Bacchus and social order

Noble drinking culture and the making of identity in early modern Sweden
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Abstract

Earlier research on the nobility of the seventeenth century Sweden have had a strong focus on a certain feature or ideal as a way of approaching and comprehending the world and identity of the Swedish nobility. By changing the perspective of approach using the drinking context – a social sphere which all ranks of society had entrance to – as an instrument to emphasize how the nobility in a universal milieu demonstrated their rank, will new information enhance our understanding of how identity could come to pass in a certain social sphere.

Through the study of noble diaries, letters, drinking songs and ornamentations on drinking vessels it is possible to approach how the ideals of the nobility was constituted in the drinking context, which will be further enhanced by the theories of Jenkins, Miller and Morrall. With such an approach it will be possible to stress the importance the interaction between objects, individuals, collectives and cultures had in the making of social identity.

By answering how noble ideals and hierarchies were constructed in the drinking context, as well as how the drinking context with its rituals could form sociability, it is possible to approach a notion of how noble individual and collective identity was perceived, promoted and performed.

Through the analysis it has been apparent that the themes of honour, loyalty, hierarchies, classical education, piousness, conspicuous consumption, war and violence were themes which influenced the drinking context in such a way, that it justly may be seen as a social context where the nobility used certain ideals of their collective culture in order to demonstrate their social rank.

Keywords: Identity, nobility, seventeenth century, Sweden, drinking context, sociability, ideal.
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The question of Simplex

In the classic tale by Grimmelshausen, the reader follows the escapades of Simplicissimus through a Germany torn by the Thirty years war. During one of his adventures this boy, raised as a peasant, ends up in a castle where he is to serve at a sumptuous banquet. His puzzlement of social rituals does not wait long until it reveals itself.

The following day my master had appointed a princely entertainment for his officers and other good friends, for he had received the good news, that his troops had taken the stronghold of Braunfels without the loss of a single man [---] At this banquet – and I take it happens likewise at others – everyone went to table like Christian. Grace was said very peacefully and to all appearance very piously. This pious silence lasted thorough the soup and the first courses, as if one had been eating at a Capuciner convent. But hardly had each and everyone said God's blessing three or four times until the bell sounded differently. It was close to incredible how one voice after another grew louder and louder; I could but compare the whole company to an orator, which begin softly and finally raves as the thunder itself [---] The noble wines of Hochheim, of Bacharach, and of Klingenberg they tipped into their bellies in glasses big as buckets, presently showed their effects higher up, in the head. And now I saw to my great astonishment how everyone changed; reputable people, which just before were in possession of their five senses and who had wise and sensibly been discussing different matters, beginning [...] to act the fool and to play the silliest tricks in the world. The great follies which they did commit, and the huge toasts which they drank to each other, became bigger and bigger, so that it seemed as if these two parties challenged each other which of them who could be accounted as the greater. At last this competition ended in a filthy drinking[---]They were totally insane; they thought they were brave, that they toasted and returned toasts as good honest, German friends[...] when this did not suffice in the long run, they beseeched each other to princes or of dear friends or of a mistress to pour themselves with large amounts of wine [---] Yes eventually did they make a noise with drums, pipes and stringed instruments and fired guns, doubtless for the cause to force the wine into the belly. 1

It is quite obvious that poor Simplex who had been brought into this noble milieu, does not really know what to make with all this drinking and intoxication. For him – a young man who was well–read on the Bible and grand authors, but who has been held away from every day social life – this grand feasting where the guests and host state their Christian virtues, but then willingly turns themselves into a ravaging horde of drunken animals, seems to awake more disgust than anthropological tingle. None the less the question is raised. For the gathered the story is obviously another. The excessive intoxication on wine, toasting, the challenges to drink honourably and to signal drinking with instruments and even blazing guns, tells of a story of both

1 von Grimmelshausen (1944) p 98,100,101
social drinking rituals and the use of noble features within this context. The question that Simplex seems to have risen is not simply how the gathered nobility became drunkards, but rather what made these drunkards noble drunkards.

Focusing on the nobility and how they defined themselves, earlier research may help us in our pursuit of answering the question of Simplex. Margareta Revera has in the books *Tre Karlar: Karl X Karl XI Karl XII* (1984) and *New Sweden in America* (1995) analyzed how luxury and higher culture was manifested by the Swedish nobility in the seventeenth century. In the latter two books she has analyzed how the society was affected by the conspicuous consumption of the nobility, as well as emphasizing the importance conspicuous consumption had for defining the nobility. The reasons for conspicuous consumption was that of individual and collective performance, created by the notion that the nobility had a special place in society, where the promotion of cultural life in Sweden was apparent as a result of the increasing power of Sweden during the seventeenth century. Public visual splendour was a way for the nobility to show their status within the collective as a response to the internal competition of status, but also to enforce social distinction to the surrounding. Despite sumptuary laws and reductions during the seventeenth century, the consumption of the nobility continued due to its large importance as a way for the nobility define themselves. ²

Peter Englund has in his dissertation *Det hotade huset: Adliga föreällningar om samhället under stormaktstiden* (1989) analyzed the noble ideology and how their view of society evolved during the changes of the seventeenth century. He argues that during the middle of the seventeenth century a change of paradigm in how the nobility defined itself grew forth, where meritocratic gains and moderate views on consumption came to define the noble ideology. Englund argues that in the centre of the whole noble ideology were five pillars, where the first were the teaching of the privileged and hierarchical society, through which the nobility justified their position by emphasizing the importance of concord and the dangers of change. The second held a negative view of any noble engagements in commercial trades, since the nobleman was only to work within proper noble trades. The third teaching stressed traditions, where the preservation of social order stands at its core. The forth pillar focused on patriarchy, which emphasised the relationship between different estates, where the superior had a responsibility to the subordinate. The fifth highlight the importance of birth, where the individual was defined by the estate they were born into.

Due to the introduction of new nobility which to a large extent had founded their social status on their own merit and the new requisites of society, this ideology came under great question during

the seventeenth century, where self–interest stood against the common good, republicanism against absolutism and birth against merit. ³

Åsa Karlsson argues in Enväldets politiska elit: Släkt– och äktenskapsband inom rådskretsen 1680–1718 (1997) as Kurt Ågren in Rise and decline of an aristocracy (1976) that political and social promotion through marriage was a tool often used by the aristocracy of seventeenth century Sweden. By using this institution a few intermarried families in the aristocracy could control the recruitment of members to the Council of the realm. According to Ågren the political elite had through a system of intermarriage and nepotism, created a recruiting pool to the Council of the realm and the higher administrations of the Swedish seventeenth century society. The intermarrying within one noble class was a practice which was to decline between 1651 and 1680, and after the rise of absolutism the council was more of a royal council than one of the aristocracy. ⁴ Karlsson continues this view into the beginning of the eighteenth century, arguing that although intermarriage was still important for the members of the royal council, the majority of marriages did not establish a connection between the old social elite and the new noble officials. Instead of intermarrying with the old elite, the new power elite intermarried within their own class, making a social distinction by not intermarrying between the two noble classes. ⁵

Christopher Collstedt has in Duellpolitik och duellestetik under 1800–talets första hälft: Representationer av våld I politisk debatt och skön litterär fiktion (2006) as well as Andreas Marklund in Bättre dö än illa fäkta: Våld, död och manlighet i dansk–svensk propaganda under Stora nordiska kriget (2006) discussed the importance of violence and how the nobility used this as one of their prerequisites for defining their rank. They both emphasize how important the ability to by force protect honour and masculinity was to the noble identity, as well as the privilege of being the estate who led the armed forces in times of distress. ⁶

These different dissertations, books and articles tell us of a history were consumption, violence, intermarrying and certain ideologies has been used by the nobility in order to manifest their position both visually and politically. The focus have been on a phenomena or feature, which have been used as an instrument in order to approach the creation of a noble identity, which gave an impression of the nobility as members and protectors of government and state, warriors and grand consumers. This does unfortunately not answer the question of Simplex, how drunkards became noble drunkards. It does give us an understanding of certain features and how this was a part of the creation of a noble identity, but not of how the nobility performed their

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³ Englund (1989) p 26ff, 33f, 120f, 134ff, 157, 161
⁴ Ågren (1976) p 60, 76f, 78
⁵ Karlsson (1997) p 600, 616
rank in a universal social sphere which priests, burghers and peasant also used for common sociability.

Perhaps by turning to the history of drinking will shed some light upon how the noble drunkard performed his rank. Christina Mattson’s book *Från Helan till lilla Manasse: den svenska snapsvisans historia* (2002) emphasises how the Swedish drinking song has evolved, as well as to some extent been looking into the history and the ritual of drinking. When analysing the drinking customs of the early modern era, Mattson is heavily relied on diary material from the nobility which could have been used to understand noble customs and perhaps even rank, but unfortunately excessive drinking, toasts and vessels are only briefly presented as part of a social ritual which only had as its goal to get properly drunk. The lion’s share of the book explores the drinking songs from the eighteenth century and onward, where the material concerning the nobility decreases fast along the way to the modern era, and nowhere may we find a clue if noble drinking differed from the other estates.  

In *En gustaviansk brygd: Dryckesvanor och genus i svenska högreståndskretsar ca 1772–1809* (2011) Hanna Enefalk does explore gender division in the drinking context of the Swedish elite. Enefalk demonstrates that within these drunken gatherings just a small extent of gender segregation was made between the sexes, where women were expected to only consume lesser amounts of alcohol than men. The custom was that men and women weren’t segregated in the public room but drank together.  

Karin Sennefelt’s *Politikens hjärta: Medborgarskap, manlighet och plats i frihetstidens Stockholm* show how different levels of drinking could both enhance and compromise masculinity and reputation for members from different estates in Stockholm’s diet during the age of liberty. The focus lies on political meaning of drinking, how individual political capital allowed the drinker to remain respectable and what consequence drinking and the political arena had on sociability.  

*Bacchus and civic order: the culture of drink in early modern Germany* by Ann Tlusty is a fantastic study of early modern notions of intoxication and drinking. Here the social meaning of the tavern is studied alongside the importance of drinking as an instrument of making business and social contracts, the cultural view of drinking and how it changed due to religious and scientific notions of the day, as well as how drinking was gendered. The book is an account on how drinking and intoxication was an important part in the social life for early modern people. Despite this book’s investigation of the rituals and symbols of intoxication, which concerns people from council members of Augsburg down to the beggars of that same city, it does not analyze the nobility as a

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7 Mattson (2002) p 22-49  
8 Enefalk (2011)  
9 Sennefelt Karin Politikens (2011) p 150-166
special group. The book does raise the importance of social belonging and sociability where drinking worked as a notion which promoted social distinction between certain groups.  

An equally impressive achievement is Angela McShane’s study *Nor Kings rule the world but for love and good drinking: Material Culture and ‘Political Drinking’ in Seventeenth–Century England*. This study emphasises the relation between alcohol, state and subjects during the seventeenth century England and how loyalty to both monarchy and church overlapped each other in toasts, making the pledging of health a manifestation of faith and loyalties. In this study McShane uses drinking songs and drinking vessel as a way of approaching the duality of toasting, since both tankards and songs occasionally could be full of themes and symbols, which was making links to Christianity and monarchy, thus making toasting an act to challenge and test religious and political loyalty in public.  

A majority of the earlier research have been investigating a specific attribute or feature in order to understand the views of early modern nobility, but an approach towards the social sphere and sociability to see what different aspects of identity that may offer, is something which have not been done in order to understand the making of noble identity. Simplex’s question thus stands unanswered. Fortunately through the studies of Sennefelt, Tlusty and McShane it is clear that the act of drinking was an act which may tell of political, religious and social belonging. On the other hand, unfortunately, they do not tell of how nobility defined themselves in the drinking context during the seventeenth century, which at least in Sweden arguably were the glory days of this estate. Through McShane’s view, which has shown that drinking songs and vessels may be interpreted in order to understand bonds of loyalty, I may at least start to approach a method on how the seventeenth century Swedish nobility perceived and promoted their rank in the drinking context. Before establishing a method, it is necessary to state an approach towards identity and material culture, in order to establish tools which may emphasise social identity but also how the attributes of drinking interacted with the user.

**Theory**

Richard Jenkins has in *Social identity* made a thorough study of identity, which derives a lot of inspiration from the sociologist Mead and Goffman. Through interaction between both individuals and collectives, Jenkins argues that identity comes to part through the individual’s

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10 Tlusty (2001) P 147f, 151
11 McShane (PRE-PUBLICATION) p 3, 27f
focus on differences, whilst collectives focus on similarities. His analysis covers the whole span from the making of the self to the definition of collectives, organizations and the creation of collective institutions, with extensive discussion of anthropological and sociological theories which almost makes it into a catalogue of theories on identity. The parts of Jenkins’s theory I will use are those which focus on how collective identities are made and upheld. In this theory of collectives, Jenkins has a scheme for how collectives define themselves by using and defining other collectives, through the process he call categorization. Since such an approach where the defining of how the nobility made social distinction would not answer Simplex question to a satisfactory degree, I will focus on the parts in Jenkins’s theory which emphasizes the making of identity from within a collective.

Collectives come together, according to Jenkins, on the premises that all the individuals share some trait(s) of similarity, no matter how vague or strong it is. This trait(s) is of most importance in order for collectives to exist and embody a sense of belonging and meaning. Collective identity is thus a product of an internal definition of the group by its members, where they define what/who they are and what they are not, as well as working as a concrete point of departure for its members in order to define both collective(s) and their self. The similarities of a collective works as a façade for the collective, through which belonging may be performed at the same time as its members may continue to be heterogeneous behind the façade. Through the use of this façade they may embody their belonging through attributes, symbols, rituals etc. which will help them to keep the similarities and relations vivid, although it is an imagined – but none the less powerful and believed – shelter. This imagined belonging has to be performed, maintained and rehearsed by all its members through interaction and practice in order to keep its authenticity and existence. The rites of passage is an example of how belonging are embodied, where changes in the circuit of collective membership stands at its core. Through these rituals the new member receives legitimacy through certain collective rituals/institutions, as well as receiving a set of instruments through which identification with the collective may be performed. By performing these rituals the collective rehearses its traits of identity, thus enhancing its own identity.

Considering the tools of identity one of the most important tools according to Jenkins are institutions. Institutions are collectively recognized and established patterns of practice – e.g. rules, symbols and routines – from which both individuals and collectives may perform identity. Through these institutions, conformed behaviour is enhanced and performed by members – and

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12 Jenkins (2008) p 37f, 102, 200f
13 Ibid. p 102, 105, 112, 135, 143
14 Ibid. p 134, 135f, 140, 143f, 147, 153, 157, 174-177
would-be members – in order to belong to the collective. This kind of institution could be everything from national customs to certain collective rituals, but the importance is its symbolical value through which a certain kind of behaviour is emphasized in order to be a part of a collective. To perform a collective notion of properly behaviour requires knowledge of certain collective rituals. Conformism in order to perform belonging is an obvious testimony of the power and authority the institutions of the imagined façade executes, since in order to perform collective similarity individual behaviour is restrained. This process helps individuals in the collective what to expect of the other, where predictability plays a grand part. This also works the other way, where the behaviour of the surrounding is the single most important source of information of how to behave correct, when a new member or outsider is unsure of customs. Institutions, despite their expression of collective power and authority, create a secure environment considering behaviour, where individuals receive tools of *how things are done*. If an individual should fail in this process, social correction and social stigma are collective tools to enhance conformity and belonging, thus correcting the behaviour of the individual.\(^\text{15}\)

Through Jenkins’s theory it will be possible to make a connection between noble sociability and the importance of the drinking context in the making of collective identity, since this special context worked as a sphere where the collective/organisation performed certain rituals and institutions, which held symbolic meaning in defining their rank and estate. But to further deepen the understanding of how noble identity was performed in the universal social sphere of drinking, it is of the essence to look beyond the interaction of individual and collective. By turning to objects which existed in the drinking context, I may emphasize the importance the interaction between object and individual had in the making of the noble drunkard.

