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**THE SUMPTUOUS USE OF FOOD
AT CASTLE MARIENBURG (MALBORK)
AT THE START OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY**

In the late Middle Ages (fourteenth – fifteenth centuries) the attitude towards sumptuousness in consumption, including eating, was one of ambivalence. On the one hand, it was condemned as being at odds with the ascetic models of the Christian religion, while on the other it functioned as one of the indicators of the prestigious political, economic and social position of a group or individual. Sumptuous feasts were characterized by both the excess in food consumed as by its luxurious nature, which was connected with the rarity and price of the dishes, or the ingredients they were composed from, as well as the sophistication with which they were prepared and served.¹

This dualism in attitudes to luxurious consumption is well illustrated in the relations to it prevalent in the orders of knighthood that came into being during the twelfth century at the time of the crusades. These were called into being to fight with the infidel (the Muslims) and to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land. The fundamental role in these orders was played by the knight-brothers. They took vows committing themselves to observe chastity, obedience and poverty (the absence of personal property). This group wielded a power that was hierarchical in nature, for priests-brothers and sariant-brothers performed a secondary role in the order. The knight-brothers, who were representatives of the politically, economically and ideologically dominant feudal class, also brought into their congregations a range of elements of secular group consciousness,² including

¹ On the concept of luxury and consumption, see Reinhold Reith and Torsten Meyer (eds.), *'Luxus und Konsum'. Eine historische Annäherung* (Münster, etc., 2003).

² One could point to a link between the social makeup of the knight orders and the functioning of justice, which was organized, as opposed to other orders, on the model

their lifestyle, in which the sumptuous consumption of food played no small role.

The greatest role amongst the religious orders of knights was played by the Teutonic Order. In the course of the thirteenth century they obtained a series of possessions in Palestine, where their main house was situated, in the Reich as well as in southern Europe (France, Italy). Besides this the Order succeeded in creating and consolidating territorial dominions in Prussia and Livonia, which in the years 1308–9 were expanded to include Gdańsk (Danzig) Pomerania. Individual Teutonic houses with commanders (*Komtur*) at the head governed commandries (*Komturei*), the territorial units into which Prussia was divided up. In the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Teutonic Knights – a religious corporation and at the same time collective territorial power – played an important political and economic role in central Europe.³

The struggles to conquer Prussia and the significant losses in manpower amongst the knight-brothers resulted in a lowering in the criteria adopted for the acceptance of new members to the Order. This was to negatively influence its spiritual life in the later period when, despite attempts in the first half of the fifteenth century to counteract the trend on the part of certain grand masters (*Hochmeister*), there started to clearly dominate a secular element enhanced through the expansive policy followed in relation to Lithuania. The development of ‘court life’ within the Order was also aided by the contacts of Teutonic Knights with the knight orders of western Europe which had come to Prussia in order to take part in the military operations against Lithuania.⁴

of trial by peers, see Klaus Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309* (Marburg, 1999), 89–90.

³ The history of the Teutonic Order as an ecclesiastical corporation and the history of the Teutonic state in Prussia have seen many valuable works, see, among others, Marjan Tumlir, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400, mit einem Abriss der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zur neusten Zeit* (Vienna, 1955); Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich, 1981); Karol Górski, *Zakon Krzyżacki a powstanie państwa pruskiego* (Wrocław, etc., 1977); Marian Biskup and Gerard Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – społeczeństwo – państwo – ideologia* (Gdańsk, 1986); Marian Biskup and Roman Czaja (eds.), *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo* (Warsaw, 2008).

⁴ Biskup and Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu*, 221–5, 283–5; Karol Górski, ‘Religijność Krzyżaków a klimat kulturalny’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, lxxv, 2 (1984), 249–55; *idem*,

In an analysis of the sumptuous consumption of food in the main house of the Teutonic Order we have to take into consideration, on the one hand, the requirements of the Order's regulations requiring adherence to extreme moderation in eating and drinking together with the keeping of fasts, while on the other hand behaviour which every medieval ruler, equally the grand master, was obliged to maintain: the demonstration of prestige.

The regulations which governed the internal life of the Teutonic Knights were contained in the so called Statutes, which were edited around 1250, initially in Latin and immediately afterwards in German. They comprised the Rules (*Regel*), Laws (*Gesetze*) and Customs (*Gewonheiten*). The Laws were supplemented at a later stage by the resolutions of the general chapter.⁵

The Statutes also contain detailed regulations on the consumption of food and drink.⁶ The members of the Order (knight-brothers, priest-brothers, sariant-brothers) ate meals jointly twice a day or once a day during fasts, but then in the afternoon or evening (after vespers but before compline) they received only some drink, presumably wine, mead or beer (*collatio*). The meals comprised bread and soup made from grain and milk or water as well as from meat, which was eaten on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays cheeses and eggs were eaten. Fridays saw fast dishes. Besides which fasting was in force from the last Sunday before St Martin's Day (11 Nov.) until Christmas, from Quinquagesima Sunday to Easter, on the eve of a dozen or so feast days and on so called Ember days. The brothers ate in twos from one bowl, except for gruel and beverages, for which everyone had his own vessel.⁷ Sick brothers ate separately in the infirmary and had the right to receive bigger portions, while their

Zakon Krzyżacki a powstanie państwa pruskiego (Wrocław, etc., 1977), 88–90; Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreise des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 17, 1–2, Sigmaringen, 1989–95).

⁵ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach (Halle/Saale, 1890) (hereafter: *Statuten*). A presentation of the state of research is given by Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, 47–52.

⁶ Described by Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, 81–4.

⁷ *Statuten*, Regel 13, 15, 16, p. 40–1, 43–4. On the matter of soup (brewis), see Maria Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Wrocław, etc., 1963), 124–8.

menu was regulated by recipes requiring the avoidance of salted foods (meat, fish).⁸

According to the Statutes, the Order's grand master is supposed to sit at the common table and to eat exactly the same as the brothers. He received a quadruple portion, however, which in cases of need he would share with other brothers. Only in the case of illness was he entitled to better food than the other sick brothers, while the meals were then served in his private rooms.⁹

In the Customs was to be found the resolution that the brothers were not to drink anything (except for water) at times other than mealtimes. Each of the two brothers received four quarts of drink (presumably wine) a day. However, this referred to a situation when they were on campaign.

The ascetic programme in the Order well reflected the oath taken by newly admitted brothers, committing them to eating only bread and drinking exclusively water.¹⁰ It obviously does not follow to understand this literally but rather figuratively; though a knight who sought a comfortable life would certainly not find it with the Teutonic Knights.

The Laws in turn contained resolutions which may be treated as directed against luxury. The use, without permission, of spices, sweet medicines, or confectionary and syrups (Latin *species, electuaria, siruplis*, German *Wurze [Gewürze], lectavarien [Latwergen], syropel [Sirup]*),¹¹ and also the producing of a drink from mead and wine flavoured with herbs and spices (Latin *pigmentum*, German *lûtertrank*, i.e. *Lautertrank*). If the brothers received such drinks as a gift they were supposed to give them to the poor, while if they were treated to them outside of the house then these were to be drunk in moderation.¹² It follows to remember, however, that the grand master had the right to issue dispensations for these limitations to each member of the Order for a given time and in each place.¹³

⁸ *Statuten, Gesetze* 8, pp. 66–8.

⁹ *Statuten, Gesetze* 9, p. 68. See also *Gewonheiten* 55, pp. 114–15.

¹⁰ *Statuten*, 128.

¹¹ *Statuten, Gesetze* 7, p. 66.

¹² *Statuten, Gesetze* I (o), p. 58. On the sweetening and seasoning of wine with spices, see Moriz Heyne, *Das deutsche Nahrungswesen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1901), 367–73. It also bore the name 'claret' (Latin *claretum*, German *Klaret*).

