplings were made, but buckwheat on the whole was not a staple food in Livonia. In the 16th century buckwheat was grown near Rīga and Tartu, as well as in Padise, where according to written sources buckwheat made up 7 % of peasants' duties in kind in 1567–1568.[46]

Bread was a staple food, however, the expression "on bread and water" meant not only ascetic living, but mainly – imprisonment.[47] In the Middle Ages rye bread was much more widespread throughout Europe. Nowadays it is considered a peculiarity of Latvia/the Baltic states. In towns, white bread and various pastries were consumed in large quantities. Cakes are also mentioned in the Middle Ages in Livonia[48]. Their preparation may have been similar to cakes with crumble topping appearing in recipe books starting from the 14th century and other similar dishes.[49] A pretzel on the other hand appears as the symbol of the bakers' guild in many medieval illustrations. Numerous names of bread are mentioned in Livonian documents – fine triangular rye bread made of the best flour (*schonroggen*), rye bread, bread made of the best wheat flour (*Semmeln,*, often called councilmen's bread in German speaking countries[50]), wheat bread in the shape of a wedge (*Wegge, Wecke – also a bread roll*), table bread, even dogs' bread.[51] In the 16th century in the Rīga Book of Expenses different types of bread that were bought for the mayor and office employees are mentioned – *Wittbrot*, *Gremenbrod und Semmel* (at Miķeļi), at Christmas *Wrefen Brod* was sent to the monastery.[52]

Some of these varied names of bread were used in other German towns as well. *Schoenroggen* – triangular shaped bread made of the best rye flour was popular in Hanseatic towns; it was made in the shape of a wedge or a horn and not only of rye, but wheat as well .[53] It was used

[46] Sillasoo, U. A. *Cultural History of Food…* pp. 316W-328.
[47] Bunge, F. G. v. *Geschichte des Gerichtswesens und Gerischverfahrens in Liv-, Est- und Curland.* Reval, 1874, p. 112.
[48] The Brotherhood of Blackheads in Tallinn invited women of the town – married and unmarried women of the Merchant Guild's families – to a special yearly celebration with dancing and served them cakes, nuts and apples as refreshments. Mänd, A. *Urban carnival.*, p. 60. Cake bakers are mentioned in the Book of Income and Expenses of Rīga Revenue Board.
[49] For example, the cookbook written by Sabina Welserin, dated 1553 in Nuremberg, includes an apple pie recipe http://www.dasmittelalterkochbuch.de/REZEPTE/08_11_Apfelkuchen.html
[50] *Um die Wurst.*, p. 51.
[51] Each volume of LUB contains mentions of various names of bread, for example LUB I, 10, p. 552; LUB II, 3, p. 790 etc.
[52] *Zwei Kämmereiregister der Stadt Riga. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschte von A.Bulmericq.* Leipzig, 1902, pp. 207, 219.

in the Convent of Saint Mary Magdalene in Münster in Westphalia in the 16th century as a special festive food at Christmas, New Year's Eve, on Three Kings' Day, Easter, and was called also "*micken*".[54]

In Rīga, among the crafts practised by townspeople, a baker of loaves is mentioned (1494 *klepenbecker*, 1489 c*leypenbecker, 1502 kleypenbecker*), which indicates influence of the Latvian language.[55] One may assume that it was not the only influence of non-Germans on eating habits in Livonian towns. In the territory of Latvia, rye has been used since the 8th–9th century, and archaeological finds of rye bread date as far back as the 10th century, and indigenous population continued in their eating habits later on. A local name of bread is found in Straupe as well: German rye bread, bread rolls and "pūrica" are mentioned as a part of peasants' duties in 1556 for the occasion of the wedding of the daughter of Rosens, vassals of the Archbishopric of Rīga. Wedding duties in Straupe amounted to 2 lasts of good beer, 2 well-fed bulls, 100 chicken, 10 castrated rams, 10 geese, 10 hares, 2 pigs, 200 eggs, 1000 loaves of German rye bread, 100 bread rolls, 1000 "pūrica"[56]. The last one – "pūrica" – could have been some special kind of wheat bread. It should be noted that the name is not known in modern Latvian and it is not a Middle Low German word[57], but is preserved to our days as a house name in many places in Latvia and as the name of a lake in the immediate vicinity of Straupe. Peasants' duties in the 16th century included duties for organisation of feasts in the rural community with the landowners – the so-called "vaka" (district) feasts, but there is no mention of "pūrica", or special German bread. These duties included cattle, chicken, honey, loaves of bread, beer, eggs and butter instead.[58]

No exact information about the size of loaves of bread in the Middle Ages in Livonia is available, however, bread baked in Münster in the 16th century weighed 1,400 g and 700 g. The

[54] Kleinschmidt, W. *Essen und Trinken in der frühneuzeitlichen Reichsstadt Speyer: Die Rechnngen des Spitals St. Georg (1514–1600),* Waxmann Verlag, 2012. (=Münsteraner Schriften zur Volkskunde / Europäischen Ethnologe Bd. 17) p. 217.
[55] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum der Stadt Riga* III, No. 117, 119 120, 181, 220.
[56] Švābe, A. Straupe. *Latviešu konversācijas vārdnīca.*
[57] Kiparsky, V. *Fremdes im Baltendeutsch*, Bd.1, Helsinki, 1936, p. 107.
[58] VSVA, XXI; Лиги, Х. М. *Феодальные повинности эстонских крестьян.* Tallin, 1968, pp. 43–45; Heyde, J. *Bauer, Bauer, Gutshof und Königsmacht: Die estnischen Bauern in Livland unter polnischer und schwedischer Herrschaft 1561–1650* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte). Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2000, pp. 228–229. In 1569, from the former Muhu vaka (district), which formerly belonged to the Order, from 13 districts (154 populated farms), 13 farms with one house, a considerable duty was collected – 4,500 loaves of bread, 97 barrels of beer, 7 bulls, 17 cows, 26 sheep, 26 geese, salt, pearled barley, rendered lard, butter, 390 eggs etc. In the middle of the 16th century duties in kind were collected in the districts of land owners, who still held on to old traditions according to observations made by H.Ligi. The most archaic duties in Estonian lands had been preserved in Karksi castle district and Saaremaa district owned by the Order. Duties collected by owners of private manors depended on demand on the market. During the second half of the 16th century, in Estonian districts an acre was used as a land taxation unit, but district duties in kind were still collected from the household – they consisted of 1 cattle, 1 pig, 1 sheep, chicken, eggs, butter, bread and "other duties according to old customs". During the Polish times the custom of collecting district duties had ceased to exist on Estonian territories, only some of the larger state-owned manors constituted an exception and still had district gatherings at certain times (*wardejstwa*). District duties as such were replaced by monetary duties. Hares were usually included in peasants' duties.

written sources of Münster also mention a festive loaf – *Gebildbrote*, but we do not know what it looked like, nor what its recipe included. It weighed 1,359 g. Written sources of Hanseatic towns mention various other local treats too, for example, Elbląg Striezel (braided bread), the look and recipe of which is unknown to us.[59] According to 1545 and 1547 regulations each baker or bakery in Lübeck was required to have a special sign hung outside the bakery and used by the baker to mark his bread (*strumpe, schoenroggen u. Spysebroet*), the only breads not marked were bread rolls and white bread (*Semmel*).

A young townswoman buying bread in Nuremberg, 1568. Illustration from the chronicle of Jorg Urlaub. Available at http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/75-Amb-2-317b-23-r/data

Such legumes and vegetables as broad and/or horse beans, peas, neeps and turnips, black radish, cabbage, beets, carrots, cucumbers, onions, garlic, horseradish, parsley etc. were widely used as food.

Garlic and onions were considered peasants' food in the Middle Ages, although, in the Hanseatic region, for example in the territory of Poland, onions were used by all classes, by townspeople too.[60] Medieval Livonian writings use the name "*sipollen*"[61], which in modern Latvian is considered a loan from German language.[62] In Estonian the word for onion also sounds similar – ‚sibul', in Lithuanian, on the other hand, it is called ‚svogūnas', and its etymology in Lithuanian is linked to the influence of Turkic languages.

[59] Kleinschmidt, W. Essen und Trinken… p. 218.
[60] Dembinska, M. Food and Drink in Medieval Poland. Rediscovering a Cuisine of the Past. Philadelphia, 1963, p. 122.
[61] LUB II, 1, No. 636.; LUB II, 2, No. 679; LUB II, 3, No. 7343.
[62] Sipele – from High German (?) German or Latin (cipolle, cepa). In Dortmund – een schepel zypelen; in Hamburg around 1525 – sipelen-hoker (onion seller). Schiller, K. , Lübben, A. Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch. Bd. 4: S-T. Bremen, 1878, p. 215.; Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual of spoken Russina, Pskow 1607: An electronic text edition. Pepijn Hendriks and Jos Schaeken, Slavic Department, Leiden Univeristy. Electronic text edition of Tönnies Fenne (Pskov 1607) version 1.1. (Juli 2008) p. 65 No. 7. ; http://www.koeblergerhard.de/mnd/mnd_s.html.

Garlic is considered to have been less important in German towns than it is nowadays.[63] However, it was widely used in the preparation of daily meals according to the writings of Rīga Archbishop's physician Zaharias Stopius, who maintained that peasants used fresh lard and garlic as a medicine[64]. Salomo Gubert, a priest at Suntaži and Mālpils, recommended to salt lard with garlic (1645/49).[65]

Broad beans, peas, from which flour was made and sold in Livonia as well, were one of the staple foods.[66] While it was simple food, rich people used it too, and more refined recipes were known. A manuscript of a German cookery book from the 15th century in Vienna Library contains a recipe of broad bean mash with figs, onions, sage and butter.[67]

Broad beans. Ill. from "Herb Book" (Pflanzenbuch, BSB Cod.icon. 34) from the middle of the 16th century, available at https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/

Peas were considered simple rural food. Some priests in Northern Germany believed that God had better food than beans and peas. Snow peas were valued a bit more, even if priests reproached nuns that they enjoy pears, cherries and snow peas too much.[68] Nevertheless, deliveries of products to the papal court in the 14th century indicate that peas (Latin: *pisi*) along with onions, spinach, parsley, fennel, neeps, sage, turnips were always on delivery lists for the preparation of soup (*pro*

[63] Schubert, E.. *Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter*. 2010. p. 157
[64] A letter written to the Duke of Prussia on 5 November 1565 in Rīga. (Herzog Albrecht und Preussen (1565-1570*)*, No. 3401).
[65] *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent..*, p. 241.
[66] LUB I, 10, No. 320, 604-606, 613, 614; LUB I, 11, No. 160 (white peas too) LUB II, 2, No. 679. Peas were called *arweis*, *erweten*)
[67] *Um die Wurst..* CD appendix, Rezepte für Gemüse.
[68] Kotelmann, L. *Gesundheitspflege im Mittelalter. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien nach Predigten des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunders*. Bremen, 2012. (republished based on the edition of 1890)

potagio).[69] In Tallinn, during the 15th century, beans and peas were given to the poor, as well as soldiers (mercenaries) as part of their pay. The poor were given rye bread as charity.

Different dishes were made from cabbage, seasonal herbs, neeps and turnips in the Middle Ages. It is believed that some vegetables popular in the Middle Ages have been forgotten, for example, the seeds of the green foxtail (*Amaranthus*), orache spinach (*Atriplex hortensis*). Cabbage sellers (male and female) are mentioned in Rīga at the end of the 15th century,[70] but cultivation of cabbages in Livonia during the second half of the 16th century is described in more detail. Fresh local seasonal fruit, like apples, pears, cherries, along with local herbs and salads were also available at town markets. There is information that salads, vegetables and apples were traded at the Rīga town market from the 16th century.

1) Merchants, Italy. 15th century. Ill. from the book Um die Wurst, original Biblioteca Estense., Modena.

2) Cinnamon seller. In the Middle Ages, cinnamon was imported from China in the form of 30-40 cm long one-sided rolls. Ill. from the book Um die Wurst., from the 15th century. Dioscorides work "Tractatus de Herbis" from Biblioteca Estense ;

3) Onion, wax, cherries. Ill. from Britisch Library manuscript "Tractatus de Herbis" around 1440 f. 30; available at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=49301

No detailed information is available about the cultivation of fruit trees in Livonia. Perhaps the climate was too cold for many Central European species. In the Middle Ages, the fruit growing in trees (in a symbolic way) were reserved for those of higher social rank, while peasants had to dig their food out of the earth. In the Middle Ages different varieties of apples, pears, cherries, plums were cultivated in German lands and the fruits were used to prepare various dishes. Apple cider vinegar, fruit marmalades, plum jam and many other traditional recipes originated in medieval times.

[69] Weiß, S. Versorgung des päpstlichen Hofes in Avignon mit Lebensmitteln (1316-1378). Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines mittelalaterlichen Hofes. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 2002.
[70] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum* III, No. 80.

Linguistic material indicates that yellow plum was known in the Middle Low German language area.[71] The zwetschge (German: *Zwetschke, Pflaume*, Latin: *prunus domestica*)[72] traditional for the Southern German lands was widely cultivated and consumed, however in the medieval handbook on health *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, plums from Damascus were believed to be the best. In the 14th-16th century Livonia apples, rhubarbs and pears are mentioned,[73] a cherry drink was known in the 15th century.[74] Cherry trees that had died of cold injury were marked during the blossom period in parish annals kept by priests in the 17th century, but it is likely that there were gardens with fruit-bearing trees and bushes in towns and villages earlier as well. There was also a special group among peasants in the 16th century – gardeners (Latin: *hortulanis*), but they would rather had been growers of vegetables (as opposed to crops). In Straupe a "light garden" is mentioned, which probably means a fruit garden, not a vegetable garden. Close to the end of the Middle Ages redcurrant, blackcurrant and other domestic plants began to appear in gardens, and J.H. In 1803, Cigra mentions that redcurrant was brought to Vidzeme two hundred years ago, but in his lifetime it was considered known for a long time.[75] In the 16th century in Rīga, on the other hand, "Russian apples" were a part of a meal.[76] During the Middle Ages fruit were dried, caramelized in honey and sugar, and were thus sold on the market and in long-distance trade. Imported raisins[77], dried dates and lemons[78], figs[79] and oranges were known as merchandise in Livonia.[80]

Salt was an important merchandise in demand in all social classes and actively traded by merchants of the Hanseatic League[81]. Coarse salt was brought to Livonia from Brouage in France or from Lisbon, fine salt – from Lüneburg; there is also mention of grey sea salt, white, clean salt and various other types of salt[82].

Writings also mention oleaginous plants and herbs of local origin. Linseed was consumed as food, used to make oil and as an additive to other foods, but mainly cultivated as a source of fibre to produce clothing and other items. Hemp in medieval German cuisine was used as a medicine, but

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[71] *Spelling, sillinhg* – Schiller, K. , 233, 636, Lübben, A. M*ittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch.* Bd. 4: S-T. Bremen, Verlag von J. Kühtmanns, Buchhandlung, 1878, p. 314

[72] *Stanzer Zwetschke* is a traditional and protected species in Austria.

[73] LUB I, 11, No. 747.

[74] LUB I, 10, No. 52 (*kersedranch*).

[75] Cigra, J. H. *Tas ābolu dārznieks jeb pilnīga pamacīšana visādus auglīgus dārza kokus audzināt un kopt.* 1803.

[76] *Zwei Kämmereiregister der Stadt Riga…*, p. 219.
At the beginning of the 19th century, different varieties of Russian apples were known in Vidzeme – "white snake" apples, long green Russian apples and melons or the sweet Russian apples (Cigra, J.H.*Pamācīšana, kā visus ķēķa dārza stādus un tās iekš ķēķes priekš citam derīgas zāles būs audzināt, kurai tā mācība pielikta kā tās visu dārgākās dārza zāles un augļus žāvēt.* Rīga, 1806, p. 39)

[77] LUB II, 1, No. 636

[78] *Zwei Kämmereiregister der Stadt Riga…*, pp. 72, 83.

[79] LUB I, 11, No. 454; LUB II, 2, No. 716; LUB II, 3, No. 781.

[80] See LUB I, 12, p. 527 – an index of goods.

[81] Henn, V. Der hansische Handel mit Nahrungsmitteln. In: Wiegelmann, G., Mohrmann, R. *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum.* Münster, New York, 1996. pp. 23–48, hier pp. 26–28.

