

Of pots and hearths – the material environment of domestic foodways

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ABSTRACT

The material culture of the medieval and later foodways in Estonia was in a constant evolution, influenced by various changes in the local society as well as in the broader human environment. In this paper, we will broadly outline these changes through the development of the equipment used both for making and consuming food and liquids in the domestic sphere. Based on the surviving evidence, it is possible to note several processes, some bound with the cultural transfer from abroad, others connected with the political and economic situation in the area under discussion.

KEYWORDS

vessels, ceramics, metal, glass, Medieval Period, Early Modern Period, Estonia.

Introduction

Among the sources related to food production and consumption, there is a wide variety of tangible information available. As usual, sherds of ceramic vessels are the most numerous in the archaeological record, yet metal, glass and wooden vessels were used too, while items connected with food preparation, often fragmentary, can also be pointed out, and cutlery can be traced. In this article, we give a broad overview of food- and drink-related artefacts from the territory of present-day Estonia during the Medieval and Early Modern Periods, which, according to local archaeological periodisation, ranges from the 1220s till ca 1800 (Russow et al. 2006; Russow 2006a; Valk 2006).

Archaeological investigations that have taken place on monuments from these centuries have been more numerous in towns and castles. Since the 1980s, several large-scale rescue excavations at rural settlement sites have yielded a vast number of finds, mostly potsherds, but the majority of this material is lacking clear temporal

margins. In spite of a few recent excavations that have established contexts with more delimited dating (e.g. Saage et al. 2021), the stratigraphic and chronological boundaries can be more easily established in urban areas. This is the main reason why material from towns and castles dominates in our reconstruction of the food-related environment from these periods.

For most of the period, the territory of present-day Estonia can be roughly divided into coastal areas (north and west) and inland region (south). Out of the nine medieval towns of Estonia, five have been more elaborately investigated and form the core of the urban material. Of these, Tallinn, New Pärnu and Haapsalu are located in the coastal region, while Tartu and Viljandi are situated inland (Fig. 1). The medieval political division of the land between several independent religious states (the territory of the Livonian Order or the prince-bishoprics of Tartu and Saare-Lääne) either had no straightforward regional impact on the domestic foodways or the differences are not clearly visible in the archaeological sources. On the other hand, the later political incorporation first into the Swedish kingdom (the second half of the 16th century – 17th century) and then into the Russian Empire (from 1710/1721 to 1918) has left some tangible evidence.

The use of vessels in the following analysis is divided into eight horizons, usually based on general changes in ceramic use in the urban contexts. We acknowledge that these are best recognizable regarding imported wares (the basic framework for this being Russow 2006b; Russow & Haak 2018a), while some of these horizons



FIG. 1. Places mentioned in the text. 1 – Uugla, 2 – Laiuse, 3 – Pilstvere, 4 – Põltsamaa, 5 – Lõhavere, 6 – Hüti, 7 – Maasi, 8 – Lihula, 9 – Võnnu, 10 – Pikasilla, 11 – Otepää, 12 – Vastseliina, 13 – Pskov.

may remain practically indistinguishable when looking at kitchenware, but also metal and glass vessels. Nevertheless, such periodisation allows contextualising the changes in tableware with the bulk of the archaeological material.

Background: the Final Iron Age

Before the incorporation of the eastern Baltic area into the western European political and cultural sphere, which started more earnestly with the crusading conflicts in the late 12th century, both hand- and wheel-made vessels were in use in Estonia. Moreover, stylistic evidence points to several local features of hand- and wheel-made pottery. Besides that, the influence of wheel-made vessels on the appearance of hand-made pots and bowls from the Final Iron Age has been stated (Tvauri 2005, 66–67).

In the coastal areas, pottery use can be described as modest, which may also be the reason for technically less advanced pottery production, compared to that in the inland territories. Although direct evidence is lacking due to preservation conditions (Vissak 2022, 104–107), a wider use of wooden tableware vessels has been assumed. In southern Estonia, influence from the northwestern Russian pottery tradition, coming perhaps from Pskov, has been suggested (Tvauri 2000a, 27–28; 2005). Although there is no direct archaeological evidence of pottery making during the Final Iron Age (ca 1050–1200/1250), i.e. no workshop remains have been investigated, there are a few sites where bloated fragments characteristic of pottery production have been found (e.g. Võnnu in Jonuks & Tvauri 2020, 104–105, figs 5–7; Lõhavere in Haak 2010, 51).

The initial ICP (Inductively Coupled Plasma) analysis (Brorsson 2023) indicates that there were multiple production areas, one probably in central Estonia (northern Viljandi county?), but the provenance of these vessels has not been securely settled. In coastal areas, it is possible to indicate a marginal use of Slavonic pottery during the transition period (late 12th – first half of the 13th century), formerly thought to have come either from western Slavonic areas or from Scandinavia, known as Baltic ware (see Russow et al. 2017), but the recent ICP samples of the relevant sherds tend to link the analysed finds rather with northwestern Russia (Russow & Brorsson 2022). The occurrence of western European pottery in Final Iron Age archaeological contexts is almost non-existent, and the same goes for glass vessels. Parallel to this, the earlier local tradition of hand-made vessels probably also continued at the beginning of the Medieval Period, in culturally more conservative/resisting rural areas.

The first ceramic horizon (ca 1220–1280)

While acknowledging that political transformation in the early 13th century did not directly affect the food-related material culture of the indigenous population, it was

nevertheless an incentive for larger changes in both food preparation and serving. The reason, besides the influx of new settlers, was the dramatic reorganisation of the living environment, most notably the establishment of towns, castles and monasteries, which facilitated the spread of new eating habits and customs surrounding dining and religious practices. The latter included using metal vessels for ritual handwashing (see Mänd 2008, fig. 118 for an aquamanile found in the surroundings of the Laiuse Castle), a custom of the upper end of the society also before the meal.

Starting from the cooking sphere, the first urban houses of the newcomers were probably built according to the fashion of the settlers' origin (mainly northern Germany and Scandinavian littoral), which meant that besides earlier indigenous hearths, *keris* stoves and clay stoves, also open fireplaces located in the front building were constructed in the first urban houses (Fig. 2). The kitchenware included, besides earlier flat-based vessels of local, northwestern Russian and Baltic ware traditions, Paffrath-style globular pots and first tripod pots. In southern Estonian towns, particularly Viljandi but very likely also Tartu (Tvauri 2000a), there is direct evidence of wheel-made pottery production, while in Tallinn, coarseware tripod pots appear, which were very likely locally made by several potters using different raw clay sources (Russow 2019, 33–34; Russow & Brorsson 2022).