¹³ *Statuten, Regel* 37, pp. 55–6.

Following the transfer of the seat of the main house from Venice to Marienburg in 1309, the grand master was already not only the superior general of the Order but also a territorial ruler, the equal of other European rulers in terms of status and possessed entitlements. As a result of this there came into existence the need to reorganize the functioning of the main house. The grand master received his own money, with permanent and special sources of income as well as his own residency within the castle. From the dignitaries of the old main house he retained at his side only the grand commander and treasurer.¹⁴

In the organizational solutions for the main house in Marienburg were created offices that were called into being also in connection with the consumption of luxury foodstuffs. In 1257 the pope agreed to the Order trading in every country as well as the utilizing of intermediaries for this aim, though not seeking profit. The papal bull of 1263 confirmed this resolution, while the ban on the gaining of profit from trading activities had already been forgotten.¹⁵ This opened up for the Teutonic Knights the route to large scale trading both at home and abroad. To this end special officials, *Schäffern*, were created, with the headquarters of one of them was at Marienburg.¹⁶ The grand master, as the superior of the Marienburg house, also made use of its income and the work of its officials. Separate offices for the service of the grand master were only called into being in two exclusive cases with both being connected with food consumption. These were the offices of: cellarer to the grand master (*Kellermeister des Hochmeisters*;

¹⁴ Arthur Sielmann, 'Die Verwaltung des Haupthauses Marienburg in der Zeit um 1400', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 61 (1921), 9 f.; Frank Milthaler, *Die Großgebietiger des Deutschen Ritterordens bis 1440. Ihre Stellung und Befugnisse* (Königsberg, 1940); Ulrich Nieß, *Hochmeister Karl von Trier (1311–1324). Stationen einer Karriere im Deutschen Orden* (Marburg, 1992).

¹⁵ Udo Arnold, 'Początki handlu zakonu krzyżackiego', in *idem, Zakon krzyżacki. Z Ziemi Świętej nad Bałtyk*, trans. Roman Czaja (Toruń, 1996), 54–7; Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1993), 285.

¹⁶ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 88. The first mention of the Marienburg *Großschäffer* is from the year 1358. However, according to Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda, *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309–1457)* (Malbork, 2007), 258, the first known Marienburg *Großschäffer* was to have been Tileman Gute referred to in 1341 and called the *procurator* of the house of Marienburg ('procurator domus Marienburg').

the house had its own – *Kellermeister des Konvents*) from the mid-1330s¹⁷ as well as the grand master's chief cook (*Küchenmeister des Hochmeisters*). Although the earliest information about his appointment comes from only 1399 one may, without any fear of mistakes, move the date back to at least the mid fourteenth century and link it to the actual completion at this time of the middle castle, to the west wing of which the grand master moved himself and where a separate kitchen was located and a cellar for alcoholic beverages for him and his guests.¹⁸

From amongst the officials of the Marienburg house residing outside of the castle itself, yet responsible for its supply, it follows to mention the fish master (*Fischmeister*) from Scharpau (Polish Szkarpa), a settlement to the north of the Grosse Werder (Żuławy Wielkie). This official was responsible for organizing fishing, of even noble anadromous fish on the section of the Vistula Lagoon belonging to him and in the rivers of the commandery – the Vistula and Nogat.¹⁹ There were also fish ponds situated in the vicinity of the castle, where carp was reared for the requirements of both the grand master's kitchen as well as that of the house.²⁰

Written accounting played an important role in the Teutonic administration at Marienburg at the end of the fourteenth century. The treasurer kept a book of the house's incomes and expenditures as well as one for the incomes and expenditures of the grand master. A separate account book was kept by the castle commander and the Marienburg *Großschäffer*. Besides which, with the advent of changes in offices within the main house, a stock take registering the remaining movable property and cash was conducted. These sources enable one to reasonably accurately establish the functioning of the main house around 1400, including food consumption.²¹

¹⁷ Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja życia*, 208.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 58–9, 223–4.

¹⁹ Wiesław Długokęcki, *Mierzeja Wiślana od XIII do połowy XV w. (1454 r.)* (Gdańsk, 1995), 54–8, 117–18, 122.

²⁰ Stefan Chmielewski, 'Gospodarstwo stawowe zamku malborskiego w latach 1396–1420', *Zapiski Historyczne*, ili, 4 (1976), p. 42–59.

²¹ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg, 1896) (hereafter: MTB); *Das Marienburger Konventsbuch der Jahre 1399–1414*, ed. Walther Ziesemer (Danzig, 1913) (hereafter: MKB); Arthur Sielmann (ed.), 'Die Reste des Marienburger Konventsbuches aus den Jahren 1395–1398', *Zeitschrift*

In the Late Middle Ages perceived luxury food items in Northern Europe included spices from the East: ordinary pepper and Guinea pepper (*par[ad]iskorner*), ginger, nutmeg and nutmeg flower, as well as cloves, cinnamon and saffron. These were added to dishes not only because of their taste but also for medicinal reasons – a large amount of spice aided digestion.²² While sugars (from sugar cane) were known in Europe as an expensive and luxurious sweet seasoning acting also as a medicine against fever and coughs.²³ Caramels were produced from sugar with the addition of other seasonings and spices; these were not only a sweet delicacy but also freshened up breath (in a similar way to cloves).²⁴

des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins, 60 (1920), 67–73 (hereafter: RMKB); *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410–1420*, ed. Walther Zieseimer (Königsberg, 1911) (hereafter: AHM); *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, ed. Walther Zieseimer (Danzig, 1916) (hereafter: MÄB). In recent time there can be observed an increase in interest in the Teutonic house at Marienburg, with the grand master at the fore; see Bernahart Jähnig, ‘Organisation und Sachkultur der Deutschordensresidenz Marienburg’, in Peter Johannek (ed.), *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Residenzforschung* (Residenzenforschung, 1, Sigmaringen, 1990), 45–75; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja życia*; Hartmut Boockmann, ‘Alltag am Hof des Deutschordenshochmeisters in Preußen’, in Werner Paravicini (ed.), *Alltag bei Hofe. 3. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Ansbach 28. Februar bis 1. März 1992* (Residenzenforschung, 5, Sigmaringen, 1995), 137–47; Tomasz Jasiński, ‘Was assen die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und Ihre Gäste am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts?’, *Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica*, xviii (1991/2), 15–25; Hartmut Boockmann, *Süßigkeiten im finsternen Mittelalter. Das Konfekt des Deutschordenshochmeisters* (Mittelalterliche Texte. Überlieferung-Befund-Deutungen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 42, Hanover, 1996), 173–88; Gerard Kucharski, ‘Życie codzienne i dworskie wielkich mistrzów krzyżackich w świetle Marienburger Tresslerbuch z lat 1399–1409’, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, lxi (2001), 171–207; Antoni R. Chodyński, ‘Styl i formy życia na dworze wielkich mistrzów w Marienburgu’, in Jacek Wiesiołowski (ed.), *Zamek i dwór w średniowieczu od XI do XV w.* (Poznań, 2001), 105–10. From amongst older works, see Johannes Voigt, ‘Das Stillleben des Hochmeisters des deutschen Ordens und sein Fürstenhof’, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1 (1830), 167–253; Bernhard Schmid, ‘Speise und Trank in Deutschordenshäusern um das Jahr 1400’, *Ostdeutsche Monatshefte*, 3 (1922), 101–7.

²² Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa*, 130–3; Hansjörg Küster, *Kleine Kulturgeschichte der Gewürze: ein Lexikon von Anis bis Zimt* (Munich, 1997), 297–300.

²³ Christoph M. Merki, ‘Zucker’, in Thomas Hengartner and Christoph M. Merki (eds.), *Genussmittel. Ein kulturgeschichtliches Handbuch* (Frankfurt a.M. and New York, 1999), 231–4.