[82] Dunsdorfs, E. , Spekke, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600.* Stockholm, 1964, p. 460. Salt, of various kinds and from different locations, is mentioned in all volumes of LUB as one of the goods traded.

hemp milk and hemp porridge were consumed during fasts. In Central Europe, the use of hemp increased in the Middle Ages, when it was used as a raw material for textile and oil production as well. The use of and trade in hemp is mentioned in Livonia too. It was a simple food for lower classes around the town of Tartu, but refined dishes made of hemp were served to higher feudal lords, for example, to the Bishop of Tallinn during his visit to the Church of Saint Nicholas (1501). He was served hemp paste with saffron, honey and pepper.[83]

Hemp seed butter (roasted and crushed hemp mixed with butter) and "stuks" ("steņķis", "stuķis", "štaka", "staks") were considered traditional dishes in Vidzeme. "Stuks" in taste and the way of preparation seems to have come straight out of the Middle Ages – roasted hemp seeds are crushed in a mortar, water and salt are added afterwards to obtain a paste-like substance. "Stuks" can be added to minced peas, when making pea balls.[84]

Archaeobotanical investigation helps to determine the herbs used in Livonia on a regular basis – dill, caraway, black pepper, parsley, celery, juniper berries from young trees, horseradish. Horseradish, like mustard, was used in Rīga, Tallinn and Tartu as a condiment during smaller meals. Black mustard (*Brassica nigra*), as well as beets and radishes, have been found in towns. Mustard produced by Latvian peasants was brought to Estonian towns.[85] In Europe, caraway was also used in the form of sweet snacks – roasted in honey or sugar, but in 17th century Vidzeme it was recommended to add caraway to bread to reduce colic.[86]

The use of dairy products in the Middle Ages has been subject to some discussion among historians. Cows did not produce much milk, therefore its share among other products was not significant, but milk, cheese and butter were used in the preparation of many dishes. Cheese and butter were made in summer for more continuous use in winter, when cows stopped producing milk. Merchants from towns bought it from farmers. There are reports of export and import of butter and cheese in Livonian time. Cheeses of various quality levels – for lords and servants – are also mentioned, as well as Swedish and Russian butter.[87] Around 1400, there was a special butter shop (*botterhus*) in Rīga,[88] and the importance of butter as a merchandise is evidenced by the fact that approximately 20.4 % of butter imported to Lübeck in the 15th century came from Rīga.[89] Bread with salted butter was a customary food in the Hanseatic region in contrast to the South of Europe,

[83] LUB I, 11, No. 634. Sillasoo, U. A. *Cultural History of Food*... p. 322.
[84] Meirāne, S. *Mūsu mantojums.* Rīga, 2016.
[85] Sillasoo, U. *A Cultural History of Food*… pp. 316–328.
[86] *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent*.., p. 221. At the beginning of the 19th century J.H. Cigra, in his turn, mentions that the native habitat of caraway in contrast to many other cultivated plants and herbs is "the part of the world, we live in", and in German lands their sweet roots are used instead of sugar roots (Cigra, J.H.Cigra, J.H.*Pamācīšana, kā visus ķēķa dārza stādus.*. p. 117)
[87] LUB I, 10, No. 155, 320, 604, 607, 613, Swedish butter 606; LUB II, 2, No. 653, 679 ; *Zwei Kämmereiregister* .., p. 72. LUB I, 10, No. 320m 604-606, 613LUB I, 11, No. 23, 160, 251, 797; LUB II, 2, No. 679.
[88] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum* II, No. 505, 644, 645.
[89] Henn, V. Der hansische Handel mit Nahrungsmitteln. In: Wiegelmann, G., Mohrmann, R. *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum.* Münster, New York, 1996. pp. 23–48, hier. – p. 46. To Lübeck butter was mostly imported from Scandinavia.

and unclarified butter was widely used for cooking (herring and other fish fried in butter), butter produced in May (*Maibutter*) was especially highly valued.[90] However, it should be noted that butter duty was not a usual one among the duties in kind collected from Livonian peasants. It was introduced by Swedes along with the cheese duty, which was first introduced in Western Estonia and in Vidzeme (in the 17th century).[91]

Meat of domestic animals – pork and chicken – with bread was a staple food *when not fasting fasting*, roast of young goat, lamb was popular, as well as dishes made of poultry (chicken, geese). Eggs were eaten in great quantities, they were used in many dishes and were a merchandise on the local market for the most part as well. Like chicken, they are depicted in many medieval manuscripts, but there are no manuscripts with such illustration written in Livonia. However, eggs and chicken are often mentioned in Livonian written historical sources – they were on the lists of traditional duties and were traded in Rīga and in other towns. Roast chicken is depicted often enough in the illustrations of medieval manuscripts, but it was considered a refined and expensive, even aristocratic food. At the end of the 16th century, a prohibition was imposed on serving "yellow" and stewed chicken at weddings[92] in Rīga, regardless of the fact that chicken were undoubtedly consumed in the town. In 1577-1578, for example, a meal served in connection with an outing to the dunking place of a witch included salmon, some other fish, chicken and butter.[93]

Livonian documents mention sausages, smoked meats, salted meats, lard – pork and beef, as well as roast. All part of animals were used – head, ears, stomach, feet etc. Jellies were made. Lard was very import for the preservation of food (it was used as a preservative casing), and to prepare other foods (for example, chicken with bacon and parsley etc., game with bacon, fish with bacon). The basic preservation method of meat was salting. Salt was used for the preservation of meat in Hanseatic towns in the North of Germany and in Livonia. In the 17th century, priest Gubert remarked that Latvian peasants know a way to preserve lard so that it retains its good properties for up to three years, and they store it in corn (in a barn).[94] Livonian documents especially mention salt-cured lard from Saaremaa and Dago island.[95] Lard had various uses in the household and was an important merchandise, exported from Livonia as early as in the 13th century, and later too, including the 16th century.

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[90] Wiegelmann, G. Thesen und Fragen zur Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum. In: Wiegelmann, G., Mohrmann, R. *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum.* Münster, New York, 1996. pp. 1-22, hier. – p. 13.
[91] Лиги, Х. М. Феодальные повинности эстонских крестьян... pp. 41, 51; Heyde, J. Bauer, Gutshof und Königsmacht... p. 227.
[92] *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna 1593.gadā iespiestais Karaļa pilsētas Rīgas - Vidzemē - godātās rātes atjaunotais kāzu un apģērbu nolikums: tulkojums no agrās jaunaugšvācu valodas un zinātniskie komentāri.* Turaidas muzejrezervāts, 2013, Nr. XIV, p. 16.
[93] 4BdLv Bd.1, p. 254.
[94] *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent..*, p. 241 – *abgeschmoltzene Salack zusieden/abzuschäumen/ und wenn sie kalt worden, wieder auffzugiessen.*
[95] LUB II, 3, No. 219.

Lamb and mutton were used in regions with developed sheep farming, however, sheep were mainly reared for their wool. In the 15th century, various pastes became popular in German towns. There was even a guild of paste makers among the other guilds.

Many medieval recipes of meat and vegetable dishes for the upper classes diverge from the contemporary taste due to the addition of sweet flavour, because at the time of the Crusades, the Arabian custom to prepare meat with sugar and spices – figs, saffron, cinnamon, cloves – was adopted.[96] It is not clear how often the custom to sweeten roast and prepare food by a cookery book was actually adhered to.

Game was traditionally reserved for the nobility, the right to maintain ponds was initially bestowed on the nobility in the 15th-16th century too. Bioarchaeological research data indicates that inhabitants of Livonian towns might have eaten less refined food than the nobility, but their diet included a lot of meat and freshwater fish and was rather balanced regardless. They had better teeth, greater life expectancy, better bones and were not as susceptible to infections as peasants, which is an indication of good diet, high in proteins. According to research, the aforementioned applies not only to inhabitants of large towns, but to those who lived in small towns (Valmiera, Cēsis, Ikšķile etc.) as well. For the most part their diet was the so-called dry land diet.[97] Food stocks included considerable amounts of salt-cured and dried fish, especially salted herring and dried codfish.[98] For example, at Sigulda castle (1451), food stocks along with salted meat included 25 barrels of salted herring, 10 tons of dried codfish, ,1080 redfish, 1,060 roaches, 1,006 dried pike-perches, 1,030 Atlantic herring, 300 dried pikes, 80 bundles of lamprey, 4 barrels of salted sea trout, 1 dish with sturgeons, 8 barrels of salted Atlantic herring and 1,005 *Flackfisch* (sea fish cut into two pieces).[99] A fish duty list of Grobiņa Vogtei (prefecture) from 1560 details, what sea fish was included in the duty collected from local fishermen, as well as its prices.[100] One of the main goods traded by the Hanseatic League was salted herring. The Book of Income and Expenses of Rīga Revenue Board indicates that herring was a part of the pay to workers – stonemasons, low ranking officials, in the 15th–16th century in Rīga, higher ranking officials, in their turn, received a more refined pay and foods – on 2 November 1555 the town a sent to the mayor, according to an old custom – *Wittbrot*, Russian butter and *Puder* (ginger powder or a spice blend[101]), along with a large pike prepared with saffron, almonds and raisins and a roast hare with sugar, lemon, olives and wine. Similar foods are mentioned on 15 February 1556.[102] The Archbishop of Tallinn, during his visit to

[96] *Um die Wurst* .., p. 3.
[97] Zariņa, G. *Latvijas iedzīvotāju paleodemogrāfija 7.g.t.pr. Kr.–1800.g.* Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2009, pp. 100, 105, 142–145.
[98] Dried cod – a traditional food in Kurzeme. Special recipes that resembled those used in the Middle Ages – in the Netherlands
[99] LUB I, 11, No. 160.
[100] Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1557–1560), No. 2579.
[101] Puder also in *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, pp. 45, 83, 96, 103.
[102] *Zwei Kämmereiregister* .., p. 72.

the Church of Saint Nicholas in 1501, was served food made of onions, raisins, pepper and fish.[103] In the 16th century Livonian sources mention that noblemen constructed ponds for growing carps.[104] Salmon was exported or passed in transit to towns in Northern Germany.[105] There is no doubt that fish was consumed not only by townspeople, but by the local non-Germans as well, who prepared them using imported spices.[106]

A typical fasting food prepared from fish and almond milk was the so-called "Food of Jerusalem" **–** a recipe from the manuscript "Das bouch von guoter spîse" (1345–1354), No. 62.: "If you want to make a good dish for the fast, take a perch and put it [the fillet] into thick almond milk[107] and boil it in almond milk. Add sugar. It can be served warm or cold."

Townspeople prepared products for daily consumption locally – each town had a bakers' guild or craft, butchers' guild etc. All Livonian towns, which had adopted Rīga Law (Limbaži, Pärnu, Viljandi, Koknese, Rīga), had their own rural district or march, where townspeople grew their own food and kept livestock.[108] In the 15th century a prohibition was introduced that forbade townspeople to keep livestock in the town proper, on its streets[109]. Towns bought live animals and butchers – usually a separate guild – slaughtered and butchered them. It is believed that consumption of beef and poultry increased in the German speaking towns during the late Middle Ages, in the 14th–15th century. Town council ensured supervision of meat products, severe fines were imposed for selling bad meat. Townspeople bought grain from peasants and it was stored in warehouses in towns for long periods of time. Poultry and vegetables were bought or grown by townspeople.

[103] Sillasoo, U. A. *Cultural History of Food...* p. 322.
[104] The Archbishop of Rīga, for example, writes about rearing carps and ordering juvenile fish from Prussia on 6 December 1539 in Limbaži. (Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1534-1540), No. 1049, 1064).
[105] 1499, Dunsdorfs, E., Spekke, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600*, Daugava, 1964, p. 459.
[106] Fish "generously spiced with pepper" is mentioned as a servants' food in the description about the ruler of Livonian people Kaupo in the book of the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach "Dialogus miraculorum" (1225 – 1226) at the beginning of the 13th century (*Turaida 13.-16. gs. dokumentos.* Compiler V.Stikāne. Rīga, Zinātne, 2014, pp. 24-25)
[107] Almond milk (Latin: amygdalate) was a widely used product. Its preparation is often omitted in medieval manuscripts and books and seems to have been well known: pour hot water over cut almonds, roasted almonds can be used too, and leave to rest for a couple of hours.

[108] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum*, III, No. 218 – the cow pass
[109] In 1412 in Rīga (Zariņa G. *Latvijas iedzīvotāju..* p. 135)

The sweet and spicy flavour of the Middle Ages – sugar, *crude, konfett*

Pepper[110], nutmeg[111], ginger[112], saffron[113] appeared in Livonia as merchants' goods, but were probably used in preparation of sophisticated dishes too. Nuts were brought to Livonia as well – almonds (various use – almond milk, almond flour, marzipan)[114]. Wine products were traded – wine, grape vinegar (*agrest* or vinaigrette)[115], raisins[116]; moreover Roman pepper (*Kümmel*), African pepper (*Paradiskorne*), cardamom, dates, figs from Cyprus, ginger, walnuts, thyme[117], anise, powder of spices[118] etc. were known. In the 13th-15th century, spices were expensive,[119] but they were still available not only to monarchs and nobility, but to wealthier townspeople as well. In the 16th century, the prices on spices dropped significantly and they became increasingly available to population. Merchant Hildebrand Vechinchusen in a letter of 21 October 1411 to his mother-in-law in Rīga writes that he sends her various spices *crude,* but in 1419 he sends *crude* and rice to his wife from Bruges to Lübeck. Brothers Vechinchusen bought ginger and different spices *(crůde*) in Venice – in 1411 for 8000 ducats.[120]

In addition to spices, another important component of medieval food recipes was rice or rice flour, which was well known even to the average inhabitant of a town.[121] Rice was used in Livonian towns too. Rice was known in the territory of Latvia even before the foundation of German towns – it has been found in Asote in the archaeological layer of the 12th century.[122] Rice was very likely a luxury product in the 13th century, whereas later – from the 14th century onward – spices, raisins, dates, figs and rice were not only merchandise, but appeared on the tables of the richest townspeople as a part of their daily meals.[123] Rice was especially important as fasting food and was used as one of the main components in various desserts. Sweet rice with saffron (colourant) and cinnamon appears in German cookery books, and recipes often include rice flour as a binding agent (starch).[124]

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[110] *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, pp. 45, 141; LUB I, 10, No. 320, 606; LUB I, 11, No. 272.
[111] *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, p. 43.
[112] *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, No. 43-47; LUB I, 11, No. 56; LUB II, 2, No. 138; LUB II, 3, No. 734
[113] LUB I, 10, No. 320, 606; LUB II, 1, No. 31, 217, 233, 476, 532, 636, 721. ; LUB II, 3, No. 734.
[114] LUB I, 11, No. 56; LUB II, 2, No. 679.
[115] LUB I, 10, No. 320; LUB II, 3, No. 734.
[116] LUB II, 2, No. 679.
[117] LUB I, 10, No. 626; LUB II, 1, No. 34. LUB II, 3, No. 194, 732.
[118] LUB II, 3, No. 734.
[119] In 1404 in Vienna, for example, in a will an amount of saffron was bequeathed, the price of which equalled the value of a cow (*Um die Wurst ..,* p. 59.)
[120] Stieda, W. (Hg.) *Hildebrand Vechinchusen. Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmanns im 15. Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig: 1921, pp. 67, 76, 239,127.
[121] Schubert, E. *Essen un Trinken im Mittelalter*. 2010. p. 155:
[122] This dating seems questionable due to the fact that it is one of the earliest known to historians in the Hanseatic region, and the earliest finds of rice in German towns are linked to the 13th century. (Sillasoo, U. and Hiie, S. An archaeobotanical approach.., pp. 83–84.)
[123] LUB II, 1, No. 532, 635 etc.
[124] Alsleben, A. Food consumption in the Hanseatic towns of Germany. In: *Medieval Food Traditions in Northern Europe.* Edited by S. Karg. PNM Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History Vol.