As their design (handles and feet) sometimes directly imitated copper alloy tripods, we can be rather sure that metal vessels were also well known in towns during this period (see also Russow 2023). Furthermore, based on visual comparison with the 13th-century pottery production around the Baltic coast, it seems that typologically the most direct parallels to the Tallinn products come from the Roskilde–Lund area



FIG. 2. The remains of the open fireplace in the mid-13th century front building of the merchant's house in Lihula. Photo by Mati Mandel.

in southern Scandinavia – unsurprisingly, as the Duchy of Estonia was back then part of the Danish realm. Thus, we may presume that at least some of the potters came from the key towns of medieval Denmark (Russow 2020, 160–164).

The ongoing changes had an even greater influence on tableware. All the aforementioned vessels indeed found their way to the table, yet the existence of specialised drinking vessels, most notably imported jugs – Siegburg proto- and near-stoneware as well as glazed redware from Flemish and northern German and/or southern Scandinavian¹ areas –, does not have earlier parallels in Estonia. In Tallinn (Russow 2019, 22–26, table 1), such finds spread over most of the later walled town, but also in suburban areas near the Harju Gate (Freedom Square, Pärnu Road and Roosikrantsi Street) and further, near the Härjapea River and St John’s hospital (*ibid.*; Heinloo 2021, 214–217). In western Estonian centres, there are several households and a significant number of ceramic fragments of early dating in Lihula (Russow 2006b, 143–148), and also in Pärnu, where the distribution of early wares is limited to the presumed 13th-century town core (Heinloo & Vissak 2012, 156–159). Also in Tartu, there are several plots with similar imports, mostly in the vicinity of the Town Hall Square (Mäesalu & Haak 2016, 512–514), while in Viljandi, a similar pattern arises, with a larger share of glazed redware (Haak & Russow 2013, 73–76, table 1).

Without quantitative evidence, similar ware types appear in castles where 13th-century habitation is evident, in particular Viljandi (Haak & Rannamäe 2014, 142–145) but also Lihula (Russow 2006b, 263) and Otepää. However, we are aware of only a very limited number of sherds of such vessels from rural settlement sites, an even in such cases, there might be a connection to the German cultural sphere (e.g. in Pilistvere in central Estonia, the site next to the parish church may have been a parsonage) or a slightly different status compared to an ‘average’ rural settlement, such as a smithy (e.g. Uugla in western Estonia, among some other similar sites). Thus, we may conclude that in the rural sphere, these developments had next to no influence.

The existing evidence points to the possibility that wooden stave vessels appeared on the urban table during this stage. As wood has not always been preserved, there are not many contexts that provide unequivocal evidence to confirm this, while greater numbers appear during the next stage. The same seems to apply also to turned dishes – both occur in the earliest deposits of the Tallinn Town Hall Square, dated to the mid-13th century (Mäll & Russow 2004).

1 The French glazed (Rouen) ware is represented only with a handful of sherds from Tallinn and Tartu, and cannot be regarded as a common element of the 13th-century urban household. More likely the French pottery indirectly hints towards wine imports from the same areas, similar to the sporadic appearance of Saintonge wares in early 14th century contexts in Pärnu and Haapsalu (Russow 2006b).

The second horizon (late 13th – mid-14th century)

During the 1280s, changes in the imported wares reaching Estonian territories as well as in the rim shape of the vessels used in southern Estonian centres point to a new horizon of food vessel use. In kitchenware, the changes are perhaps less evident: although the appearance of ware type 3: 3 (Tvauri 2000b, 104–105) took place approximately at the same time, the changes to local pots in the southeastern region were perhaps not essential (although a preliminary view allows suggesting a focus shift to somewhat smaller pots). The Paffrath-type globular pots were no longer used by the end of the 13th century, probably because of the steady local production of tripods at least in Tallinn from where they were distributed, to a certain degree, also to other coastal settlements, such as Haapsalu and Pärnu (unpublished ICP analyses; Brorsson 2022).

Whether the smaller urban port towns had their own pottery workshops is hard to tell, as the finds are, by and large, visually indistinguishable from the Tallinn products. What is clear is the limited influence of western European potting traditions in continental areas – so far, only a very limited number of fragments of locally made tripods have been found in Tartu, and not elsewhere in southern Estonia (Fig. 3). The explanation might be cultural or circumstantial, or both simultaneously: the previous (prehistoric) potting tradition was strongly rooted and the emerging urban society in southern Estonian towns continued to use former vessel types because of the well-established craft that rejected western pottery traditions. Or, based on the demographic situation, this might indicate a considerably higher number of interethnic marriages where male immigrants chose local women as partners,



FIG. 3. Two regions, two potting traditions: 13th-century local flat-based pot from Viljandi (VM 10620: 935/2) and tripod from Tallinn (AI 6713: 270). Photos by Herki Helves (left) and Jaana Ratas (right).

leaving the kitchen sphere less affected from the western European influences – only the public side (the table culture) embraced foreign manners. This is, of course, a speculation that needs to be addressed much more thoroughly in the future.

It seems that almost all kitchenware in use was locally made, the situation only challenged by the appearance of a meagre amount of northern German greyware in the early 14th century. The real competition in this segment was possibly between potters and metalworkers – metal vessels gradually pushed the fragile and less aesthetic clay artefacts from the market. The exact dynamics of this process are difficult to follow, as for now, only one archaeologically verified production site of copper alloy tripods is known: a southern suburb of Tallinn, at Roosikrantsi 9/11, vaguely dated to the first half of the 14th century (Saage & Russow 2020, 335). However, as later written sources (e.g. Hahn 2015) mention several metal tripods in one household, this may perhaps be carefully also applied retrospectively to the period discussed here. Unfortunately, this can be archaeologically affirmed only with the find complex from the cog wrecked in Tallinn probably in the second quarter of the 14th century (Fig. 4). The latter site offers also the single example of Norwegian bakestone fragments (Roio et al. 2016, fig. 14), an item that did not reach the local kitchen, as was the case elsewhere in the Baltic littoral. To this we may add a completely surviving stone mortar, used in the kitchen (*ibid.*, fig. 13) – an object that was used in local urban households too but has left only minimal traces in the archaeological record.

