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Drinking Matters

Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe

Beat Kümin
Associate Professor of Early Modern European History
University of Warwick
For Michelle, Nina and Lukas
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Preface

The ideal for this study emerged over a decade ago. It was stimulated by the striking regularity with which inns, taverns and alehouses appeared in sources consulted for a range of unrelated purposes. Contrary to expectations (not least my own), there is a wealth of information on public drinking and communal sociability in pre-industrial Europe. Most importantly, the material seemed to open new perspectives on prominent concerns and scholarly debates in early modern historiography. In many ways, therefore, the topic imposed itself.

Peter Blickle, whose work on local communities has always been an inspiration, offered the project a base at the Historisches Institut in Bern (1997–2000) and temporarily employed me as an assistant. His general expertise, and the fruitful debates in his colloquia, provided essential methodical and conceptual guidance. Since my move to the University of Warwick, colleagues at the Department of History have provided a highly supportive research environment. I have learnt a great deal from running undergraduate courses on public houses both at Bern and Warwick and, most recently, from the spatial approaches of my research student, James Brown. When my resolve to work towards a higher doctorate wavered, Kaspar von Greyerz, Christoph Maier and Christian Windler offered timely encouragement. I am grateful to Christian Windler, Peter Blickle, Kaspar von Greyerz, André Holenstein and Werner Senn for their comments on an earlier, thesis version of this book and to the Philosophisch-historische Fakultät of the University of Bern for accepting it as a Habilitationsschrift.

A great number of scholars have helped the project at various stages. An incomplete list would have to include Frédéric Ammann (the doyen of tavern historians in the Canton of Bern), Niklaus Bartlome, Wolfgang Behringer, Renate Blickle, Andreas Bräunling, Peter Clark, Norbert Furrer, Reinhard Heydenreuther, Gunther Hirschfelder, Beat Immenhauser, Peter Martig, Anne Radeff, B. Ann Tlusty, Joachim Wild, Andreas Würgler, Walter Ziegler and, in the final stages, the members of the emerging ‘Social Sites’ network, especially Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff. Tobias Hug and Nikolaus Unger provided valuable research assistance as part of their Warwick doctoral fellowships. Countless clues, corrections and clarifications derived from conference audiences, notably the ‘Sixteenth Century Society Conference’ (Toronto 1998), the 6th and 7th symposia of the ‘International Commission for Research into European Food History’ (Tampere 1999 and Brussels 2001), a workshop on ‘Öffentliche Räume in der Frühen Neuzeit’ (Dresden 2001), the 5th meeting of the ‘Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frühe Neuzeit’ (Berlin 2003), the ‘30th Annual Alcohol Epidemiology Symposium of the
Kettil Bruun Society’ (Helsinki, 2004) and the ‘45. Deutscher Historikertag’ (Kiel 2004) as well as from members of research seminars at Basel, Bern, Dresden, Leicester, Leipzig, Munich, Oxford and Warwick. I owe particularly heavy debts to Peter Hersche, who kindly agreed to comment on a complete draft of the manuscript, and to my father, Albin Kümin, who acted as a highly efficient proofreader (and accompanied me on a number of enjoyable field trips).

I have nothing but praise for the archivists and staff at the various record repositories, especially the truly ‘great’ institutions of the Staatsarchiv Bern, the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv and the Staatsarchiv München, but also smaller establishments like the Gemeindearchiv Neuenegg and the Stadtarchiv Dachau, where working conditions were congenial and service often highly personalized. The same is true for the research libraries of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and Oxford’s Bodleian Library.

Finally, I would like to thank the Swiss National Science Foundation (for funding the initial stages of the project from 1997 to 2000), the University of Warwick (for ongoing help with research expenses), the British Academy (for two overseas conference grants), the Burgergemeinde Bern and the Präsidialdirektion der Stadt Bern (for their generous help with illustration and reproduction costs) and the Arts & Humanities Research Council (for funding an extra term’s leave in 2005 to finish the manuscript). The project could not have been completed without their assistance. Help and advice from Michael Strang at Palgrave Macmillan as well as permission to reproduce illustrations from the copyright holders identified in the List of Plates and List of Figures are also gratefully acknowledged.

* This study is dedicated to Michelle, Nina and Lukas, who provided a most supportive family framework and patiently indulged my obsessive desire to find out more about historic public houses.

Supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation

![Swiss National Science Foundation](image)

Supported by the Arts & Humanities Research Council

![Arts & Humanities Research Council](image)

2005 als Habilitationsschrift angenommen von der Philosophisch-historischen Fakultät der Universität Bern
Abbreviations and Measures

Information on Bavarian and Bernese measures taken from: Beck, Unterfinning, 577; Elsas, Preise, vol. 1, 116; Körner et al., Währungen, passim; Rankl, Landvolk, lxxii; Schmocker, Quellen, 211–13.

£  Pfund, pound (worth 20 s. / 240 d. / 7.5 b. in Bern; 8 s. / 240 d. in Bavaria to 1516)
b.  Batzen (Bernese monetary unit, worth 1/25 of a cr.)
BayHStA  Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München
BZ  Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde
cr.  crown, Krone (worth 25 b. / 100 kr. in Bern)
d.  pence, Pfennig (in Bavaria to 1665: 30 d. = 1 s.; after 1665:
     4 d. = 1 kr.; in Bern 12 d. = 1 s.)
f.  Florin, Gulden (in Bavaria worth 60 kr. / 210 d. to 1665, 240 d. after 1665; equivalent to 15 b. of Bern)
GAL  Gemeindearchiv Laupen
GAN(C)  Gemeindearchiv Neuenegg (Chorgerichts-Manuale, consistory court records)
GL  Gerichtsliteralien (court materials)
GR  Generalregistratur (general files)
HA  Herrschaftsarchiv (manorial archive)
ha.  hectares
HLS  Marco Jorio (ed.), Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (12 vols, Basel, 2002 –)
HR  Hofamts Registratur (files of the court office)
kr.  Kreuzer (monetary unit worth 1/60 of a f. in Bavaria and 1/100 of a cr. in Bern)
l.  litre(s)
M.  Mass, Maß, measure of liquid (equivalent to 1.67 l. in Bern; 1.069 l. in Bavaria)
m.  metre(s)
RPr  Ratsprotokolle (council minutes)
s.  shilling (worth 12 d. in Bern; 30 d. in Bavaria)
SAB  Stadtarchiv Bern
SAD  Stadtarchiv Dachau
StAB  Staatsarchiv Bern
StAM  Staatsarchiv München
StV  Staatsverwaltung (state administration)
SZG  Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte
Glossary

The following list provides the original German and French words for the most commonly used technical terms in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ale/beer</td>
<td>Bier (brewed without/with hops)</td>
<td>Bierschenke (Bierwirt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale-/beer-house (keeper)</td>
<td>Bierschenke (Bierwirt)</td>
<td>Bierschenke (Bierwirt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alewife</td>
<td>Bierwirtin</td>
<td>Bierwirtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathing house/establishment</td>
<td>(Mineral-)Bad; bain</td>
<td>Kaffeehaus; café</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee house</td>
<td></td>
<td>Garküche; rôtisserie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinking house/establishment</td>
<td>Pinte, Schenke; pinte</td>
<td>(for all kinds of beverages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inn</td>
<td>Gasthaus, Herberge, Tafern, Taverne [sic], Krug, (Gerichts-)Kretscham; auberge, logis à cheval/pied (all with accommodation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innkeeper</td>
<td>Tafern-/Tavernenwirt; Krüger; aubergier</td>
<td>(i.e. a publican of an establishment offering accommodation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>measure</td>
<td>Mass (unit for the sale of beer/wine)</td>
<td>Gast; visiteur, buveur (i.e. a guest or drinker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public house</td>
<td>Wirtshaus; cabaret (any kind of hostelry regularly selling alcoholic drinks to members of the public for consumption on the premises)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>publican</td>
<td>Wirt; hôte, cabaretier (individual in charge of any type of hostelry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapster</td>
<td>Bier-/Weinzäpfler; buvetier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tavern(er)</td>
<td>Weinpinte/-schenke; pinte, bouchon, taverne</td>
<td>(Weinschenk/-wirt; tavernier) (i.e. a publican of an establishment specializing in the sale of wine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Text

References to books and articles take the abbreviated format of: author surname, short title, page no. (‘p.’ for ‘page’ and ‘f.’ for ‘folio’ appear only for archival sources). Full details of all works can be found in the bibliography (subdivided in ‘primary sources’, ‘secondary literature’ and ‘unpublished works’).

All quotes from sources and secondary texts have been translated into current (British) English. Spelling and punctuation have also been modernized. Transcriptions in the original language appear only in cases of ambiguity or where formulations are particularly poignant.
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   Photo Beat Kümin.

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