There was some trade in sugar in Livonia as well.[125] Town apothecaries were in charge of trade in spices and sugar for a long time. In medieval Europe, sugar was considered a medicine and besides its use in the preparation of luxury dishes it was also used as food for the sick (with rice and almonds). Some dishes were not only made according to special recipes, but their preparation and trade in them depended on privileges that gave one such rights. Marzipan is one such example. Its recipe and components were brought to Europe in the Middle Ages. It was a food of kings and princes. Often various figures were made of marzipan to be presented as luxurious gifts.[126] In time it became available to wealthier townspeople as a medicine (heart sugar, bread for strength (*Herzzucker, Kraftbrot*), which only apothecaries were permitted to make and sell based on special privileges bestowed upon them. However, even at the end of the 16th century consumption of marzipan was a luxury, and, like almond cheese and gilded dishes, it could not be served at weddings of maidservants in Rīga.[127]

Another typical medieval sweet luxury food worth mentioning is the so-called "hand of Christ", which was ascribed healing properties. These sweets, as far as one can discern based on their descriptions, were long strips of melted sugar with additions of violet water, cinnamon or rosewater. Quite often they were also gilded. In the Middle Ages, noblemen came from Western Europe to Prussia and Livonia to take part in the fight against the infidels (Lithuanians), and in 1369, for example, Duke Edward from Gelderland brought with him 46 pounds or approximately 20 kg of such sweets, including crystallised ginger, pine candies and another 10 pounds of fruit jelly.

Apothecaries in Livonian towns, like their colleagues in other Hanseatic towns[128], made luxury sweets, which were also considered a medicine – *Backenkrut, backenkrutt, borstcruth, kruserkurm, ladenkrut, magenkruth*[129]. It was not just the powdered herbs that were considered medicine, but sugar as well. Even more so than honey. Since the time of old Romans and up to the 13th century, honey was the main component used as a preservative for spices or medicinal plants.[130] Honey was

12. Copenhagen, 2007, pp. 13–38, here – p. 23. In Braunschweig, finds that confirm the presence of rice date back to the 14th–15th century. It should be noted that starch in Livonia was made from winter wheat too – *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent.*., p. 242.

[125] There are mentions of sugar as early as from the 14th century. *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, 71, 72 (Zuckerkadit); LUB I, 11, No. 56; LUB II, 1, No. 21 (*suckerkadnit*), 31(*klensucker*), 233, 636 etc.

[126] Did the recipe of marzipan come from the Middle East or from Ancient Rome where figurines made of marzipan were popular as offerings to gods? See Arens, F. Die ursprungliche Verwendung gotischer Stein- und Tonmedel mit einem Verzeichnis der Model in mittelrheinischen Museen. In: *Meinzer Zeitschrift 66.* 1971. pp. 106-131; Eiselen, H. (Hg) *Gesammelte Aufsätze und Studien zur Brotgeschichte und Gebäckkunde* (1940-1999) Ulm. 2000. etc.

[127] *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna*, No. VI, p. 22.

[128] For example, in Braunschweig – Arends, D., Schneider, W. *Braunschweigwe Apothekenregister 1506-1673.* Braunschweig, 1960, p. 78. There is a mention that the term "*Backenkrutt*" was used in the council's pharmacies as a common designation at the end of the 15th century, but seldom later, since each product was promoted on its own.

[129] For example, LUB II, 3, No. 734,

[130] Sugar cane – cultivated by humans, possibly originated in Southern China, but cultivated on a comparatively large scale in India in the time of ancient Greeks and Romans, and in the Middle Ages (Dalbu, A. *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices.* Los Angeles: Berkeley, 2000. pp. 26-27)

a merchandise[131], but it seems as though sugar was more important for long-distance trade in the 14th-16th century. One may assume that Livonian "*Backenkrut*" was a common designation for confectioneries known in other European countries too. Luxury sweets were also called *Konfect*, Latin – *electuarim,* and among them were crystallised spices with icing, sweet spice powder, syrup, candied fruit jelly, pastries with spices. *Krüde* is mentioned in Livonian Knights' Law (Livonisches Ritterrecht)[132], but it was prepared by apothecaries in towns, and towns' accounts books contain records that it was served to distinguished guests. It should be noted that Straupe was an intermediate stop on such journeys to the meeting of classes of the entire Livonia (the territory of today's Latvia and Estonia), which took place in towns that could be reached within a similar amount of time from different directions – Valmiera, Valka. Delegates from Rīga in the curia of townspeople (councilmen, mayors of Rīga) used to stay in Straupe on their way to the Landtag (possibly on a regular basis). On one such occasion on 8 September 1438, several of them stayed there overnight on their way to Valka and probably enjoyed some fine meals. Despite the fact that *Backenkrut* was reserved for feudal lords for the most part, in the 15th–16th century, inhabitants of small towns could offer it to the patricians from Rīga or vice versa – Rīga presented it as a gift to its cooperation partners – towns located farther inland, and sent wine to the mayor of Straupe[133]. At the end of the 16th century (luxury regulation of 1593) this food was given away at weddings of Rīga townspeople.[134] The product seems to have become freely available to almost any social class due to the increasing availability of sugar. In the 16th century sugar became more and more available mainly thanks to Portuguese, who began growing sugar cane on the Madeira island; new spice trade routes were discovered after the expedition of Vasco da Gama (in 1498).[135]

In the 14th century, special luxury treats were enjoyed at the papal court in Avignon. They were bought from apothecaries. These sweets were also called comfits (*drageae*), *species confectae*, and were bought as accompaniment to a drink *nectar*. It is likely that these candies consumed by the Pope were crystallised fruit, jellies or sugar candies, with rosewater and fennel water and anise used in their preparation. They were served on special platters – *massapanes* – stone pine tree plates, scented with the essence of cinnamon flowers. Sometimes Pope Clement VI bought *konfect* at tremendous prices and in large quantities (1,445 kg, or 7 tons of *konfett* in 1344/45). The papal curia bought ginger, pine nuts, lemon juice, special royal coriander, gilded pistachios too, for the most

[131] In Livonia LUB I, 11, No. 75, 160, 321, 580 LUB II, 2, No. 532, 630, 679.
[132] Bunge F.G. *Altlivlands Rechtsbücher*. Leipzig, 1879, p. 160, Art. 3. :
[133] In 1420/1421 the town of Rīga sends wine of 5 shillings worth to the mayor of Straupe (LUB I, 5, No. 2521 (MMDXXI), sends wine, beer, *krude* to inland towns too.
[134] *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna*, No. V, p. 14.
[135] Sugar was known to the ancient Greeks (i.e. they wrote about its existence). Persians began to use sugar on a wider scale around the 7th century. Later Arabs cultivated it in Europe as well, and merchants from Venice acquired their wealth by maintaining a monopoly over trade in sugar. Arabs introduced sugar cane to Sicily as early as the 13th century, Portuguese started to cultivate it on the Madeira island and on Cyprus in the 15th century.

part around Christmas and during the month of Easter.[136] Up to the 19th century characteristics of this product have remained among the components of *Latwerge* (*Latwäre)*: a sweet dish with the texture of plum jam or syrup-like boiled fruit juice or a kind of marmalade. It could have been similar to the product, which was attributed miraculous healing and strengthening properties, – theriac (*Theriak*), described by ancient Romans, later by the monks of Lorsch's monastery (in 795), Avicenna (in 1030), Hildegard of Bingen (died in 1179) and physicians of the 15th century in numerous books of medicinal recipes. It should be noted that the list of foodstuffs distributed among heirs to a manor in Livonian Knights' Law includes a product called *lactuaria*, probably, meaning the Latin name for *Latwerge – electuarium.* [137]

Names found in documents from the time of Livonia – *Konfect* – are used to denote a treat, sweet delicacy (?) (on 5 July 1449 – at the reception for the Archbishop of Rīga[138], in 1448 – a meal for the Master of the Livonian Order in Tallinn, a meal during the visit of the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Rīga in 1530).[139] At the end of the 16th century, these were already served at a wedding feast of Rīga townspeople, where *confect* and *Brustkrut*[140] *was consumed.* It is hard to tell, in what way *confect* and *crude* in Rīga differed from *Brustkrut*, but both names are used simultaneously in the 14th century[141] and in 1515, when feudal lords were served *crude* in Rīga, but in 1555, the council was sent *Brustkrutt*.[142] *Krût, krude* in Middle Low German meant all kinds of spices, but the Law of the town of Lipe of 1385 states, *Krude* is not drunk, it consists of spices and *confect* and is served as an irritant substance accompanying the drink instead. It is not spiced wine, because here it is called *ipenkraß*, or spices added to food, since they are called *tafelcrûde* and have some other names too. [143]

Crude of the Grand Master and ordinary members of the Teutonic Order in the 14th–15th century has been researched by Hartmut Boockmann, who established that in Prussia luxury sweets were crystallised fruit or candied jellies, to which rosewater, fennel water and anise were added too. These treats were very expensive, served to ordinary members of the order (all of whom were of

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[136] Weiß, S. Versorgung des päpstlichen Hofes in Avignon mit Lebensmitteln (1316-1378). *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines mittelalaterlichen Hofes.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 2002. pp. 417-421.

[137] Bunge F.G. Altlivlands Rechtsbücher. Leipzig, 1879, p. 160, Art. 3. : .. *alle spise, de dar de man in siner were hadde.. binamen vlesch, grône edder dröge, smer, smolt, alle gebachen brot, allerlei gedrenke, alle kokenspise, als erweten, bonen, grütte, sennip, vische, heringe, böckinge, stockvisch, botter, cier, kese, alle molken, ölie, zipollen, knuflock, röven, alleb afgebraken ovest, alle krüde, gemalen edder gebraken, honnich, lactuaria, vigen, rosinen, mandeln, riis, [..].*

[138] LUB I, 10, No. 628, pp. 465–470; LUB I, 11, No. 1, 13, 51, 56, 208 (Konfekt, condeccio, confection); No. 56, 335, 489 (krude, krut backen)

[139] Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1525-1534), No. 126, p. 123. – *Konfekt* presented in a large box.

[140] The translator of the document Valda Kvaskova. *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna*, Nr. V, p. 15, 2nd and 3rd footnote. V.Kvaskova believes that *confekt* mentioned here is not related to candies in the modern meaning, instead, it stems from the Latin word *confectum* – to prepare. *Brustkrut* could mean biscuits made with sugar and different spices and served with wine, or biscuits with crystallised fruit.

[141] *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga, Brustkraut pp. 70, 82; Krude – ibid., pp. 40, 43, 45, 46, 82.*

[142] In 1515, the townspeople of Rīga served feudal lords wine, beer, bread and crude. The physician of the Danish King was served dates, ginger, wine (*Zwei Kämmereiregister..,* pp. 214, 72, 219).

[143] Schiller, K. , Lübben, A. *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* Bd. VI, pp. 189-190.

noble origin) only on the evening of All Saints' Day and on St. Thomas day. In the first half of the 15th century, apothecaries delivered tons of *confekt* / *konfect* and *crude* of different kinds to the Grand Master of the Order on a regular basis. Forks, spoons and dishes for the sweets were purchased too. The principal meaning was representation, emphasising hierarchy. Estimates have been made that an ordinary town shoemaker could have bought on his yearly earnings only 75 pieces of *crude*, thus spending all his pay on them.[144] The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order brought with him cartloads of dates, raisins, ginger, spice, *crude* and *konfect* for his own use and to be presented as gifts during his stay in Kaunas in 1408. Lithuanians presented expensive horses, gyrfalcons and other luxury goods as gifts to noblemen. Fine foods and spices were a symbol of power, authority and prestige.[145] Neither German nobility, nor townspeople lived as extravagantly as the grand master, regardless of the fact that dishes used for such medieval luxury treats owned by prosperous townspeople of Lüneburg and other Hanseatic towns have been preserved to our days.

1) Konfekt-fork, 15th century. The Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna. Silver, gold-plating, inv. No. F884.
2) A spoon that can be transformed into a fork, found during archaeological excavations in Cēsis, 16th century drawing (Ill. from the book Quo vadis Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai .Cēsis, 2007. p. 55) and silver dessert fork, end of the 15th century.
3) A small fork decorated with mother of pearl and a knife found in the town of Koknese.16th-17th century. Ill. from the book Latvijas PSR arheoloģija. Rīga, 1974. Table 79

Wealthy Livonians tried to emulate the nobility in consumption of luxury foods; trade in spices and sugar flourished in the 15th century. Hanseatic merchants brothers Vechinchusen, who were mentioned earlier, bought ginger and various spices *(crůde*) from Venice in 1411 for 8,000 ducats and sent them to Livonia as well.[146] One of them indicated in his will in 1406 that he

[144] Boockmann, H. Süβigkeiten im finsteren Mittelalter. Das Konfekt des Deutschordensmeister. In: *Mittelalterliche Texte. Überlieferung - Befunde – Deutungen. Kolloquium der Zentraldirektion der Monumenta Germaniae Historica am 28/29. Juni 1996.* Hg. Von R.Schieffer. Hannover, 1996, pp. 172-188.
[145] Freedman, P.*Food: the History of Taste.* Barrkeley, CA, 2007.
[146] Stieda, W. (Hg.) *Hildebrand Vechinchusen..*, pp. 67, 76, 127, 239.

possessed different silver jugs, large silver plates and a silver *crůdenap* – a dish for sweets.[147] In the 15th century, it is also mentioned, in letters from Lübeck, that trade in spices does not always progress so well and raisins have not been sold out as people in Lübeck do not buy treats as eagerly as before, in Danzig and Novgorod figs and spices remain on shelves for lengthy periods of time in 1416.[148]

It may be assumed that, eventually, the use of spices and sweets spread to all social classes of townspeople and they were consumed not only at wedding feasts. In 1527, an ordinary townswoman in Tallinn was accused of trying to poison her rival in the matters of heart with "*krude*".[149] Several other cases are known, when various accusations were brought up because of improper preparation of spices and medicinal herbs. [150]

Table etiquette

In the late Middle Ages, nobility throughout Europe adopted proper rules of conduct at the table, which originated mainly from France. Rich townspeople sought to follow them as well. Social hierarchy was represented by the "wooden peasants", who used wooden tableware, "clay townspeople", who ate from earthenware, and "metal and glass nobility".[151] The existence of this notion in Livonia is proved by the fact that at the beginning of the early modern period, in 1655, three noblemen and a priest from Straupe testified that Adelhaida Krīdenere from Rozbeķe castle was poor: "she does not eat from copper, nor drink from silver, but uses tableware made of wood and stone."[152]

Tableware was manufactured locally in towns. During the time of the Hanseatic League, lead-glazed earthenware was widely used. Tableware was rather uniform throughout a vast region. Finds everywhere include glasses for vine and beer.[153] Glassware with the German name *Nuppenbecher* is very typical. Wooden tableware was popular in towns too – turned wooden bowls and plates, pewter plates.[154] For fine meals, special bowls were used to wash hands, and one of them was the so-called Hansa finger bowl or plate – copper or brass '*Hanseschale*' – a rather typical find in archaeological explorations of German towns – a shallow bowl, initially (in the 11th–12th century)

[147] Ibid., XXXII, pp. 7, 186, 204.
[148] Ibid., XXXII, pp. 7, 186, 204.
[149] Nottbeck, E. (Hg.) *Die alte Criminalchronik Revals.* Reval, 1884, p. 74.
[150] Ebel, W. *Das Revaler Ratsurteilbuch (Register von addsproken) 1515-1554.* Göttingen, 1952, No. 258: disputes about improperly prepared medicines or blends of spices (*unrechtfertigen falschen kruder*)
[151] *Um die Wurst ..,* p. 11.
[152] *Archiv Katalog des Verbandes der Freiherrn und Grafen von Rosen.* Flensburg: Rosenscher Familienverband, 1977. p. 46. (The document was preserved in Maszstraupe Brieflade, presently in the archive of the Rosen family). Stoneware could also mean pottery – dishes made of stone mass, imported to Livonian towns and castles from Northern Germany.
[153] Naum, M. Material Culture and Diasporic Expiences: A Case of Medieval Hanse Merchants in the Baltic. In: *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 26(1). pp. 72-86.
[154] *Ceļā uz latviešu tautu. On the Road to Becoming Latvian.* Rīga, Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2016, p. 69.