Finally, there exist a few brickware spit supports, which, together with dripping pans, give evidence of another cooking practice – roasting meat on open fire. Based on the mapping of the dripping pans in Tallinn, this practice was not exclusive here to better-off households (see Russow & Gaimster 2017; Russow & Haak 2018b) and



FIG. 4. A collection of tripod pots from the first half of the 14th century, found on a wrecked cog in Tallinn (MM 15329). Photo by Jaana Ratas.

indirectly indicates the continuous use of uncovered fireplaces, now highly likely either incorporated into the standing stone walls or developed into hearths under the early mantel chimneys in the corner of the living room. In addition, another brickware product, namely lids (presumably for tripods) appear by the beginning of the 14th century.

The use of tableware became more nuanced. While the majority of drinking vessels consisted of near-stoneware and stoneware from Rhineland (Siegburg, Langerwehe) and southern Lower Saxony (Bengerode, Fredelsloh, Coppengrave), there is evidence from Tartu, Viljandi, Tallinn and Otepää that local potters produced a small number of jugs, the shape of which imitates the imported wares (Jürjo & Russow 2011, fig. 25). Their low number suggests that they were probably not competitive in the market, although their appearance from the castles of Viljandi and Otepää shows that they did find their way into elite/communal households; however, the social status of the users should be left open. Based on their size, the majority of the jugs can be associated with drinking beer.

In addition to pottery, some of the stave dishes – probably the higher ones – functioned also as beakers (Vissak 2002, 166–168) and had widespread use in the urban space, as evidenced by the finds from Tartu and Tallinn. Glass vessels were also used on the table, but these usually found their way only into selected mid- and higher status households. Among the glass finds, the most noteworthy are the luxurious enamelled beakers (Fig. 5, second from right) very likely produced in Venice (e.g. Krueger 2018; Mäesalu 1999; Niilisk et al. 2017). These have been found in several Estonian urban centres and occasionally in castles (Pikasilla, Viljandi, Otepää), but in greatest numbers in Tartu. Further on, beakers decorated with glass thread (both ribbed beakers and those with spiral thread) appear in urban centres (Fig. 5). The glass vessels of this period can mostly be associated with wine drinking. Last but not least, besides common knives that are visible throughout the



FIG. 5. Glass beakers from Tartu (TM A-108: A471, A485, A652; TM A-115: 728/767/1388/1389). Photo by Jaana Ratas.



FIG. 6. Examples of exclusive cutlery handles from Tallinn and Tartu (AI 4061: 2207; TM A-51: 5306) and an inferior copy from Pärnu (PäMu A 2662: 1484). Photo by Jaana Ratas.

times, now the first ‘high-end’ examples of cutlery appear (Fig. 6), and with these, also imitations of lesser quality.

The third horizon (mid-14th – first half of the 15th century)

From the 1350s onwards, the overall homogeneity of food-related artefacts can be stated. This is especially true for tableware but several smaller changes occur also in kitchenware. First, we can speak of the disappearance of local coarseware tripods in Tallinn as well as other coastal towns. These are partially replaced by greyware vessels, probably imported from the southern Baltic coast, which besides coastal towns have also reached better-off households of Tartu. However, the main reason behind the gradual disappearance of coarseware tripods should be the growing use of copper alloy vessels. Although the amount of clay cooking pots in inland towns seems also to diminish from the mid-14th century onwards, cesspit finds confirm that they remained in use well into the 15th century (Haak & Russow 2012, 158–159), and 15th–16th century dating has also been suggested in the case of Narva (Haak & Kriiska 2006), although the evidence in the latter case lacks closely dated complexes.

As the archaeologically visible discard of bronze and other metal vessels was limited (probably due to the constant reuse of scrap metal), it is difficult to estimate the actual typological development as well as the horizontal and vertical spread in the society. There were certainly different shapes and forms, just as in the previous and following periods. More importantly, technical innovation can be hazily seen from the last quarter of the 14th century. Namely, possibly around this time the very first glazed redware tripods were introduced in Tallinn (Mäll & Russow 2000; Russow 2007), highly likely reflecting the economic and cultural contacts with the core area of the Hanse. Besides Baltic redware tripods, one can occasionally spot Dutch products starting from the 1360s–1370s at the latest; however, the latter can only be considered personal utensils and not a commodity (the most recent example coming from the late 14th-century Lootsi wreck in Tallinn; see Tammet et al. 2023).

While it is certain that both copper alloy and ceramic tripods made their way to the dining table, archaeological finds allow a far more detailed picture of drinking vessels. Compared to the previous period, greater homogeneity can be stated, with stoneware jugs produced in Siegburg beginning to dominate the market, while products from Langerwehe and southern Lower Saxony were still strongly represented. Products from Waldenburg in Saxony took some role around 1400 both in urban and selected rural contexts (see Russow 2006b, 101, especially footnote 114; unpublished data from Lehmja). Furthermore, the superior quality of stoneware pushed the other low-end ceramic drinking utensils from the households. The high-end products include several glass beakers mostly of Bohemian origin, silver jugs, and occasionally also Valencian lustreware – the first occurrence of a Mediterranean jug is surprisingly early for the Baltic Sea region, around the mid-14th century (Russow et al. 2020; Russow et al. 2013, fig. 2: 17, erroneously interpreted as Italian maiolica). In a very vague manner, due to the deposition issues of copper alloy items mentioned above, it is also possible to state that the more elaborate dining culture was not only represented through drinking vessels but was also accompanied by the sophisticated or skilfully decorated hand-washing equipment of copper alloy, likely starting to be used after the mid-14th century (Russow 2018). Thus, both the tableware and the washing equipment should reflect the ever-increasing emulation of the elite dining culture in the urban society.

Fourth horizon (most of the 15th century)

Several trends mentioned above continued also in the 15th century. However, due to major changes in waste management in the urban environment, it is much harder to follow these developments, especially in major towns. Previously, when the dwellings were usually wooden, the cultural layers (fill, trash, levelling) surrounding the buildings grew slowly, but it gradually stopped with the wider use of stone/brick houses and paved courtyards. Thus, more and more of the domestic trash and muck was transported outside the town core, to the fields, suburban properties

or to specially devised areas, where one could displace the content of privies and cesspits. For that reason, the 15th-century material culture is archaeologically less visible than that of the previous periods, except in some cases where former trash pits and lavatories were not emptied, but this type of contexts usually reflect better-off households (Haak & Russow 2012). Only the growing archaeological focus on the suburbs in Tallinn and Tartu during the last decade and a half has helped to fill previous gaps in our understanding. Here, the 15th-century landfill in Kalamaja suburb in Tallinn (Russow et al. 2019) is especially outstanding, with a possible parallel from the Riga suburb in Tartu.