Influenced by Bourdieu’s theory of *habitus* and Hegel’s idea of how institutions are created and enhanced by people as well as how people are created and enhanced through the same institutions, the anthropologist Daniel Miller combines these two social–philosophers in his book *Stuff*, in order to understand how people are defined by the objects which they surround themselves with.\(^\text{16}\)

In part an attempt to lift the perspective of things from merely being a mediator through which people construct representation and social distinction, Miller emphasizes that there is no separation between subject and object, since they both are defined in the same process where the former defines the latter through the creation of cultures, but where the created object also defines the culture as well as the subject.\(^\text{17}\)

15 ibid. p 45, 135f, 149f, 158f, 161f

16 Miller (2010) p 50ff, 53f, 56, 59, 60

17 ibid. p 48, 60
a frame, which makes people aware of appropriateness and inappropriateness in an indefinable manner. As the painting draws attention from the frame, occasions or ceremonies draws attention from the objects, this actually helps to manifest the occasion. According to Miller objects work far more powerfully on the congregation the more invisible they are, since they in that way are setting/framing a stage of behaviour. Object defines cultures and collective and individual social behaviour ”[...] not through our consciousness or body, but as an exterior environment that habituates and prompt us”. 18 These objects are not something that springs out from nothing, but are produced through different kinds of labour. The labour and the product works as an extension of ourselves in which we may view our culture, but we may also see ourselves through this culture. By seeing ourselves in and through this culture we gain in complexity, sophistication and knowledge as people. Ergo through this process not only cultures are promoted, but also civilization, collective and individual identity as well as belonging to a culture are promoted. 19 This process is captures by Miller; “It is human labour that transforms nature into objects, creating this mirror in which we can come to understand who we are. So labour produces culture in the form of stuff.” 20 This process of mutual nourishment of identity is what Miller call objectification and is a process which is able to highlight in any society, regardless of its political view on objects. 21

Focusing on how objects may construct rules of behaviour, Miller states the importance of education – or intellectuality – and the ability to exploit this to ones benefits. Through different objects people try to self–cultivate and extend themselves to form and express themselves. Through the labour/use of objects the individual does not only identify herself and her belonging within a certain sphere or culture as stated above, but she does also put herself on display to the surrounding. The collective or representatives of culture may then judge if the individual is all that she claims to be, or if it is just a transparent act made null and void. 22

Since there does not exist an English noun which to a satisfying degree fulfils the meaning of an individual’s acknowledgment, promotion and ability to understand and interpret social rules based on cultural and social education, I will use the German word Bildung, which approximately fulfils that need. Bildung is emphasized both in Jenkins’s and Miller’s theories, but it plays different parts. In Jenkins’s it plays the part of defining the individual and collective through mutual interaction, whilst it in Miller’s case it is the interaction between object and subject, which conveys bildung.

18 Ibid. p 49ff, 53f, 155
19 Ibid. p 58
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid. p 59, 145
22 Ibid. 15, 21, 27ff, 30
To exemplify how objects and their ornamentation may be interpreted and analyzed as any text, and how they may be used in order to understand identity in the way promoted by Miller, I will turn to an essay by Andrew Morrall. In *Ornaments as evidence* he argues for a view that ornaments and symbols on vessels, mausoleums and paintings was used to mediate early modern social ethics and values, and that these may be interpreted in order to understand the *habitus* and identity of these people and the context they lived in. Through classical and religious ornaments it is possible not only to emphasize virtues, values and ethics of the early modern society and how style and fashion are telling of the status, power and wealth of the owner, but also of the *bildung* of the owner since these ornaments mediated ideals of certain groups and cultures. Morrall states that these ornaments and aesthetics worked with metaphors much in the same way as text and speeches mediated social values and ethical ideals. Ornaments thus played a didactic part on objects as a mediator of aspects the owners wished to ascribe themselves as well as to the culture they tried to promote themselves as a part of. This is the way I will approach my material sources in order to highlight themes and genres in the drinking context, which will help to answer how the nobility both as individuals and collective defined themselves through embodied ideals in ornamentations and metaphors.

By bringing in Miller’s and Morrall’s perspectives into the study the importance of material culture may be confirmed, emphasising the bonds which exist between item and user in the creation of identity. Without the interpretations of Miller and Morrall the different material would most probably end up being different *variables* in the structural oriented theory by Jenkins, but now I may stress the importance material culture had on a higher level. I thus end up with a theory which may be described as a puzzle consisting of three pieces, where Morrall’s view is the one closest to the material objects, which explains how ornamentation and individual identity is connected. Miller’s view then further enhance this view of material culture by explaining how objects, individual identity and culture interacts with each other, whilst Jenkins clarifies how collective identities work and recreates it selves through similarities, rituals, traditions, cultures and power. How might I then turn these approaches towards a material which offers information about occasions, rituals, sociability, genres and ornamentations which all had the drinking context in common?

By approaching diaries and letters which describe noble sociability I may get a hold of when social drinking occurred and how it was executed. These drinking occasions will work as a foundation for investigating collective sociability, rituals and performance. By using this material

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23 Morrall (2009) p 47ff, 54, 57ff, 60f
24 Ibid. p 53ff, 58ff, 61ff
25 Ibid. P 56f
as a spring board into the early modern drinking context, I may further on change the perspective from nobility and social drinking, to a perspective focusing on drinking songs and drinking vessels, where the approach of material culture made by Morrall will emphasise themes, language and symbols which will further enhance the understanding of noble sociability and performance. By emphasising reoccurring themes in the material and how cultural knowledge was required in order to understand them (bildung), the symbolic – and social – interaction will show how the nobility through the use of songs and vessels manifested collective ideas of identity. Songs where shared by the nobility as well as certain tankards and goblet, with certain symbolic power due to shared intellectuality about the interpretation of themes and symbols. In order to promote this correspondence I will use a qualitative text analysis, where I will look for reoccurring themes in the different sources, in order to make the language of noble ideals perceivable. Through this correspondence – where the diaries and letters enhance the understanding of the performance of social rituals, the songs as a tool for collective perception, and the drinking vessels as a tool for collective and individual perception and promotion of identity – an analysis will be possible to perform, which in a just way may describe and explain how the early modern nobility interacted and perceived each other in this special social environment.

**Research design**

The core of this study is to analyze the promotion of noble identity and how it came to form in the drinking context during the 17th and early 18th century. By using this context as the main instrument of the analysis I will be able to highlight reoccurring themes in the material, emphasizing certain features of the noble identity. Through such a perspective on the drinking context the importance of language – both texts based and imagery – may be used to describe how noble identity was constituted, as well as how noble social interaction and drinking as a ritual was constituted. By approaching the noble drinking context with its attributes from a variety of perspective, it will be possible to highlight certain kinds of noble features and how the Swedish nobility perceived itself in this specific social milieu, which also was used by the rest of society. How the noble identity was perceived, promoted and performed in sociability, where drinking and intoxication were apparent, is the purpose of this study. With a set of question this will be possible to operationalize.

- What distinctively noble and universal ideals were voiced in the drinking context?
- What social hierarchies were constituted in the drinking context?
- In what way did drinking and its rituals form social bonds and sociability?
Method and sources

In order to get a respectable view of how the noble identity was performed in the drinking context, I will need the help of both text based and material sources. To get a view of how the drinking context was constructed I will use diaries of Swedish nobility and visiting foreign dignitaries, alongside letters of correspondence from Swedish nobility, from which I will assemble a frame of the drinking context. The journals I will analyze are; The delegate Anthonis Goeteeris’s (1615–1616), the delegate secretary Charles d’Ogier’s (1634–1635), the ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke’s (1653–1654) Johan Rosenhane’s (1652–1661) and the Frenchman La Motraye’s (1715–1720). The letter correspondences are those of Johan Ekeblad (1650–1663) and Catharina Wallenstedt (1673–1695). A description of the nation of Sweden by the diplomat Lorenzo Magalotti (1674) will also be used. With this material I may frame a period of about one hundred years which starts in the early seventeenth century and ends during the first two decades of the eighteenth century.

By choosing texts of authors both brought up inside and outside of the Swedish social context, a corresponding view between the sources will ease the analysis of how drinking was constituted, both as a ritual and as an occasion of sociability. The foreign authors do to a significant degree mention drinking, as well as describing drinking and its alien rituals in detail. This feature of describing the ritual in detail is almost nonexistent in the Swedish sources, what these sources on the other hand provide is how often certain occasions occurred where alcohol was consumed, or was assumedly consumed, e.g. weddings. By extracting social activities like baptisms, betrothals, weddings and funerals, alongside occasions where social drinking occurs from the diaries and letters, a mapping of the importance of noble social activity, the importance of collective occasions and the ritual of drinking will be possible to make. Through this use of the sources I may show to what extent sociability and drinking was something which was composed by nobility as a group, where they interacted with people from the same rank. By lifting forth the social activities it will be possible to make a survey of how the ritual and toasts was constituted, who/what these toast was made to, what kind of people the nobility interacted with and how certain themes may have enhanced noble ideals and views of identity and collective belonging. Drinking and sociability will be possible to pierce with this material, since certain drinking rituals are described as a feature when people meet and interact with each other, as well as how the body was used and performed during drinking rituals, where standing to the King’s toast was a performance which reoccurs in the material. It is also very easy to extract information about how
much people are drinking and what they are drinking since this was one of the most usually highlighted occasions in the travel journals.

In order to get a more thorough understanding of how the nobility perceived itself in an intoxicated milieu, I will look beyond the descriptions of the drinking context and incorporate the actual tools of that milieu, namely drinking songs and drinking vessel from the 17th and early 18th century. By bringing these tools into the analysis it will be possible to state their social and practical importance as objects which facilitated drinking and increased social belonging.

The drinking songs and poems which have been used for this study are twenty three different artistic products. A majority of them have been found in the Nordin Collections (Nordin: 1113, Nordin 1114, Nordin 1124, Nordin 1125), the Collection of Palmsköld (Palmsköld 395, Palmsköld 397), the collection by Per Hanselli et al in 22 volumes “Samlade vitterbetsarbeten af svenska författare från Stjernhelm till Dalin” (1856–1878) as well as in smaller collections (V 21al, V 21aq) at the Carolina Rediviva Library in Uppsala (Uppsala University – UUB). Some samples have also been extracted from collections at the Royal Library in Stockholm (Kungliga Biblioteket – KB) (VS 33, VS 36).

The drinking song is a genre of songs which differ itself from the other, due to its strong connection to drinking and sociability. This feature gives this genre a strong connection both to a certain social sphere and certain social gatherings, justifying it as a source which works as a mediator of expressing collective values. The drinking songs was an institution which enforced social interaction and collective feelings with drinking as its goal, by using certain themes which everyone in a certain social sphere was accustomed to. Through this source it is possible to extract information of how equality and subjugation was made in the drinking bout through genres, e.g. to whom/what the drinking bout urged toasting and drinking to in the songs. Alongside this, the songs offer information about the influence of Christianity, Classicism, gender and escapism in the drinking context, which will help to deepen the perspective of hierarchy, sociability and the importance to drink, as well as making it possible to reveal noble ideals which were prevalent in the drinking context.

Due to the life of the written songs as a product which was produced and consumed within the noble sphere, this material works as a mediator of noble views, a statement which are enhanced due to that some of the authors in my material; Oxé, Cederhjelm, Werving, Lindschöld Lucidor and Runius were either noble, frequented their social sphere or worked for them. Not every drinking song has the name of its author, but due to the amount of authors which was from the noble rank, had them as clients, and the great similarities between the songs, it may be

26 Nordstrand (1973) p 17ff 116, 118, 126, 133, 135; Mattson (2002) p 63
27 Olsson (1978) p 19
assumable that they incorporated noble features into their drinking songs, which later would raise the collective amity, social belonging and identity during drinking. The way in which songs could spread and consumed was through chapbooks – *Skillingatryck* –, as write offs or copies of songs which later formed different song books. The latter required literacy, a public for whom it could be read and copied, means to write – ink, paper, and binding expenses – and not at least time to sit down and perform this task, making this a pastime which was more likely to have occurred among the higher strata of society. The handwritten book of ballads was mainly an object which frequented the higher strata of society and their circle of acquaintances. The former chapbooks took a great deal of its material from books of ballads, stating a relation of dependence between these two. The chap books did in general – despite its low price – turn to the higher strata of society, which contained more poems than songs. 28

The drinking songs was a genre which had very little space in these handwritten book, where my own experience may confirm the statement of Bernt Olsson, that drinking songs were a meagre genre in proportion of other. One example of this is that the love song holds about 9/10 of the material according to Olsson. 29

A precise timeline for the songs is hard to establish since far from all music books, songs and handwritings have a date of origin. The drinking song as an institution did not became common until the end of the seventeenth, which gives us a blurred definition of the material’s origin. In Swedish literature history the year 1730 is marked as defined timeline, since Olof von Dalin brings Swedish culture into a new stage where satire plays a great part. Thus a rudimentary limitation for the drinking songs may be established, from the late seventeenth century to the first three decades of the eighteenth century. 30

To use material culture to analyze the making of collective identity, is to emphasize that the object in certain spheres – here the drinking context – were not only necessary tools to facilitate the practice of a certain act e.g. drinking and eating, but also worked as mediators of social distinction, noble ideals and fashion. To have vessels which were only brought forth when certain companies was gathered or during special occasions, ought to have signified both the ceremonial character for drinking, but also enhanced the feelings of belonging amongst those who were gathered. The artworks and decorations of the vessels did work much in the same way as certain themes in songs, which promoted social belonging between those who were able to recognize symbols and allegories of biblical and classic origin, but also social distinction between those who

28 Nordstrand (1973) p 69, 134; Olsson (1978) p 11-16; Mattson (2002) p 64
29 Olsson (1978) p 11, 16
30 Nordstrand (1973) p 37; Olsson (1978) p 6, 7, 19
These vessels worked as a marker of identity, since the individual could show both to the self and collective that he was a connoisseur of taste, that he could afford not only to present these cups but also fill them and that he was educated enough to understand all the allegories and symbols hidden in the cup.

The drinking vessels which will form the material for analysis are all in all thirty different items, of different form and design which may be categorized into; Tankards, goblets/cup, great glass, flasks and spoons. A majority of the objects is made out of silver, even though glass, silver birch, rhinoceros tusk are amongst the collected material. The objects which form this thesis’s view on vessels, has in large been extracted from the collections of the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, but also from the Royal Coin Cabinet and the books Står och vardag i Stornaktstidens berermanshem (Lund 1945) and Glas på Skokloster – Utställningskatalog 1993 (Skokloster 1993). A majority of the vessels have been approach from the collections of the Nordiska Museet, where I have been presented the vessels in order to analyze them in a way which a photograph would not have allowed. By standing before the vessels, being able to see them from all views and angles, it have been possible for me to track certain themes, connecting them not only to categories which were reoccurring in the vessels, but also to themes which are occurring in the drinking songs and diaries.

The vessels are of different origin. Quite a few are from different sites in Germany – Hamburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Frankfurt am Main, München – stating the importance the continental and not least the German market had for the import of drinking vessels fit for the noble tables. That some of these vessels actually had been amongst the belongings of nobility is thanks to the information the museums have collected, when the vessel came into their possession. Unfortunaly there are only twelve out of the thirty vessels that with certainty may be connected to the Swedish nobility, therefore may not all the vessels with certainty be linked to the higher strata of society. The margin of error may be recognized as acceptable due to the material and the craft the vessels possesses, which would presumably give them a rather high sale value.