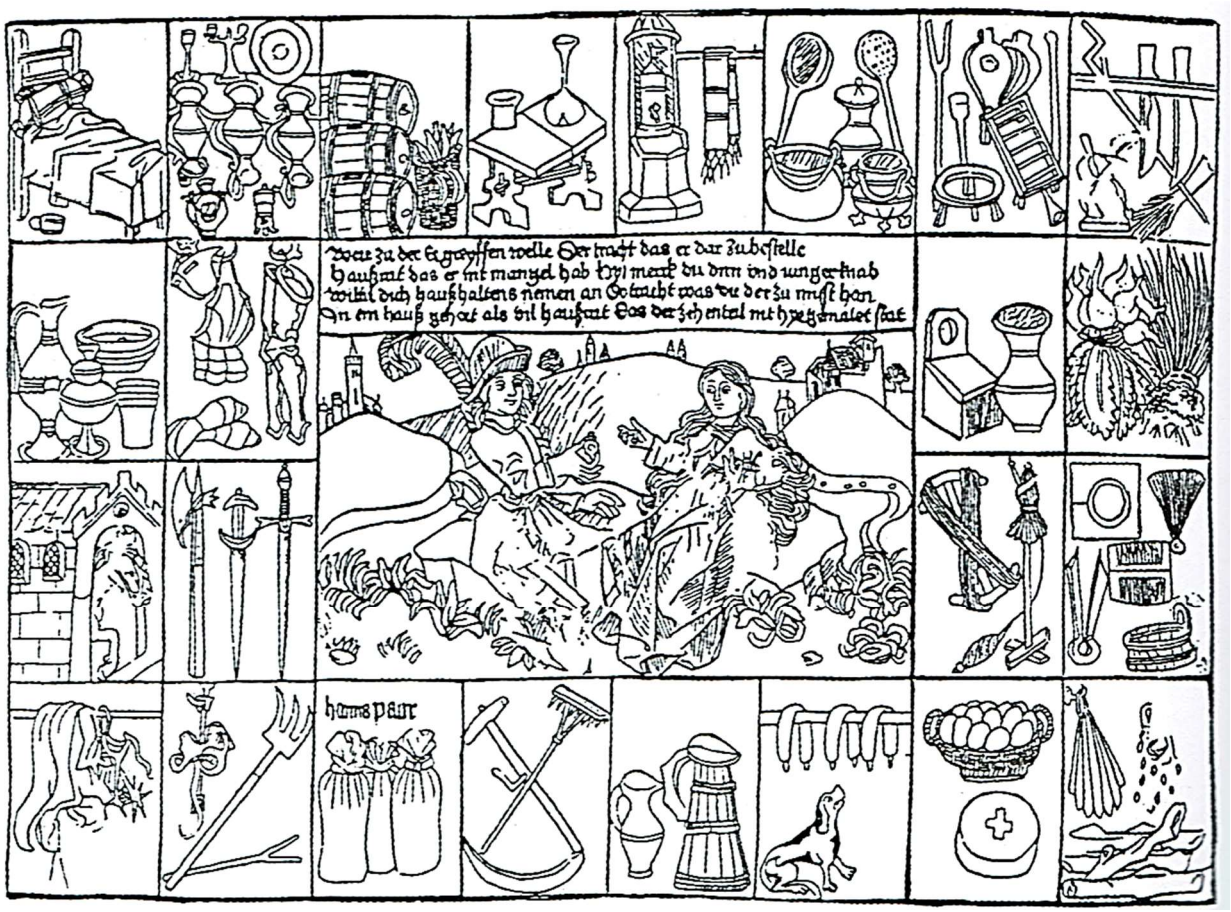
made of tin, later of brass, often decorated with engravings, with a highlighted rim, 25–30 cm in diameter. Locations of their manufacture have been researched in Goslar and Braunschweig. These bowls were also made in Aachen, Cologne, Rhine and Meuse region.[155]

1) The so-called Hansa finger bowl made of bronze. Cologne, the 13th century. Ill. from the book : Schultz, A. Essen und Trinken im Mittelaler (1000-1300): Literarische, kunsthistorische …2011, p. 515, Ill. 84.;
2) Townspeople's Meal. The Netherlands. Oil painting on the face of a clock, a fragment, from around 1490/ 1510. Ill. from http://www.imareal.sbg.ac.at/home/ (Institut für Realienkund des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems)

Pewter dishes and jugs were very widely used by townspeople near the end of the Middle Ages. Pewter plates were used too. Wealthier people had silver cups and other silver tableware.

Each inhabitant of a town had his/her own knife and many carried a spoon with them all the time, often attached to the belt. At the end of the Middle Ages, in the 16th century, townspeople used forks too. These tools could be very simple, made of iron with a wooden handle, or expensive and artistically elaborate. It is very likely that there was a communal knife on the table used to cut off a piece of food and put it into one's mouth. 15th-16th century wills of townspeople mention silver tableware, glass.[156] Even poor townspeople owned some, for example, the will of the maidservant *Meyse* in Tallinn lists several silver spoons as her property.[157] A splendid silver spoon that could be transformed into a fork belonged to a 26-year-old woman, who died in the basement of Cēsis castle, probably during the Russian attack on the town in 1577. She kept this luxurious piece of cutlery in a purse attached to the belt. The purse contained some beads, buttons, brocade ribbons, a ring and a thimble too.[158]

[155] Schultz, A. *Essen und Trinken im Mittelaler (1000-1300): Literarische, kunsthistorische und archäologishe Quellen.* Berlin, Boston, 2011, p. 515.
[156] Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Testamente Revaler Bürger…* No. 10 (1435 – 12 silver spoons, 4 silver wine-cups; No. 24 (1472) – 7 silver spoons and several cups; No. 52 – silver tableware, No. 56; No. 105, No. 107(1511), No. 108 (1512), No. 112 (1516) etc.
[157] Tallinn City Archives, Collection 230 "Tallinn magistraat", Description 1, BN case. Descriptions of townspeople's property upon their death, however, indicate that often the poorest of them actually had only one spoon among their belongings.
[158] Apala, Z. Cēsu pils arheoloģiskās izpētes (1974–2006) materiāli. Book *Quo vadis Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai.* Cēsis, 2007. pp. 55–57.



Household utensils one requires in a married life. Hans Paur woodcut of 1480. From the book Caune, A. Pētījumi Rīgas arheoloģijā. Rakstu izlase. Rīga, 2007, p. 526

Drinks

Large amounts of beer and wine were consumed in towns. Beer was brewed in large quantities. There were brewer guilds in towns, and the valuable beer brewing equipment was passed on from generation to generation (the roasting pan, copper pots etc.). The right to brew and sell beer was awarded as a special privilege to townspeople or particular social groups. The easiest to brew was the small beer (*Dünnbier)* consumed on a daily basis. More expensive beers were imported. For the most part beer was imported to Rīga from Hamburg, Rostock and Wismar. At the beginning of the 16th century the Rīga Expenses' Book contains records of a fruit drink, a ginger beverage and mead (*Meth*)[159]

[159] *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga*, pp. 43, 44, 46; *Zwei Kämmereiregister..,* pp. 43, 21, 44, 46, 206, 211, 213, 214.

There were a lot of different wines and all of them were imported, since grapes were not grown in Livonia. In the 15th-16th century, Rhineland wine, *Klaret* or *clareth* (spiced wine), red wine, Southern wine *romenie or rumeninge*, *malmesie*, and simple or *bastard* wine was used in Livonia.[160]

Distillation of spirits. Ill. from the book Brunschwig, H. Liber der arte distillandi simplicia et composita. Strassbur, 1505.[161]

An increasingly larger part of society acquired the knowledge of the principle of distillation of spirits (vodka) in the Middle Ages. In the 15th century vodka was called the water of life (Latin: "*Aqua Vitae*"), from the 16th century, the same applies to German, in which it was called "*Brennen Wein*". This method of obtaining alcohol was known in Europe since the 12th century. Initially distillation was performed in monasteries[162], later in pharmacies in towns and in alchemists' workshops. Vodka was used as a medicine for many centuries, even regarded as a miracle cure against various ailments. There is information about distillation of vodka in larger quantities in German towns from the 16th century. For example, a special vodka tax was introduced in Osnabrück in 1536. In Livonia, however, it did not occur so early, and in 1545 the Archbishop of Rīga still asked to send him vodka from Prussia.[163] Production of vodka lost its cloak of secrecy at the end of the 16th century and during the 17th century, and the distillation process is described in detail by priest S.Gubert (1645) in Vidzeme. He described the process of producing vodka from rye, wheat, with addition of spices – anise, garden angelica, sweet flag, liquorice, caraway or sugar, honey, nutmeg, cloves, ginger etc. He

[160] In 1530 the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Rīga was sent *claret* – spiced wine with honey, Rhine wine (1 barrel), ginger beverage (3 stone mass mugs) (Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1525–1534), No. 123. Names of wines from LUB I, 10, LUB II, 1-3)
[161] Available at https://books.google.lv/
[162] At Vienna Museum (inv. No. MV 8.876) distillation flasks from the 15th century are preserved, which were used by Waren monastery monks to produce liqueurs.
[163] Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1540-1551), No. 1289.

advised to add saffron or sage to vodka as colourants.[164] But the production of *aqua vitae*, which according to Gubert is also *crudos humores,* seems identical to Paracelsus's and alchemists' recipes using *Ellebori nigri* root and other spices, and is recommended even as a medicine against the plague.[165] Priest Gubert emphasises that vodka is a medicine, not a drink, and pregnant women and children should use it with care.[166] It should be noted that *Spiritus Iuniperi* – genever was used as a medicine in 1631 at Turaida castle.[167] Centuries passed and vodka became very popular in Vidzeme and was produced in great quantities in manors in the 18th–19th century. In the 19th century E.Brēms, the parish physician of Lēdurga, knew to tell that Arabs were the first to discover the method of producing vodka and they still consider it a blessed medicine, not a drink.[168]

Food in towns and rural areas. The matter of eating habits at the time of the Hanseatic League and traditional Latvian cuisine.

In towns, human beings were isolated from the world of nature. They created their own culture separated from the rural society by stone walls, its own law, daily habits and the pace of life that did not depend solely on nature and seasonal changes.[169] In the time of Livonia, which coincided with the period of the Hanseatic League, in the 14th–16th century, an ethnic barrier existed too – Germans and non-Germans ate and dressed differently. But they had some things in common. These common things were staple foods of that time, foodstuffs and drinks available during different seasons. Another thing they must have had in common was their attitude towards daily consumption of food and feasts, since peasants and townspeople alike regarded festive meals as something special, something long anticipated that one had to prepare for long before. In medieval towns, whose inhabitants were religious people, this contrast was emphasised by long fasts, interspersed with splendid and rich feasts with special festive foods.

Rye bread and various bakery products that were made of wheat and related to the calendar cycle, as well as special feasts were characteristic of the traditional cuisine of Vidzeme up to the beginning of the 20th century.

I made a loaf of bread
With four corners,
As an offering
To the mummers (Latvian: ķekatas). Latvian folk song 14 161

[164] *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent.*., p. 229ff.
[165] Ibid., pp. 233-234.
[166] Ibid., p. 235.
[167] Minutes of Rīga Land Court in the case of accusations in witchcraft against a peasant from the Lēdurga neighbourhood of the Turaida castle district, Laks Mārtiņš brought by Kike Mārtiņš, on 22 September 1631. Latvia State Historical Archives. Collection 110 "Rīgas zemes tiesa" (Rīga Land Court), Description 3, Case 1.
[168] Brēms, E.V. *Padomi priekš Vidzemes ļaudīm, kā no niknām sērgām un grūtām vājībām būs izsargāties.* Riga, 1843, p. 50.
[169] Makenna T. *Pišča bogov.* Moskva, 1995. 91

Latvian folk songs emphasise a festive meal related to the turn of the season:

I had not eaten goat-meat / The entire year;

At last I had goat-meat / On Ķekatas evening. Latvian folk song 14 066. In Northern Germany Christmas was called "Vullbuuksobend or Vollbauchabend" – the evening of the full belly. A common theme for many nations is pig's happiness, which also means a belly full of pork, and is even used to denote the Christmas evening in Moravian dialects. At Christmas, the fast was broken and, like on other similar occasions, a meal of meat induced a festive feeling. Special culinary preparations were made –Easter ham and cake are mentioned even in Straupe in 1585[170].

Traditional dishes of Vidzeme suit well the "medieval flavour", even if rich townspeople at the time of the Hanseatic League loved expensive foreign spices too, which are not very characteristic of the traditional Latvian cuisine.[171] Typical medieval dishes of the Hanseatic region, which are still an important part of Latvian cuisine, like rye bread, bread with salted butter and hemp dishes have already been mentioned. The traditional dishes of Vidzeme go back a very long way – "koča", "ķūķis"(porridge made of pearled grains with bacon and onions, which was usually prepared at Christmas); sour porridge, flat bread, bacon buns, grey peas with bacon, roasted peas, "sutnes", "sutņi" or kama (boiled, roasted and ground grain, which is then steamed and dried, afterwards ground, and later used as gruel with milk).[172] It should be mentioned that grey peas with bacon were a traditional Carnival dish (before the Lent) in Schleswig-Holstein. They are also called Capuchins' peas (*Graue Arfen mit Swiensback, Kassler und Kokswust).*[173] Medieval cookery books contained recipes for spiced mash peas with almond, cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger and honey (the so-called heathen or Arabian peas), as well as recipes that remind us very closely of Latvian cuisine, like "Bohemian peas" from Philippine Welserin's cookery book "*De re coquinaria*" (1545)[174] : "If you want to make good Bohemian peas and a good meat sauce, take a large pot and cover it with a towel to keep the steam inside. Let the peas steam until they are soft. Then grind them well with the grinding stone. Afterwards put them through a sieve and mix thoroughly with the meat sauce, which should not be too thick, because it will get thicker in the process of stewing. And then stew them well. Afterwards take fresh bacon, boil it and when it is well boiled, cut it into fine little pieces, but not too small, they should not dissolve; put them into hot lard and roast them stirring a couple times, then take them out of the lard and put in the middle of the plate on the peas". It should be mentioned that at the end of the 18th century, when the first cookery books were published in

[170] VSVA, p. 299. In 1585, Nandelstads who had come from Koknese served as a priest in Straupe and was due a ham and a cake at Easter along with other pay.
[171] See Dumpe, L. (comp). *Latviešu tautas ēdieni*. Rīga, 2009.
[172] The aforementioned dishes from Vidzeme are particularly singled out in the work of Signe Meirāne (Meirāne, S. *Mūsu mantojums.* R., 2016.)
[173] The recipe was written down for the first time in the cookery book written by Sofija Vilhelmīne Šaiblere in the 18th century.
[174] The manuscript of the cookery book by Philippine Welserin is preserved in Ambras Castle, which today is a part of Austria, Inv. No. PA 1473. The number of the recipe is 135.

Latvian, they continued the tradition of German cookery books of adding different spices to dishes of peas, for example, “Sieved peas soup with roasted bacon and low juneberry fruits”.[175]

Our "bukstiņputra" (barley-potato stew) has deep roots too, even if a traditional component of this stew nowadays is the potato, which was not known at the time of the Hanseatic League. However, historically porridges were very varied and prepared from various products. In the 18th century, German physician and scientist Rosinus Lentilius wrote that peasants in Vidzeme tend to eat lightly ground buckwheat porridge, barley porridge, both made with milk, curdled milk more often, and porridges are served in wooden tableware. They also eat gruels and various root vegetables. [..] They make and eat a dish they call *soost*. It is jokingly told that foreigners who have once tasted this food, are very reluctant to leave the country, and once gone they suffer from an exquisite longing to return there. [..] This dish is in a way a mixture of different things, for example, lamb gammon and small intestines, dried eels, flounder, herrings, turnips and I do not know what else, and it is all boiled in milk. One might think that this is neither fish nor fowl, oysters mixed with fieldfare, but it does not smell bad and actually tastes very good.[176]

PRODUCTS RECOMMENDED FOR STRAUPE HANSA MARKETS

The daily diet of medieval townspeople was very similar to the traditional Latvian cuisine, which was identified at the end of the 19th century and was used up to the middle of the 20th century, except for potatoes. Peas with bacon, bacon buns, rye bread and other bakery products made of rye flour, honey cakes[177], beer and cheese, sausages, smoked meats etc. all are medieval food. Seasonal produce and meat consumption in medieval German towns resonate with Latvian customs related to changes of seasons at Mārtiņi (Martinmas), Meteņi (Shrove Tuesday), Jāņi (St. John’s Day or Midsummer) etc., because they all have their roots in medieval Catholic Church and its calendar of fasts and feasts.