²⁴ Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa*, 131–2; Küster, *Kleine Kulturgeschichte*, 299.

In northern Europe dried southern fruit could also be considered luxuries: figs, currants, dates and almonds. Southern fruits, and first and foremost figs and dates, contained a lot of sugar which was used to soften the flavours of vegetables as well as meat and fish dishes. Dates were also used as a digestive medicine, a remedy for flatulence and colds.

The mentioned spices were referred to in the Middle Ages in German as *krude*, but this name was also applied to various forms of confectionary, candied fruit with spices as well as to thickened juices. *Krude* was bought in packages-little boxes (*Lade*). Another type of confectionary, of various flavours, depending on the ingredients, and sold by weight, was called *konfekt* (Latin *confectum*). Some of these delicacies had their own names. Spices came to Prussia both from Italy via Flanders as from the East via Lwów. Having ingredients available confectionary was produced on the spot, in Prussia. This was carried out by apothecaries.²⁵

Amongst those products of local supply which were considered to constitute affluence were game, of the fish salmon, eel and first and foremost sturgeon.²⁶

Products considered luxurious were obtained by various means. Certain amounts of pepper and minute ones of saffron were supplied by peasants and innkeepers of Marienburg commandery as feudal rent. It seems that this service, which was later often changed into a money rent, was initially paid by all the tied villages in the Danziger Werder (Żuławy Gdańskie). Around the year 1400 from this source there came to the Marienburg house's coffers close on 183 pounds of pepper (69.5 kg) and 1.5 pounds (0.57 kg) of saffron. As there is no reference in the Marienburg house account book as to the purchase of pepper it may be assumed that this quantity was sufficient for the needs of the kitchen. Yet saffron was regularly bought in quantities of several dozen pounds a year.²⁷

²⁵ Agathe Lasch *et al.*, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, i (Hamburg, 1928), col. 695–6 (Low German *krût*, plur. *krûde*, cf. today *Kraut*, plur. *Krüter*); Werner Böhnke, 'Der Binnenhandel des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen und seine Beziehung zum Aussenhandel um 1400', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 82 (1962), 82–5; Boockmann, *Süßigkeiten*, 174–80. Cf. Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa*, 131–2.

²⁶ Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa*, 48–51, 56; Gerhard Fouquet, 'Das Festmahl in den oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters. Zu Form, Funktion und Bedeutung öffentlichen Konsums', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, lxxiv (1992), 95.

²⁷ RMKB, p. 71; Wiesław Długokęcki, 'Świadczenia w pieprzu i szafranie w państwie krzyżackim w XIV–XV w.', *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego*

The supplier of luxury food items to the grand master as well as the Marienburg house was the Marienburg *Großschäffer*. Supplies would occur regularly every year, according to a fixed budgeting (the economic plan for the Marienburg House). Although the first budgeting to be preserved comes, admittedly, from 1417, for the dating of the other is controversial (around 1400 or 1420),²⁸ there is no doubt whatsoever, if only through a comparison of the said plan and the inventories of the chief cook office (of the house and of the grand master), that the system of permanent deliveries functioned from at least the end of the fourteenth century (cf. Tables 1, 2 and 3).

From the preserved budgeting of the Marienburg *Großschäffer* it results that he supplied to the house kitchen annually 4 barrels of almonds, 3 barrels of rice, 6 baskets of figs and 3 baskets of raisins. These same delicacies but in smaller quantities (2 stone of almonds, 1.5 stone of rice, 1 basket of raisins and 1 basket of figs) together with pepper (8 pounds) and saffron (1 pound) were also supplied to the infirmary.²⁹ While the kitchen of the grand master besides these self same products was also supplied with ginger, cloves, and

– *Uniwersytet Gdański, Historia*, 14 (1984), 20–5, 29–30, 34–5 and Table 1. Cf. Astrid Kaim-Bartels, 'Safran und Pfeffer als Zinsgabe im mittelalterlichen Preußen', in Udo Arnold, Mario Glauert and Jürgen Sarnowsky (eds.), *Preußische Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Bernhart Jähmig zum 60. Geburtstag* (Marburg, 2001), 355–61. The first mention of pepper as a produce allowance is from as early as 1321 in a privilege for the village of Tansee (Świerki) in the Grosse Werder, while for saffron in 1341 in a privilege for a tavern for a village elder from Irgang (Martąg) also in the Grosse Werder. Presumably spices were obtained from contact with far travelled merchants; see Długokęcki, 'Świadczenia', 20, 29, 31–3. Emil Waschinski, 'Die altpreußischen Gewichte der Ordenszeit', *Westpreußen Jahrbuch*, xv (1965), 25–32, states that a Prussian pound was equal to 380 g. Another unit of weight was the stone equivalent to 24 (Toruń), 34 (Gdańsk, Elbląg) or even 40 (Königsberg) pounds. In Flanders a pound was equal to 414.5 grams.

²⁸ Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja życia*, 259, footnote 823.

²⁹ *Schuldbücher und Rechnungen der Großschäffer und Lieger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*, iii: *Großschäfferei Marienburg*, ed. Christina Link and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2008), 207–9 (hereafter: GM); *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Carl Sattler (Leipzig, 1887), 59–60 (hereafter: HRDO). In 1439–40 the customs master (*Pfundmeister*), who had taken over the provisions function of the *Großschäffer*, no longer supplied the house kitchen in currants and almonds, while the infirmary was not considered within the budgeting whatsoever; cf. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, no. 27, p. 790. However, in the inventory of 1449 there is mention of currants (2 baskets), figs (1.5 baskets), rice (2.5 stone), almonds (1 stone); MÄB, 154.

cinnamon sticks (*kanneelpfeifen*). In addition the private chambers of the grand master were supplied with sugars, dry ginger (root), nutmeg and nutmeg flower, cinnamon sticks, Guinea pepper, cloves, dates and over 200 packages of *krude*.³⁰

Wine, for obvious reasons, especially from the South (Italy, Spain, Greece), France and Rhineland was considered a luxury from amongst the alcoholic beverages in the North. In the Middle Ages types of wine were distinguished on the basis of their place of origin, as well as equally their properties. While the division into white wine and red wine was of little significance for it was white wine that was chiefly drunk. A separate place was reserved for spicy wine including *clarêt* and *Alant* (fermented with the addition of inula). It was feared that they could imitate southern wines and they were also considered damaging to one's health. The number of distinguished types of wine numbered twenty. Different types of wine were valorized with the consumption of the best constituting a mark of social prestige. The most valued were sweet Mediterranean wines, first and foremost Greek. Dry wine ('acidic') was not popular.³¹ Vines were also grown in Prussia, particularly in the band running along the Vistula river (chiefly Toruń [Thorn], Chełmno [Culm]) but as a result of climatic conditions domestic wine was considered qualitatively inferior to imported.³²

When the Order's main house was situated in the Holy Land, then later in Venice there were no barriers or difficulties in obtaining wine, so it was difficult to think of it as a luxury item. It was also produced on a large scale in its Mediterranean, Austrian and German possessions.³³ The situation changed with the transferring of the grand master's seat to Marienburg.

³⁰ MÄB, 59.

³¹ Rolf Sprandel, *Von Malvasia bis Kötschenbroda. Die Weinsorten auf den spätmittelalterlichen Märkten Deutschlands* (Stuttgart, 1998), 20–2, 98–101.

³² Janusz Tandecki, 'Uprawa winorośli i handel winem w średniowiecznym Toruniu', *Rocznik Toruński*, xiii (1978), 199–215.

³³ Udo Arnold, 'Uprawa winorośli i handel winem w zakonie krzyżackim w średniowieczu', in *idem, Zakon krzyżacki*, 240–7; Klaus Militzer, 'Der Wein des Meisters. Die Weinversorgung des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen', in Ortwin Pelc and Gertrud Pickhan (eds.), *Zwischen Lübeck und Novgorod. Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Lüneburg, 1996), 143.