When considering the aspect of time the vessels are not all from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, although a majority of them are. A minority of the vessels derive from the end of the 1580’s, with this aspect comes the consideration of the utilization value but also

32 Eight tankards (five made of silver, three made of silver birch), five goblets/cup (two made of silver, two made of glass, one made of rhinoceros tusk), five spoons (all made of silver), three flasks (two made of glass, one of silver), three small glasses, two great glasses, one glass carafe.
33 Ernstell (1997) p 502; Nordiska Museet’s database Primus has been the main provider of the information of origin and ownership of the vessels. NM.0219213, NM.0991008A-B, NM.0245488+, NM.0047730, NM.0990202, NM.0229146A, NM. 0186988
different modes of fashion into view. The period I am analyzing may in large be described as the period of baroque fashion, where great ornamentations and embossments of Christian and classical metaphorical language may be viewed in the objects. 34 By bringing some material from the late renaissance this fashionable period may be exemplified in a clear way. Some items still held their utilization value, even though they were out of fashion, since they weren’t refashioned in any way, but was kept being in the possession of nobility. 35 Therefore it may be stated that the vessels are analyzed during a period which starts during the end of the sixteenth century and ends during the first three decades of the eighteenth century, although the majority of the vessels have its origin in the seventeenth century.

These vessels are to be subject to an analysis where themes and symbols in design and decoration are emphasised, which will make it possible to understand these objects as items of material culture which mediates noble ideals. The analysis of the vessels must be very open-minded to different interpretations, since symbols may be very hard to interpret and may hold many meanings, which may give much information when addressing noble identity in the drinking context. Alongside this interpretation the symbols I must keep in mind the context where these vessels were created. In association with the craftsman's own preferences for craftsmanship, ornaments and embossments did not always hold a strictly symbolic significance. Fruit ornaments could be viewed as a symbol of paradise or fertility, as well as it could be a symbol which had lost its original meaning and instead was reworked to fit into the context of fashion. The symbolism could become corrupted or lost, but the tradition of using the different ornaments could – and arguably did – survive. Since some ornaments and embossments may simply be an expression of taste, every little detail of the vessels will not be interpreted as if they all held underlying symbolism. 36 With this in mind, it is necessary to view all the different vessels through a kaleidoscopic perspective, where different interpretations of the same object may exist side by side.

An aspect this thesis contributes to studies of identity is how certain social spheres promoted certain social traits and notions of identity. Through an array of different themes, which shed light on how identity was constructed in the interaction between collective and individual, between humans and objects, this study promises to enhance our understanding not only of how intoxicants was an integral part of the fashioning of identity in the early modern period, but also on how alcohol consumption and its attributes played an important part in the understanding of

34 Holmquist (1997) p 477, 483, 484, 486, 487
35 NM.0219213 The Hansa tankard in gilded silver, with distinct marks of renaissance went through the hands of the nobles Sperling, Gyldenstierne, Gyllenstierna, Brahe and Järta before it came into the possession of the National Historical Museum.
36 Fulton (1996) p 33, 41
the social order as a whole. The main results of this thesis will clearly show how different themes interacted with the performance of collective and individuals, how it could have been perceived and how these themes promoted notions of nobility in the drinking context. From these results it will be possible to see what kind of occasions that gathered people and promoted certain drinking rituals, how drinking and sociability interacted with each other, what kind of rules and performances which were executed and how masculinity and honour had a central position within the drinking context. The greatest contribution of this study is that rather than looking on how consumptions, ideologies, marriage pattern and duels made the nobleman, it is analysing how the nobleman made himself through certain ideals, in a sphere of sociability where early modern people did not need to qualify as nobility in order to enter. By twisting the perspective of earlier research from a focus where features and attributes constituted noble identity, to a perspective focusing on how noble identity and ideals was performed and promoted in a specific social sphere, may be the result which will form this thesis’s grand contribution to contemporary research on noble performance and identity.
Rise to the occasion

Through the use of diaries, letters and travel logs it is possible to categorize and schematize some of the occasions, when drinking figures in a special social milieu, thus making the social act of drinking comprehensible. In this part will different kinds of collective celebrations like christenings, weddings, funerals and greetings form the core, back to back with social drinking as an occasion of sociability. Since drinking as a social act was not solely dependent on the occasion but also an act which was constructed with certain norms, this analysis will press into the sphere where this rite were performed.

Rites of passage

In the diaries and letters from Swedish nobility the christening of a newborn is marked as a special occasion, where the writer or diarist figures as the parent – thus one of the chief characters behind the celebration –, as a godparent or as a guest. In a Swedish, as well as English early modern cultural context, the christening of a child held a connection to alcohol, since the christening was followed by a feast – barnsöl, or child’s ale – where the guests dined, danced and drank. 37 This is illustrated, despite it brevity, by Rosenhane who attended a christening as a godparent.

I was first in Church, and listened to Mgr Christer Winter preach. Afterwards I was godparent to Mg: von Paalen’s daughter Regina Sophija at their house, and there was a meal made to all the godparents as well as dancing. I came home half drunk at 6 a clock. 38

Despite its brevity it tells us a great deal about the celebration of a christening feast. There is a meal prepared for all the godparents, indicating that the feast was for just a selected few, that enjoyment such as dancing was offered and that drunkenness was involved. A more lengthy description is given when Rosenhane’s own son was to be christened on the 28th of august 1653.

I was first in Church, where the Vicar preached fairly long. After the dinner was my son Christened upon the [Royal] castle[...].His godparents were Count Axel Lillia, the Major Giert Leffwe, the Vicar Mag: Mathijas Jacobeus, the Mayor Mänskeffwer, Mag: Hindrik the Vicar in Brogo the Councilman Hans Släghell. On the women’s side were, Hedwig Mörner the wife of Duglas, Mrs Kirstin bonde, the wife of Nirot, the widow of the Smitt, the wife of Mayor Smedman, the wife of Mayor Plantin. After

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the administered ceremonies was comfit and wine presented, which intoxicated the godparents. Some of them were at the evening dinner. 39

In addition to the information that during a christening feast a meal, comfits, and alcohol was shared, this quote tells a lot about the social culture when nobility celebrated a christening. Not only is the actual christening performed at the Royal castle but the sheer amount of godparents (13), where everyone were from the higher strata of society and city officials, seems to be quite vast. The participating of noble but also of burghers as guests was a reoccurring theme in the celebrations of christening of a newborn noble child. 40

This tells us something if it is put into context. The great number of godparents should not only be viewed as an ostentatious care for the child's Christian schooling, but as a safety measure to the child to always have a parent – or 13 – standing in, if the biological ones should become statistics in the early modern rate of mortality. To become a godparent was an honorary privilege that as well as performing a religious responsibility, enhanced social bonds between within the nobility and between members of the higher social strata. Plainly speaking, becoming a godparent was a social contract that was made between first and foremost the would–be godparent and the biological parent. This notion is further strengthened if the importance of wine and the time of its presentation are taken into the matter. In the quotation above the wine was presented after the ceremonies as well as served during the following feast. The importance of the wine being presented right after the baptismal ceremonies should not be viewed as a mere coincidence, but as a carefully directed ceremony leading to the approval and manifestation of a social contract between parent and godparent. 41 Central in this ceremony is the newborn, and the sharing of wine and intoxication should be viewed as a collective contractual act, which is legitimizing the social contract in which a new member was welcomed into the collective, both as Christian and as nobility.

Weddings were occasions of noble sociability and extravagance that – at great expense –, not only were frequented by fellow nobility but also by the court and the majesties, sometimes celebrated at the royal castle. 42 The rather intense frequency by which Rosenhane and Ekeblad...
attended weddings 1650–1695 suggests how important these noble social gatherings were for collective interaction and the enhancement of a collective identity. Although it is more common in the sources to just mention that there had been a wedding and which kind of people who were there, feasting and drinking occurs in such an amount that it allows extraction for analysis. From this appears a celebration with sumptuous feasting and drinking which begun late in the evening, continued until sunrise in the early morning, and the following evening. This kind of ostentatious celebrating was sometimes the object for bitter remarks, especially from the nobility which was the subject for the great reduction that commenced in 1680:

This Thursday was Köningsmarck groom at Karlberg. Today or tomorrow he will bring her [His bride] with him to Slagfäls gård, where we at dinner [...] At Karlberg everything is so lavishly made that many thousands have come and gone there these past days to witness it. I have not been that curious, but I have been told about that grandeur, and I think we live in such days when such should be abolished, but here there is no end to the vanity.

The ritualistic part wine played during the baptism appears as well in the weddings, where wine and comfits were consumed right after the wedding ceremony. As in the baptism ceremonies this should be viewed as a ceremony where the wine worked as a seal of approval for a social contract between the bride and groom, but also as a marker of approval from the wedding guest. The importance of sharing the wine with the couple in good will could be seen as an extension of the vows the gathered had witnessed in church earlier, but in this context it was they and not God who were the highest witness and judge. Thus the sharing of wine not only seals a contract between the couple, but also works as a tool for legitimizing the wedding within the social community.

This is further emphasized during the following events where drinking and drunkenness was a

43 Johan Ekeblad visited 7 weddings in 1650, 5 between January and November in 1652, 4 between the period January and July – of which 3 was performed during the period between June and July - 1653, 3 between Mars and June 1654, 3 between April and August 1658, 4 between February and December 1660, 6 between February and June 1661 and 5 between July and October 1662. Johan Rosenhane did visit 3 weddings between January and Mars in 1652, 2 between August and October in 1654, 3 between April and October 1658, 5 between February and June in 1659, 4 between February and December in 1660 and 5 between February and May in 1661. Catharina Wallenstedt visited 3 weddings between January and April and 3 between May and June in 1695. These numbers must be read carefully when focusing on Ekeblad and Wallenstedt, since it is not clear in their writings if they actually were at the weddings or just reported it in their letters. In Rosenhane’s diary it is one the other hand very clear when he attends weddings.


central part of the celebrations. Here the writers and diarists clearly stated that there was excessive drinking involved, where there were indications that some noble men had their fair share of intoxication and that drinking was prolonged during the whole night.  

The sources which by far give us the most detailed information about the betrothal and wedding dinners are the travel journals by Charles Ogier and Lorenzo Magalotti. In their depictions of these events, excessive drinking, drunkenness and grand toasting was central in the feast after the union between two individuals. When these sources which tell us about the actual performance of the dinner are placed alongside the sources of contemporary Swedish nobility, the importance of drinking and particularly intoxication stands out as a central act of social interaction, which manifests the collective approval of marital unity.

Even if they are few there are some exceptions to the rule of extravagance and dinner. In his plain writing Rosenhane depicts two evening weddings in April and June, one with their Majesties and the court as guests and the other one at the royal castle, where no dinner were served at either occasion. Due to the high social status of Royalty and the high cultural status of the certain buildings and rooms, the wedding dinner should not be seen as something self–evident, even though an evening dinner did occur in the majority of the weddings.

A slightly bitter remark is found in the letter correspondence of Johan Ekeblad who on the 24th of November writes:

Colonel Nils Båt has in all haste held a wedding on the countryside without the presence of anybody except the priest [...] This hasty wedding seemed rather odd to everyone here [at court], but he holds no esteem for it, but tells that he rather have those coins in his purse, which he would have spend on a grand wedding, which many does[...]

In this text the extravagance of wedding and to surround oneself with people of good social rank, where sociability worked as a provider of collective authority to the benefit of the wedding, seems to be the norm of performance for people at court, since not only Ekeblad but also his fellow court members marks the uncommon behaviour of Colonel Båt.

A clear and seemingly collectively made restriction of the ostentatious celebrations and drunkenness is on the wedding between Johan Wrangel and Beata Kagg, which was performed on the 24th of February 1660, eleven days after the death of King Karl X.

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48 Magalotti (1912) p 77f; Ogier (1978) p 40f
50 Ekeblad (1911) p 195 “Öfverste Nils Båt har nu ock uti hast haft bröllop på landet utan någons människas närvarelse mer än prästen [...] Det kom alla människor här underliget före hans hastiga bröllop, men han aktar det intet, utan säjer sig hellre hava de pengarna i pungen, dem han på ett stort bröllop spendera skulle, som nu många göra[...].”
The social significance a royal funeral had on the social environment, even on a joyous occasion like a wedding, becomes very clear. A mutual interaction between the wedding organizers and guests is obvious, where the festivities are restrained in order to pay respect to the deceased King. Since this was a royal funeral it may of course be argued that this was an extreme case, but the seriousness and weight which death and funerals held in the social sphere, as an important collective act and as an occasion for visualization of noble social and cultural status stands out clear in the sources. As in the cases of baptism and wedding a dinner followed upon the funeral, at several occasions a grand feast with excessive drinking and social interaction that continued to the late night or even the morning.

Considering the sources and the presence of great dining and drinking at the gatherings after the ceremonies, the funeral seems more as an occasion for great remembrance and celebration than an occasion for solemn grieving. As again an extreme during the following festivities following the funeral of King Karl X:

The process was very fine and magnificent with the throwing of coins and other things. The day after the estates were invited to the castle, and for the commoners there was roasted ox as well as wine, and races given to them.
It seems rather odd that a joyous occasion as a wedding seems as a burial ceremony in comparison to the actual funeral ceremony, of the same King which did put such an apparent veil of sorrow on the former. That the wedding was so grieved was obviously due to the King’s death, which occurred eleven days before the wedding.

The pattern of treating guests and honouring the buried – with wine and drunkenness – on the following day also occurs during the burial of Jöra Ulfsparre: 55

[10 of August 1656] Today was Jöran Ulfsparres blessed corpse buried in the cathedral of Linköping. From the Council of the realm were Gustaff Bonde and Erick Sparre present with much grand people. The colonel Pär Andersson and I walked with the widow [...] we were all thereafter treated as guests, far into the night.
[11 of August 1656] Today I had many guests, and we got properly drunk. 56

Here as well as in the earlier references, the connection between religious celebration, sociability and treating with wine was a practice which existed even in the final rites of passage for an individual. The Dutchman Anthoniis Goeteeris who during a funeral in Swedish Reval witnessed how everyone who followed the body to the church was treated with wine and comfit. 57

Out of all this grandeur and hospitality, what might be concluded about the social importance and the presence of alcohol in this sphere? Through the making of these honorary rituals together was not only a way of paying social and Christian respect to the former member, but also an individual and collective social act of making the new collective structure legitimate through the sharing of wine, comfit, dinner and intoxication. The importance of keeping the collective up to date after a funeral could also be embodied through was the act of Christer Bonde who presumably at church, cracked the coat of arms of the extinguished noble family Rynning when the last member of that family was buried. 58

saligh Kånungens lijks begraffning mädh stor Sollenite[...][Höltz panquett på Ricks salen[...]]” Rosenhane (1995) s 302
55 Celebration of this kind occurs rarely in the material, which does not allow me to make the conclusion that this was a custom when nobility performed the rite du passage of the deceased. Rosenhane (1995) p 138, 181, 213, 302 Ekeblad (1915)p 226
57 Goeteeris (1917) p 142. ”Den 26 april på morgonen begrövs Johan Exalto i storkyrkan i Reval, kallad St. Niklas’ kyrka. I begravningsstäget deltago utom herrar sändebuden även magistraten i Reval och därvarande andliga samt ett stort antal borgare, män, kvinnor och barn[...]”[further in note **]...Alla som följde liket till kyrkan fingo något till bästa, männen bröd, doppat i vin, vin och kandel, kvinnorna och flickorna allehanda läckra konfityrer.”
As the keen reader might read there is a division in gender between who is served what in on this occasion. Since this is the only case I have been able to muster on the subject it will be placed here.
58 Rosenhane (1995) p 140
The importance of collectively approving of renewed social contracts was an important part of
noble sociability, which received its legitimacy through collective interaction. In this interaction
alcohol worked as social lubricants, as a way of being hospitable to the guests, and due to the
social space and time that wine was served, it also held a meaning of constituting change within
the collective. Through the sharing of alcoholic beverages the changes in the social construction
received legitimacy, very much similar as the sharing of wine brought legitimacy to a social
contract or a business contract. 59

The greeting toast

The welcoming of new guests was a social ceremony in which drinking had great importance. In
Charles d’Ogier’s travel in Dalecarlia drinking was an apparent tool of sociability and introduction
when greeting guests and during encounters with people. 60 During a guiding tour at the royal
treasury he encounters one of these specific goblets which were used during greetings:

Here were also six capacious, gilded silver tankards, four to five fot high and as big, that one could dip
the whole body of a child within. One calls them after a German word välkomnor [Greeting cup], since
one is drinking to arriving guests from these goblets; they may during mutual toasts be emptied ten to
twelve times[…] 61

These greeting cups appear under different names, as in La Motrayes travel journal where they
are called Hercules goblet alongside the name välkomna. 62 Through his journal it is possible to get a
sense of the performance of this ceremony, its material manifestation and the quantities of wine
consumed.