In German towns and rural regions, as well as in Latvian towns, many traditions were forgotten or changed, but Latvian peasants observed their customs for a long time, up to the 19th century. For preparation of medieval food of the Hanseatic region, produce of simpler species of cultivated plants should be chosen, which are not the result of breeding efforts of the end of the 20th century, nor cultivated plants that have been adopted for farming in Latvia at the end of the 20th or even in the 21st century. One should avoid products that were brought to Europe as a result of discovery of America, or be able to tell customers that in the middle of the 16th century very modern, new crops

[175] Harders, K. Tā pirmā pavāru grāmata no vāces grāmatām pārtulkota. Jelgava, 1796., p. 35.
[176] Fragments of a translation of Rozins Lentilijs writings in Latin from the 18th century: Radiņš, A. *Arheoloģisks ceļvedis latviešu un Latvijas vēsturē.* Rīga, 2012. p. 418.
[177] Preparation of the honey cake – the whites of the eggs are added to whipped honey and it is all mixed again. Then flour, cinnamon, cloves and baking soda are added to the mixture and it is kneaded thoroughly. Then it is put into a cake mould and baked.

and animals were introduced – the common bean, pumpkin, corn, tomatoes, which were called "Apples of Paradise", turkey etc. Potato, however, was introduced later – at the beginning of the 19th century in Latvia.

Today's traditional medieval Christmas markets are inconceivable without gingerbread, mulled wine, marzipan figurines, pralines, which were among products used in towns at the time of the Hanseatic League. Medieval food was often decorated and dyed with colourants. A number of medicines used in folk medicine or homeopathy today were used in the Middle Ages and thus could be traded in such markets. Nowadays such medieval luxury foods as candied fruit jelly or biscuits with spices/ medicinal herbs will surprise no one, but it would be interesting to try caraway seeds toasted in honey or sugar.

A peculiarity of Straupe, even a unique occurrence in the region is dating 23 December with Saint Victoria's name, which could be used to give a new name to a traditional treat, for example, **Saint Victoria's gingerbreads**. A document made in Straupe in 1535 is dated – *am dage Vycktoria junkfrawen* i.e. on 23 December or 24 April. No other document in Livonia is dated with the feast day of this saint, and the cult of Saint Victoria was not popular in Livonia or in other Hanseatic towns.

Saint Victoria from Rome (Vittoria in Italian) is a Christian saint, whose legend is related to the persecution of Christians during the reign of Roman Emperor Decius, although it is more likely that the historical roots of the legend stretch to the reign of Roman Emperor Diocletian in the 3rd century. Victoria had a sister named Anatolia. Their marriage to two noble Roman men was arranged, however, Anatolia convinced her sister that they should dedicate themselves to God. Victoria sold her dowry, gave all money to the poor and refused to marry. Their prospective grooms denounced them and arranged their imprisonment until they would agree to marry. But the sisters remained steadfast and converted their servants and guards to Christianity as well. Anatolia was soon sentenced to death, but Victoria's groom Eugenius tried for years to convince her and kept her captive, but in the end he had to return her to the authorities. Under prefect Julian's orders, Victoria was tortured and killed with a stab to her heart. Her executioner Liliarcus was immediately struck by leprosy and died six days later an awful death – eaten by worms. Victoria was supposedly buried to the West of Monteleone Sabino in the church of Santa Vittoria. Both sisters appear in a 6th century mosaic in a church at Ravenna, and nowadays the Catholic feast day of the saint is celebrated on 10 July, Orthodox feast day – on 23 December.

Why does the name of the saint appear in Straupe and is the date related to the Orthodox feast day? It could mean that a merchant or a councilman from Straupe originally hailed from those rare places in Germany, to which Saint Victoria's cult had spread, or that merchants had close trade relations with Orthodox Russian towns – like Peter Nowogordenn, who is mentioned in the document that mentions Saint Victoria. Based on this, one could look for ideas in the Orthodox cuisine, especially for the cycle of fasting food. Just like in German towns, Old Russians living at their trade centres prepared treats with abundance of spices, and made "prjaņiki" gingerbreads similar to

German gingerbreads.[178] The contemporary gingerbreads originate in Southern Germany in the 16th century at the latest. Initially honey cakes from dough mixed with spices and herbs were made in monasteries and in pharmacies in towns, later in the 13th–14th century – in towns too. The craft was further developed in towns. Gingerbreads became popular, and guilds of ginger bread bakers appeared. To this day, the most famous are Nuremberg gingerbreads *Lebkuchen*, which have a protected designation of origin. The cookery book of Sabina Welserin, published in Augsburg in 1553, contains several recipes of gingerbreads, one of them is "**How to make good gingerbread": "**First take a pound of[179] sugar, a quarter of the light honey, take a whole quarter of flour, 5 lots of cinnamon rolls, 3 lots of cloves, 4 lots of ground cardamom. Grind the rest of the spices thoroughly. Add ginger and sugar to honey and let it simmer, then put flour into a trough, mix in cardamom first, then ginger and other spices. Knead the dough and then flatten it a little. Bake carefully!"

Nuremberg GingerBreads (Lebkuchen) Baker. Ill. from Bavarian State Library, 1520 Handschrift Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg Amb. 279.2°, Folio 11, available at http://nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/75-Amb-2-279-11-v/data.

A recipe of gingerbread was published in the book written by Suntaži and Mālpils priest S.Gubert (1645/49) in German – a mixture of gingerbread and vodka is recommended as a medicine for liver diseases: "Take honey and melt it, stir and remove foam, when it has liquified, remove it from the hearth. Add well-sieved rye flour, which has been warmed up to room temperature on a winter day, and stir well until the substance reminds thick porridge. Knead the lumps and store it in a cold place overnight. On the next day, knead it thoroughly, add ground ginger, cinnamon, pieces of bitter orange, anise, cardamom. Afterwards take a sheet of paper, grease it with butter, place the

[178] *Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual,* p. 81 – Russian word 'prepranik' is translated in Middle Low German as 'peperkokenn'.
[179] In olden times in Rīga one pound was equivalent to 418.8 g, one lot in Lübeck – 15.2 g.

dough in flat pancakes on it and put into the oven. Gingerbread can be put in the oven only after the bread is baked. It can be done, if the oven is good. If you want them baked, you need to know the characteristics of the oven. The oven must be preheated to the right temperature". [180]

One could use **cherries** to create a traditional product with a new name, since they have been grown in Straupe. In the 17th century cherries were grown at Straupe Manor as evidenced by records of a witch trial: In 1675 the supervisor of Lielstraupe Manor carried with him salt treated by a witch, but lords still ordered him flogged for allowing birds to eat cherries.[181] Regardless of the fact that there are no written records from earlier centuries, cherries were cultivated during the Middle Ages and used in cakes, compotes, syrups and marmalades in the form of dried fruit etc. Cherries were brought to Europe from the Middle East. They were known to Romans who brought them to England and other provinces in Europe. Romans valued them highly and a recipe of cherries preserved in honey is included in the cookery book Apicius. In the Middle Ages, cherries were grown in monasteries and in townspeople's gardens, but some cases are known of their mass production for sale. Medieval cookery books recommended the use of cherries in fruit purées, pies and drinks. Cherries were particularly appreciated in German lands. *Tacuinum Sanitatis* names two types of cherries – sweet cherries (*Cerasia dulcia*) and sour cherries (*Cerasia acotosa*). Their properties are cold and moist, therefore dangerous for the belly, but boiling and adding wine negates those bad effects. In Middle Low German, [sour] cherries were known as *Wisselbere, Wisselbôm*,[182], but sweet cherries were cultivated in German lands too. In Russia, cherries are mentioned in written sources from the 11th century, they were introduced to Northern regions as cultivated plants in the 15th century. According to 16th century sources, in Livonia, cherries were cultivated on the territory of Estonia – in the orchard of Kudina manor to the North of Tartu – apples, plums, cherries in the 16th century. Cherry stones have been found in Tartu[183]. Latvians in Vidzeme called cherries "ķezberes" for a long time, and Latvian peasants started to cultivate them in their own gardens only in the 19th century.[184]

II. Clothing at the time of the Hanseatic League

Priest Ziegler writes about Rīga townspeople at the end of the 16th century: "Many people seem to find the greatest delight in wearing splendid clothing. They strive incessantly to obtain it. And it seems to them that if they dress like peacocks, they will be happy and nobody will equal them. Should anyone invent a new fashion [..], regardless of its absurdity and strangeness, there will always be people who will ape it. And the stranger and spookier such fashion will be, the more the

[180] *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstuden..t*, pp. 235-236.
[181] Straubergs, K. *Latviešu buramie vārdi. Vol. 1*. R., 1939, p. 76.
[182] Schiller, K. , Lübben, A. *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch. Bd. 5: U-Z*. Bremen, Verlag von J. Kühtmanns, Buchhandlung, 1880, p. 744.
[183] Sillasoo, U. A Cultural History of Food.
[184] Cigra, J. H. *Tas ābolu dārznieks jeb pilnīga*…p. 112.

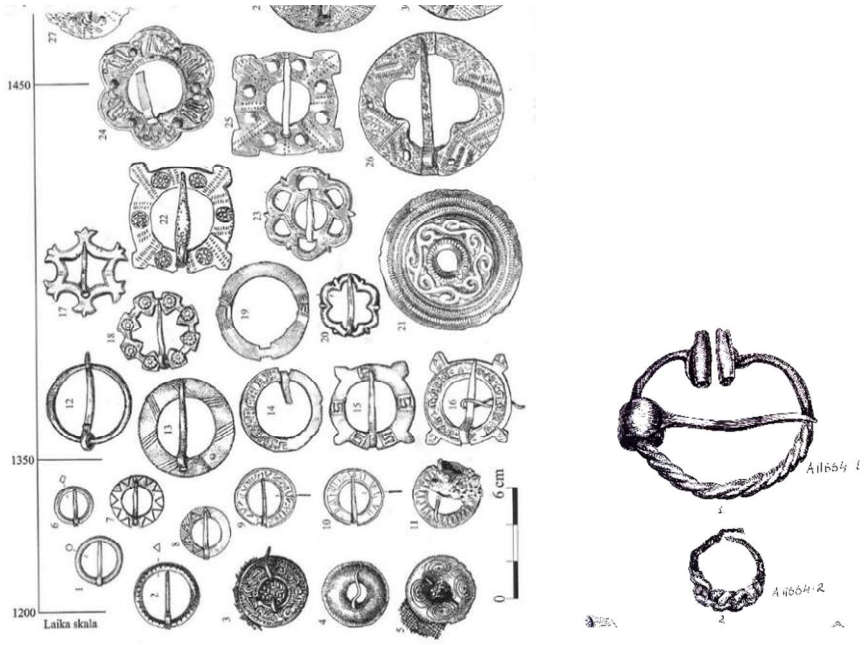
contemporary [..] dazed world will love it." The hunger of townspeople of that time for luxury could have passed Straupe by taking into account that it prospered in the second half of the 14th century – the beginning of the 16th century, which coincided with the time of flourish of the Hanseatic League.

In an effort to determine clothing that could have been worn in Straupe at the time of the Hanseatic League, one must take into account that historical sources about Straupe and Livonia in general are scarce and incomplete on this matter. And they have not been researched to a sufficient extent, based on different types of evidence. Physical evidence of townspeople's clothing is scarce – no authentic costumes have been preserved and there is no archaeological evidence. In the Middle Ages, townspeople in contrast to indigenous people, who buried their dead in their finest clothing with jewellery[185], were buried in a linen sheet or sack without any funerary gifts. Written sources on clothing in the largest Livonian towns are very fragmented – they provide information about the diversity of fabrics traded[186], raw materials for textiles, names of items of clothing and jewellery in different contexts, for example, in the charter of the tailors' guild etc. However, this information has not been summarised and thus does not allow for a reconstruction of a costume of a Livonian townsman/townswoman. [187]

Research performed to date, however, indicates that clothing of German merchants and craftsmen in the Hanseatic region was similar to that in Livonia, Prussia and Northern Germany, except for some local influences. With regard to names of jewellery and, likely its its appearance as well, an example of a local variation is the masterpiece that had to be made to obtain membership in the guild of jewellers founded in Rīga in 1513. It was a brooch that was not called the typical German name *Handtruw*, but *Bresze*, which, in the opinion of linguists, seems to be a loanword from Finno-Ugric languages.[188] Use of various types of brooches was typical for a wide region. Brooches were used to fasten men's and women's outerwear.[189] The masterpiece of Rīga goldsmiths was the same as in Lübeck – a ring, a brooch and a black engagement brooch (*handtruwe breze geblackmalet*) decorated with gold.[190] Brooches were the one element that was common in the clothing of Livonian townspeople and peasants – townswomen wore brooches of gold or cheap circle brooches or the so-called Hansa brooches found in archaeological excavations in the territory of Latvia in rural cemeteries from the second half of the 14th century. They could be decorated with a depiction of

[185] Ethnographic and archaeological history of clothing is available in research papers of I.Žeiere, M.Slava, A.Zariņa, archaeologists V.Muižnieks, A.Radiņš, A.Vijups etc.
[186] For example, LUB I, 11, p. 751 – a list, which names over 20 types of fabrics traded in Livonia.
[187] See the research paper of A. Speke, M. Taube, I. Līne. Medieval burial practices in Estonian towns researched by Valk, H. Artefacts in Estonian urban Churchyards: Reflections on different Traditions and Ideologies. In: *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa 1000-1660. Einflußnahme – Rezeption – Wandel*. Hg. Von D. Kattinger, J.E. Olesen, H. Wernicke. Schwerin, 2005, pp. 103-112.
[188] See Lindskog-Wallenburg, G. *Bezeichnungen für Frauenkleidungstücke und Kleiderschmuck im Mittelniederdeutschen*. Berlin, 1977., p. 219.
[189] See, for example, http://www.mittelalterliche-kleidung.com/gewandungen-glossar/
[190] Mettig, C. *Zur Geschichte der Rigaschen Gewerbe im 13.und 14.Jahrhundert*. Riga 1883, pp. 4-5.

joined hands (*handtruwe* – the symbol of engagement) or with pious inscriptions (AVE MARIA etc.) [191]



1) *Medieval circle brooches found in peasants' cemeteries. Ill. from the book Muižnieks, V. Bēru tradīcijas Latvijā pēc arheoloģiski pētīto 14.-18. gadsimta apbedīšanas vietu materiāla. Rīga, 2015, p. 128.*
2) *Antiques found at Baukalns near Straupe – a horseshoe brooch and a ring. Ill. from the Depository of Archaeological Materials of the Institute of Latvian History, number on the pre-documentation list 1645 Collection No. 201, 45. Baukalns, 1976.*

In the 13th century, following Christianisation, new developments appeared in the clothing of indigenous people, probably as a result of the influx of German craftsmen and townspeople. For example, more and more often, mantles varied visually and technically from the previous historical period: wool and linen chequered or woven in stripes using the three-shaft tick technique.[192] They could have been made on the horizontal loom in artisans' workshops in towns.

It should also be noted that Germans in Livonia used fabrics woven by the locals – the craft of the linen weaver in Rīga was mainly performed by Latvians, but in 1560, in Grobiņa, a "Latvian fabric" (*Lettisch Tuch*) is mentioned among peasants' duties.[193]

In the vicinity of Straupe, several burial fields, where the dead were buried until the 13th century, have been explored by archaeologists and the research shows that for the most part Livs were buried in Pūricas burial field in Lielstraupe and in Zvejnieki burial field in Mazstraupe[194]. Written

[191] Muižnieks, V. *Bēru tradīcijas Latvijā pēc arheoloģiski pētīto 14.-18. gadsimta apbedīšanas vietu materiāla.* Rīga, 2015, pp. 135–138; Nanchen M. German Influences and Native Survivals in Northern Courland between the XIIIth and XVIIth Centuries. Some Artefacts from Burial Grounds as an Example. In: Klammt, A., Rossignol, S.(hg.) *Mittelalterliche Eliten und Kulturtranfer östlich der Elbe. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Archäologie und Geschichte im mittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa.* Göttingen. 2009, pp. 193-204.
[192] *Ceļā uz latviešu tautu…*, pp. 81-82, reconstruction at Valmiera Museum
[193] Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1557-1560), No. 2580.
[194] *Ceļā uz latviešu tautu..*, p. 16.

sources, on the other hand, indicate that Livs and Latvians inhabited the area around Straupe in the Middle Ages.[195] The Baukalns cemetery was explored in 1976 as part of small scale excavations, and several burials from the 16th century were found with rather typical decorations of peasants' costumes – horse shoe brooches, glass beads, a necklace made of beads and little bells, cowrie shells, pewter and lead adornments for clothing.[196]

Artisans, who made jewellery and accessories for peasants, provided connection between townspeople and peasants, i.e. between local customs and peculiarities of the local dress. In Livonian towns it was usual for non-Germans to make jewellery and clothing accessories for peasants. On the territory of Livonia, jewellery was of great importance in the dress of all ethnic groups, since fabrics were dyed using natural dyes, and such jewellery – bright and providing a contrast to the monochrome fabric – was very popular.