The problem was resolved with the ensuring of a permanent annual supply of wine from the Coblenz bailiwick, as rent paid to the grand master. This was Rhenish wine (*Rheinwein*). The name covers a drink produced in upper and central Rhineland, on the Mosel as well as in Alsace, while the wine from this region was sometimes treated separately.³⁴

We learn for the first time about the magnitude of wine deliveries and their organization from the information of 1379. Here talk is of an old tradition. Therefore one may suppose that it reached back well into the fourteenth century. Already in the thirteenth century the Order had obtained duty privileges on the Rhine allowing for the transportation of wine. The most important centre for wine production was the Coblenz bailiwick, which towards the end of the thirteenth century was an independent trading unit involved, first and foremost, in trading in wine.³⁵ From this source the grand master obtained 24 large barrels of Rhenish wine. One large barrel was received by: the grand commander, the grand marshal (*Ordensmarshall*, at the same time the komtur in Königsberg) and the treasurer (*Ordenstressler*). The county of Katzenelnbogen supplied the grand master with one large barrel. In addition another 12 large barrels were purchased every year. Thus, towards the end of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century the quantity was 40 large barrels.³⁶ The transportation of wine to Prussia was such a troublesome obligation that the commander of Coblenz attempted to get out of it. The grand master during the first half of the fifteenth century reminded of his due in free wine supply.³⁷

At the beginning of the fifteenth century other types of wine were also supplied. Their assortment is noted in the treasurer's book. From amongst the southern wines the most popular was *Rivoglio* (*Rainfall*). from northern and central Italy, chiefly from Istria. Southern Italian wines also enjoyed popularity (*welscher wein*, *welischwein*). Greek

³⁴ Sprandel, *Von Malvasia bis Kötschenbroda*, 29–30; Militzer, 'Der Wein des Meisters', 143–4 (a large barrel – *Fuder*, was around 850 litres), 147. See also Andrzej Klonder, *Napoje fermentacyjne w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII wieku (produkcja – import – konsumpcja)* (Wrocław, etc., 1989), 67–8.

³⁵ Klaus van Eickels, *Die Ballei Koblenz des Deutschen Ordens im 13. Jahrhundert und die Entwicklung ihrer Zollprivilegien* (Düsseldorf, 1988), 47–59.

³⁶ Militzer, 'Der Wein des Meisters', 143–4.

³⁷ Hans Limburg, *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und die Ballei Koblenz* (Bad Godesberg, 1969), 50–2, 70–4.

wines were bought much less often, presumably because of the high price. Those purchased were: *malvasier* and *romania* (from the Latin name for the Latin Empire) as well as 'Greek' (*Krekisch*), produced, however, in the south of Italy. Of western wines *Azoia* from Portugal was purchased. In the bills there also appears a wine from Guben on the Lausatian Neisse.³⁸

The purchase of spices and seasonings envisaged in the budgeting of the *Großschäffer* and the guaranteed supply of Rhenish wine on the part of the Coblenz bailiwick (together with the additionally purchased 12 large barrels) did not satisfy all the needs of the grand master and his immediate entourage. The purchases noted in the treasurer's book may be divided into two groups: without indication for a concrete purpose, which probably resulted from the need to constantly keep up stocks, and those designated for a specific function: meetings and conventions with the rulers of neighbouring countries (taking place beyond Marienburg), with bishops as well as general chapters.

In the budgeting of the *Großschäffer* there is an absence of information in relation to the grand master as to the supply of confectionary. It results from the said official's bills for the first half of 1419 that for the feast day of the Cathedral of St Peter (22 Feb.) and Easter (16 April) this official alone provided the grand master with 60 pounds of confectionary of each sort: aniseed, coriander, cinnamon, ginger, currants in sugar (or confectionaries of a pepper flavour),³⁹ snacks of sugared spices called *Morsellen* (from the Latin *morsus*).⁴⁰ Besides

³⁸ Sprandel, *Von Malvasia bis Kötschenbroda*, 23–8, 42, 158; cf. Klonder, *Napoje fermentacyjne*, 67–71. For a list of the types of wine bought, see MTB, 685 (headword: 'Wein'). On the matter of the origin of various types of wine researchers have different opinions. For example, according to Klonder, *Napoje fermentacyjne*, 67, and Militzer, 'Der Wein des Meisters', 148, *Azoia*, *osoy* is a wine from the Burgundian county of Auxois, or in general French wine. For the prices of wine in Prussia at the beginning of the fifteenth century see Militzer, 'Der Wein des Meisters', 152–3.

³⁹ The term 'cubebenkonfekt' is translated as raisins in sugar (thus MTB, 669: *Kubebenkonfekt* = *Rosinenkonfekt*), yet from the meaning of its first component (*Kubébe*, i.e. kubebe pepper; see Friedrich L. K. Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, i, [5th edn, Gießen, 1909], col. 1162) it would result that the matter concerned confectionery of a peppery taste.

⁴⁰ See *ibidem*, ii (Gießen, 1910), col. 220: 'Morselle: Gewürzzuckertäfelchen, ... Schon mhd mursel, morsel n. Stükchen, Bissen, Leckerbissen'.

which the *Großschäffer* supplied for these very same dates $\frac{1}{2}$ a stone of ginger, $\frac{1}{2}$ a stone of nutmeg and 50 little boxes of *krude* for each date.⁴¹

That these were regular deliveries is pointed to by the fact that they took place at specific times. It follows to accept that payment for the said was made from the funds of the grand master. From the so far often quoted treasurer's book it would result that this custom was already in practice at the beginning of the fifteenth century, although the assortment of confectionery then purchased for the grand master was more modest. And so in 1404 the *Lieger* of the *Großschäffer* in Gdańsk was paid from the coffers of the grand master for the supply of 90 pounds of aniseed and cardamom confectionery and currants in sugar. In 1408 the *Großschäffer* supplied two batches of aniseed and cardamom confectionery and currants in sugar, ten pounds of each (in total 60 pounds), while in 1409 three times 30 pounds of the three sorts of confectionery delivered at three different times.⁴² However, confectionery was also bought sporadically. In 1409 eight pounds of confectionery was purchased in Złotoryja (Goldberg, in Silesia) when the grand master was in Toruń.⁴³

Imported wine was purchased every year reasonably regularly in Toruń and Gdańsk by the minter and Thorn commander as well as the Danzig castle commander, the customs master and the *Großschäffer*. Purchases were also made by the grand master's cellarer. The most often bought was *Rivoglio*, which even had its own specification in the account book, as well as *Welschwein* and Rhenish wine.⁴⁴ Other types of wine appeared less often. In 1405–6 seven barrels (*Fässer*)⁴⁵ of spicy *Alant* wine⁴⁶ were purchased. Sporadically wine was bought

⁴¹ GM, no. 3, pp. 237–8.

⁴² MTB, 310, 474, 494, 533, 557, 590.

⁴³ MTB, 590.

⁴⁴ MTB, 55–6, 102–3, 235, 286, 303, 310, 368, 383, 389, 390, 424, 456, 520, 521.

⁴⁵ According to Harald Witthöft, *Umriss einer historischen Metrologie zum Nutzen der wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung*, i (Göttingen, 1979), 398–9, 1 *Faß* (barrel) contained 132 *stof* of wine, while a *stof* equalled 1.425 litres. Another measure of volume used in the purchase of wine was an *Ohm* equal to 110 *stof*. In turn a small barrel (*Tonne*), which was used to measure quantities of beer equalled 94 *stof*. See also Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 275, footnotes 76–7.