The foundry proprietor […] greeted us very politely and showed hospitality to us in Swedish or
Hungarian or Greek fashion, that is he let the first meal, he treated us with be followed by a
välkomna. This is usually executed in such a way, that at least one flagon of rhenish wine, if the host
possesses it, or the best beverage he has, is poured into a great glass tankard or silver tankard, which
holds rather more than less or as much as that Hercules goblet, of which we read about in the history
of Alexander, where the dinners were crowned by one after another emptied it filled to t
the brink. At

the end of the meal one of these filled tankards is given to every foreigner, but only the first time he is
invited to a Swede […] We must each and everyone in order not to break tradition and custom empty
one of these tankards, filled to the brink with rhenish wine. No one in our company was excused

59 Roper (1994) p 110; Tlusty (2001)103-114
60 Ogier (1978) p 64, 69, 70, 75, 79, 82, 83
61 Ibid p 111 “Här funnos även sex ofantliga, förgyllda silverbärgare, fyra eller fem fot höga och så stora, att
man kunde doppa barn däri med hela kroppen. Man kallar dem här med ett tyskt ord välkomnor, emedan man
dricker sina ankommande gäster till i dessa pokaler; dem kan man under ömsesidiga skålar tömma sina tio eller
tolv gånger[…]”
62 La Motraye (1918) p 108
except a business associate to the host, who already had made this sacrifice to Bacchus, for it is only
demanded once by new guests. 63

The result of this kind of drinking was not surprisingly a solid drunkenness for La Motrayes and
his companions, who had to cancel their continuing travel for that day. This performance of
drinking to welcoming new guests occurs several times in the material, and all of the foreigners –
Goeteeris, Ogier, Whitelocke, Magalotti and Motraye –do at some point during their interaction
with the Swedish nobility or the higher estates encounter this custom. 64 It stand out clear that
during this century the diaries circumscribes [1615–1725] there existed a social practice of
greeting guests with vast quantities of alcohol, served from a vessel which was used for that
special occasion. Here is a social and cultural institution revealed, nurtured amongst the nobility
of Sweden, where alcohol arguably was used in the making of social bonds between individuals. 65

The drinking ritual

Trough the charting above, a concept is revealed of occasions and festivities when the nobility
consumed alcohol in order to celebrate and strengthen social bonds within their collective. In the
early modern society alcohol was also consumed in a more unceremoniously way as a part of
every–day life, where different kinds of alcohol was consumed as a part of a dinner or/and as a
mean of getting drunk. 66

By focusing on the act itself, an analysis may be performed which focuses on the performances,
certain traits and the rituals of drinking. Through this analysis it is possible to come closer to the
purpose of how the nobility in sociability interacted and performed their identity, in a universal

63 Ibid p 107f "Brukspatronen[...] mottog oss där mycket artigt och undfågnade oss på svenskt eller ungerskt
eller grekiskt sätt, d.v.s. han lät den första måltid, han bjöd oss på, åtföljas av en välkomna. Härvid tillgår
vanligen så, att minst ett krus rhenskt vin, om värden har sådant, eller annars den bästa dryck han har, hälles i
en stor glasbägare eller silverbägare, som rymmer snarare mer än mindre eller oftast lika mycket som den
Herkulesbägare, omvilken vi läsa i Alexanders historia, att man därmed krönte måltiderna genom att i tur och
ordning tömma den fylld till brädden. Vid slutet av måltiden räcker man en sådan fylld bägare till varje främling,
men blott första gången han är bjuden hos en svensk: detta bruk iakttages mera på landet än i städerna. Vi
måste för att icke bryta sed och bruk tömma var sin sådan bägare, bräddad med rhenskt vin. Ingen i vårt
sällskap blev därifrån fritagen utom en affärsvän till värden, som redan förut på detta sätt offrat till Bacchus, ty
man begär det blott en gång av nya gäster. Enär vi efter dessa väldiga bägare vin, som under måltiden
föregåtts av en mängd mindre, knappast voro i stånd att fortsätta vår resa..."
64 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 159, 224; Magalotti (1912) 115; Goeteeris (1917) p 139f; La Motraye (1918) 107,
108, 110; Ogier (1978) p 64, 67, 69, 79, 82, 83, 105
65 Mattson (2002) p 28f, 38
66 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 159, 160, 162, 163, 203, 224, 227, 239, 416; Whitelocke vol 2 (1855) p 19, 115,
187, 252, 263, 272, 293, 297; Ekeblad (1911) p 64, 107, 120, 137, 144, 112; Magalotti (1912) p 115; Ekeblad
(1915) p 8, 36, 306, 309, 324, 333, 354, 358, 374, 376f, 405, 409, 411; Goeteeris (1917) p 25, 139f, 173, 179; La
288; Wallenstedt (1995) p 227, 376, 520
sphere where drinking reigned.
Drinking took place in a majority of the cases at a certain building and are not to a specified room in that building, but since drinking often were connected to a dinner party, one may assume that it was centred to rooms which were designed for public performance.

These dinner–parties and drinking were mostly performed at the residences of the nobility, at the royal castle and at the homes of city officials and ambassadors, but sometimes small excursions were made to ships, dockyards, private royal islands and public areas like squares. According to Goeteeris and to some extent by Ogier, the nobility of Sweden frequented the local taverns, in such a fashion that made Goeteeris exclaim that such shameless behaviour soon made him forget about the horrors of drinking he had witnessed in Russia.

A lion’s share of the different individuals that frequented these drinking gatherings were from the noble estate, but also their Majesties, higher clergy, officers, foreign dignitaries and higher city officials frequented these gatherings. In short it was almost exclusively higher rank individuals that the Swedish nobility surrounded themselves with, even though city officials also were present.

With these few notes the stage is set where the drinking nobility performed their appearance and what kind of members constituted the collective. Let us thus turn to the actual ritual of noble performance.

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68 Goeteeris (1917) p 179; Ogier (1978) p 64.
Honorary toasting and hierarchy

Honorary toasting was an act within the drinking ritual which tells a lot of the early modern drinking culture and of performances. This tells of honour, social bonding and fraternity, which presents information about the political and social identity of the early modern noble drinker. The most reoccurring toasts in the material are the toasts to the nation’s sovereign and allied monarchs, but toast are also made to the downfall of the sovereigns of the enemy. 

We ate and drank for three whole hours, and during that time an orchestra performed pretty descent music. During the span of half an hour toasts was announced for His most Christian Majesty [The French King] and the Queens of Sweden [---] When the wine had heated and ascended the senses, one begins in general to assail and taunt the [Austrian]Emperor and the King of Spain.

To collectively share a toast to a sovereign’s health – or their downfall – was an act of collective control, to challenge the members at the table and within the drinking bout to show their colours and political allegiance.

The toast to Kings and Queens was an act that also engaged the body. To show humility, respect and lower social rank, toasts to the Majesties was performed bareheaded and standing or kneeling, thus physically showing submission to God’s anointed.

At the Royal banquet it was the King who proposed the toast as possessor of the highest rank at the table. In the proposal of toast by the King, the hierarchies of society or perhaps even the constrains of respectability are shown clearly. During a banquet for the Dutch emissaries, King Gustavus Adolphus proposes two toasts; one for Prince Maurititz of Orange and the second for Prince Henry. The Dutch show respect in their turn, by drinking the health to His Majesty Gustavus Adolphus and the Queen Mother.

Not only was it custom to answer a toast that had been dedicated to the emissaries’ Princes by drinking health to the Swedish King in return, but the King were subjected to these toasting customs. It was his responsibility as highest ranked to begin the toasts, but not to the Dutch emissaries themselves, but to their sovereign and His own equal, thus an act of marking his superior rank. The emissaries are in their turn committed to make a toast to the Swedish King, since this toast was not lower in rank than the earlier proposed, but also a way for them to show humility and respect to the King of Sweden, their

70 Whitelocke vol1 (1855) p 224, 225, 416; Ogier (1978) p 40, 63, 64, 67, 107, 108
71 Ogier (1978) p 40 "Vi åto och drucko i hela tre timmar, och under tiden utförde en orkester ganska god musik. Under halvannan timmes tid utbragtes skålar för han allerkristligaste majestät och Sveriges drottningar [---] När sinnena blivit upphettade och upptända av vinet, började man över lag angripa och smäda kejsaren och konungen av Spanien."
72 McShane (PRE-PUBLISHED)p 27f
73 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 416; Ogier (1978) p 40, 64, 67
74 Goeteeris (1917) p 166
host, as well as to the proposer of such an honourable toast.

Another occasion which demonstrates the respectability of order and toasts was made by King Karl XI, who first drank to the Queen, then in order toasting to the Duchess, the Princess, the Duke and the Bishop. After this display of social hierarchy it was up to the King himself to make toast to whomever he wished. This demonstrates the royal partaking to hospitality, where display and homage to the hierarchy of society are shown, since a misplaced toast – e.g. to drink the Duchess health before the Queen's – could have rather embarrassing and subversive effects. It was clearly important to follow the protocol of toast, a ritual which clearly showed who deserved a toast, where each individual was placed in the hierarchy of the table – and society – as well as showing who it was who had the authority to propose toasts first.

A hierarchical dispute when toasting two sovereigns of different nations does not appear in the sources, but the order in which they were made, i.e. the hierarchy is apparent. In Ogier's account it seems as if the toast to his sovereign and ambassador always have the precedence before the Swedish equivalent, except in one case during his travel in Dalecarlia:

By giving the guest the precedence to toast or to propose a toast to the guest’s sovereign and superior was arguably a way to show hospitality and making the guest feel as a part of the community, as well as having a mutual interaction considering hierarchy. The act of toasting was arguably a test to reveal the allegiance of the guest, and if the guest was submissive to the hierarchies of his native society and the society in which he was at the moment.

An interesting solution to the hierarchical order of whom to toast first, was made by the Russian embassy, which in the company of Swedish noble men after a royal audience drank to the Swedish King and the Russian Grand Prince in one toast. According to the Russian embassy this was possible to do since both of the sovereigns were so good friends, that there existed no cause to drink their health separately. To Johan Ekeblad this was a most odd ceremony, again stating the importance of individual toasts and hierarchy.

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75 Magalotti (1912) p 115
76 Ogier (1978) p 40, 63, 67, 108
77 Ibid p 67 "De båda herrarna kommo för att hälsa oss i den tidiga morgonstunden – med fyllda pokaler väckte de oss ur vår slummer […] föll på knän. [...] vi skålade och drucko för svenska drottningen och stormännens välgång, och vi uppsände därefter även välångösökningsar för hans allerkristligaste majestät och hans excellens vår ambassador"
78 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 224, 225; Goeteeris (1917) p 166; Ogier (1978) p p 40, 63, 108
79 Ekeblad (1915) p 296f
Hierarchy was not only revealed when pledging allegiance or in which order the toasts were made at royal banquets, but toasting was also a source in which it is possible to spot patriarchal and fraternal structure of early modern society. In Johan Ekeblad’s correspondence to his brother Claes and his father, he has at several occasions mentioned, that he and his company had been making a toast to the father’s or the brother’s health. The majority of the toasts to his father were made at the house of Johan’s in–laws, a toast Johan assures his father occurs at every dinner. The toasts to Johan’s brother were always made with or by other noble men. The toasts to Johan’s brother could be interpreted as an act of collective fraternization and social enhancement between the drinking bout and Claes, since they are honouring him with a toast – and remembrance – even though he was not present. The toast to Johan’s father follows a similar pattern. By drinking to his fathers health even though he were not present, they were improving the family bonds between the two families. This act of drinking to the honour of Johan’s’ father – at every dinner occasion – was a collective act of recognizing him as the pater familias of the two families. To make a toast to him and thus legitimizing his rank, arguably had the same symbolism as toasts and health which were made to sovereign, which were stating that “I am humble and your servant”.

**Drink and honour**

If the toast was the agenda, drinking was the manifestation of it. This act was closely linked to both individual and national honour, because if a proposed toast was not manifested with drinking the social contract and honour of the gathered would have been seriously overthrown. This happened to the English ambassador Whitelocke. During a dinner with members of the Swedish court, the master of the ceremonies offered Whitelocke a great glass of wine in order to make a toast to the English Commonwealth. Whitelocke had previously been informed of the excessive Swedish drinking culture and he kindly excused himself since this was against his own judgment, manner and fashion. The master of ceremonies – obviously puzzled – instead proposed a toast to General Cromwell, but this was equally excused by Whitelocke. An argument started where the master of ceremonies argued that Whitelocke could not refuse a toast which was made to his masters, this to the point that he should be minding the customs of the host. Whitelocke on his side argued that his masters – like himself – would have refused the toast and that his liberty would not be compromised abroad. The argument continued with the engagement of more people and more arguments from both sides to a point where a silent

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80 Ekeblad (1911) p 107, 120, 137, 144; Ekeblad (1915) p 306, 324, 354, 374, 376f, 405
discontent concluded the dinner.  

The concept of honour is apparent, where the master of ceremony and Whitelocke – who simply would not drink the proposed or any other toasts – were trying to defend and include the antagonist into their own notions of honour and drinking. To deny a toast with the intention to honour the guest was clearly a gross insult to the founder of the toast, in this case the master of ceremonies. Neither part would give ground on this matter, thus was the whole contract of interaction disabled, ending the dinner in a silence filled with malcontent.

The word about Whitelocke’s preferences for toasts spread at court, and at several dinners which Whitelocke attended the Swedish nobility either restrained their right to propose and make toasts, abstained from it or left it to Whitelocke to propose them. By showing this amount of respect to Whitelocke a sort of hierarchy was constructed at these gatherings. Even though it was not constructed with toasting and drinking, the same institution had helped both the Swedish nobility and Whitelocke to interact in a way where he was in a more superior position than them. He did naturally lose a board on where he could play the games of interaction, but due to his manifestation of integrity and the other noblemen willingness to answer with respect on his manifestation by both restraining their right and custom to toast, as well as presenting him with tobacco as an alternative to toasts and drinking, Whitelocke had managed to uphold a high position within the hierarchy.

During Ogiers many drinking sessions, the notion of individual and national honour and loyalty as an integral part of drinking becomes apparent in a very clear way. Despite his many complaints about the excessive drinking in every–day life, the pleads and even attempts from his side to fool his hosts that he is too ill to drink, he always ends up drinking toast he cannot or would not deny due to his honour as a subject and due to manifesting his loyalty to his superiors. This conduct of challenging each other’s honour and loyalty in order to drink was something that the Swedish Nobleman Johan Ekeblad became a subject to, with a great hangover as result.

The notions of honour in the drinking bout are obvious since Ogier never stated he was against toasts in such a way as Whitelocke did. Ogier even shows his personal preferences of honour and drinking, when he argues that to abstain from wine – and toasts – he and his companion would

81 Whitelocke vol 1(1855) p 224f
82 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 239; Whitelocke vol2 (1855) p 115, 272
83 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 239; Whitelocke vol 2 (1855) p 115
84 Ogier (1978) p 63, 64, 67, 68, 75, 107,
85 Ekeblad (1915) p 376f
not only be negligent but also betray the honour of their nation, and the holy alliance between France and Sweden.