For most of the century, there is very little information on kitchenware. Thus, we can only assume that the above-mentioned trends – domination of metal vessels, similar cooking practices, etc. – continued. Since the beginning of the 15th century, the number of local pots in use for cooking seems to further diminish also in inland towns. As the conclusions on dating are based on the cesspit material, it may only reflect better-off households, yet a numerical decrease is visible also elsewhere. Nevertheless, towards the end of the century, another type of ceramic kitchenware, redware tripods, became much more widespread in coastal towns, most clearly visible in the aforementioned Kalamaja landfill (Russow et al. 2019, table 1) but to a certain extent also in another Hanseatic town – New Pärnu (Russow 2006b, 174–175).

The composition analysis (Holmqvist et al. 2020) speaks of redware production also in the Tallinn region that is visually difficult to distinguish from the southern Baltic imports. This marks only the beginning of the new fashion, which in the next century became the standard cooking ware in the urban scene, and was also used in villages, although, according to the present knowledge, not in very large quantities – again, highly likely because of the adaption of bronze tripods and copper kettles into rural households, as evidenced by the hoard finds (Leimus 2001). Perhaps as a new aspect in urban households (especially in Tallinn), there is some proof of discarding Mediterranean foodstuff containers – olive jars from the Seville area, Portuguese redware (previously known as Merida ware) and a few albarelli coming either from Valencia in Spain or from an unspecified location in Italy (e.g. Russow et al. 2019, table 1).

Regarding tableware, the dominance of Siegburg stoneware continued for the whole period, including a wide variety of vessel types, from Jacoba jugs to larger jugs and funnel neck beakers. Only jugs from Waldenburg and, to a lesser extent, products from Langerwehe/Raeren competed among stoneware drinking vessels, while tin alloy jugs made by local metal workers had an increasing share in this section. The use of both glass and wooden beakers continued, with high pruned beakers (the so-called Bohemian beakers), which were probably best suited for beer, appearing in this period, although these were rare and may be considered high-end products especially in the northern Baltic Sea area (Haggrén 2015, 336).

Other indicators of conspicuous consumption include, in addition to silver jugs, Lausitz stoneware and Valencian lustreware (e.g. Russow 2006b, 122–123, 175). The

distribution analysis of the latter two indicates that neither of them were exclusively bound with religious houses and feudal sites but possibly found their way into the houses of merchants, well-off craftsmen and public institutions (an inn in suburban Tallinn, a guild (?) room in New Pärnu). The slow start of the individualisation of tableware should also be highlighted, indicated by personal drinkware (the increasing number of smaller jugs and beakers) as well as the introduction of the very first plates – wooden platters. The latter are thus far known only in the abovementioned Kalamaja landfill, yet were likely relatively common in the urban environment.

Based on written sources, also the first forks were in use in the households of higher ranking clergymen, reflecting items, tastes and customs brought along from southern Europe. However, no archaeological examples are available presently. The wills and inventory lists also often mention silver spoons as popular gifts to godchildren (Hahn 2015; Seeberg-Elverfeldt 1975), but only wooden and copper ones have been recorded in the archaeological record for the current period (Fig. 7). The same applies to special instruments: while salt cellars have been mentioned in written sources, we do not find these in archaeological collections, except in



FIG. 7. A selection of late medieval tableware from the Kalamaja landfill in Tallinn (AI 7909: 20, 69, 114, 314, 10963, 11371, 11372, 20964, 21770, 25578, 25558, 25560). Photo by Jaana Ratas.

fragments (such as miniature metal or bone lids, feet and wheels, or wooden tubs, e.g. Jürjo & Russow 2011, fig. 27) that are extremely difficult to interpret.

Fifth horizon (from the 1500s to mid-16th century)

At first glance, the main change that took place in the early 16th century was the even more widespread distribution of glazed redware, especially tripods, among all urban strata. While differentiating between local and imported redware is problematic without composition analysis, the existing evidence of local redware production suggests a growing demand for such products. In addition, the first examples of whiteware with iron slip decoration, produced in numerous Polish workshops (Bis 2019) and further in central Europe, appear in coastal towns in the 1510–1520s at the latest. Based on written sources, metal kitchen utensils were widespread in all spectrums of urban society (Hahn 2015; Pöhltsam-Jürjo 2013, 107 ff.), yet this is not traceable in the archaeological sources. The same applies to foodways – the typological variety of surviving cookware does not show dramatic changes in the cooking methods or the types of food consumed.

Thus, at first glance, the kitchen area remained conservative, with food usually made on an open fireplace below the mantel chimney in the corner of the *Diele* (the main room in the front house). Occasionally, it is possible to note that the two main heating elements – the hypocaust oven/tiled stove and the fireplace – were either combined together or placed next to each other (examples include the Maasi Castle on Saaremaa island, Russow 2011, fig. 3, and a presumed house of the canon at the prince-bishop's castle at Haapsalu, Russow 2011, fig. 2). However, this appears to be the case only in the elite housing in the castles, where the kitchen was a detached room and even had a bread oven (e.g. Russow 2002, fig. 3: room III), and thus the open fireplace in the representative room likely had less use for culinary purposes. In an 'average' late medieval urban house it is hard to distinguish a special chamber for food preparation (apart from a visually distinguishable mantel chimney) or a pantry for foodstuff.

A greater change in tableware took place in the second quarter of the 16th century. Two trends can be pointed out. First of all, the personalisation of tableware gained more momentum. Second, along with the spread of individual drinking vessels, the volume of beakers and jugs tended to decrease. On one hand, this indicated the use of personal drinkware at least in some parts of the society; on the other hand, it marked the widening assortment of drinks, as the smallest glass beakers were likely used for the consumption of strong alcoholic beverages, which in Livonia were produced and consumed since the turn of the 15th/16th century (Pöhltsam-Jürjo 2013, 83–84). At the same time, a new type of stoneware – richly decorated Cologne stoneware – appeared, yet not pushing the previous leader (Siegburg) out of common use. It is also interesting to note that while the new, protestant ethos is occasionally visible on the tableware (e.g. proverbs on the Cologne stoneware), it

is not overwhelming, as the transition to the new faith seems much more visible on other kinds of artefacts, such as stove tiles.