Earlier jewellery was made of bronze, whereas, in the 14th–16th century, pewter and lead rosettes were used to decorate edges of clothing.

1) A replica of a non-German woman's dress, 13th–14th century, the edge of the mantle is decorated with glass beads and pewter rosettes. 2016. Ill. from LNKC (Latvian National Centre for Culture).[197]
2) A replica of a 14th century mantle made of chequered wool-blend fabric (Valmiera Museum). From the book Ceļā uz latviešu tautu.., p. 82.

[195] Auns, M. Turaidas un Krimuldas pilsnovadu…, pp. 53-58.
[196] Apals,J. Apala, Z. Āraišu arheoloģiskās ekspedīcijas darbs 1976.gadā. *Materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu 1976.gada ekspedīciju darba rezultātiem.* Rīga, 1977, pp. 7–8.
[197] http://www.lnkc.gov.lv/galerijas/281116-kalendars-un-planotajs-dienradis-2017-/#5369

1) Moulds used for casting pewter adornments. Ill. from the book Muižnieks, V. Bēru tradīcijas Latvijā …p. 197.
2) Varieties of pewter rosettes in medieval burials in the territory of Latvia. Ill. From the book Ceļā uz latviešu tautu…, p. 84.
3) Pewter rosettes from the Old Town of Tartu. Ill. from Mäesalu, A. Das Handwerk in der Stadt Tartu vom 13.bis 16. Jahrhundert. In: Lübeker Kolloquium. 2006, p. 475. Pewter adornments for clothing from the 15th century found in the church of Winterthur town, Switzerland. Ill. from http://www.are.zh.ch.

According to written sources, the influence of indigenous people on artisanship in towns was most prominent in Tallinn, where jewellers and jewellery dealers – *ettekenmekere* (from Estonian Ehe – an adornment) were for the most part Estonians, Germans and Swedes too. These craftsmen were later called „*Pistelmaker*" – brass masters, pewter casters, who also sold the jewellery[198]. Men and women working as jewellers (at least five female jewellers paid duties to the town of Tallinn in the first half of the 14th century) manufactured various types of brass or low quality silver rosettes and pendants for decoration of clothing.[199] One did not have to possess the skills of a smith to make them and a considerable number of moulds for casting various small pewter and lead adornments for clothing have been found in towns and castles of Livonia, including Cēsis, Tartu, Rīga.[200] Written sources provide information about production of various accessories as well. In Rīga, the craft of belt makers and jewellers (*breeszmaker*) was established in 1513. There was also the craft of dealers in "Russian goods" (belts, non-German jewellery etc.) (rules of 1569). Crosses, combs and women's purses were produced by non-German merchants, but sheep shears were produced by German merchants. In Tartu, seven jewellers (*pistelmaker*) acquired the rights of citizens in 1544, and three more silversmiths and five goldsmiths worked there at the time. There was one "pistelmeker" in Uus-Pärnu in 1553 – the non-German Jakob.

Glass beads were commonly used to decorate clothing and make jewellery for non-German women. The widespread use of yellow beads is due to the fact that glass beads were produced in Rīga as early as at the beginning of the 14th century. Blue, yellow, green and brown ring beads were

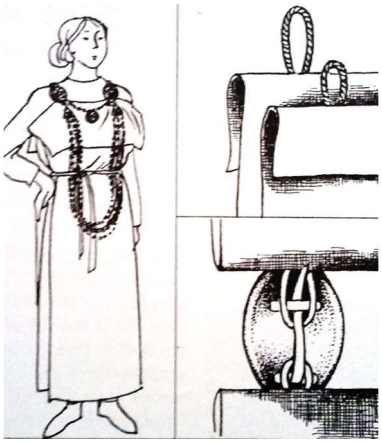
[198] In 1459, the guild of jewellers was established and it was given a joint guild charter with beltsmiths approved by the town council.
[199] During the first half of the 16th century, restrictions were imposed upon Estonian jewellers and jewellery sellers in Tallinn in the form of a double increase of the rent for a trading place for non-Germans – it went up from 6 to 12 marks. For German haberdashers the rent amounted to mere 4–5 marks a year.
[200] For example, in Rīga: Caune, A., Ose, I. Archäologische Erkenntnisse zum Handwerk in Riga. In: *Lübecker Kolloqium. 2006*, p. 464.

used too. They were made in Livonian towns using the techniques of the craftsmen of Old Russian towns. Cobalt, lead or copper oxide was used to impart colour to glass. Dark, opaque beads, on the other hand, made of K-Ca-MG-Si glass are very similar to beads produced in medieval German towns.[201] Yellow, blue and green beads have been found at Baukalns cemetery, too.[202]

When undertaking reconstruction of costumes of Livonian townspeople, one should not overemphasise the local influence, because townspeople and peasants in Livonia belonged to two distinct sections of population from the legal point of view and from the point of view of daily life from the middle of the 14th century at the latest. It is likely, that there were even demonstrably accentuated differences in the lifestyle and visual messages encoded in clothing and jewellery, which became especially pronounced near the end of the Middle Ages. Urban commune made a distinction between Germans and non-Germans with some variations in rights, lifestyle peculiarities and customs related to clothing. There could have been some common trends in the dress of townspeople and peasants in Livonia – wearing wool-blend fabrics (wool, linen) on a day-to-day basis[203], use of brooches and amber beads,[204] use of a belt with knives, [205] coin purses and women's purses attached to it. In the 16th century, the dress of a Livonian woman, regardless of her social standing, included a woman's purse. Silver belts worn by young girls or brides are mentioned in the wills of townspeople from the 15th century onward and in the documentation of feudal lords in the 16th century.[206] They have been found in several 16th century deposits in towns and villages.[207]

In the Middle Ages, during the 13th–14th century, clothing of local non-German population could include an element of the traditional Liv's clothing – woman's skirt with fastenings on shoulders.

[201] Mugurēvičs, Ē. *Viduslaiku ciems un pils Salaspils novadā.* Rīga, 2008., 125. I.Žeiere calls them glass paste beads.
[202] Apals,J. Apala, Z. Āraišu arheoloģiskās.. p. 8. For example, grave No. 6 – a woman's necklace made of 4 bells and 21 beads.
[203] *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija.* Rīga, 1974, p. 307. It is possible that this fabric was called by German merchants "*sage*" – light wool fabric – (LUB II, 1, No. 897) or "*sardock, sarduck*" LUB I, 10, No. 337; LUB I, 11, No.77, 689. 77, 689.
[204] There was the craft of the amber turner or maker of amber rosaries (*Bernstendreger*) in Rīga – Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) (1881) *Die Libri reditum..*, II, No. 337, 517, 660.
[205] Slava, M. *Latviešu tautas tērpi.* Rīga, 1966. p. 60.
[206] Silver jewellery of unwed women with a sheath for knife (VSVA, No. 74, p. 349.)
[207] Apala, Z. Cēsu pils arheoloģiskās izpētes (1974–2006) rezultāti. Book: *Quo vadis Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai.* Cēsis, 2007, p. 56. Two silver belts found during archaeological explorations in Cēsis. The silver chain belt found in Jumpravmuiža deposit belonged to a wealthy woman and her purse contained thimbles and materials for making trinkets – a silver bead, a couple of red glass beads, small rock crystal plates, a small silver ring and a pendant, gold brocade threads and a bronze thimble.



Use of skirts with fastenings on shoulders. Ill. from the book *Lībieši senatnē*. Rīga, Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2001. 21

In Livonia, non-German women wore long linen **shirts** with sleeves, a skirt was worn over it, often a long coat and a crown decorated with bronze (bronze plates), embroidered with glass beads, pewter rosettes etc. Men's clothing was rather uniform – a coat made of a wool fabric, the hem of which did not reach the knee, was worn over a shirt. The coat was gathered at the waist and a leather or woven belt was worn over it. Fur coats were worn in the winter. A knife, a coin purse or a pouch for carrying various necessary things, often a whetstone were attached to the belt. Hats were worn – a felt hat in summer and a leather hat in winter. Leather footwear. **Leg wrappings** (found in rural cemeteries and in Rīga) were worn in winter. They could be adorned with small bronze rings, but the foot itself was wrapped with an unadorned piece of cloth. Leg wrappings were held in the place by "celaines" (narrow woven garters).[208] Medieval "pastalas" could be made without any adornments or in openwork technique, some of the latter have been found in towns too.[209]

The clothing of peasants in the 14th–16th century bears resemblance to the later ethnographic tradition, whereas 13th–14th century and 15th century clothing of German speaking townspeople belongs more to the **Late Gothic dress style** popular in the towns of Central and Northern Europe. Some grave slabs with depictions of Livonian townspeople in a period-typical dress have been preserved to this day. The likeness of the wife of the mayor of Tallinn Kunigunde Schotelmunde (1381) shows a typical Late Gothic style woman's dress.[210] Grave slabs in Cesis St. John's Church display images of wealthy townspeople of the 15th century in typical European townspeople's garb.[211]

[208] *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija*, p. 307.
[209] Bebre, V. Pastalas – vienkāršākie senie apavi Latvijā. *AE XIX,* R., 1997, pp. 114–118.
[210] Pärn, A. Russow, E. Luxus als Lebensstil in Tallinn (Reval) im Mittelalter und in früherer Neuzeit. *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum.* Lübeck, 2008. pp. 593–607, hier p. 603.
[211] Kalniņš, G. Cēsu svētā Jāņa baznīca. Cēsis, 2015, p. 44, No. 7. – figures of a man and a woman in long outer garments with arms folded in prayer, 1418; p. 45. No. 8 Grave slab of Margareta Segebaden (died in 1441).

It is believed that within the Hanseatic region the latest trends in clothing fashions reached Livonian towns quickly,[212] even if the greatest part of the society wore traditional clothing for a long time, thus leaving any concern with fashion to the richest.[213] In the 15th–16th century, German speaking upper class townspeople of the richest Hanseatic towns displayed their wealth in luxury textiles.[214] In the 16th century, on the other hand, the so-called German burgher clothing style developed. Popular at the same time was the Flanders dress, later Spanish dress etc.

Costumes of Straupe townspeople can be made based on an array of analogues – fabrics used during that period, jewellery, accessories, fashionable trends in dress silhouettes using the rich visual material and research material on townspeople's dress in Hanseatic towns in general, and including accents from the local material for details of clothing of Livonian townspeople and peasants. However, one must always keep in mind the social status of the wearer – a wealthy merchant; a prosperous artisan; someone from the lower classes, a non-German living in the town. Additionally marital status was important for women – a married woman always had her head covered (a bonnet, a headscarf worn in various styles), young women of marriageable age, widows. Only fabrics made of natural materials should be used – linen, wool-blend (wool and linen), wool, silk.

An abundance of visual material from Hanseatic towns in the territory of contemporary Germany and Poland is available starting from the 15th century, when costumes of townspeople from different social classes were depicted: wealthy townspeople and patricians' families, craftsmen, sometimes maidservants. In the 16th century, at the beginning of the early modern period, social differences between the social groups of townspeople became more and more distinct and were strictly regulated by town administration. Differentiation by material situation increased too.[215] 15th–16th century is the time, when more varied historical sources appear with fragmented yet diverse information about the types of dress. Descriptions of townspeople's dress can sometimes be found in chronicles and other narrative sources[216]. Items of clothing that presented a thing of value are often mentioned in wills and sometimes their description is included – colour, type of fabric etc. A great number of wills are preserved in Tallinn starting from the end of the 15th century, less in other Livonian towns. They provide insight into the daily lives of lower classes as well.[217] Towns' books of expenses sometimes mention and describe items of clothing given as a pay to servants, construction workers etc. Many facts about townspeople's clothing and especially their jewellery are provided by luxury prohibitions of the 15th–16th century. Details of clothing can best be explored by viewing their depictions – clothing of contemporaries in stone

[212] Pärn, A. Russow, E. Luxus als Lebensstil in Tallinn.., p. 604.
[213] Scott, M . *Medieval dress & fashion* . London, 2011.
[214] Wiegelmann, G., Mohrmann, R. *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum.* Münster, New York, 1996. p. 7.
[215] Kaplinski, K. *Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi.* I. Tallin: Kirjastus „Esti Raamat", 1980. p. 79.
[216] Russow's Livonian Chronicle, Cīglers works etc.
[217] Pärn, A. Russow, E. *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* .., 602; Wills – published in LUB too.

carvings and sculptures, wood carvings, miniatures, altarpieces. This approach presents a problem with regard to Livonian towns. However, there is for example the Tallinn school of painting, the representatives of which used individual townspeople as prototypes for characters in their paintings in churches in the 16th-17th century.

Exploration of burials shows social differentiation in towns, but it is almost impossible to connect the archaeological material to the clothing and jewellery of townspeople mentioned in written sources. Written sources mention silver and gilded belts worn by townswomen in Livonia in the 14th–15th century, but archaeological evidence indicates their presence only from the 16th century.[218] It is also mentioned that townswomen wore expensive adornments on their bonnets, but no archaeological evidence of that has been found.[219]

Information about the external appearance of Livonian townswomen in the 16th century is supplied by dress albums, which contain some depictions of women. Their reliability can be debated. Dress albums have rather detailed representations of women's, less often men's, clothing in Hanseatic towns, with visual differences among the dresses of women from different social groups and with different family status emphasised. The well-known German illustrator Jost Amman (1586[220]) drew the dresses of 8 different women from Frankfurt am Main, 6 from Nuremberg, 5 from Augsburg, 3 from Cologne, 3 from Danzig and Leipzig, but one from Lübeck, because he had not been to Lübeck himself and redrew it from works of other authors. Similarly, Livonian women represented in the dress albums of Jost Amman, Jean-Jacques Boissard etc. wear clothing of the second half of the 16th century, which has often been redrawn several times. Dress albums (printed books) started to gain popularity from the 30s of the 16th century. At this time, first books of patterns for embroidery were published too, along with other books for educated and wealthy public. In some cases a dress in the album can be compared to a painting depicting real people. For example, the dress of a woman from Lübeck in Jost Amman's album of 1586 can be compared to the women of Lübeck depicted in the residence of a Lübeck's burgher at Breite Straße 4-6 (wall painting, 1572-1583), some of whom are depicted wearing clothing typical for the town, some – clothing worn in Flanders at the time.[221]

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[218] Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Testamente Revaler Bürger…* No. 3 (1376). No. 59 (1493), No. 105 (1511) – a gilded belt etc.

[219] Ibid., No. 9 (1418). It is recorded that a silver belt presented as an engagement gift was worn by the bride during the wedding ceremony in church in the Baltic Sea region in the 17th century (Heikinmäki, M. L. *Die Gaben der Braut bei den Finnen und Esten*. Teil 1. Helsinki, 1971, p. 32*).*

[220] It is very likely the first book of women's dress in German, published in 1586 in Frankfurt by Sigismund Feierabend's printing works. (Böcker H. Und Böcker D. Ein Fraw von Lu(e)beck. Informelle Kommmunikation und Quellenkenntnis unter den Zeitgenossen des Nürnberger Bildillustrators Jost Amman und die Frage nach der historischen Authentizität. In: Hammel-Kiesow, R; Hundt, M. (Hg.) *Das Gedächtnis der Hansestadt Lübeck. Festschrift für Antjekathrin Graßmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Lübeck. 2005, p. 92)

[221] Ibid.