The conduct of drinking a toast and drinking honourably seems to be drinking the vessel empty – in some cases even to empty it the fastest if the cup was not be refilled again. This act of drinking excessively was arguably an act of preserving and displaying the individual’s personal honour, and the notions of proving to be resilient to alcohol and thus preserving honour and reputation as a good drinking brother could sometimes take rather gross expression.

Our good captain and prestav Rosen, who sat at the table alongside the gentlemen and their guests, had at the many toasts been taking a bit too much of the good. To not fail his obligations as a host and show himself as a good drinking brother, he lifted a bit on the table cloth, put his finger down his throat and threw up under the table. Thereupon he wiped his mouth and began to drink anew, as nothing had happened [—]One dare say that it counts as an honour to get drunk, where it is no shame to vomit.

There is clearly an act of masculinity and control in these rituals. This excessive drinking, where it obviously was a social error for the individual to show himself too influenced by alcohol, was a way of showing masculinity by appearing uninfluenced, but also the ability to control the own body. This was a rather gruesome performance of male identity and social bonding, since to avoid, excuse yourself or even to quit a drinking session would probably be viewed as an insult towards the people at the table and as a sign of weakness.

Although drinking in the majority of cases was used for collective intoxication and to challenge each other’s honour and resilience, it sometimes works as a way to restore honour between two disputing individuals.

[...]complaints was made to Whitelocke that the Praetor of the town denied his assistance to procure quarters for Whitelocke’s people, and gave ill language of the Parliament: that they had killed their king, and were a company of tailors and cobblers[...]The Praetor absolutely denied the words charged upon him; but affirmed that he spake only to his purpose; – What lies do the Holland gazette tell us, when they say the Parliament are a company of tailors and cobblers, when you see what gallant fellows they are by their Ambassador[...]In conclusion, after many protestations, and much meditation, and store of wine presented, and for the most part drunk by the magistrates, they and Whitelocke were reconciled and became kind friends[...]

86 Ibid p 75
87 Magalotti (1912) p 115; Goeteeris (1917) p 140; Ogier (1978) p 63, 67, 68, 75;
88 Goeteeris (1917) p 173 “Vår gode hovmästare och prestav Rosen, som satt till bords jämte herrarna och deras gäster, hade vid de många skålarna tagit lite för mycket till bästa. För att ändå icke församma sina värdflikter och visa sig som en god dryckesbroder, lyfte han en smula på bordsduken, stack fingret i halsen och spydde under bordet. Därpå torkade hans sig om munnen och började dricka på nytt, som om ingen ting hänt. [...]Man tör kunna säga, att där det räknas för en heder att supa sig full, där är det heller ingen skam att spy.”
89 Tlusty (2001) p 48f; Sennefert (2011) p 151
90 Schivelbusch (1982) p 31; Roper (1994) p 110
91 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 202f
As for Whitelocke, it is obvious that he was not against drinking as a social institution, but rather the ritual of drinking toasts.

Through the sources toasts, drinking and gifts of wine seems as an act of creating amity and social bonds between the participants, even at the gatherings when playfully challenging draws the participants into the mist of drunkenness. Never in the sources descriptions—except in the argument between Whitelocke and the Master of ceremony—in an environment where drinking and drunkenness were apparent, is the atmosphere perceived as hostile. The atmosphere was one of constant play and joy, stating the importance of creating bonds and welcoming every new member into the collective with a raised cup to the sovereign’s honour and the individual’s loyalty. Along this line of interaction the heavy drunkenness is present, stating that it was not only the act of raising cups which were important, but also to drink hearty by performing masculinity, control and loyalty to one’s peers, proving that the individual was a solid pillar who carried the ideals of noble society in a controlled and uninfluenced fashion.

Skirmishers, trumpets and blazing guns

Above I have stressed the importance of the social constellation of those who joined in drinking and toasts, concluding that the Swedish nobility to a large degree only shared cups with their own kind, as well as with the higher strata of society. Within this grand collective, there existed a sub-collective of nobles which appears to have worked as a social factor which increased intoxication and drunkenness. This social factor was the officers of the Swedish armed forces.

When officers joins the social gatherings—or constitutes them—there was no genteel sipping from the vessels, but heavy drinking was their mark of trade. They also constitutes a fair share of the drinking occasions which takes place outside the royal banquet and those of grand celebrations. 92 This is best illustrated in Rosenhane’s diary:

21 [of November 1654] Came H Giöstaff Horn the General Governor [...] colonel Melin and the Major Leffwen, and I had him and them for dinner, and everyone got drunk.
22 [of November 1654] Stayed the General Horn this day here and sat at Giert Leffwe to drink
23 [of November 1654] I visited the General in the early morning [...] he had breakfast made which lasted until the evening, with much drinking...after did I take the officers with me home for dinner...
29 [of November 1654] Had I the colonel with his officers as guests, and everyone became wholly drunk.
30 [of November 1654] After dinner was I for quite a while with the colonel, but after he begun to drink grandly, I went away.

Did the regiment march away [...] but the colonel stayed with all the officers and came to me, where I again dismissed them with good booze [...] 93

In Johan Rosenhane’s diary there are numbers of occasions where he and his company intoxicated themselves, but nowhere in the entire diary – which stretches over nine years – has he written about such intense drinking as during those days of the winter of 1654, when he was in the company of officers.

Noble officers were not the only representatives of the apparatus of war which interacted with the nobility at the drinking bout, but militaria like guns, trumpets, kettledrums and marching interacted with the drinking context in a very active manner. The guns thundering roar, the trumpets penetrating sound and the drums braying beats, worked as clockwork to beat to quarters, where every member at the table should arm themselves for a toast. 94 By mustering for attention and toasting at the tables, these attributes did – at least trumpet and drum – work in a similar way as on the battlefield, where they gathered soldiers for action. These instruments of war were something which was saved for the use of their Majesties, court and nobility, due to its militaristic and courtly associations, which arguably worked as attributes of identity for the nobility. The safeguarding of these warlike attributes from other groups in society is brought into light when it is considered that the burgher guard of Stockholm as late as 1680 had to apply for permission in order to use the kettle–drums. 95

The ideals and influences of war even took form in the letter correspondence of Johan Ekeblad, during a drinking bout which he had with officers of the crown:

Yesterday which was Whitsunday, we had a sharp skirmish here, in such a fashion that both sides were defeated, as often is heard. [...] Both parties were composed by a horde of bibulous brothers, I talk of colonel Ulfsparre, major Erik Nilson and the lieutenant. The war began with small glasses and was

94 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) 416; Ekeblad (1915) p 8, 71, 286, 376f; Goeteeris (1917) p 25, 139, 166; Rosenhane (1995) p 122
95 Mattson(2002) p 46, 48f
ended with great canons, in such a fashion that the guns nearly shoot down the wall, fortunately enough we did place the guns to [aim] at posts, which stood far out in the lake. 96

At another drinking occasion of Ekeblad’s was when he feasted with good friends and his father-in-law on a ship, where the captain fired the guns in such a fashion that he nearly fired up all the powder. 97 This notion of describing drinking and intoxication with the use of war references does also occur in Ogier’s diary, where he states that a cupboard of vessels and punch bowls was like an arsenal of weapons, from which both servants and masters indefatigably filled their cups to such an extent that Ogier makes the parable to the intoxication of soldiers and commanders. 98

Through the amount of examples above, the notion of the belligerent nobleman seems to be an established fact, stating that it was an ideal which was nurtured and even created and upheld in the drinking context and not only on the fields of Mars. Beyond the perspective, where the nobility were safeguarding its old traditions and attributes of identity, we may see the cultural influences 17th century warfare had on the execution of drinking, thus giving us a peep into the cultural history of war.

After Whitelocke had celebrated this Lord’s Day in the usual manner, and had heard two good sermons preached by his chaplains in his house, there was in the evening a great noise and disorder in the street before his house, trumpets sounding and drums beating, with shoutings and a great tumult of all sorts of people; whereat looking and sending forth, they found the business to be that a great company of gentlemen and officers of the army and others, among whom was Major—General Horne and other great men, came into the open space of the market–place, marching tither through the streets, with drums beating and trumpets sounding before them, and servants carrying flagons of wine and glasses after them. In this posture[...] they came into the market–place, where they made a great ring, placed their servants with the flagons, bottles, and glasses, in the midst of the ring, and themselves kneeling down round about. There they drank healths to the Queen a long time together, drums and trumpets and roaring at every health [...] 99

Such a performance in a public space as the market, where the sounding of trumpets and drums did put people’s attention to the midst of officers and noblemen, was a very noticeable sign of noble military splendour. Such a display of social hierarchies where the nobility firmly showed, that they do not kneel for no other person than the sovereign and marking their status and loyalty by drinking to the regents honour, stand out clear as an evidence of noble identity and the performance of it.

96 Ekeblad (1915) p 8 “I går som var pingsdedagen, hade vi hör en skarp skärmyssel, så att på bägge sidorne alla blefve nederlagda, det som eljest in ofta höres. Härutaf kan min käre farkär se, att icke längre än vi äre komne, huru friskt vi hålla oss. Bägge parterne vore komponerade af en flock med fuktiga bröder, jag menar af öfverstelöjtnant Ulfsparre, major Erik Nilson, som kom hit igår, och leutanten, som är från Kållänga. Kriget begyntes med små glas och lyktas med stora stycken dårhos, så att stycken och hade så när skutet ner muren, ehuruval vi stälte stycken åt pilar, som stado långt uti sjöen.”
97 Ekeblad (1915) p 376f
98 Ogier (1978) p 40
99 Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) 416
Making contracts

Some collective drinking was of a more business oriented kind where transactions, agreements and treaties of both political and economical matter were made. In this context the sharing of cups worked as an act for confirming mutual obligations and trust in an agreement.\(^{100}\) Magalotti tells of when ships enter the harbours of Sweden it was the custom that those who had contraband on the ship – in this case silk stockings – invited a couple of friends to the ship in order to share a drink together. After the drink had been consumed, every member of the party took as much contraband as he could hide.\(^{101}\) The sharing of a cup together with associates sealed the deal collectively to honour the contract, where every man got his cut of the contraband and in order to celebrate that the ship had arrived safely. It is clear that the smugglers – or rather their employers – came aboard the ships and shared an honest drink together as honest men to commemorate an honest pursuit, when they might as well just could have gone aboard, taking their share.

Of a more political matter were when foreign envoys were visiting or had had audiences with their Majesties. This was an occasion which was followed with great ceremony and grand drinking together with the nobility.\(^{102}\):

The French envoy had the last Sunday his audience with the King and afterwards with the Queen, and was directly guided by the marshal of the realm and others of the council to the left side of the castle to a chamber, which were made ready to treat him, which took place with a well prepared dinner with music, drums and trumpeters, one did also fire the guns to all toasts [...] The envoy himself was so drunk, that they nearly must had him carried up to his chamber.\(^{103}\)

These intoxicated installations and treating of political dignitaries from foreign countries were a natural way to express good host ship by the hosting country, but since they were individuals with high political status, more was at work here. An audience between an ambassador and royalty was in one sense a social gathering where Kings, court and envoy got to see each other face to face. The purpose of the ritual of audience – and arguably the following feasts – was evidently very political, where both political contracts between nations and social contracts

\(^{100}\) Roper (1994) p 110; Tlusty (2001) 103-114
\(^{101}\) Magalotti (1912) p 57
\(^{102}\) Ekeblad (1915) p 286, 296f; Goeteeris (1917) p 25, 139f, 166, 173; Ogier (1978) p 95, 103, 105, 107, 108; Rosenhane (1995) p 147
\(^{103}\) Ekeblad (1915) p 286 ”Den franske envoyen hade i förleden söndag sin audience hos kongen och sedan hos dronningen, och blef genst förd af riksmarskalken och några flere af rådet samt af hovet bort på venstre sidan på slottet i ett gemak, som var tillredt att traktera honom uti, hvilket skedde med en vältillredt måltid med musik, pukor och trometer, blef också med stycken skutit lösen till alla skålar[...]Envoyen har själf varit så druckin, att de nästan ha måst bära ut honom och opp i sin kammar”
between individuals interacted alongside each other. To be a good host and be hospitable to the guest was thus both a social and political act, to ensure the amity and good reputation between nations, a responsibility the nobility shouldered at several occasions with the help of social drinking.  

The importance of concord between nations and the importance of honouring treaties through toasts and drinking was further enhanced, when some toasts and social gatherings from the material are highlighted. For Ogier the steadfast loyalty to the mutual treaty between France and Sweden, as well as the wellbeing of the states constitutes material for both toasts and competitive drinking, but also the cause for mutual drinking. To further state the amity between the national representatives they taunt and drink to the downfall of the Spanish and Austrians, by making their patriotic toast in Spanish wine.

The importance of mutual treaties and mutual enemies in toasts gives the notion that, even if the people toasting to glory and downfall were not at the actual conferences where treaties were made, they were still legitimizing it through their toast, as a way of favouring social and political concord in the public sphere.

This importance of concord between nations is particularly clear in La Motrayes diary, where he attends three dinner parties in as many days, which follows the Peace conference of Åland between Russia and Sweden. Here strong wines and drunkenness constituted the agenda of amity between the nations, which arguably helped to strengthen the contract of peace between nations in the social sphere. At the final party large amounts of wine was drunk alongside certain blends of alcohol, which were served in a grand cup, which was carried in procession to the house of council to commemorate the peace conference. Swede, Russian and Frenchmen alike were all seemingly aware of these performances, of how a chivalrous ceremonial touch was put onto the drinking context.

**Summary**

By emphasising occasions of sociability and drinking it stands clear that this act worked as an instrument of interaction, for greeting new members into the collective and as a way of rehearsing and strengthening existing social bonds between members.


105 Ogier (1978) 40, 67, 68, 75

106 La Motraye (1918) p 306, 307

In this interaction, drinking worked as a mediator of noble ideals and institutions, which was performed and promoted in this social sphere. What is surprising is that this instrument was not at all flawless as a mediator of ideals but could backfire, thus creating social hardships between those who tried to socialize, as happened between Whitelocke and the Master of ceremonies. Drinking should be viewed as an institution and ritual, through which noble collective institutions could be mediated. This was arguably an act which together with sociability created a social sphere where the other collective’s institutions could be rehearsed as well as presented to new members, giving them instruments through which mutual similarities could be shared. By accepting a drink or toast the participators agreed to an invitation to share the collective’s social rules, and in doing this the institutions were further enhanced among the participators and collective, making a common instrument of identity among them.

The practice of greeting guests and visitors with not only a small beverage but with vast quantities of alcohol served in special vessels, as the greeting cup or other vessels containing great amounts of particularly wine, clearly shows how noble ideals and institutions was presented in the initiation phase in the making of social bonds, clearly demonstrating the power of conformism and the will to belong. The social importance of filling guests and host with alcohol was primarily a way of having a pretext through which interaction and sociability could blossom, but it might as well have been a ritual of challenging each other’s honour to show that one could stand the alcohol, thus enhancing the social bonds between individuals.

As a part of this challenge, toasts worked as a facilitator of excessive drinking, which tells of how nobility perceived honour and loyalty and how this was promoted in the drinking context. The most usual toast was to mark the loyalty to the sovereign, a toast which was made by both the Swedish hosts and guests, marking their respect to the other’s bonds of loyalty. But as many times this was a way for Swedish nobility and foreigners to promote their own standing vis-à-vis their monarch. Through this mutual respect to each other’s loyalty, toasts could be made by both sides, making social bonds between the individuals which were founded on their mutual respect for each other’s monarchs. This toast also engaged the body to show social submission, by performing the toast of loyalty bareheaded and kneeling, as if the sovereign was standing in the room. To test each other’s loyalty to hierarchies and sovereigns was an easy way of making the first steps towards sociability and social bonds, an instrument which brought a lot of disturbance.