In the eating sphere, the most evident addition is the pewter plate (Põltsam-Jürjo 2013, 108–109). While not surviving in great numbers, it also affected competing crafts, as some of the wooden and ceramic plates tend to imitate tin alloy artefacts. A gradually growing number of plates might likewise indicate the changing food culture (new types of food and foodstuff, reflecting global tendencies, such as exotic plants and poultry coming from the Americas), but this is hard to prove based on the existing tableware. There are, however, some new types of pottery, rarely visible in the archaeological record though, pointing to possible new additions to the menu, such as 5–7 cm wide shallow bowls (for pâté?; see Russow 2004, fig. 6: 3, 7).

Finally, it is worth to conclude that in one way or another, the overall *joie de vivre* on the table seems to have broadened during this period: through the growing use of shiny glazed redware, similarly glossy grey Raeren stoneware and green-glazed Siegburg stoneware, and more and more through relief-ornamented stoneware. In glass vessels, this is less visible but might be confirmed by some more elaborately decorated items from Tallinn, such as *Tierkopf-Stangenglas*, first goblets with pedestal foot (Reppo 2015, 66), and maiolica jugs originating from the Mediterranean area (Montelupo) and southern Netherlands (Antwerp), available in a few archaeological contexts in Tallinn and New Pärnu (Russow et al. 2019, table 1; Russow 2006b).

Sixth horizon

(second half of the 16th century – early 17th century)

The Russian-Livonian War (1558–1583) ended the earlier political division of Livonia and brought significant changes to the towns that had to adapt to the new circumstances under Muscovite, Polish and Swedish states. This is also echoed in the material reflections of eating and drinking habits, and among other things, the long period of military conflicts affected the formation of archaeological deposits. Firstly, because of the uncertain circumstances of the war, there is a significant number of vessels in rural areas that have been used as hoard containers. These include copper kettles, tripods of copper alloy and redware, but also drinking vessels like pewter jugs or ceramic field bottles. In the urban scene, a significant amount of vessels were buried under ruins and the previously constructed latrines were not emptied, thus increasing the variety of available source material.

Among food preparation vessels, the appearance of larger cauldrons of copper alloy become visible during this period. As there are similar vessels dating from the 1500s, they may have been in use a few decades earlier, and, according to the written evidence, were quite often ordered from the masters working in Nuremberg and Brunswick (Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 388 ff.). Yet it is tempting to connect the more voluminous copper vessels (Fig. 8; Kadakas & Nilov 2004, 166–167) with the movement of troops or similar larger groups. Another development in the kitchen



FIG. 8. Large copper kettle (HMK 7766:1 A 763) from the former Padise Monastery, later on used by the Muscovite and Swedish troops. Photo by Villu Kadakas.

sphere was the reappearance of greyware cooking pots in all areas affected by the Muscovite troops. This form is seen in towns, castles and villages, and sometimes traditional greyware vessels are accompanied with whiteware vessels of similar shape, presumably from the Moscow region and associated with the arrival of people from the vicinity of Moscow (see Tvauri 2004 for details). However, such wares did not reach Tallinn, the only town not conquered by the Muscovite troops during the war.

Among the items for personal consumption, a new vessel type, field flask can be pointed out. These vessels, presumably associated with moving troops, exist as (Duingen) stoneware, northwestern Russian green-glazed greyware (Fig. 9) and wooden items (for the latter, see Vissak 2022, fig. 40). Among the vessels that were probably used around the table, a shift among the production centres can be noted: the previously absolutely dominant Siegburg stoneware lost its role and the former mainly plain jugs were now replaced (but not in the same quantities) by relief-decorated stoneware tankards and jugs. Now the stoneware came mostly from Cologne/Frechen and Raeren workshops, but apparently the diminishing role of stoneware can be explained by the rising amount of pewter drinking vessels, also reflected in the numerous treasure finds, where the latter were used more often than pottery as hoard containers. And while tin alloy plates had probably an important role on the table, they do occur only rarely in the archaeological contexts, contrary to the colourful slipware (including Weser and Werra ware) and tin glazed ware from the Low Countries,

starting to appear in the 1580s (Russow 2006b). Both painted redware and maiolica found relatively widespread use in the coastal urban society (including suburbs, at least in the case of Weser ware), yet the overall number of these finds is still too small to interpret their occurrence as a standard element of the urban household. They had, however, no impact in the rural setting.



FIG. 9. Late 16th-century northwestern Russian green-glazed greyware field flask from Puiatu coin hoard, southern Estonia (ERM D 13:3). Photo by Estonian National Museum.

Seventh horizon (17th century)

While the 17th century meant political stability for northern Estonia, the Polish-Swedish wars continued in southern Estonia until 1625, after which the entire continental Estonia was brought under the Swedish rule, with the island of Saaremaa following in 1645. A large number of castles lost their status as elite households, while especially Vastseliina on the Russian border peaked during this period (Küng 2013). This period also marked significant changes in the urban scene, with Narva emerging as the second important centre besides Tallinn by the last decades of the century, while inland towns lost their importance in international trade and in some cases were even bestowed to Swedish or local magnates. These developments are, by and large, visible in the material environment: although the 17th-century ceramics from inland towns have been far less investigated, there seem to be much less imports from overseas than previously.

Changes in the food preparation scene were probably minimal – at least archaeologically it is difficult to notice technical innovations in the kitchen sphere, where most of the cooking still took place on open fire. This is indirectly proven by the continuing use of tripods as the main cooking vessel.

Despite the lack of precisely dated complexes, we may state the quick disappearance of northwestern Russian type of pottery from the urban contexts, while these may have remained in use in the countryside, especially the unglazed coarseware in the southeast. The significant amount of redware tripods in all the towns suggests that these competed with metal vessels, although the exact proportions probably varied between households. Regarding the 17th century, we can also speak of local redware production, with a workshop by Johann Rehn investigated in Tartu (Tvauri & Metsallik 2006) as archaeological evidence. At the same time, local potters in coastal towns experienced a strong influx of simple domestic cookware that flooded the market despite their protests (for Tallinn, see Soom 1969, 138). On some occasions, this abundance of foreign plain redware is observable in the archaeological record too.