⁴⁶ MTB, 368, 378, 383, 389, 390. Possibly with the intention of treating Konrad von Jungingen's nephrolithiasis; see Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preussen* (Königsberg, 1824), 244.

from Guben.⁴⁷ Finally domestic wine from Toruń also made it to the cellar and table of the grand master, which was, however, bought irregularly in large quantities (1406 – 2 and 1/2 *lasts*, 1409 – 3 *lasts* and 12 barrels).⁴⁸

The prestige role of luxury food consumption was particularly visible during meetings of an international character: Teutonic-Lithuanian, Teutonic-Polish or Teutonic-Polish-Lithuanian, to which the grand master would come accompanied by the highest Order's officials.⁴⁹ In the treasurer's book there is meticulously noted the expenditure for this aim taken from the funds of the grand master. For the meeting with the Grand Duke Vytautas (Witold) on the island on the Dubysa River (a tributary of the Neman River) in 1403 there was purchased, among other things, Italian and Alsace wine as well as another sort unnamed (presumably local wine), as well as a small quantity of spices (ginger, saffron, cinnamon), sugar and almonds. The highlight of the table was for sure sturgeon (3 barrels).⁵⁰ Attention is drawn by the lack of confectionery and the most expensive types of wine. These were not absent at the meeting of the grand master and Ladislas Jagiello in Toruń in 1405. Then 64 small boxes of *krude* were bought, together with 60 pounds of confectionery, aniseed and coriander in flavour, and candied currants, 8 'hats' of sugar, spices (ginger, nutmeg flower, nutmeg, cinnamon shoots [*canella*]).⁵¹ The meeting held at Kaunas (Kowno) at the beginning of 1408 with the participation of the rulers of the Order, Poland

⁴⁷ MTB, 385.

⁴⁸ MTB, 378, 521–2. Possibly Toruń wine is hidden in the *Großschäffer's* book beneath the general term 'wine'.

⁴⁹ For a list of Teutonic-Polish meetings for the period of Konrad and Ulrich von Jungingen, see Adam Szweda, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386–1454* (Toruń, 2009), 365–75.

⁵⁰ See *idem*, "Habitacula omnibus proventibus et com meatibus referta". Problemy zaopatrzenia w żywność podczas zjazdów polsko-litewsko-krzyżackich w I połowie XV wieku", in Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek (eds.), *Dobrou chut', velkoměsto. Sborník příspěvků z 23. vědecké konference Archivu hlavního města Prahy, uspořádané ve spolupráci s Institutem mezinárodních studií Fakulty sociálních věd Univerzity Karlovy ve dnech 5. a 6. října 2004 v Clam-Gallasově paláci v Praze* (Documenta Pragensia, 25, Prague, 2007), 31–3 (breakdown on the basis of MTB).

⁵¹ MTB, 354–5, 391–2 (a 'hat' weighs 40 pounds).

and Lithuania was particularly sumptuous in character. Out of the wines purchased for the occasion there was even *malvasier*, as well as *Rainfall*, *Azoia*, Alsace wines (in total over 122 marks were spent on these purchases), 81 pounds of aniseed and coriander confectionery and currants in sugar, 180 small boxes of *krude*, unknown sweets called *trosye* and *keyserspisse* as well as spices (ginger, green ginger, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg flower) and figs. The cost of these products was around 244 marks in total. Obviously this was merely a part of the expenditure. In the opinion of the Teutonic chronicler, the Kaunas meeting was extremely expensive for the Teutonic Knights and brought no results at all.⁵²

An opportunity for sumptuous eating was also had at the chapters. When in 1407 there took place the general chapter with the aim of electing a new grand master (this was to become Ulrich von Jungingen), then besides rams, eels and cod there was also bought sugar (40 pounds), ginger (½ a stone), nutmeg cloves (12 pounds), nutmeg flower (1 pound), cloves (1 pound) as well as confectionery: 30 small boxes of *krude*, 18 pounds of pepper, aniseed and coriander confectionery.⁵³

The prestigious role played by spices and good wine is equally confirmed by the expenditure from the funds of the grand master on the occasion of keeping the Lithuanian Duke Švitrigaila (Świdrygiełło) for the period 1402–4. Amongst the food articles purchased for him were southern fruits (figs, currants, almonds), spices (pepper, saffron), and even Greek wine, although on the whole he was bought wine of domestic production.⁵⁴ On the other hand Elbląg (Elbing) and Toruń, which hosted the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen in 1407, tried to ensure that there was no lack of foreign wine on the tables (Rhenish, Italian, while in Toruń even *malvasier*), confectionery (a small quantity

⁵² Johanns von Posilge, *Chronick des Landes Preussen*, ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, iii (Leipzig, 1866), 289: ‘Ouch so hilt der homeister eynen kostlichen tag czu Cawin ... und geschogin grosze koste, alleyne is doch wenig inbrochte’. For a breakdown of food and drinks, see Szweđa, “‘Habitacula’”, 34–6.

⁵³ MTB, 429, 432, 435–6.

⁵⁴ See Marek Radoch, ‘Wydatki wielkiego mistrza Konrada von Jungingen na utrzymanie księcia litewskiego Świdrygiełły w państwie zakonnym w Prusach w latach 1402–1404’, in Błażej Śliwiński (ed.), *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani* (Studia z dziejów średniowiecza, 11, Malbork, 2005), 288, 290, 295, 297, 300.

of *krude* in Elbląg), and a sufficient quantity of species and seasonings to prepare the dished (pepper, saffron, ginger, cloves, cinnamon).⁵⁵

Account books and inventories inform first and foremost about the ingredients from which the dishes were prepared, there is, however, an absence of information about the dishes themselves. The only known Teutonic book of recipes comes from the second half of the fifteenth century. It contains recipes from earlier cookery books, chiefly from southern Germany, and not original formulas. Spicy seasonings are used in them on a large scale.⁵⁶

Wine and spices were considered gifts which could be presented to the highest officials within the Order. This is borne out by the special regulation of the council of the Main Town of Gdańsk of 1421, which most certainly reflected earlier traditions. From the first transport of Rhenish wine to reach Gdańsk in a given year $\frac{1}{2}$ *Ohm* was sent to the grand master, the grand komtur received 6 *stof*, while the treasurer 4 *stof* of the alcoholic beverage. While during the grand master's stay in the city he would receive everyday 28 *stof* (16 in the morning, while 12 in the evening), and the grand komtur who accompanied him was given 3 *stof*. Besides which three dignitaries received confectionery and spices: a small box of *morsus* along with nutmeg and ginger.⁵⁷

Foreign wine also served as presents given by the grand master for a specific grouping of people. In the first place it follows to mention the rulers of neighbouring countries. In 1402 the queen of Poland as well as the grand duchess of Lithuania received wine from the grand master. In 1403 a barrel of Greek wine (*Krekisch*) was bought for Duke Švitrigaila, and in 1404 a barrel of Italian wine was presented to the

⁵⁵ *Nowa księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404–1414*, pt 1, ed. Markian Pelech (Toruń, 1987), nos. 458–9; Beata Herdzin and Piotr Oliński, *Rachunki z uczty wydanej na cześć wielkiego mistrza Ulyryka von Jungingen w Toruniu w 1407 roku*, in Roman Czaja and Janusz Tandecki, *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa*, i (Toruń, 1996), 297–301; Roman Czaja, 'Uczty rady miejskiej w średniowiecznym Elblągu', in *idem et al.* (eds.), *Archeologia et historia urbana* (Elbląg, 2004), 263–6 (here also is information about the feast given by the city council in Kamiecin [Kmiecin] in honour of the grand commander).

⁵⁶ Hermann Gollub, 'Aus der Küche der deutschen Ordensritter', *Prussia*, 31 (1935), 118–24. Cf. Johanna Maria van Winter, 'Kochen und Essen im Mittelalter', in Bernd Herrmann (ed.), *Mensch und Umwelt im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1986), 94–6.