108 Ibid. p 158f
109 Ibid. p 135f, 140, 147, 161
110 Ibid. p 149f, 153
111 Ibid. p 102f, 105
112 Ibid. p 134ff, 143
when the English ambassador Whitelocke did not wish to accept a toast to his own sovereign. 113
As a way of showing political colour, toasts were made to mutual political arrangements as well to
the downfall to the sovereigns of the enemy. It was although not only to the regent toasts were
made in order to mark loyalty and social rank, but also to family members as the letter
correspondence of Johan Ekeblad shows, where he was ensuring his father that at his wife’s
house, his father’s toast was a reoccurring one, thus stating his rank as the pater familias.

Beyond social and cultural rank, honour, loyalty and physical control in an intoxicated
situation the performance of the warlike nobleman was an attribute which in a very physical way
made itself reminded in the early modern noble drinking context. To signal with fanfares of
trumpets, beating on drums and firing cannons was a very dramatic as well as militaristic way to
bring attention to the toast. To perform loyal toasts in public was performed with marching in
uniform as well as signalling the toasts with militaristic instrument. Sociability and drinking was
obviously a couple which increased heavy drinking greatly in the homo–social environment of
officers, a social aspect which Rosenhane, Ekeblad and Wallenstedt experienced. 114

Drinking was not only a business of confirming, presenting and rehearsing collective
institutions, but also a way of addressing and confirming changes in the ranks of membership.
During the different rites of passage as baptism, weddings and funerals, wine and intoxication
was a part of the actual ceremonies and following feasts. To have wine served at these special
occasions was arguably a way of manifesting and approving change and continuity, through the
use of instruments which enhanced the feeling of belonging among the participants. Through the
collective use of Christian rites of passage, drinking rituals and excessive feasting, individuals and
collective made the new collective structure legitimate by performing and presenting a collectively
approved contract considering the collectives foundation of members. Through these actions, the
collective could present a façade of unity, both to surrounding and themselves through
sociability, which perhaps was most important during the many and grand funerals which
occupied the nobilities calendars. 115

113 ibid. p 158f
114 ibid. p 102f, 105
115 ibid. p 174-177
Drinking songs and sociability

One of the greater functions of the drinking song – as well as the act of toasting and drinking – was to enhance feeling of sociability and to urge collective drinking.  In order to make the drinking song work in this fashion it was necessary that certain themes were made manifest in the song, which the drinking bout could recognize, since the tradition of the drinking song was that it was upheld in certain social circuits like students, craftsmen, nobility and military gatherings. Equally important was it to leave certain themes outside of the drinking context e.g. politics, religion and hardship in order to promote good sociability between the participants. This did not however hold back the drinking song to address Christianity and hardship in a satirist way, in order to promote the necessary themes through which recognition and sociability was created. This makes this material a great mediator of noble and universal ideals, as well as how the nobility perceived and promoted their identity and ideals in sociability in the drinking context.

The references to ancient Greek gods and characters are vast in the material of poems and drinking songs, stating the importance this influence had on early modern lyrics. The two gods which reoccurs most frequently in the drinking songs are the God of wine and pleasure Bacchus and the Goddess of love Venus with her son Cupid, which mostly works as an antipole to Bacchus.

Hierarchies, loyalty and equality

Hierarchies are apparent in the drinking songs, where Bacchus or the regent is the ones who embody the top. Bacchus is depicted as the God or Patriarch of the drinking bout to whom homage is sworn, either to his banner or by asking for his mercy so that he may accept the singer/writer as his lackey or servant. He is a statesman and entitled tavern father before whom his followers are kneeling. In one text the singer/writer states – or prays – that the throats of the drunkards shall be moisten with drink so that they hearty may pull the wagon of

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116 Nordstrand (1973) p 17ff, 117 Ibid. p 19, 116, 126 118 Ibid. p 19 119 Other ancient Nordic and Greek gods and characters which are mentioned are Saturnus, Jupiter, Mercurius, Luna, Phillis, Phoebus, Themis, Mars, Neptunus, Triton, Astrild (Cupid), nymphs, Daphnis, Actaeon, Delia, Amaryllis, Flavia, Damon, Atlas, Lucinia, Ceres, Castor, Pollux, Orpheus, Apollo, Nemertis, Galathe, Nereus, Amphion, Adonis, Odin, Thor, Friggs; Nordin 1113 p (UUB) 91; Nordin 1114 (UUB) p 51; Nordin 1124(UUB) p 185, 187; V36 (KB) p 147, 148; Hanselli (1866) p 148, 150; Hanselli (1869) p 67, 210f; Hanselli (1873) p 212, 214, 215, 217, 218; Lucidor (1930) p 218, 220, 303, 304 120 Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 85 (Skam få den som laget sviker denne dagh by Johan Runius); 90 (Bachi goder våtesbroder will du ey) 121 Ibid p 90, 162 (Hwad mäst alle)
Bacchus to a feast, depicting Bacchus as a divine master through the way his followers are narrated as submissive subjects. Bacchus are also embodied as a superior through more earthly characteristics of power, as the banner to which his followers pledge allegiance as well as having such a degree of authority that his subjects are kneeling to him. In one song Bacchus is titled the head of state in whose country his subjects had the opportunity to become excessively drunk.

In all these titles and embodiments of Bacchus a game with social hierarchies is present. Titles as God, father, patriarch, states man and banner carrier – read warlord– are clear titles which a nobleman could make himself subject to, which is enhanced by the fact that Bacchus is not at any time called head of church, bishop or any similar rank which was below the noble estate. By giving Bacchus these attributes the drinking context as well as the table are made into his temple, where the drinking bout is worshipping him through the rituals of drinking. Honour and loyalty is given to Bacchus through the homage that every glass on the table stands there to his honour, or that the singer/writer is cheering for his love to Bacchus’s sweet berries. In one case he quite contradictory embodies the role as a servant who provides the drinking bout with alcohol, which also could be a reference to his special place at the drinking bout, since he is the divinity who holds alcohol and mirth as his features.

This context could be seen as a prism through which the hierarchies of society reveal itself, where Bacchus and drinker embodies the roles of God and worshippers, States man and subjects, patriarch and children and warlord and soldiers.

Bacchus is not always depicted as an earthly authority but sometimes as a rather vague being which embodies the purpose of the drinking bout rather than being an embodied member or God at the table. As an institution where drinking and sociability is the goal and norm, the members of the drinking bout pledges and forces the more hesitant drinking members to drink more and become drunk as the rest of the group. A very interesting view of hierarchies is that through drinking and drunkenness the members of the drinking bout may call themselves the brothers of Bacchus, stating that through this kind of noble sociability equality was promoted and enhanced. When the hesitant member joins the drinking he is joining the others in the dance of Bacchus, where the members are honouring him with a wreath and by standing in a circle around

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122 Ibid p 90
123 Ibid p 161
124 Ibid p 85, 92 (Chacon de Phaiton/Hwar och en broder kiär; tar sitt glaas til Gewär)
125 Lucidor (1930) p 220 (Gläst-Buds-Lust Ok Lykönskans-Skål/ vppå Hans Kongl. May:tz Högtbetrodde Residenes Secreterare widh Danske Hofwe/ Then Äreborne/ Högaktdad ok Wälbetrodde Herr JOHAN GILIUSSON/ När Han med Then Åhrebornde ok mykkit Dygderike Matrona Hust. MARGARETA SWAAB ... Anno 1672 by Lucidor); Palmsköld 395(UUB) p 240 (Bacchus bröders och Venus Wänners sällskap)
126 Nordstrand (1973) p 159
127 Ibid. p 17f
him drinking collectively, which makes the whole gathering to become the roaring crowd of Bacchus. This again states the importance of equality and sociability since the gathered through this song, emphasises that everyone shall be drunk, merry and join a sociability where they perceived as brothers through the act of drunkenness.

Bacchus is featured as a character which does not save good wine in good company, which likely is a call to the gathered that nothing shall be spared of alcohol, which invokes the art of hospitality and host ship among the drinking bout, securing their possibilities to get drunk and for the benefit of sociability, which also adds the title of host to how Bacchus is embodied. Bacchus is not only a member or a God in the drinking songs, but he is also an emphasised institution which spiritualizes the driving force behind the drinking act itself.

Bacchus does although not stand alone as a divinity in the drinking songs. The Goddess Venus often stands as an antipole to Bacchus, who through her connection to love brings the outside world into a sphere which wishes to seclude itself from it. This opposition between the two entities are often described as a struggle about the bodies of drunkards and lovers, where Venus and Cupid are to be secluded from both mind and drinking bout, simply by not letting them in through the locked door where they stand knocking. The Swedish poet Lucidor has captured this bother of love in one of his verses; “... much better to swim in wine/ than to suffer the hot fires of Love/ Put out such a purgatory with the flagon/ and with a glass in each hand/ until ones head is getting hot” It is apparent that the cure for all the aches and pains that follows in the trail of Venus are to be cured with the embracing of the bottle, or rather Bacchus and his juice of grapes.

Despite this reoccurring hostility between Bacchus and Venus, there is one song which separates itself from the rest. The song “Bacchus brethren and Venus’s friends” is in short a poem where the supporters of love and drink stand against each other, in a dispute which one of the two holds advantage over the other, an argument which are twenty—one strophes long. Surprisingly

128 Hanselli (1866) p 150 (Ehre- och Lyckönsknings-Rijm til den frögde-act, som på Den durchleuchtigste och stormönigste Konungs och Herres Konung Carl XI:s Sveriges, Göthes och Vändes etc. etc. etc. Konungs Födelse-Dagh den Sextonde vidh fämpton åhrs aldrönnskeligaste fulkomnan genom ett Kunge-Speel, eller Wärdzskap, firades i Stockholm den 25 November 1670 by Erik Lindschöld), Lucidor (1930) p 260, Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 86
129 Nordin 1124 (UUB) p 185 (Frisk upp mitt hjärta lilli)
130 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 91; Hanselli (1868) p 74f (Vijsa; Hvem skulle uthvällia by Germund Cederhjelm)
131 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 85; Nordin 1114(UUB) p 51 (Frisk up i detta lag, dricken (h)war till behag); Nordstrand (1973) p 35, 43, 90, 164
132 Lucidor (1930) p 37 (I Männ af höga Sinnen by Lucidor) ”Långt bättre är i wijn att simma Än lijda heet Kärleeks Brand/ Släck uth een slijk Skärs-Eld med Kannan Och måd ett Glaaffer i hvor Hand Till theß man blier heeter om Pannan”
133 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 91; Nordin 1114(UUB) p 51; Hanselli (1868) p 74f
the both are united in the final three verses, since non wish to separate the joy of love and drink, against the new mutual scapegoat, sobriety and chastity: 134

He who do not occasionally drink, and make himself merry, loveing beautiful girls, [...] He hold to me little wisdom, for he is a slob and a stuffy half–wit. 135

The constructions of different hierarchies do also occur without the intervention of Bacchus, which in large are based on equality and exclusion. The construction of equality takes on different sorts of terminology in order to promote social bonds between the drinkers/singers. Those who drink together are all amongst the chosen ones or shepherds, where the latter in contrast to the earlier plays on the belief that everyone is equal in a low–status fashion rather than being a company of chosen ones, that puts themselves in a high–level hierarchy by excluding individuals and collectives in the surrounding. 136 There is although not any demonstration that some should be shepherds and some sheep, which could have demonstrated a construction of hierarchy. Despite the lack of sheep, the title of shepherd does still draw influences from Christianity where the shepherd has a clear connotation to the leader of the flock, thus placing these so called shepherds in a high hierarchical position.

The equality within the company is to a large extent constructed around the notion of the homo social collective, the gathering is a company of men where the toast shall be made between men in pairs – which may be a reference to equality or how the members are placed around the table. 137 Further examples of the homo social terminology is the importance and making of brotherhood through drinking. 138

[...]I may in the bottom [of the glass] see my image/this toast should easily be drunk/which shall seal this Brotherhood. 139

[...] Cheers!/ Who will answers three [glasses] on a row?/ Does not anyone here wish to say Ay?/ Thank you my Brother that is well! 140

134 Palmsköld 395(UUB) p 240
135 Palmsköld 395 (UUB)p 243 “Den som ey stundom dricker/ och taar sig ett godt ruus/ och älskar wackra flicker/ och dheras ögons lins/ den håller iag för lytet klok/ för Tölp, för trumpen bondetook”
136 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 92; Nordin (UUB) 1124 p 185; V21 al (UUB) p 95 (Lustige bröder, nu lulla tillsamman)
137 Lucidor (1930) p 38; Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 85
138 Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 91; Nordin 1125(UUB) p 276 (Godt år min bror, tre glas på rad); Lucidor (1930) p 37, 38f; V21 al (UUB) p 95
139 Nordin 1125 (UUB)p 276 “Och kan mig uthi botten spegla/ Den skålen bör är lätt gå ned/ Som skall ett Broderskap försegla”
140 Lucidor (1930) p 39 “Hwip! Thet är fullt/guttår! Hwem svarar trí på ra? Will här ingen säya Ja? Tack min Broer deth war bra!”
Further the members within the company which drinks the most excessively are those who are to be admired and honoured through their resilience and control, thus creating notions of hierarchy which was based on drinking. Sociability was obviously promoted through the making of social contracts, where the sharing of drink was working as a seal through which this relationship gained legitimacy. To keep a respectable position within the hierarchy of the drinking bout, every man of honour must drink plenty from the cup in order to be viewed as a man and as a brother.

The part women play in the drinking songs is by far not equal to the active part men and brothers play. Women are rather used for making embarrassing challenges and as a theme for toasts. A challenge is posed by feminizing those who may not answer the call for drinking, challenging their masculine honour by accusing the members for being tawdry maids or followers of the female Goddess Venus. In the wedding speeches the bride and groom are the ones who receive the blessings of a prosperous and happy marriage, but the bride is often hailed as the vessel through which a child shall be delivered. The occasion which is highlighted in the speeches as an occasion to look forward to is the childbirth’s ale, thus stating that it is not primarily the woman who receives the honorary toast, but rather the salary of lovemaking.

The drinking to girls is a re–appearing theme in many of the drinking songs which repeatedly focus on the women’s appearance, thus eroticizing the object for the toast. It may with great certainty be stated, that as far as in the drinking songs women were only themes for toasts and to visualize the male desire.

Where shall we begin, with the toast to beautiful girls[---]I will go to my bonnie lass, and finish the drink, in wine you seek your comfort, I seek mine with the girl[---]When I with my hands grip, alas what heavenly bliss, the heavenly round tits, which swell high, then runs my heart in my chest[...]He who do not occasionally drink, and make himself merry, and love beautiful girls[...], He hold to me little wisdom, for he is a slob and a stuffy half–wit.