The manufacture of clothing was a labour intensive process that required a variety of skills.[222] A **spindle** was used for spinning wool and flax fibres, and the task was performed by women in Livonia, as well as throughout the Hanseatic region and Europe. Girls were taught to perform household tasks from a very early age, and noblewomen, townswomen and peasants alike are depicted holding a spindle. Virgin Mary was often depicted holding a spindle in the Christian iconography, especially at the moment of Annunciation, the same applies to the ancestress to all humanity Eve. The so-called "spinning prayer" was deemed appropriate for women – regardless of her descent, a woman who was working and praying at the same time could achieve the greatest virtue available to one of her gender.[223] The spindle was a symbol for a life full of reflection, and distracted from bad thoughts.[224] Archaeological finds of spindle whorls made from clay, bone, sandstone, and slate have been made in Livonian towns up to the 18th century. (Koknese) [225]

The spinning wheel has been known in towns in the Baltic Sea region since the second half of the 13th century. Such spinning wheels were made in Hamburg around 1400,[226] in Tallinn they were probably made by local turners in the 15th century too.[227] On the territory of Latvia, a spinning wheel from the 17th century has been found during archaeological excavations in Koknese. [228]

In towns, various types of horizontal looms were used, which were still rather similar, (like pulley looms used in rural areas in the 19th century), even if people in the rural areas of Livonia used archaic technologies. For example, in the 17th century Kastrāne Skubiņi burial the initial selvedge of a fabric has been found woven on a warp-weighted loom.[229]. Both women and men weaved, but as a craft it was mostly performed by men in Hanseatic towns.[230]

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[222] Archaeological material indicate that for the most part, clothing was made with great care, but there were exceptions too – tangled embroideries etc., probably, due to incompetence. See Žeiere, I.*Arheoloģiskās liecības par apģērbu Latvijā 13.–18.gs.* Rīga, 2008; Zariņa, A. Vērpšanas rīki Salaspils Laukskolas 10.–13.gs.apbedījumos. *Latvijas vēstures institūta žurnāls.* 2002. No. pp. 4– 5.

[223] Schwan, T. Kontinuität in der Abweichung? Réécritures französischer Autorinnen des XVIe siécle: Topoi-Metaphern-Myten. In: *Geschlechtervariationen: Gender-Konzepte im Übergang zur Neuzeit.* Hg. von J.Klinger, S.Shiemann. Postdam: Universitätsverlag, 2006. pp. 5-21.

[224] Casagrande, C. Die beaufsichtigte Frau. In: Duby, G., Perrot, M. *Geschichte der Frauen.* Bd. 2. Mittelalter. Hg. v. Ch. Klapisch-Zuber. Frankfurt am Main, 1997. pp. 85–118, hier p. 111.

[225] *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija*, p. 302.

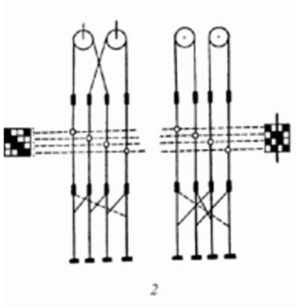
[226] Ennen, E. *Frauen in Mittelalter* München: Beck,1999. p. 134.

[227] Kaplinski, K. *Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi.* I.-II. Tallin, 1980.. pp. 46–102.

[228] *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija*, p. 302.

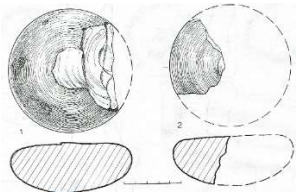
[229] Zariņa, A. *Apģērbs Latvijā 7.–17 gs.* Rīga, 1999, p. 36.

[230] Hildebrandt, H. (Hg.) *Das Rigische Schuldbuch 1286–1352…* No. 104: The name of a female weaver Alheydis (*Alheydis rubea textrix*, 1305), appears in the Rīga Debt Book. She is mentioned alone as well as together with her husband (*Johannes rubeus textori et Alheidis, uxor ejus,* 1305).; Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden...* No. 55, §36. – in the charter of Rīga tanners' and pelt dressers' guild (*Kürschener*) in the 14th century; Kaplinski, K. *Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi.* .. pp. 46–102.



1)A weaver in the Book of Nuremberg Almshouse "Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwolf-Bruderstiftung", 1425 Ill. Available at http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/ (Mendel I).
2) The pattern of the fabric is depicted in the first illustration, reconstruction. Ill. available at http://swordmaster.org/novgorod_clothing04.html.

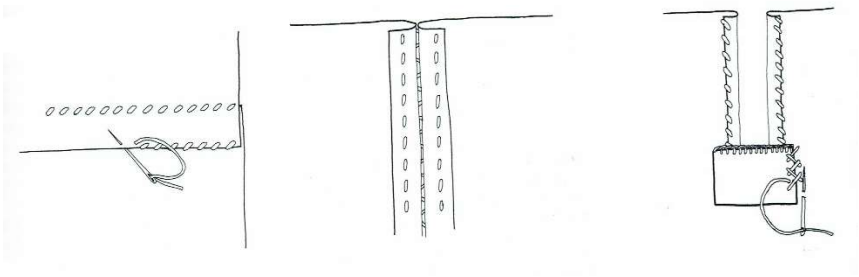
A considerable amount of information and an extensive historiography is available about the craft of linen weavers in Rīga. In the 15th century, the guild tried to ensure equal earning opportunities for all its members by introducing a rule that one master could only have a maximum of four weaving stands (looms). Linen weaving was considered a shameful craft, because it was closely associated with naked flesh – shifts, shrouds etc., and it was mainly performed by non-Germans in Rīga.[231] A separate craft was the dyer and washer of fabrics.[232] Stretching and smoothing of fabrics is depicted in the Books of Nuremberg Almshouses, but ironing of ready garments required a different approach. Seems were ironed using glass discs curved on one side or special stones. Such glass discs were called "Saumglätter", "Glättglas" in German. They have been found in archaeological excavations in Rīga and in centres near Daugava and in Valmiera.



Ironing glasses found in Rīga and Valmiera Ill. from: Caune, A. 10.-17.gs.gludināmstiklu atradumi Latvijā. AE XVII. Rīga, 1994, p. 50.

[231] Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden.*.
[232] *Libri reditum* I : I, No. 235.

It is believed that glass discs were used for pressing or ironing moist linen fabric and clothing. They were used in particularl for ironing edges of fabrics, as well as seams, collars, cuffs, women's bonnets and headscarves.[233]



Examples of seams for reconstruction purposes of medieval clothing. From the book: Thursfield, S. *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant. Making common garments 1200–1500.* Carlton, Bedford, 2001 Reprinted 2007), pp. 45–48.

Sewing and handicraft was done individually by townsmen and townswomen[234] or by craftsmen organised in guilds. There were no artisans' workshops (weavers, tailors etc.) separate from residential homes at the time. To learn the craft one had to become an apprentice with a master for several years and thereby complete the so-called apprenticeship. Tailors[235], tailor's cutters, and other crafts were separate from leather treatment and fur tailors[236], hatters and makers and sellers of trinkets (i.e. accessories). Scissors and needles were the tools of tailors and other craftsmen for centuries. Scissors or shears – in Hanseatic towns in Livonia spring scissors and the newer pivoted scissors (appeared in the 14th century) with blades held together by a rivet were used.[237]

[233] Caune, A. 10.-17.gs.gludināmstiklu atradumi Latvijā. *AE XVII.* Rīga, 1994, pp. 47–52.
[234] Kaplinski, K. *Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi.* .. pp. 46–102..
[235] Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden...* No. 92.; Johansen, P., von zur Mühlen, H. *Deutsch und Undeutsch in mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichern Reval.* Köln, Wien, 1973, p. 195.
[236] Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden...*No. 55.
[237] *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija*, p. 301.

A Dyer of Fabrics and a Tailor. Ill. from the Book of Nuremberg Almshouse, 1425 (Mandel I) – a dyer of fabrics and a tailor. Available at http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/ (Mendel I)

It is believed that most of underwear was made by family members of townspeople themselves, but wealthy people ordered men's and women's outerwear from tailors. On top of this individual approach, trade in ready-made clothing and second-hand clothing existed in towns. Craftsmen's families and specialised trinket sellers were engaged in it. The sale of trinkets (*Krämerei und Hökerei*) encompassed various sectors and was regarded as craftsmanship.[238] In 1360 the charter of goldsmiths in Rīga mentions that women, sellers of second-hand clothing (*Cledersellerschen*), were required to inform master craftsmen about their gold and silver items, who then evaluated them, otherwise the trader had to pay a fine in the amount of 3 marks.[239] In 1522, the craft of trinket seller or Russian trinket sellers was introduced in Rīga – only non-Germans were allowed to trade in women's purses, but German and Russian merchants had their own assortments of goods. Women being occupied with embroidery and decoration of clothing are mentioned in various descriptions, and the contents of women's purses provide some evidence to that. Parts of clothing and utensils of a 26-year-old Cēsis townswoman have been preserved as a result of a tragic event. It is likely that she died in 1577 when the Tsar of Moscow Ivan the Terrible, after five days of bombardment of Cēsis Castle, took it, and she was buried under its walls as a result of a explosion. The woman had a belt with keys and a purse, which contained beads, buttons, a brocade ribbon, a ring, a thimble, etc.[240] A purse was attached to the silver chain belt found in the Jumpravmuiža deposit; this purse contained thimbles and material for making trinkets – a silver bead, a couple of red glass beads, small rock crystal plates, a small silver ring and a pendant, along with gold brocade threads and a bronze thimble.

[238] Hildebrandt, H. (Hg.) *Das Rigische Schuldbuch 1286–1352*… No. 927.
[239] Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden...* No. 30. A woman, seller of clothing, (*Tale Klederzellersche*) is mentioned in 1402 too, see *Die Libri reditum II*, No. 561, p. 76.
[240] Apala, Z. Cēsu pils arheoloģiskās izpētes (1974–2006) rezultāti ... pp. 55–57.

Townspeople's dress included a linen (silk was rare and only meant for upper classes) shift worn by both men and women. The book "Tacuinum Sanitatis", on which upper classes' notion of good quality of life was based for a long time, told this (No. XLVII. *Vestis Linea*) about linen: the inherent danger is in the pressure it exerts upon skin, thus preventing sweating, which can be averted by combining it with silk. Wool, on the other hand, (XLVI. Vestis Lanea) was recommended to mix with linen to prevent skin irritation. These combinations of fabrics were well known to townspeople. One version of Rīga luxury regulations states that wealthy townspeople were allowed to use velvet and silk trimmings on the lower edges of their inner clothing, which did not exceed 1.5 cubits (0.9 m) in width.[241] The cut of the men's shift was very simple – it was made of rectangle and triangle pieces of fabric. Its lower edge reached the wearer's knee. Design of the collar and the ends of sleeves varied depending on the current fashion. It is possible that linen braies were worn too. Theoretically, cotton fabrics appeared in the late Middle Ages (in the 15th century).

Outerwear was made of fabric, furs, tanned leather. As a matter of fact, all fabrics that were traded and used for German fashion were available in Livonian towns.[242] They could be rather lavish. The charter of the tailors' guild and luxury prohibitions of towns in the 15th–16th century mention all kinds of fabrics with their prices. It is likely that wool fabric was used on a wide scale, because it could be made locally[243], but finer fabrics were imported. Theoretically, townspeople were prohibited from wearing clothing made from some fabrics (Rīga, 1593) – velvet, silk satin, damask. At the same time it was noted that women wore silk satin and damask clothing, armozine (French – dense plain or twill silk fabric dyed black), silk camlet (French – camel's hair) overcoats, capes and skirts, scarlet (fine and expensive woollen cloths, usually dyed purple), rep capes (Hoicken) and coats (Röcke). Councilmen and the elders of Riga Merchant Guild wore overcoats and coats (Röcke) with velvet trimmings. Clothing was made by tailors who were usually united in guilds with their own charter in larger towns. In Straupe tailors are mentioned in connection with the town's liege lords Rosens, but there is no doubt that independent craftsmen conducted their business there too.[244]

Furs of various animals were used too. They were processed by pelt dressers. There was also the craft of the tanner. During the second half of the 16th century, Balthasar Russow wrote: at a merchants' wedding clothing was lined with the fur of lynxes, martens, but the clothing of the less

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[241] *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna.*. 24

[242] Līne, I.Turīga pilsētnieka un muižnieka tērps Latvijā 16.gs.otrajā pusē – fakti un hipotēzes. Book: *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna 1593.gadā iespiestais Karaļa pilsētas Rīgas - Vidzemē - godātās rātes atjaunotais kāzu un apģērbu nolikums : tulkojums no agrās jaunaugšvācu valodas un zinātniskie komentāri.* Turaidas muzejrezevāts, 2013. pp. 97–139, here p. 112.

[243] *Flax and wool, on the other hand, were produced locally and exported.* Tiderihs Azgalis from Straupe mentioned in the Rīga Debt Book in the 13th century traded in flax. In the 13th–14th century, the crafts of linen weavers and bath attendants were considered shameful in Rīga, because they dealt with linen shifts that touched bare flesh, and linen sheets were also used as shrouds. Linen weavers were present in towns during the entire period encompassed by this study. In Rīga, the craft was for the most part performed by non-Germans.

[244] Tailor Bertellt (GU II, No. 549)

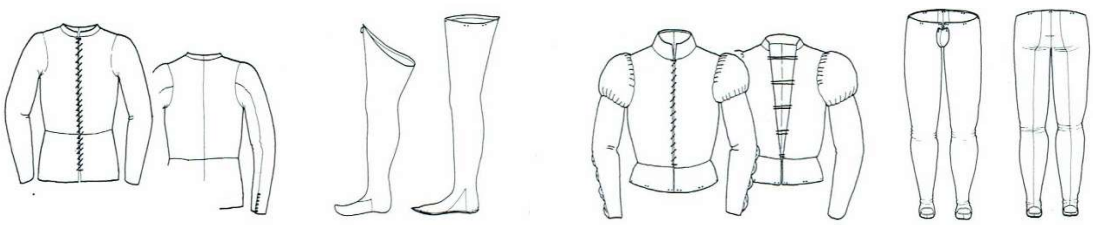
wealthy – with the fur of foxes and wolves.[245] Luxury rules (Rīga, 1593), on the other hand, prohibited use of marten fur linings, the expensive furs of marten, sable, lynx,[246] but allowed to use 3 marten skins for trimmings – the collar and patches, which at the end of the 16th century seems to have made a rather modest outerwear.

Wealthy and poor wore similar garments, mainly distinguished by the material they were made of.

1) Brotze's drawing of 15th century scales and weighers in Rīga. From the book Šterns, I. Latvijas vēsture 1290-1500. Rīga, 1997. 187

2) The Merchant, 1463, a painting by Bernt Notke in St. Mary's Church in Lübeck

Men's outerwear consisted of a doublet or camisole, and an overcoat or a cape, sometimes a jerkin with or without sleeves (a vest, a coat too, German: Rock). The doublet had sleeves, the simplest version did not even have a collar. There were holes at the base of the garment to attach the hose. Usually it had lining. It could have gold buttons, which also served the purpose of decoration.



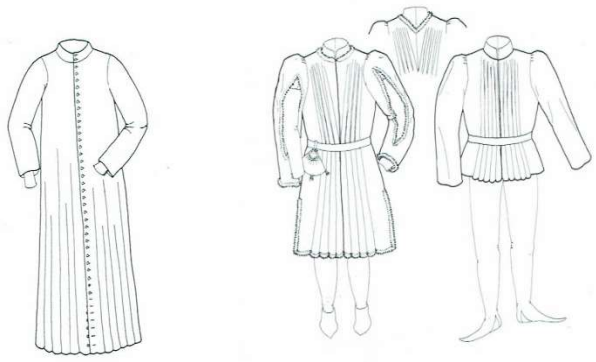
1-2) Man's basic doublet and man's separate hose, 13th–15th century.
3-4) Man's basic doublet and joined hose, the end of the 15th century. – from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor's Assistant.. p. 17.

Hose was a complicated garment, its cut changed with different trends in fashion. The close fitting *hose* or chausses (French) was a garment that consisted of two parts – long stockings[247] attached to the belt or something that functioned as underpants; and was part of the Gothic style

[245] Rusovs, B. *Livonijas kronika.* Translated by Ed. Veispals. Rīga, 1926, pp. 63, 64.
[246] *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna..* I., p. 23.
[247] See http://www.greydragon.org/library/underwear3.html

of clothing. In the 15th century, a garment similar to modern trousers appeared. It was fastened with buttons or laced to the doublet. From the 30s to the 50s of the 16th century, new types of trousers became the fashion, for example, the so-called *Plunderhose*, which was made of wide strips of fabric with slits between them, through which a pleated silk lining of another colour was woven. Other types of trousers were worn too. The belt to which a coin purse, often tools for starting fire, weapons etc. were attached and the head-wear were important details of the dress.