⁵⁷ *Amtliche historische Aufzeichnungen über die Verfassung und die inneren Einrichtungen Danzigs vor dem Jahre 1458*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, iv, ed. *idem*, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehle (Danzig, 1870), 340–431.

wife of the Grand Duke Vytautas, while in 1408 two barrels of *Azoia* wine and two barrels of Rhenish were presented to Ladislas Jagiello, and two barrels of Rhenish were received by Duke Vytautas and two barrels of *Rainfall* (*Rivoglio*) were presented to his wife.⁵⁸ From the account book of the Marienburg castle komtur (*Hauskomtur*) it results that the grand master fairly systematically presented the Prussian bishops with wine: most often the bishops of Pomesania and Culm (1410, 1412–15), but also of Ermland (1410) and Samland (1411, 1415), and even the archbishop of Riga when he would come to the castle of Bratian (1414).⁵⁹ The sort of wine is not mentioned but one may speculate that it was Rhenish.⁶⁰ The grand masters also received wine as gifts: in 1394 a certain quantity of an unknown type from the duke of Burgundy, while in 1407 and 1408 a certain quantity of Hungarian wine from the king of Hungary.⁶¹

From amongst the exclusive gifts sent by the grand masters it follows to mention sturgeon. In 1402 the queen of Poland was sent 5 sturgeon, while in 1407 and 1408 Ladislas Jagiello was presented with 4 and 2 sturgeons respectively. Church dignitaries also received such gifts sporadically: the bishop of Ermland, Pomesania and the Pomesanian canons.⁶² However, as opposed to the king of Poland, who several times honoured the grand master with the presentation of game, and even European bison (1406) neither Konrad von Jungingen nor his successors offered the said as presents even though game played a significant part in their diet.⁶³

The grand masters would undertake regular journeys around the whole of Prussia, visiting castles and manors, particularly along the Vistula stretch and in Lower Prussia.⁶⁴ The Marienburg *Hauskomtur*

⁵⁸ MTB, 164, 224, 307, 481, 484.

⁵⁹ AHM, 5, 22, 74, 112, 141, 186, 190. See also MTB, 80 (wine for the bishop of Ermland).

⁶⁰ AHM, 281. This would be indicated by the note of 1417 about sending the Pomesanian bishop a barrel of Rhenish wine together with a sturgeon.

⁶¹ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, ed. Johannes Voigt, 6 vols. (Königsberg, 1836–61), v, no. 57; MTB, 423, 478.

⁶² MTB, 80, 164, 169, 253, 429, 486; AHM, 281. In 1399 the land komtur in Bohemia received a barrel of sturgeons from the grand master.

⁶³ Jasiński, 'Was assen die Hochmeister', 19; cf. MTB, 344.

⁶⁴ Carl A. Lückerath, 'Hochmeister-Itinerar. Forschungs- und Interpretationsprobleme', in Zenon H. Nowak (ed.), *Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden. Quellenkundliche Probleme und Forschungsmethoden* (Toruń, 1987), 135–40;

was obliged to supply wine (presumably chiefly Rhenish) to those places the grand master intended to stay. This was dealt with by carriers from Marienburg.⁶⁵ While only once did the *Hauskomtur* cover the costs of the transport of delicacies (*krude*), when the grand master stayed in Lower Prussia in 1416. One may therefore conclude that they were taken on the road immediately by the grand master's entourage.⁶⁶

The consumption of spices, confectionery and foreign wine by two other dignitaries resident with the grand master at the middle castle in separate chambers, the grand commander and the treasurer, was limited in nature. First and foremost there was not created for them separate offices of cellarer and chief cook. There is also a lack of information on separate kitchens though there are preserved references to the separate cellars of both officials.⁶⁷

During the rule of Konrad von Jungingen spices and seasonings, confectionery and imported wine were bought for the grand komtur when he travelled.⁶⁸ Yet from 1407 in the expenditure on these items there is no longer given their purpose.⁶⁹ In 1408 there was even noted the paying out of a small sum on ginger and dates for the treasurer.⁷⁰ It is unknown with whom these officials took their meals, with the convent or with the grand master. If with the head of the order then their access to luxury food items would have been much greater.

Klaus Neitmann, *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen – ein Residenzherrscher unterwegs. Untersuchungen zu den Hochmeisteritineraren im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Vienna, 1990).

⁶⁵ AHM, 3 (Leske), 20 (Barten [Barciany]), 22 (Graudenz), 24 (Mewe), 32 (Rehden), etc.

⁶⁶ AHM, 225. In 1418 he paid for the transportation of *krude* to the residence at Stuhm, while in 1415 for the production of boxes for their storage; AHM, 178, 316. Cf. MTB, 24 (purchases of confectionery and spices for the grand master's chamber before the winter journey). Also the grand komtur was bought confectioner and supplied with wine for the period spent away from the main house; AHM, 22; MTB, 177, 178.

⁶⁷ AHM, 78, 226, 274. See also Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja życia*, 234–5, 239. In the grand komtur's inventories of 1383, 1387, 1391, 1404 there is a total absence of reference to consumption, while in the inventory for 1436 there is mentioned mead, beer and sixty pike; MÄB, 1–2. The *Großschäffer's* inventories for the period 1375 to 1422 do not contain any data on consumption; *ibidem*, 3–6.

⁶⁸ MTB, 177, 178, 340, 393.

⁶⁹ MTB, 464–5, 477, 482, 533, 545–6, 558; cf. AHM, 22.

⁷⁰ MTB, 468.

As has been noted by Tomasz Jasiński even in the consumption of meat significant differences may be noted in the food served to grand masters and that eaten by brothers. There was a preference in the former for poultry, veal and suckling pigs, while for the latter there dominated beef and pork.⁷¹

It is not easy to establish to what degree the brothers participated in the consumption of luxury foodstuffs. From the inventories of the house's cook for 1392, 1399 and 1411 it results that the house larder contained not only currants, figs and rice, supplied by the *Großschäffer*, but also almonds which had not been taken in account in his budgeting. The same specialities, along with almonds, were noted in the infirmary inventory of 1449.⁷² Both the house account book as well as that of the castle komtur do not note purchases of these products whatsoever, although in the inventory of 1399 their quantity (4 baskets of currants, 4 barrels of rice) exceeds the amounts that result from the budgeting of the *Großschäffer*. It follows to also add that these products were never noted in the inventories of the district officials of the Marienburg commandery: of the *Vogtein* Leske (Laski), Herren Grebin (Grabiny Zameczek) and Stuhm (Sztum), or of the fishing office at Scharpau.

Not much is also known about the consumption of confectionery by the castle brethren. This does not appear in the house account book or that of the *Hauskomtur* as a permanent position for expenditure. In 1405 only once, on the day before All Saints', and from 1407 to 1409 were small sums systematically spent from the grand master's funds (usually a dozen or so scots) for the purchase of *krude* for 'den herren im convente zur collacien' on the eve of the holy day of the *totum duplex* and *duplex* ranking: of St Matthias the Apostle (23 Feb.), of Saints Philip and Jacob (30 April), of Ascension Day, Pentecost, of Saints Peter and Paul (28 June), the Visitation (1 July), the Assumption (14 Aug.), of Saint Bartholomew (23 Aug.), the Birth of BVM (7 Sept.), Saint Mathew the Apostle (20 Sept.), St Elizabeth (18 Nov.), St Andrew (29 Nov.), St Thomas the Apostle (20 Dec.), Christmas (24 Dec.), and sporadically the holy days themselves – Pentecost, the Birth of BVM (8 Sept.), Saints Stephen and Jude (28 Oct.) and All Saints' (1 Nov.), which should, however, be treated as a mistake on

⁷¹ Jasiński, 'Was assen die Hochmeister', *passim*.