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141 Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 86; V 21 al (UUB)p 95; Hanselli (1873) p 216 (Upmuntring till lustighet på herr rådman Schlyters bröllop”; Lucidor (1930) p 39
142 Tlusty (2001) p 103-107
143 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 85; Nordin 1114 (UUB) p 51 (Frisk up i detta lag, dricken (h)war till behag); Lucidor (1930) p 304f, Nordstrand (1973) p 35, 43, 90
144 Lucidor (1930) Ibid p 220ff, 261
145 Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 86f; Palmsköld 395(UUB) p 240ff; V 21 al (UUB) p 96; VS 36 p 172f; Hanselli (1868) p 74; Lucidor (1930) p 38
146 Palmsköld 395 (UUB)p 240ff "Med hwad sky wy begunna/ Med wackra pygors skåhl[---]lag går till hertans ficka/ och glör så drickan slut/ I wyn du söker dit behag/ lag söker mitt i flickors lag[---]När lag med händern fattar/ Ach: Hwad för hertans frögd/ dhe himmels runda pattar/ som pösa up i högd/ då springer hiertat i mitt
Except the construction of inner hierarchy there are traces of a hierarchy outside the drinking bout that tells of the society in which these songs were composed. A class of this society is the one Lucidor has named *Men of high senses*, which seem to be individuals which view themselves as inhabitants of the moral high ground. Those individuals are ashamed of drinking, which thinks that drinking is to throw coins in the river. Of course the singer/writer – Lucidor – thinks that those who do not drink are a brainless rabble that only lives in sorrow and woe. On the economical matter the singer/writer just states that “Even if you hide away coins/we do not throw them into the stream/ we pour them into our body...” 147, thus making the singer/writer and his kind into those who enjoy their money and the rest into greedy individuals. This could be a critique of those who were above the aspiring Lucidor in rank, as well as a critique to the clusters within society that criticised drinking, as for instance the nobleman Erich Ribbing, who in 1620 had the sulphurous anti–drinking script “*On drunkenness*” by the German Johannis Coleri, translated. 148

A distinct tale of social hierarchy is found in the songs that are concerning actual ranks of society as the King, nobility and clergy, where the former is found in both songs and diaries through the sacral toast to the King, which worked as a banner for political unity within the collective and concord within society. 149

To promote this theme in the songs was a political challenge for everyone at the table, where all had to drink in order to uphold honour and concord, by showing individual loyalty and collective political unity. 150 Fascinatingly is that when drinking the King’s toast, the company does not have to drink excessively in order to honour the regent, but rather an amount that each and every one finds suitable. The coercive act in this toast is that everyone has to drink the King’s toast even if it means than only a small amount of drink will be consumed. To not drink would be to act dishonourably, which emphasises the importance of loyalty to the sovereign. 151

Come and rejoice together to the King’s toast/ he may drink little, who may not hold much/ [...] He is a crouch and never be called a man/ who do not drink the toast with good will [...]152

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147 Lucidor (1930) p 36.
148 Colerus (1620) Vadstena Riksarkiv.
149 Hanselli (1869) p 74f, 76 (En frögedefull hugkommelse/ af det/ frija Upsala Mötes lyckeliga sluth,/ då den stora/ Jublefest/ af/ Carl den elfte [..]); McShane (PRE_PUBLISHED)p 27f
150 McShane (PRE_PUBLISHED)p 27f
151 VS 33 (KB) s 31; Hanselli (1868) p 72; Hanselli (1873) p 218 (Amor praesta usus dictat på herr justitiarien ved kongl. Amiralitetet edle och välbome Carl Rosenströms och jungfru edla och välborna Barbara von Otters bröllop"
152 VS 33 (KB) s 31 "Kom glädias tillsammans att Konungens skåhl/ den må dricka lytet, som mycke ey thål [...] Den må vara krykia och aldrig heeta kari/ som skåhlen att drick godh willia ey har
Pour, pour in all of your bottle, so that we may drink the King’s toast[d] drink its memory as much as each and everyone may[d] For every one ought to empty one glass each.  

The importance of recognition in the drinking song central in order to promote sociability and belonging, a trait which could be accomplished by naming noblemen in the drinking song. This was performed by naming aristocrats and nobility as Bielke, Sparre, Spens, Horn, Lindschöld and Wachtmeister in drinking songs, where these characters were either held as individuals which was held in great honour, or who worked as a connection between nobility, drinking and the urge for women. The nobility was also used to make a clear distinction between them and peasants and how each rank handled alcohol. The nobility are those who are jolly, whose life is filled with dance, sophistication and merry singing. The peasant on the other hand is miserable from hard work, drunk every day and is drinking his whole salary, making his wife and child starve.

Apart from acknowledging the clergy as the ones who runs the church and using them as a marker of faith, a certain kind of humbleness is hold toward this estate. In the song Drink, drink Priests the singer/writer is begging the priest to stay a little longer in the company. When this act is put into perspective with the rest of the coercive act which the drinking bout executed in the drinking songs, it seems as an act of humility to an estate that was much respected.

Loyalty to fathers and especially their last wish in life is the core of a drinking song, where the singer/writer is encouraging his drinking brethren to testify that he fulfils his father’s decree of not seeking honour and fame in no other way than to drink merrily. An act through which the son was continuing to be an obedient son by honouring his dead father’s last wish.

One of the greatest features the intoxication brings, in the context of secluding the outside world is presented in the sixth strophe in the song “Do not sit so sad in such a good company”; “Away troubles, away thoughts, away from our company/Come joy, come freedom be close to us today/for freedom in the drinking bout is best for pleasure.” Here traditions of excluding certain subjects from the drinking bout are demonstrating itself, but in this strophe the benefits are more apparent. Through drinking freedom is given within the sphere, and the members are thus freed from the restraints which might have caused hierarchies, daily sorrows and aches to

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153 Hanselli (1868) s 72 “Skänck, skänck in fult utaf din flaska,/ Att vij må dricka kungens skåhl,/ Drick dess minne mäst hvar en tåhl/ Ty bör hvar sitt glas alt rent uthdricka”
154 Nordstrand (1973) p 18f
155 VS 33(KB) p 33; VS 36(KB) p 77ff
156 V 21 aq (UUB)p 187ff
157 Palmsköld 397(UUB) (Drick, drick Präster, lustig war); VS 36 (KB) p 172ff
158 Hanselli (1866) p 214
159 VS 33 (KB) p 31f (Sitt icke så trumpen i ett så gott Lagh) ”Bårt kynber bårt tanckar bårt uthur vårt Lagh/ Kom glädje, kom fryheet blif när ass i dagh/ Ty fryheet i dagh/ är bäst till behag”; the freedom theme is also apparent in VS 36 (KB) p 79ff
bring a dark veil over the company’s mirth. This is a central feature of the drinking song, where the hierarchies of society are absolved to the benefit of the drinking bout. This is although not any revolutionary declaration, but a way of wishful dreaming expressed in lyrics which purpose is to create sociability through drinking.\textsuperscript{160}

In the drinking songs there are clear warnings of dishonest behaviour, as well as the creation of a lower class within the inner hierarchy. Dishonest and a coward is the one who pretends to drink, drinks falsely, drinks in a weak manner, lies and betrays the company or quits from the different drinking vessels or toasts. Even the one who is sober is attacked in a rather cruel fashion by being called a cripple.\textsuperscript{161} These statements of being called a coward if one did not drink in an orderly fashion, was a clear objection from the rest of the collective who drank honourably, thus invoking their part of the social bargain, which the cripple did not. In a majority of these cases the challenge or warning of dishonest behaviour by not drinking is countered with the proposing of drinking bottoms up to the company’s honour and loyalty.\textsuperscript{162} Such a proposition really states the importance drinking had in sociability within the songs – and arguably at the drinking bout. This demonstrates that in the drinking songs there are a clear hierarchy based on honest drinking and behaviour within the drinking bout. Those who manage to drink excessively and honest are the ones which will maintain their position, whilst those who fail to drink honestly will have their honour as well as masculinity questioned. They might even risk, if one is to believe the songs, to be excluded from the whole company and thrown out.\textsuperscript{163} Drinking and intoxication was the whole instrument through which collective hierarchy and equality was promoted within sociability, as well as how conceptions of hierarchies, loyalty and unworthy people and behaviour were manifested. To drink excessively and thus demonstrating loyalty to the King, ideals and collective was how to maintain an honest ranking within the hierarchy.\textsuperscript{164}

**Christian influences**

Not only is Bacchus a God in the sense that he is an ancient Greek divinity, but he also promotes his authority as a high ranked character, through powers which have clear connections to Jesus. For Bacchus’s divine berries – grapes – rejoices a weak body and even awakens the dead, his

\begin{footnotes}
\item[160] Nordstrand (1973) p 118
\item[161] Palmsköld (UUB) 395 p 240; VS 33 (KB) p 31; VS 36 (KB) p 172ff; (1863) p 205; Hanselli (1868) p 72 (Upmuntran til lustighet); Lucidor (1930) p 38, 40
\item[162] Ibid
\item[163] Palmsköld (UUB) 395 p 240; VS 33 (KB) p 31; VS 36 (KB) p 172ff; Hanselli (1863) p 205; Hanselli (1868) p 72; Lucidor (1930) p 38, 40
\item[164] Nordstrand (1973) p 159, 161
\end{footnotes}
followers becomes of a more royal being than a King in this host of chosen people, who are blessed through the baptize of Bacchus. The power to arise dead, make Kings of ordinary men who are made into a host of specially chosen ones, through baptize clearly states Bacchus’s character as one who derived a lot of attributes from the Bible. This demonstrated how important Christianity was to the early modern noble society, since these clear references of Jesus was given onto Bacchus. If the perspective is changed from the drinking context to one which focuses on Bacchus and Jesus, this conclusion of their similarities may be enhanced. In the Bible the vine is mentioned more often than another plant, which symbolises divinity, divine gifts and renewal. The vine is also the symbol of Bacchus who wears a wreath of vines, heavy with grapes on his head. There are accounts which tell that Bacchus died each year along with the crushed grapes and then resurrected on the spring, when the vines started to bear fruit again. Bacchus could also grant life to those who had died, a feature his flesh and blood embodied through the wine could give, and he was the son of the highest God Zeus. The references and similarities to Jesus are apparent. The rejoicing or healing of the weak body and the awakening of the dead are references to the gospels, where Jesus is curing fever, sickness, leprosy, lameness, atrophy, blindness, dumbness and resurrects Lazarus from the dead. Bacchus has been given the same characteristic properties as Jesus, but Bacchus figures in the hierarchical centre, which in a rather playful way are jesting with both Christianity and wine.

The authority of Bacchus does not only occasionally interfere with the position of the Christian God by stating Bacchus as the God to whom the congregation is giving worship, but also through metaphors like “God be spared from this battle, we have laid down its/his rifles, and now sworn homage to the banner of Bacchus held by faith”. This is the best example demonstrated that the drinking bout through a jesting song actually are abandoning God to the favour of Bacchus, stating the secondary role Christianity authority played in the drinking bout. This line figures in the same song where Bacchus rides a wagon drawn by drunkards, where his subject is kneeling and wishing to become his lackeys. The structure of the whole song resembles a pledge of oath or even a prayer, again stating Bacchus’s position as something between – or above – king and God.

165 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 92
166 Glanville(2007) p 24, 48
168 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 85 “Gud bewars från detta slage/Vy haa aflagt dess Gewäär Och nu swurit Bachi fahna Häildd af Troo/ Der vy finne mindre småntza större mod”
169 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 90; Nordstrand (1973) p 159
The Christian themes are not only used to jest in order to manifest Bacchus’s divinity, but also to make a connection between pious living and drinking. In the song “Drink, drink priests” the singer/writer is making a clear connection between drinking and a blessed soul, since he who drinks sleeps well, he who sleeps well he do not sin and he who do not sin he shall be blessed. A similar holy effect of alcohol is where wine acts as a bath of roses which washes away sorrows, cleanses bad blood and destroys all evil. Such a theme clearly states that at a drinking bout one should be merry and leave troubles outside the sociability, but it also states that bad temper, anger – i.e. cardinal sin – and perhaps even the devil was to be opposed through drinking, again making a clear connection between drinking and a pious life much similar to the argument made in “Drink, drink priest”. To use Christian references in this way where the bad is cleansed from the body is also used to describe a bad hangover – or even a purse empty of coins –, which is illustrated as a Judas’s kiss, demonstrating a situation where the wine have not been worshipped wisely.

In the satirising song “When Pharaohs army” the connection between Christianity, piety and wine is further enhanced, although in a rather humoristic way. In the first strophe the Egyptians are caricaturized as heavy drunkards, whose great urge for wine drove them into the Red sea. Moses saw in his wisdom that the Red sea was not wine and could thus pass, unlike Pharaoh who was a poor drinker which could not differ between water and wine.

In the second strophe Noah was salvaged by God who expected that he did not like to drink the water like Pharaoh. He thus was ordered to build the ark, save his people and later given the possibility to plant the vines, so God’s chosen people could enjoy wine. In the third and final strophe the connection between good faith and alcohol is enhanced in a contemporary context, where the singer/writer and his party are drinking their ale with good serenity, comfort and strength, since they are all of the same faith as the priest in their church. Although the change from wine to ale, which may be a jesting or emphasising that wine was seen as a part of the holy communion, the song states that since they all as Christians since old had been gifted with the wisdom of differing alcohol from water, the whole act of drinking in this jesting song becomes an act of faith and piousness. To be a good Christian was in this fashion to be able to drink and be thankful for it, as was the case in the above mentioned song “Drink, priests drink.”

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171 Palmsköld 397 (UUB) (Drick, drick Präster, lustig war)
172 Hanselli (1863) p 204ff
173 Nordstrand (1973) p 17f, 159
174 Hanselli (1868) p 76
175 VS 36 (KB) p 172f När som Pharaohs här
176 Ibid.
177 Ibid.
The wedding as a Christian ceremony derived many toast which consisted of blessings to the happy couple’s matrimony, which is to be drunk faithfully, heartily and well. Although the toasts are presented in the end of the speeches or verses, wine and ale are urged to be consumed in plenty and excessively before the actual honorary toast to the married couple. In two of the speeches Bacchus is used both as an adjective and as a member to set the standard of excessive drinking, whilst God is call upon in a prayer–like fashion to bless the couple. In this fashion, although few cases and all made by the same author, Christianity is invoked into the ceremony of toasting and blessing of the couple. Through this socio–religious occasion it is apparent that toasting to the married couple was a central ritual, where blessings and prayers for happiness and prosperity were vital. A ritual where excessive drinking and Christian divinity worked towards enhancing the Christian contract between man and woman.

**Hardships of life**

In the drinking songs it is apparent that a construction of a sphere around the drinking bout is promoted, through which different rules and restrains keeps the problems or institutions connected to the outside world at bay. This is a good confirmation that there existed a tradition of subjects which was excluded in order to favour sociability and amity of the drinking bout.

The most striking trouble that the mind should be clear from are sorrows that burdens it, where the instrument to make it clear was through the use of alcohol. Alcohol promotes comfort, lust, strength, mirth, hastens joy and colour to the cheek and makes the body to jump in cheer, rejoices the week body and quells sorrows, distress and heart aches. The daily woes and cries was cured and separated from the body with the use of wine and ale which are compared to a remedy or medicine against melancholy. Aches and pains of the outside world which is best to keep away from the drinking bout is heart aches, love and Venus which is to be mastered by

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178 Hanselli (1863) p 280 (Till den edle och höglärde herrn, Mag. SIMON PAULIN, välfördorad professor idhe Orientaliske sam grekiske språken vid kongl. Academien i Åbo, enär han med den ehreborne och dyggerijke jungfru MAGDALENA SCHÄFER, JOHANS DOTTER, slöt ett kärligt och ächtenskaps förbund i Åbo den 7 Junij 1687); Hanselli (1873) p 215f, 218; Lucidor (1930) p 220f, 261f (Bröllops Skiämt/ När Kongl. May.tz. Tro-Tienera ok Land-Secretarere uthi Scaborgs Lähn/ Ehrborne/ Wällaktad/ ok Wälbetrodde/ H.r JOHAN SIMONSSON/ Medh Äreborne ok mykkit Dygdesamme Jomfru/ CHRISTINA JACOBS DOTTER...Anno 1672

179 Lucidor (1930) p 220f, 260ff

180 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 83f, 91f; VS 36 (KB) p 172 (Här som Pharaonis), Hanselli (1863) p 204ff (En suputs förvar)

181 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 91f; Nordin 1124 (UUB) p 185ff; Palmsköld 395 (UUB) p 234 (Hwadheller är jag drucken); Lucidor (1930) p 38ff (Kom käre Broder kom by Lucidor); Hanselli (1868) p 76 (Vija; Vin, ach vin by Germund Cederhjelm)
putting out the agonizing and lustful fires of love and embracing Bacchus and the bottle.  
If the drinking bout should be compromised by any of these vices, collective actions to convert and save the individual, through compulsory drinking and Bacchus’s baptize was of the essence to reinstate sociability: “He whose throat first sing for love, him shall we busily pour beer upon, until he joins the dance of Bacchi”.  
In a song by Lucidor, the beneficial qualities of drinking are opposed to those qualities that befall those who do not drink, and thus continues their life as mourning creatures:

You men of high senses/ who are ashamed to drink memories/ to drink gives the greatest lust/ scorn the brainless rabble/ who lives in sorrow and woe/[---]when I have filled myself full/ may I from the sorrow be separated.