Although redware became also the dominant vessel form of tableware, there is significant variety of ceramic products, especially in coastal towns, with steadily widening typological spectrum reflecting the evolving tastes and table culture (e.g. bowls, colanders, mustard pots). Besides imported redware (including the already known Weser and Werra products) and whiteware mostly from the southern Baltic coast, there is slipware that resembles Scandinavian articles. However, as for most of Europe, the trendy tableware in the 17th century was the whiteware with blue painting, emulating Chinese porcelain as well as offering new, European decoration motifs. Probably most numerous was tin-glazed ware from the Low Countries and Flanders, to a lesser extent also Portuguese faience in coastal towns. Here and there one can spot German products (e.g. faience from Arnstadt in Thuringia), but these were usually bound with apothecaries and much less common in the domestic environment.

Innovation on the table is also perceptible in the evolution of drinkware. Compared to the previous period, we can grasp a dramatic fall in the use of stoneware: the former production centres (except Frechen, to a



FIG. 10. 17th-century pewter tankard found from Saka hoard in Virumaa (AI 8738). Photo by Jaana Ratas.

certain degree) lost their role, and only one new producer – Westerwald – entered the market, adding another touch to the blue-white tableware. Yet Westerwald jugs and tankards had a rather marginal position (although they occur both in urban and rural contexts), and it seems that the emerging local glass production as well as the pewter industry (Fig. 10) successfully replaced the formerly so dominant ceramic counterparts. Besides drinking vessels, the glass manufactures at Hüti in Hiiumaa island and in Pärnu county (see Roosma 1966; Reppo 2019) produced a significant number of glass bottles, which also appear in greater numbers during this period. Perhaps only in one segment the ceramic drinking utensils appeared prevalent: in the late 17th century, the urban society embraced hot beverages, and here the local masters could not offer a solution to the demand for cups and accompanying saucers made either in Orient porcelain or European faience centres.

Eighth horizon (18th century)

The 18th century started with the Great Northern War (in Estonia, 1700–1710), which brought the Baltic provinces under the rule of the Russian Empire. While the war, the preceding crop failure and the following plague were disastrous for the population, in the food preparation scene it meant that the influx of new inhabitants both from the Russian and northern German centres probably brought along a demand for a new fashion. However, several probate inventories of the 18th century include detailed lists of household items, including kitchen- and tableware (e.g. Suurmaa 2004; Pullat 2014), which allows some conclusions on the dynamics of the use of these items among the upper middle class. At the same time, archaeological evidence is still relatively modest, as only during the last decade or two more attention has been paid to the material remains dated to post-1710 times (Russow et al. 2021).

In food preparation, significant changes took place in affluent urban households and probably also manor houses during this period. The wider substitution of copper alloy and brass vessels with those of iron items (Suurmaa 2004, table 4) should be noted. Although the number of ceramic cooking vessels is rather low in the inventories, these were probably still used among the lower classes, and especially in the countryside, as evidenced by ethnographic data from the Setomaa region, where unglazed greyware vessels were produced until the mid-20th century (Niidu 1978, 84–88). Especially in the southeastern rural areas, such greyware vessels remained in use besides redware tripods, while in the urban contexts tripods probably went gradually out of use because of the adaptation of stoves. At the same time, crude grey- and coarseware is visible also in the urban material, and usually these finds are closely related to the new communities coming from the eastern areas, above all the Russian military with their families.

New equipment belonging to the kitchen sphere included coffee burners, coffee- and teapots – the latter could be of silver or brass as well as ceramic. In the pantry

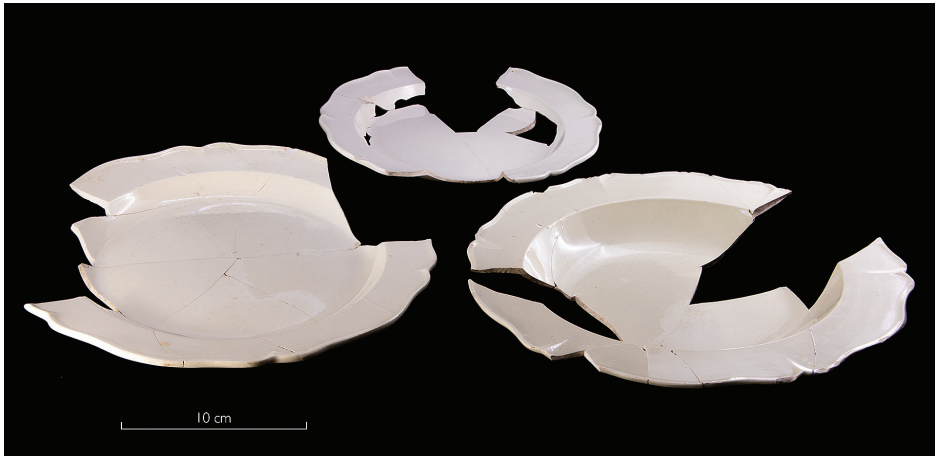


FIG. 11. 18th-century Queen's shape creamware plates from Toom-Kooli 15 property in Tallinn (AI 8596). Photo by Jaana Ratas.

sphere, bowls for preparing sour milk and also preserving jars of glass appear (Reppo 2022, 160, 167).

Among tableware, the 18th century introduced the norm of visually unified sets of ceramic plates and cups to be used in every wealthy household. For most of the period, these were imported, as Dutch products can be seen in several archaeological contexts (e.g. Russow 2005, 203–204), next to the English stoneware and creamware plates (Fig. 11) that appear in local urban settings from the 1740s onwards, at least in coastal towns. The demand for tin-glazed ware and porcelain led also to the establishment of first local manufactures: the Fick faience manufacture in Tallinn between 1772 and 1782, where plates, bowls, salt and soup bowls and jugs were produced (Raik 1973), and the porcelain plant at Põltsamaa (1782–1800) (Keevallik 1972; Pärtma 2013). However, both industries have left only a faint trace in the archaeological record – so far, Tallinn faience has not been found during archaeological excavations, and Põltsamaa porcelain has been registered (next to wasters) only in very modest numbers in Pärnu and Tallinn.

In addition, tableware included local glazed redware and imported whiteware that had now a less important social position than previously, as well as an increasing number of glass vessels. These included beakers, goblets and shot glasses as well as glasses mainly for mineral water (for Pärnu finds, see Reppo 2022, 164–166; see also Suurmaa 2004, 110–115 for information in probate inventories). For suburban and especially rural households, the sources are even more limited, as the systematic cataloguing of 18th-century finds from these sites remains a task for the future.