A longer jerkin or a coat made of a more expensive cloth or leather[248] could be worn over the camisole, with or without sleeves [attached with buttons in the 16th century], usually with lining. In the 15th century, overcoats with pleats became very popular with townspeople, in particular in towns in Northern Germany. They were still worn in the 16th century. An overcoat was worn over the coat – often without any fastening and with fur lining.

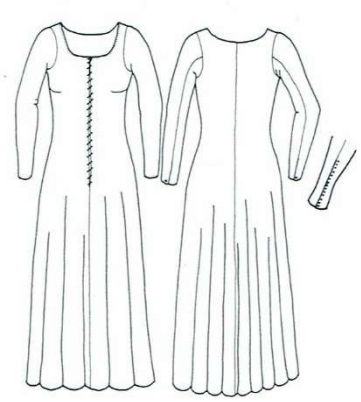


Examples of man's overcoats 1) 13th–14th century.
2) Second half of the 15th century – from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor's Assistant… p. 18.

1) *The Court of Townspeople. Ill. from Volkacher „Salbuch", around 1500. Available at http://www.hdbg.de/fra-mitt/german/salbuch/4/4_0.html*
2) *2) Tallinn Brotherhood of Blackheads. Ill. from the Altarpiece of the Tallinn Brotherhood of Blackheads. No Mänd, A. The Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Black Heads in Tallinn: Dating, Donors, and the Double Intercession. Acta Historiae Artium Balticae: Art and the Sacred. 2. 2007, p. 41.*

[248] A goat skin jerkin from the 16th century found in archaeological exploration in Cēsis.

Women's clothing included various combinations of petticoats, dresses, gowns and coats, as well as overcoats and cloaks. Usually women wore at least three layers of clothing – a shift, petticoats and a dress.



Woman's basic kirtle, 13th–15th century; from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor's Assistant. .. p. 16.

In the Gothic age, women and men wore long clothing (surcoats from linen, less often from silk, which were pulled on over the head), for men in the 14th century, it was fully replaced by a cotehardie (German *Rock*).

Examples of the Gothic woman's dress (surcoat, gown) silhouettes (1 – 13th century; 2, 3, 4, 5 – 14th century) from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor's Assistant. .. p. 17.

Wealthy women in towns had casual dress (worn at home) and several formal or Sunday outfits for going to church.[249] In the 16th century, a woman's dress became more complicated, social differentiation became more distinct. It is rather customary to designate the outer garments of more festive formal outfits with the colour red. In 1506, in Tallinn a maidservant was bequeathed the Sunday overcoat and the red skirt with bows by her mistress. In 16th century Rīga, formal and wedding skirts could be red.[250] The skirt could have silver decorations too.[251] Rosaries made of

[249] Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Revaler Regeste: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369–1851.* Göttinge:, 1975, No. 56 (1491) – to the daughter, jewellery for two gowns, a silver ribbon, 6 silver spoons etc.
[250] LUB II, 3, No. 78; Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Testamente Revaler* .., No. 57 (1 red jacket to the sister), No. 106.; Līne, I. Līne, I. Turīga pilsētnieka un muižnieka tērps.. pp. 97-139,
[251] Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Revaler Regeste: Testamente* .., No. 106., p. 111 (*rockenscale*)

amber, adorned with coral and silver stones etc. could be used as splendid accessories with clothing[252].

In German and Livonian towns unwed women were distinguished from married women by their head-wear – married women wore headscarves and bonnets (*Fruwen haube*), which were often adorned with pearls, silver or gold decorations in the 15th–16th century.[253] Unwed girls wore hair ribbons that could be lavishly decorated with or made from silver, or very plain. Rīga tailors' guild charter (1492) set the fee for a young girl's dress from the age of 8 and older, and it is likely that girls of marriageable age were the ones dressed most splendidly.[254] Like men, women carried various useful things attached to their belts – a women's purse, a bunch of keys, a coin purse.

A young girl (maidservant) shopping. A fragment from the cycle of paintings "Seasons" ("Autumn") by Jörg Breu the Elder, Augsburg, 1531. 2) Dancers at a Wedding. A copper engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever (Aldegrever, Paderborn, 1502- Soest 1555). 1538. Ill. from the book Dietrich, H.H. (Gesamtgestalltung). Das Museum der Grafschft Mark Burg Altena. Eine Bildauswahl aus Anlaß des einhunderjährigen Bestehens. Lüdenscheid: Druckhaus Maack KG, 1975. 59

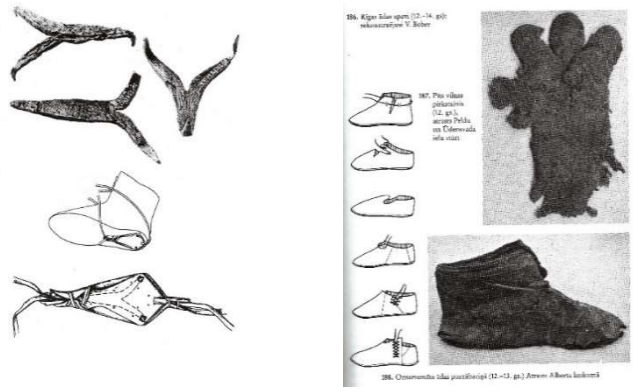
[252] Ibid., No. 106., p. 111.
[253] LUB II, 3, No. 78: In 1506, a maidservant in Tallinn was bequeathed adornments for the bonnet, which weighed 12 lots of silver, and a casual head-wear with fastenings. ; the expensive bonnet decorations were inherited from generation to generation (Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Testamente Revaler Bürger*… No. 39 (1418)
[254] Stieda, W., Mettig, C. *Schragen der Gilden und Ämter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*. Riga, 1896, No. 92.

A woman in a dress of the so-called German burgher fashion. Fragments from Hans Sebald Beham's woodcuts, 1530, 1540. From the book Nurk, T. XV-XVI sajandi saksa Puulõikeid Tartu riikliku Ülikooli Teaduslikust Raamatukogust. Tallin, 1988, ill. 19-22.

Townspeople mainly wore leather shoes made by shoemakers in towns. They were also called detail shoes because they were made of several cut pieces of leather, not from one piece like "pastalas". Overshoes made of wood, cork or leather (*Glotzen*) by specialised craftsmen were worn in the 15th century. Several names of the craft are mentioned in Rīga – *Glotzemekersche, Patynemaker, Trippenmacker*[255]. Overshoes or pattens were worn to protect the expensive leather footwear, they resembled sandals and had a thick sole. In addition, winter footwear of people in Rīga was fitted with ice spurs or the sole was covered with iron to prevent slipping.

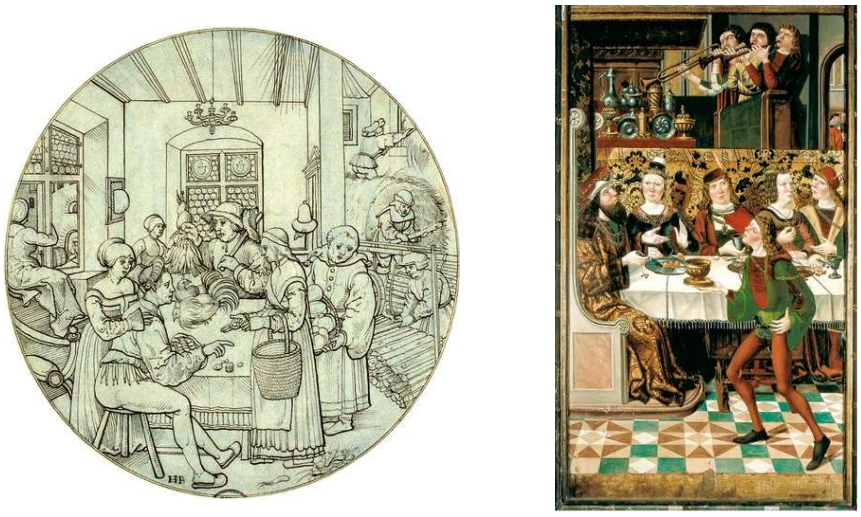
Openwork "pastala", 14th–16th century, found in Rīga, in the collection of the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation, RVKM41995; 1456

[255] Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum der*, II, No. 561; 207, 435, 436 und III, 101; III, 1.



1) Ice spurs found in Rīga, reconstruction of ice spur's holder and the fitting used to attach it to the shoe.
2) Detail shoes and gloves found in Rīga. Ill. from the book Šterns, I. Latvijas vēsture: krustakari 1189–1290, Rīga, 2002.

In the late 14th – early 16th century, at least some of the families in Straupe were **merchants'** families who could afford the finest cloths available in Europe, as well as expensive jewellery.[256] Depictions of patricians of Hanseatic towns, especially townspeople of Lübeck around 1500, show us refined dresses. This is also evidenced by descriptions of contemporaries who wrote about the 16th century.[257] The most expensive part of clothing was the outerwear. Robbing one of outer garments was akin to shaming the individual and taking a part of his/her wealth.[258]



1) Jörg Breu the Elder, around 1510–1515. Augsburg Labours of the Months
2) A fragment of the altarpiece in Lübeck by the local artist Hermen Rode, end of the 15th century

[256] Līne, I. Turīga pilsētnieka un muižnieka tērps… 97-139.
[257] Czaja, R. (Hg.). *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der Städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Toruń, 2004.
[258] Kala, T. *Lübecki õiguse Tallinna koodesks 1282 / Kala, T. Der Revaler Kodex des lübischen Rechts 1282*. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 1998. pp. 128; Napjersky, J.G.L. *Die Quellen des Rigischen Stadtrechts bis zum Jahr 1673*. Riga, 1876, p. 146, II, § 1–3.

The special status of different social groups was particularly emphasised in town regulations in the 15th–16th century.[259] The oldest speeches of burghers indicate that a maidservant was not allowed to cover her head with a crown at her wedding[260] in Rīga at the end of the 15th century, and the master was not allowed to present furs (*Buntwerk*) as a gift to a maidservant, except, if she was German and married "an honest German".[261] Later on, clothing and actions of women belonging to other social groups were regulated too.[262] Town councils distinguished councilmen's families, families of the wealthiest merchants, craftsmen and maidservants. Early 16th century regulations provided that clothing of councilmen's families was the most splendid and such could not be worn by members of the Rīga Merchant Guild[263]. At the end of the 16th century, the luxury law for the town of Jelgava [264] of 1591 prohibited wearing gold chains at weddings and other gatherings. The prohibition did not extend to officials' wives. All townswomen were prohibited from wearing the clothing of princes, nobility or foreigners. This ordinance demonstrates that women mostly showed themselves off in rich clothing at weddings and other gatherings (*Gestereien*).[265] However, women found opportunities to demonstrate their best clothing in everyday situations too. Russow's Livonian Chronicle mentions a case when the daughter of Tartu pelt dresser went to the church dressed like a merchant's daughter. Upon exiting the church she was attacked by a couple of town's guards dispatched by Tartu town council, who tore off her dress in public, thus shaming her for dressing in a manner inappropriate to her status.[266]

In Livonian towns, the splendid and refined lifestyle of the 16th century is supported by archaeological evidence, even if not as impressive as in other towns of the Baltic Sea region where the social boundaries between the patricians and ordinary townspeople were even more prominent.[267]

Merchants in Straupe had to take into consideration that they could not dress in a manner more splendid than the town's lieges Rosens: At the end of the 16th century, a chest owned by Georg Rosen from Mazstraupe and Raiskums contained 2 gold chains with 300 links, gold and silk

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[259] In the majority of towns in the Baltic Sea region and throughout Western Europe, town councils tried to instil strict distinctions between all classes of townspeople by means of various measures of social control, so that each class would have its place and function within the society, its own boundaries that could not be trespassed, and tried to regulate social practices, including women's fashions and organisation of family events. The aim of social control was especially pronounced after the Reformation in protestant towns, where sumptuary laws found theoretical grounds in theological works too. See Kizik, E.*Die reglementierte Feier. Hochzeiten, Taufen und Begräbnisse in der frühneuzeitlicehen Hansestadt*. Osnabrück, 2008.

[260] LUB Bd. 11, No. 75, p. 61.

[261] Polizey Ordnung der Stadt. *Rigische Stadtblätter*. 1824, p. 141.

[262] Taube, M. Greznības noliegums Rīgā XVI un XVII gs. *LPSR ZA Fundamentālās bibliotēkas raksti I*. Rīga, 1960. pp. 287–308.

[263] *Aus baltischer Vergangenheit. Miscellaneen aus dem Revaler Stadarchiv*. Hg. v. G. v. Hansen. Reval: Verlag von Franz Kluge, 1894. pp. 22–23 (Rīga Luxury Law of 1598).

[264] See *Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna...* Art. XXVIII.

[265] *Aus baltischer Vergangenheit…* p. 22.

[266] Rusovs, B. Livonijas kronika .. 27

[267] See; Rüther, S. *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit*. Köln [u.a.]: Böhlau, 2003. p. 243.

embroidered bonnets with pearls and garnets, gilded brooches, silver belts, strings of pearls etc. [268] Rīga townspeople were also prohibited from wearing too expensive trinkets, including gold jewellery, by special sumptuary laws.

[268] VSVA, pp. 349-350.

ABBREVIATIONS

4BdLv Bd.1 *Vier Bücher der Landvogtei der Stadt Riga* : ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte / bearbeitet von A. Bulmerincq. Bd. 1. Rīga, 1923.

AE XIX Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija: rakstu krājums / Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmija. Vēstures un materiālās kultūras institūts. Issue 19. Rīga, 1997.

AE XVII Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija: rakstu krājums / Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmija. Vēstures un materiālās kultūras institūts. Issue 18. Rīga, 1996.

BSB Beyerische Stadtbibliothhek

GU I Bruining, H. und Busch, N. (Hg.). *Livländische Güterurkunden. 1207–1500.* Bd. 1. Riga, 1908

GU II Bruining, H. (Hg.). *Livländische Güterurkunden. 1500-1545.* Bd. 2. Rīga, 1923.

Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1525-2534) Müller, U. (Bearb.) . *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1525–1534): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten.* Köln [etc.], 1996 (=Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bd. 41)

Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1534-1540) Hartmann, S. (Bearb.) *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1534–1540): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten.* Köln [etc.], 1999 (=Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bd. 49).

Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1540-1551) Hartmann, S.(Bearb.) *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1540–1551): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten.* Köln [etc.], 2002. (=Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bd. 54).

Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1557-1560) Hartmann, S. (Bearb.) *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1557–1560): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten.* Köln [etc.], 2006. (=Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bd. 60).

Herzog Albrecht und Preussen (1565-1570) Hartmann, S.(Bearb.) *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1565–1570)*: Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten. Köln [etc.], 2008. (=Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bd. 63).

LUB I, 2 Bunge, F. G. (Hg.) . *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Bd. 2: 1301-1367. Reval, 1855

LUB I, 5 Bunge, F. G. (Hg.) *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Bd. 5: [1414–1423]. Riga, 1867.

LUB I, 9 Hildebrand, H. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Bd. 9: 1436-1443. Riga; Moskau, 1889.

LUB I, 10 Schwartz, P. und Bulmerincq, A. (Hg.). *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches* Urkundenbuch. Bd. 10: 1444–1449. Riga; Moskau. 1896.

LUB I, 11 Schwartz, P. und Bulmerincq, A. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Bd. 11: 1450–1459. Riga; Moskau, 1905

LUB I, 12 Schwartz, P. und Bulmerincq, A. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Bd. 12: 1460–1472. Riga; Moskau, 1910.

LUB II, 1 Arbusow, L. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Abt. 2. Bd. 1: 1494 Ende Mai–1500. Riga; Moskau, 1900.

LUB II, 2 Arbusow, L. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Abt. 2. Bd. 2: 1501-1505. Riga; Moskau, 1905

LUB II, 3 Arbusow, L. (Hg.) *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.* Abt. 2. Bd.3: 1506-1510. *Sachregister zum Liv-, Est-, und Kurlandischen Urkundenbuch.* Bd. 7-9. Bearb. von Bernh. A. Hollander. Riga; Moskau, 1914.

VSVA Švābe, A. (izd.) *Vidzemes saimniecības vēstures avoti 1553–1618.* Rīga, 1941.

More expensive beers were imported. *For the most part beer was imported to Rīga from Hamburg, Rostock and Wismar.* Rīga, 1941.

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Straupe, 2016