⁷² MÄB, 154.

the part of the writer for there was no fast in force on holy days. The first two entries are annotated 'on the order of the grand master'. Besides, each year saw an increase in the number of days during which the brothers could eat *krude* (1407 – 4, 1408 – 7, 1409 – 8), but not all holy day eves from a given year appeared in the subsequent year.⁷³ It is easy to notice that the matter concerned the eves of holy days when the brothers were obliged to fast in accordance with regulations.⁷⁴ Although it is only from 1407 onwards that regular expenditure on *krude* for the house from the grand master's funds appears, it does not follow to conclude that the custom of serving confectionery to beverages (possibly added to wine in order to obtain *clarêt*) on certain days was only introduced by the new grand master, Ulrich von Jungingen. Most certainly the brothers received *krude* earlier, but from another source. This would seem to be pointed to by the information from the so called economic plan (budgeting) of the commandery of Elbing (about which below).

In the eleven inventories of the Marienburg house cellarer for the years 1396–1432 there was regularly noted small silver spoons numbering 49–50 pieces. It is not to be excluded that these could have been used for eating *krude* in a sticky or liquid state.⁷⁵ It would result from this that also exclusive confectionery was available from time to time equally to the rank and file members of the convent.

It is also difficult to unequivocally determine whether the brothers made use of foreign alcoholic beverages or not. It would result from the fairly numerous inventories of the house's cellarer that have been preserved for the period prior to 1410 (from 396 six, of which two from 1403), that in its cellar there was no wine whatsoever and only beer and mead. Only in the inventory of 1432 are five barrels of *Olant* (i.e. *Alant*) wine mentioned, while in 1449 a barrel of Rhenish wine.⁷⁶ This fact would confirm the expenses in the book of the Marienburg house, where there is no mention whatsoever

⁷³ MTB, 369, 425, 435, 440, 447, 461, 470, 488, 495, 502, 503, 512, 536, 545, 547, 579, 583. Cf. Boockmann, *Süßigkeiten*, 184. On the ranking of feast days, see Waldemar Rozynkowski, "Omnēs sancti et sanctae Dei". *Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego* (Malbork, 2006), 43–76.

⁷⁴ *Statuten*, Regel, 15, 16, pp. 42–4.

⁷⁵ MÄB, 92–6. Boockmann ascribes such a function to the spoons, *Süßigkeiten*, 177, 179–80.

⁷⁶ MÄB, 92–6.

of wine,⁷⁷ and also the lack of information on the purchase of foreign wine in the book of expenditures of the *Hauskomtur*.⁷⁸ In the inventories of district officials mentions of wine are very rare.⁷⁹

A certain quantity of wine was produced at the Marienburg commandery. In the inventories of the gardener office (*Gartenamt*) of 1410 and 1430 there is mention of a vintager (*Wynman*) and the equipment possessed by him. However, it is unknown where the vineyard was situated as well as how much wine was produced. In 1401 a vineyard is also mentioned at Stuhm.⁸⁰

An indirect answer to the question of the scale of purchases and consumption of confectioneries and foreign wine at the Marienburg house may be given on the basis of, among other things, the budgeting of the Elbing commandery of 1387.⁸¹ Particular castle and district officials, with the commander and castle commander at the head, were obliged to supply *krude* on the above mentioned two fast periods: the commander when the brothers took Eucharist (7 times a year), the castle commander during every fast, and the remaining officials once a year (on fast days).⁸² The clock master (*Glockemeister*) was obliged to give the brothers (on non-fast days?) half a *stof* of Rhenish wine, as well as *krude* (and a small barrel of beer) on each fast day.⁸³ In the rules regulating servants' behaviour in the refectory it is written

⁷⁷ MKB, 10, 32, 85, 117, 190. While twice was there mention of the sale of wine of an unknown kind to burghers from Marienburg and Gdańsk; MKB, 139, 159.

⁷⁸ AHM (headword: 'Kellermeister' and 'Keller des Konvents').

⁷⁹ In the Lasewitz *procuratoria* (1387 – a small barrel of wine), the Vogtei Grebin (1417 – two large barrels of Toruń wine; 1437 – a barrel of Toruń wine and ½ a small barrel of the same), in the Vogtei Leske (1436 – a large barrel of wine of undefined type), see MÄB, 30, 38, 49, 83.

⁸⁰ MÄB, 147–8, 150; MTB, 94

⁸¹ This source was published twice: 'Wirtschaftsordnung des Elbinger Ordenshauses', ed. Walther Ziesemer, *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*, 24 (1923), 76–91; Arthur Semrau, 'Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses Elbing aus dem Jahre 1386', *Mitteilungen des Copernicus Vereins*, 45 (1937), 1–74 (with an extensive commentary).

⁸² 'Dese nochgeschreben amptzherren geben in czwen vasten [i.e. from Quinquagesima Sunday to Easter and from Saint Martin's day to Christmas] krewde. Der kompthur gibt krude czu allen czeiten, wen sich di herren berichten. Huskompthur czum Elbing gibt in iclicher vasten czwir krewde czum irsten und czum letzten vor dem kompthur'.

⁸³ 'Wirtschaftsordnung', 83: 'Item der glacmeister sal alle ior geben petancia io dem herrn 1 hun czu iclichem essen an eynem fleischtage und iclichem herrn

that during fast days the commander's staff received *krude*, like the knight-brothers.

The budgeting of the Königsberg *Großschäffer* of the beginnings of the fifteenth century and put into effect post-1410 as well, envisaged supplying the chief cook with spices and seasonings (pepper, Tuscany saffron, ginger, Guinea pepper, caraway seed), fruit (currants, almonds, figs) and rice, while the cellarer with 8 small barrels (*tonne*) of Rhenish wine.⁸⁴ Presumably this was an insufficient quantity, given that the Königsberg commander carried out significant purchases of wine.⁸⁵

Specific data about wine consumption in the convents can be derived from the inventories of commandries from the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, registering their material state including their stocks of foodstuffs, at the moment there were changes in the commandery offices.⁸⁶ The most regular references to wine are in the inventories of administrative units of the Culm Land, also the Dirschau *Vogtei* (*wójtostwo tczewskie*) and the commandery of Ostrode (Ostróda), as equally for other commandries in Pomerania those of Schlochau (Człuchów), Danzig, Tuchel (Tuchola), of Mewe (Gniew) and in Prussia – of Elbing, Christburg (Dzierżoń), Königsberg, and Ragnit (Ragneta), there is, however, an absence of information, which may be purely chance, for the commandries of Balga and Brandenburg.

On the whole the beverage is referred to as wine (*wein*) or domestic wine (*landwein*, with the addition of Toruń, Neuenburg [Nowe], Ostrode), where wine without an attributive presumably designated also local wine.⁸⁷ Foreign wine (Rhenish, Italian, *Alant*) appears rarely.⁸⁸ The regularity by which reference is made to domestic wine

czum essen ½ stouf Reynisch wynes. Ouch sal her geben crude und eyne tonne bir in iclicher vasten'.

⁸⁴ HRDO, 169–170, 171. Cf. *ibidem*, 283, 300.

⁸⁵ 'Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch aus den Jahren 1433–1435', ed. Walther Zieseimer, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 53 (1917), 254, 260–5.

⁸⁶ *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Walther Zieseimer (Danzig, 1921) (hereafter: GÄB).

⁸⁷ GÄB, 910–11, 983 (index).

⁸⁸ GÄB, 8, 11, 16, 18, 28, 31, 34 (Rhenish and Hungarian wine in the cellar of the grand marshal), 84, 85, 90 (Rhenish wine in the cellar of the Elbing komtur), 124, 125, 129, 130, 134, 137 (Rhenish wine, *Peitower* [=Poitou?], Rainfall in the cellar of the Christburg komtur), 321 (Rhenish wine in the cellar of the Ostrode komtur), 536 (*alant* in the cellar of the vogt of Roggenhausen), 638 (Rhenish in

points to the huge importance of domestic wine growing and the production of wine for Teutonic consumption.