Conclusions

Over the period from ca 1200 till 1800, the food culture in Estonia changed beyond recognition. The effects of international trade in foodstuff and globalisation as well as

in living conditions, including food preparation, eating habits and manners, brought along changes that have certainly left their footprint on the material environment. On the other hand, it may seem equally surprising that common greyware cooking pots that were the main vessel used in the kitchen sphere by 1200 can still be traced in rural surroundings by 1800, just as knives remained generally similar in the rural milieu. However, for most of the food- and drink-related artefacts, there were several developments to be noted.

Regarding the 13th century, we can speak of the first large-scale appearance of special drinking vessels – proto- and near-stoneware jugs, probably also wooden beakers and, by the end of the century, glass beakers as the most expensive sort. These were almost exclusively limited to the ‘German’ sphere of towns and castles, and with some notable exceptions, we lack evidence on vessels suitable for drinking beer in villages, which certainly did take place. Except for those of precious metals and wood, the majority of drinking vessels were imported during the whole period.

The 13th century also brought changes to the kitchen sphere, with the development of urban housing changing the habits of food preparation. Metal vessels for food preparation and ceramic tripod pots certainly originated from the western European cultural sphere, and it is hard to say when exactly these were widely accepted in the rural scene, yet the hoard finds clearly indicate that these were well-known by the 15th century. Urban settlers were also used to roasted meat, as indicated by specific material traces – finds of dripping pans and spit supports. While the use of flat-bottomed pots almost ceased in coastal towns by the early 14th century and probably by the mid-15th century in inland towns, these remained in continuous use in rural areas, which only marginally adopted redware tripods that were locally produced from the late 15th century onwards at the latest. The 15th century brought along the growing use of exclusive tableware (such as Lausitz stoneware and Valencian lustreware), reflecting the rise of domestic comfort in the urban environment.

While pots and beakers had remained the dominant forms of urban tableware for most of the medieval period, with only a limited number of bowls and plates among the finds, the situation changed considerably in the late 16th and even more widely in the 17th and 18th centuries, with cups, bowls and plates dominating among the finds of tableware. Several of the late 17th-century novelties, such as the habit of drinking coffee and tea, as well as more nuanced table manners can be seen behind these developments, which again reached the countryside more than a century later. By the year 1800, there is abundant written evidence on the possessions of several Tallinn households, including detailed inventories of their cooking vessels and tableware. However, archaeological information from that period is rather fragmentary and is limited to a few cases, where investigations have focused on later deposits. A comparative analysis of the written and archaeological evidence remains largely a task for the future.

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Pottidest ja kolletest – söögi ja joogiga seonduvad ainelised jäljed koduses keskkonnas

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RESÜMEE

Kesk- ja varauusaja toitumise kohta on säilinud arvukalt ainelisi jälgi. Arheoloogilises aineses leidub tavaliselt enim savinõukilde, kuid rohkemal või vähemal määral ka metall-, klaas-, puitesemete jms katkeid. Selles artiklis anname põgusa ülevaate Eestis 13.–18. sajandil söögi ja joogi tarbimisega seotud arheoloogilistest leidudest, jagades käsitletava aja kaheksaks tarbimisperioodiks.

Enne Eesti ala hõivamist läänekristlikku kultuuriruumi 13. sajandi alguses tehti siin nii käsitsi kui ka kedral valmistatud savinõusid, esimesi enam rannikuvööndis, teisi, loodevene käsitöötaustaga anumaid maa idaosas ja sisemaal. Lääne mõju (keraamika, klaas) on muinasaja lõpu kontekstis keeruline hoomata, väga tõenäoliselt kasutati ka puitanumaid, kuid hetkeseisuga pole selle kohta teada otseseid tõendeid.

Ehkki 13. sajandi alguse poliitilised muudatused tõid kultuurmaastikul kaasa põhjalikke ümberkorraldusi, mõjutas see toidu valmistamise ja tarbimisega seotud valdkonda ühiskonnas väga erinevalt. Kui maapiirkonna toitumisharjumused jäid ilmselt samaks, siis ühes linnade asutamise ja ühiseluliste struktuuride, nagu kloostrite ja linnuste rajamisega algas ka uut moodi nõude ja söögikommete (sh nt rituaalne kätepesu) levik. Arheoloogiliselt on see enim tajutav uute kööginõude (kerapotid, kolmjalgnõud), jooginõude (kannud) ja toidunõude (laudnõud) juurutamises, kaudsete allikate põhjal ilmselt ka metallnõude kasutuselevõtt. Huvitav on tõdeda, et korraga eksisteeris kaks köögikeraamika valmistamise traditsiooni: kui Lõuna-Eesti keskustes jätkus loodevene tüüpi savinõude kasutus, siis rannikulinna linnades tarvitati läänepäraseid graapeneid (joonis 3). Importnõud ja muud võõra taustaga anumad leidsid maapiirkondades vaid haruharva pruukimist.

13. sajandi lõpukümnenditel mitmekesisus jooginõude valik (Reinimaa päritolu nõude kõrvale ilmusid ka Lõuna-Alam-Saksi tooted) ning kööginõude import kadus, asendudes pea täielikult kohaliku pottsepise ja vähemalt Tallinna näitel ka siin valatud metallanumatega. Ainult üksikuid juhtudel esines Põhja-Saksamaalt pärit kolmjalgnõusid (eelkõige sadamalinnades), mis saabusid siia pigem isikliku omandi kui kaubana. Võimalik, et nii nagu hilisemal perioodil, oli juba toonastes majapidamistes kasutuses rohkem kui üks metallgraapen (joonis 4). Lahtisel tulel valmistati toitu mitmeti, näiteks küpsetati liha ning, nagu näitavad asjaomased Tallinna leiud, arvatavasti ei piirdunud see komme linnakogukonna jõukama osaga.

Samas võib klaaspeekrite, söögiriistade jt esemeleidude põhjal järeltada ka eliitarsemaid lauatarbeid (joonis 5).

Umbes 14. sajandi keskpaigast saadik näib kööginõudega seotud aines muutuvat tühtlasemaks. Rannikulinnaalates väheneb silmatorkavalt keraamiliste pottide kasutamine, mille võis tingida aina suurem metallanumate eelistamine. Sellega kaob järk-järgult ka ranniku ja sisemaa vaheline köögikeraamika eristumine. Märksa kirjum oli aga pilt lauanõude osas, kus Reini ja Lõuna-Alam-Saksi kivikeraamika kõrval kohtas väärismetallist kannusid, üksikuid Vahemere piirkonnast pärit luksuskeramikana näiteid ning eeltooduist enam Böömi päritolu klaaspeekreid. 14. sajandi lõpust esinevad kaunistustega metallist valamisnõud viitavad samuti üha kasvavale eliidi lauakultuuri jäljendamisele linnaühiskonnas.