The quantities of wine cited in the inventories are not large, on the whole a few barrels (*Fässer*). There were, however, cases noted, especially in the 1380s and 1390s of a noticeably larger quantity of domestic wine being held at the commandery of Thorn (1385 – 94 barrels), of Rehden (Radzyń; 1382 – 4 *lasts*), of Engelsburg (Pokrzywno; 1381 – 21 barrels), of Graudenz (Grudziądz; 1399 – 20 barrels), Elbing (1432 – less than 2 *lasts*).⁸⁹

As was the case at Marienburg where the grand master, grand komtur and treasurer had separate cellars, where they kept wine, so too did the heads of provincial houses (commanders, vogts), although they did not have their own cellarers. There was in principle, however, an absence of wine in the house cellars where beer and mead were stored.⁹⁰

The conclusions formulated on the basis of the inventories indicate a similarity with the analysis conducted by Jürgen Sarnowsky into the accounting records of several Teutonic administrative units. Expenditure on spices and seasonings was a fairly regular occurrence, but the purchase of imported wines was a far more sporadic occurrence and concerned only certain houses. Only the commandries on the Vistula had their own wine production, but possibly with the exclusion of the Althausen (Starogród) commandery, and certainly this did not cover the demand for this alcoholic beverage.⁹¹

There remains therefore the need for explanation as to the consumption of wine at the Marienburg house. As has already been noticed the sources are relatively laconic. The absence of wine in the cellar confirmed by the inventories corresponds to the situation known from other commandries. Though it is true that we do not have the preserved inventories of the grand master's cellarer, there can be no doubt that he had under his care a significant quantity of wine, presumably in a certain part designated for the needs of the house. It is not to be

the cellar of the komtur of Tuchel), 703 (Rhenish in the cellar of the Danzig komtur of Gdansk), 722 (*alant* in the cellar of the vogt of Dirschau).

⁸⁹ GÄB, 90, 428, 559, 584, 597.

⁹⁰ GÄB, 900, 902 (index).

⁹¹ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 274–5, 333; HRDO, 165 (at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Königsberg *Großschäffer* supplied wine to the convents in Gdańsk and Toruń).

excluded also that the house supplied itself in wine, but these would have been small quantities consumed at once and therefore there is no reference to the said in the inventories. It appears that access to wine was to a certain degree rationed, presumably from a fear of its overuse.

When in 1414 the Order lacked money to pay mercenaries, the silver goblets in which wine was served to the brothers, were, among other things, melted down.⁹² In the inventories of the Marienburg house's cellarer there is regular mention of silver goblets given in quantities of several score. There is a lack of them for exactly the years 1414, 1415 and 1419.⁹³ In turn in 1415 there is mention of great bottles in which the brothers were served wine.⁹⁴ Also this information could relate to other data from the cellarer's inventories. In 1403 there is reference to three tin demijohns of a total volume of 20 *stof* (28.5 l), in 1414 two great demijohns for wine, in 1419 again two great tin demijohns, in 1432 one, while in 1449 once again two.⁹⁵ The references to goblets and demijohns for wine in these inventories undoubtedly point to the regular consumption of wine by the brothers of the Marienburg house, admittedly with an unknown frequency in this consumption.

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It is difficult to estimate the scale of expenditure on luxury foodstuffs. Regular deliveries were covered from the incomes of the Marienburg *Großschäffer*. In exceptional situations one may consider them as great, taking into consideration the fact that the average annual income from one village of an area of 60 fiefs amounted to 30 marks. At the end of the 1380s the income from a large city was around 17,000 marks, while state, entertainment and court expenditure, including that for luxury consumption, did not really exceed the 10,000 marks level.⁹⁶

⁹² Johannes von Posilge, *Chronick*, 349: 'silberin schalin, dorus man dem covente win pflag uszczuschenkin'.

⁹³ MÄB, 92–7. In 1396–9 – 54, 1403 – no reference, 1411 – 62, 1414 – 15, 1419 – no reference, 1432 – 75, 1449 – 75. Besides the silver goblets there is also reference to steel ones in a similar number (1398 – 22, 1398 – 9, 1403 – 24, 1411–14 – 12, 1415 – 3, 1419 – 12, 1449 – 9).

⁹⁴ MÄB, 95: 'grosse flaschen, do man den coventwein offtreit'.

⁹⁵ MÄB, 94 ('3 czynine flaschen, die behalden 20 stouffe'), 95 ('2 grose czynnen wynflaszchen'), 96.

⁹⁶ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 181.

The consumption on the part of the knight-brothers of luxury foodstuffs was not expressed in regulations and incorporated in the Statutes. Although it probably did not constitute too much of an eyesore for the Order's subjects. We have not been able to find any clear cut grievance on this account amongst many expressed after 1410. Southern fruits and spices were generally available within trade in Prussia and did not constitute delicacies.⁹⁷ Presumably, therefore, the luxury consumption in force within the Teutonic Order did not exceed in its quantity that generally acceptable for the standards of the day, all the more so that it involved chiefly the participation of the grand master himself as the ruler.

TABLE 1. *Luxury food articles in the inventory of the chief cook of the grand master (1400[1420?]) and the budgeting of the Marienburg Großschäffer (1417)*

Inventory of the chief cook		Budgeting of the Großschäffer	
Article	Quantity	Article	Quantity
<i>Purchases for the grand master's kitchen</i>		<i>Purchases for the grand master's kitchen</i>	
Sugars	31 head	Sugars	32 head
Ginger	2.5 stones	Ginger	2.5 stone
Nutmeg	2 stone, 1 pound	Nutmeg	2 stone, 7.5 pounds
Cloves	1 pound	Cloves	1 pound
Cinnamon	1 pound	Cinnamon	1 pound
Dates	1 stone	Dates	1 stone
Guinea pepper	1 pound	Guinea pepper	1 pound
<i>Krude</i>	200 laden	<i>Krude</i>	211 packs
<i>Purchases for the Grand Master's larder</i>		<i>Purchases for the Grand Master's larder</i>	
Almonds	7 barrels	Almonds	3 barrels
Rice	5 barrels	Rice	2 barrels
Figs	9 baskets	Figs	3 baskets
Currants	6 baskets	Currants	2 baskets
Ginger	0.5 stone	Ginger	0.5 stone
Cloves	6 pounds	Cloves	6 pounds
Cinnamon	3 pounds	Cinnamon	3 pounds

Source: HRDO, 59; MÄB, 162.

⁹⁷ Jasiński, 'Was assen die Hochmeister', 21–2.

TABLE 2. *Luxury food articles in the inventories of the chief cook of the grand master*

Article	1399 Quantity	1404 Quantity	1408 Quantity	1452 Quantity
Almonds	2 barrels	4 barrels	3 barrels	5.5 barrels
Figs	2 barrels	6 baskets	5 baskets	5 baskets
Currants	2 barrels	2 baskets	2 baskets	3 baskets
Ginger		16 pounds		12 pounds
Saffron		7 pounds		8 pounds
Pepper		30 pounds		3 stone, 8 pounds
Cinnamon				1 pound
Cloves				2 pounds
Rice	2 barrels	5 barrels	3 barrels	12 barrels

Source: MÄB, 137–9.

TABLE 3. *Luxury food articles in the inventories of the chief cook of the Marienburg house*

Article	1392 Quantity	1399 Quantity	1411 Quantity
Almonds	1 barrel	4 barrels	4 barrels
Figs	3 baskets	3 baskets	7 baskets ^a
Currants	1 basket	4 baskets	4 baskets ^b
Caraway seeds			1 barrel
Rice	1 barrel	4 barrels	6 barrels ^c

Source: MÄB, 136–8.

trans. Guy Torr

^a 1 basket of old and 6 baskets of new figs.

^b 1 basket of old and 3 baskets of new currants.

^c 3 barrels of old and 3 barrels of new rice.