15. sajand tõi kaasa mitmeid muutusi, kuid nende mõistmine on teisenenud prügiladestusviiside (prahi toimetamine linnast välja) tõttu varasemast keerulisem. Siiski saab tänu paarile hiljutisele leiukogumile öelda, et kuigi köögianumate seas valitsesid metallnõud (mis nüüdsest leidsid sagedasemat kasutust ka maa-asulates), algas aastasaja teisel poolel punase glasuurkeramikana näitel tasapisi köögikeraamika tagasitulek. Oluline muudatus oli suurenev joogi- ja lauanõude valik, kuid need muutusid varasemast väiksemaks, mis osutab kasvavale individualismile. Lisaks viitab rikkalikult kaunistatud keramikale (ka klaasi ja söögiriistade) ning kaugemalt pärit esemete levik jõukuse, mugavuse ja heaolu suurenemisele linnaühiskonnas.

16. sajandi alguses näis tarbenõude värvikirevus veelgi kasvavat, esmalt punase glasuurkeramikana üha arvukama kasutamise tõttu, aga samuti seoses reljeefdekooriga kivikeraamika ja klaasi ning majoolika ilmumisega. Uuendused olid siiski piisavalt tagasihoidlikud, mistõttu pole põhjust kõneleda märkimisväärselt muutunud söögiharjumustest. Mõned uued nõuvormid osutavad aga uute toitade ja jookide tarbimisele, esmajoones varasemast väiksemad klaaspeekrid, mis viitavad kangema alkoholi ilmumisele lauale. Ka läksid moest varem massiliselt pruugitud laudnõud.

Sama aastasaja teine pool tõi kaasa nii keskaegsete riikide kao kui ka pikema hädaaja: Vene-Liivimaa sõja (1558–1583). Sõda mõjutas inimeste tarbimisvõimalusi, lisaks jäi keerulistel aegadel maapäev varasemast enam söögi-joogiga seotud ainet, kas aardeanumaina või mattununa rusude alla. Märgatavaks muutuseks sel ajal oli seni jooginõuna domineerinud Siegburgi kivikeraamika kadumine majapidamisest, selle asendasid reljeefdekooriga kannud-peekrid Kölnist, Frechenist ja Raerenist ning arvatavasti senisest enam kasutusele tulnud tinanõud. Sõda tõi kaasa idapoolse keramikana massilise ilmumise, mis peegeldab otseselt moskoviitide vägede ning nende kannul allutatud aladele saabunud venelaste ainelist jalajälge: seda leidub arvukalt kõikjal, välja arvatud Tallinnas, mis jäi ainsana vallutamatuks. Keerulistele aegadele võivad viidata ka suured vaskkatlad (joonis 7), millest vähemalt osa seostub ilmselt vaenuväe toitlustamisega. Samas leidsid nii need kui ka loodevene välipuudelid kahtlemata oma koha ka kohaliku põliselanikkonna inventari seas (joonis 8). Teine nähtavam muutus on maalingutega punaste glasuurkeramikalist taldrikute ja vaagnate ilmumine söögilauale 16. sajandi lõpukümnenditel, samuti Madalmaade majoolika kasutamise järkjärguline kasv.

17. sajandil leidsid Rootsi võimu kindlustumise järel aset mitmed põhjapanevad muutused, millest mõned seostuvad majanduslike, teised kultuuriliste või poliitiliste põhjustega. Näiteks võib väikelinnade kuhtumise taga näha teisenenud alluvussuhteid ning see tõi ilmselt kaasa ka kehvemad tarbimisvõimalused, mida muu hulgas ilmestab varasema ajaga võrreldes vähesem importnõude esinemus kodudes. Linnused kui varasemad elitaarsed majapidamised jäid suures osas möödani, merkantilism ja manufaktuuride rajamine mõjutasid tarbimist ja tootmist. Rannikulinnales pidid pottsepad turul jõuliselt võistlema sissetoodava odava tarbekeraamika ja populaarse Madalmaade fajansiga, teisalt vähendas importjooginõude varasemat turuosa kohalik metallikäsitöö (tinavalajad) ning kujunev klaasitööstus. Nii vähenes drastiliselt kivikeraamika ja suurenes tinakannude/peekrite (joonis 9) ning klaaspeekrite/pudelite kasutamine.

18. sajandil liikus Eesti Vene keisririigi rüppe, mis mõjutas varasemaid tarbimis- harjumusi eelkõige uute sisserändajate kaudu. Kõige selgemini väljendab seda vene lihtkeraamika taasilmumine linnades; need nõud kajastavad sõjaväelaste ja nende perede ning muude elanikerühmade eelistusi. Kui maapiirkondades sarnanes köögi- ja lauanõude valik eelmistel valdavalt aastasadadel kasutatuga, siis linnades ei piirdunud muutused ainult vene taustaga esemelise kultuuriga. Sel ajal hoogustus kinnise tulekoldega pliitide ehitamine ning seetõttu kadusid järk-järgult kasutuselt varem omased kolmjalgõud, asendudes tasase põhjaga anumatega. Läänepoolsed moevoolud juhatasid kõrg- ja keskklassi üha enam moeka söögikultuuri poole, mida ilmestas standardiseeritud nõudevalik, esmalt Madalmaade fajansi ja Euroopa portselani kujul, kuid aastasaja teisest poolest üha rohkem inglise tööstusliku keraamika kujul. Moevooludega kaasas püsimine tõi siingi kaasa kohaliku fajansi- ja portselanitööstuse asutamise, kuid kumbki ei osutunud väga elujõuliseks ning arheoloogilises aineses kohtab sääraseid leide harva. Teisalt kajastab see ka uurimisseisu, sest Põhjasõjast hilisema esemelise kultuuri tõsisem arheoloogiline uurimine seisab alles ees. Kokkuvõttes võime 18. sajandil näha 20. sajandi keskpaigani valitsenud toidukultuuri ja lauakommete kujunemist, mis erinesid paljuski võrreldes kesk- ja ka varausajaga.