In this genre of the drinking song it stand clear that jolly sociability is of the essence during drinking, where the act of drinking holds a central position in promoting this good behaviour, which may favour sociability and social bonding. To have burdens could bring the good collective conviviality to a stop, thus it was important to free oneself from these sorrows, in order to endorse the freedom from the outside world, which sociability and drinking could give.

182 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 83, 91f; Nordin 1114 (UUB) p 51; Hanselli (1868) p 74f; Lucidor (1930) p 38ff
183 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 86 “Hvilkens Hallss som först om Kerlek siunga må/ Den ska vy heel flyttigt ösa öhl uppå Tills han med oss stämmer in i Bachi dantz”
184 Lucidor (1930) p 36f “I Männ af Höga Sinnen Som skämmes at drikka/minnen At drikken gier största Lust; Förachten then hiernlösa Hopen Som lefwer i Sårg och Pust […] När Jagh hofwer fylt mig full Kan Jagh migh från Sorgen bäst skillio”
War and manliness

Masculinity, or rather the challenge and question of each other masculinity in the company, is an apparent subject that always is connected to the notion of honour and excessive drinking.

Upholding and promoting honour is accomplished by drinking a certain toast, to be able to drink uninfluenced and not at least to not stop drinking until every bottle is emptied. The one who succeeds in this pursuit have upheld his masculinity and may be counted among the company of men, thus calling himself honest Swedish Man. If the challenged should fail in this attempt he is no more than a shrink of a man, a crouch, a hodge and even a tawdry maid, insults which clearly disputes both social rank and gender. The greatest appellation that a drinker could receive is to be praised as the drinking champion, thus securing and enhancing the individual’s masculinity.

The actual act or ritual of the challenge, which might consequentially lead to admire or dishonour, is thoroughly described in the songs. The toast should be drunk half or whole, three glasses in a row, the bottoms up and should be drunk in a fashion that everyone may see the accomplishing of the task, thus emphasising the admiration and honouring of those who through their resilience and control, created notions of hierarchy through drinking.

The drinking is connected to certain good manners as the toast should be consumed honourably, loyally, with honest heartbeat, bravely, merrily, heartly and in good spirit. The different kinds of vessels; glasses, tankards, flagons, bowls and bottles are urged to be filled as soon as they are emptied and emptied as soon as they are filled. There is even an act that the individual may perform to mark that he has bravely finished his challenge:

See, he have kissed the glass/ Come on come on you must tilt the glass /[---] Know your manners drink to the bottom/ upon my honour your mouth stand to/ your throat and belly is quite large and broad.
War and soldiery are themes which clearly enforces both masculinity and honour through the use of violence. To drink is parable with that of being on manoeuvre where food and drink are redundant to the importance of aquavit. This is an occasion where God’s rifles are laid down to the favour of Bacchus’s banner, where the company is called the ruffians of the war god Mars, which drink and rave to each other’s pleasure and where the whole drinking bout is parable with the chaos of battle.

Let us into drink and battle haste/ turn upside down people and land/ The wine like the sword shall throw/ his man down. Take glass in hand/ drink hastily to the bottom/ until roof and corner/ shake in rave.

During the wedding between Captain Gustaff Wattrang and his bride Catharina von Rosenfelt, war and soldiery invited itself through the wedding speech. Due to the great amount of naval and nautical terms in the poem it is apparent that Wattrang is a captain in his Majesty’s navy, who now have to taste the bitter medicine of combining love and the duty to King and country, where the latter is the one who he most whole heartedly must engage himself with. In the beginning of this poem Mars has brought the blood red colours in his banner. He beats to quarters and lets the drum sound, thus bringing news of war. His children which have their veins filled with the brave blood of champions answer the call and picks up pike and musket, whilst Mars brings the colours to the ships keel thus bringing the war to the sea.

Actual attributes of war is evident in the songs, where these sometime works as an urge to drink. Thus the drinking glasses and wine shall be seen as a rifle or sword, he who betrays the drink will betray in battle and it is better to hold ground than to retreat.

False and a coward is he/ who betrays a good company/ brave in battle and in drinking/ show an honest heart/ stand merry to/ upon each other/ that no one may fail/ better to be on the spot than to turn.

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193 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 84f; Nordin 1114 p 51
194 Hanselli (1868) p 72 “Lät i drick och i fält oss hasta,/ Vänd’ up och nehr på folk och land,/ Vjinet så väl som svärd skall kasta/ Sin man omkull. Tag glas i hand,/ Drick fort uth/ Tils taak och knut/ I yra skälver;/ Alt går kring och om hvartannat hvälver.”
195 Hanselli (1869) p 210ff
196 Nordin 1113 (UUB) p 91; Hanselli (1868) p 72;
197 Hanselli (1868) p 72 “Falsk och feeg är i andra stycke/ Den, som bedrager i godt lag,/ Oförsagd i slag och i drycken,/ Visom ett ärligt hjärtelag,/ Lägg friskt an/ Uppå hvaran,/ Att ingen sviika,/ Bättre blij på platsen än att wijka.”
The warrior King is best depicted in a poem which was made to a glory feast to Karl XI, where his valiant courage favoured the Swedish forces amongst thunder, powder, cannon balls, pikes and swords. Good and jolly harmonies are created with trumpets and drums, as well through cannons which shall be blazing to promote the King’s toast. 198

In the song “A Minuet ditto” a whole battle is illustrated in three strophes. Here drums, trumpets and cannons sound and amongst bullets and grenades are the courageous Swedish soldiers and dragoons charging forth with the King Carol in God’s name, slaying the Sachsen soldiers without mercy, with whose bodies and blood the field is covered. 199 In this song there is no obvious connection to drinking, but due to the promotion of violence and war which is clearly apparent in the drinking context through the sources used in this study, it is not at all unlikely that this song was followed with the consumption of alcohol.

It stands clear that war and soldiery in the drinking songs is a theme which is presented in a fashion that it speaks to men that they should be using battle and chaos as an ambition of the drinking bout, but that they in the same time should never forget that they are brave and honourable men of Mars who will always do their duty to King and country. This is an important genre in the drinking songs since it plays with one of the great ideals of the nobility. The right to bear arms and to lead the armed troops in battle, as well as being the estate in society which wore their honour, rank and masculinity on the outside for the public to behold, was one of the prerequisite for the nobility to promote their rank, an ideal which is apparent in the songs, due to its focus on honour, violence and loyalty to King and country. 200

Summary

There is obviously a noble trait of identity in the drinking songs since their high rank may be viewed as a point of departure in the creation of ranks and hierarchies in the drinking songs. Never is a burgher or an archbishop depicted as the one to whom one is pledging allegiance through drinking, but the up most peak of hierarchy is always depicted as a King, a God, a patriarch or a warlord, roles which Bacchus often was embodied through. This clearly states that the loyalties one gave were to those who were above the nobility in the social ladder. The social hierarchy may from time to time appear in the drinking songs, demonstrating nobility, priests and peasants, but for the most part it is the sovereign who reveals himself, due to the higher rank this institution held, which made it into the obvious point to whom toasts and loyalty could be made.

198 Hanselli (1869) p 66, 68, 74 (En frögdefull hugkommelse/ af det/ frija Upsala Mötes lyckeliga sluth,/ då den stora/ Jubilefes/ af/ Carl den elfte […]
199 Nordin 1124 (UUB) p 307f “En Menuet ditto”
To have Bacchus as the leader of the drinking bout was a feature which promoted excessive drinking, this in turn benefitted sociability. Within this sociability both equality and hierarchies was promoted through drinking, where brotherhood, social bonds and distinguished honourable behaviour constituted the hierarchies. Through drinking songs the nobility could promote and perceive their high rank in society, since they needed a special war/drinking hero, a King and even a divinity in order to have a corpus to which they could pay homage. Through such an embodiment they could rather define their own high rank and status, without losing any of their noble traits.

By being forced to drink in order to promote sociability, the drinkers was arranging and enhancing inner hierarchies through their own drinking, without which they would not had been able to uphold status or personal honour within the collective. By promoting sociability through certain behaviour founded on drinking, where escapism plays a grand part in promoting a collective who was freed from the outside world, the collective was manifesting itself both through inclusion and exclusion. To refuse to drink and bringing in the aches and evils of the outside world was to disregard and even break the collective contracts of sociability.

The influence of Christianity in the drinking songs is stating that this was an ideal through which both drinker and nobility defined their estate, which demonstrates the great power Christianity had as an ideal of identity. This embodied itself through jesting with Christian features, which also could be used to depict the negative aspects of drinking, as the kiss of Judas. Bad temper, cardinal sins and even the devil could be overpowered by drinking alcohol, as the toast could become a prayer and the alcohol came to be a feature which defined a Christian.

Distinctively noble traits in the drinking songs are demonstrated through the mentioning of noble families, who are the only ones who actually are embodied through a name except the sovereign and divinities. The noble ideals are promoted through their sophistication, wealth and status, but most apparently through the themes of war, honour and violence. Drinking courageously and valiantly is frequently compared to the honourable pursuits of battle, where honour and loyalty to King and country was held in a very altruistic way, which even should overpower the love the warrior held to his wife. By distinguishing oneself in drinking as on the battlefield was an honourable task and pursuit which helped to promote the ideals of the nobility’s relation to violence.

The drinking song worked both as an institution as well as an object in defining culture and ideals, through which individual and collective could rehearse and practice their identity. This

201 Nordstrand (1973) 118, 159
202 Ibid. p 17ff, 126, 161
process is what Miller calls objectification, where culture, labour, objects and identity interacts and creates each other.²⁰⁴ The drinking song stands as a testimonial of some noble virtues and ideals, but presumably were drinking, sociability and loyalty amongst the foremost features in drinking songs which may be viewed as universal ideals, since these were features which could promoted sociability in any social spheres where drinking and sociability was the collective pursuit.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Miller (2010) 58f, 145
²⁰⁵ Nordstrand (1973) p 116
Flagons, goblets and tankards

The drinking vessel has its given place in the drinking context as a tool for ritual, consumption and provider of symbols, as vessels could be both an individual and collective tool for tapping – and drinking – the intoxicants after certain measures, and to give the different brews a re–embodiment from the insignificant bottle or barrel, to a more presentable holder.

The drinking vessels which were used by the Swedish nobility and the higher strata of society during the seventeenth century vary both in shape, material and grandeur, from small glasses to gilded glory goblets of vast sizes. The different sorts of vessels used mentioned in the diaries, logs, letters and drinking songs are; small glasses, wine glasses, high glasses, large beer glasses, crystal glasses, gilded cups as well as cups made of glass, silver and gold, with or without caps, vast gilded goblets, ample noggins of silver, gilded and silver bowls, Hercules cup or greeting cup välkomma, drinking vessels in the shape of ships and gilded sea shells, flagons, large silver vessels, half pint, pints, tankards and bolkar – a vast wooden bowl. 206 To these material spoons for aquavit may be added, which brings another level of sociability to this study. The spoon as well as some vessels was an individual tool for drinking, but some of the grander vessels – and perhaps even some of the more sumptuous vessels – was shared by more than one person, arguably an act which enhanced the feeling of collective belonging, equality and sociability. 207

These vessels were in turn filled with (1) wine; Rhenish Mosel, French Bourgogne, Claret, Pontac and Champagne, Spanish Sack or Canary wine and Hungarian wine,(2) domestic beer but also beer from Braunschweig, Lübeck and Rostock and (3)aquavit. 208 The wines were at several occasions served with different spices like cinnamon, sugar, cardamom, nutmeg, honey, clove, saffron, anise or liquorices for the guests to blend after own taste. There even existed some established blends like Hypokras (Red wine, nutmeg, cloves and cardamom) and Bishop (Pontac, Spanish oranges, sugar, cinnamon and nutmeg). 209

Between some liquid and vessels there probably existed an interaction which stated that certain drinks was to be served in certain vessels, as the term beer glass propose, but due to possible shortcomings in translation and the expressions of language this is hard to discern. Beer could be

206 Nordin 1113 (UUB)p 83, 85, 86, 92; Palmsköld 395 (UUB) p 243; Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) 223, 224, 432; Whitelocke vol 2 (1855) p 273; Hanselli (1869) p 28, 146, 147; Magalotti (1912) p 115; Ekeblad (1915) p 8, 409; Goeteeris (1917) p 140; La Motraye (1918) p 107, 108, 110, 147, 307; Ogier (1978) p 63, 68, 69, 79, 108
207 La Motraye (1918) p 107, 108, 110; Ogier (1978) p 64; Mattson (2002) p 33ff
209 Goeteeris (1917) p 139; La Motraye (1918) p 307, Ogier (1978) 68, 76, 95; Englund (2000) p 103
served from pints and cups of silver, the Bishop blend from great goblets, Hypokras from big golden and gilded cups and high glasses, aquavit from glasses and wine from cups, goblets, glasses, great cups of glass and silver and from beer glasses.\(^{210}\)

That wine was the alcoholic beverage which most frequented the noble tables is too a bold statement, but it is the beverage that was most often named in the sources. The amount of named beverages is a minority in comparison to when the different diarists talk about drinking and drunkenness, making a charting of what was consumed difficult to declare. Wine was however the one beverage that were most prized by both Swedes and foreigners, a notion further strengthened by the fact that wine was named after its origin, stating distinction between different brands and imported goods, and because wine was frequently used as gifts between the nobility.\(^{211}\) From Ogier’s diary and the letter correspondence of Ekeblad the impression that wine was consumed in great quantity and to great expense when it was served in the higher ranks of society comes to mind.

On the 29\(^{\text{th}}\) of April the ambassador did receive a dinner invitation from the marshal of the realm De la Gardie. We meet the judge of the realm, the admiral, Johan De la Gardie, the marshal of the court, Axel Banér, as well the cabinet minister Mattias Soop and Per Sparre. Further were the Danish resident Peder Vibe, additional Swedish officers and every member from our [Ogier’s] embassy. Noble youngsters carried in the trays. We sat at the table for three hours or more and drank and wasted wine for two hundred daler.\(^{212}\)

The past Sunday was Her Majesties’ birthday [...] a banquet was held the same day, where the queens [sic: queen and queen dowager] were as well as all women and cabinet ministers with all officers. It went on very lustily [...] 8 preparations were carried to Her Majesties’ table. There were all kinds of music, and wine flowed from 6 a clock, when the banquet begun, unto 8 a clock the second day.\(^{213}\)

With such grand collections of vessels made out of precious glass and noble metal, the notion of taste springs to mind. Due to the sumptuous and not at least stunning craft and art the different

\(^{210}\) Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 224, 416; Whitelocke vol 2(1855) p 272; Magalotti (1912) 115; Ekeblad (1915) p 409; Goeteeris (1917) p 139; La Motraye (1918) p 107, 307; Ogier 63, 67, 68, 75, 79, 111; Whitelocke vol 1 (1855) p 224, 416; Whitelocke vol 2(1855) p 272


\(^{213}\) Ekeblad (1911) p 64f “I förleden söndag var hennes majestäts födelse dag [...]Men hos kongliga höghet stog banquet samma dag, hvarst dromningarna varo och sedan hela fruntimret och riksråd med alla officerarna. Där gick mycket präktigt till [...]8 anrättningar bars på hennes majestäts bord. Där vanka ock allehanda music, och låt han springa vin allt från klockan 6, banquetten begyntes, in till klockan 8 den andra dagen.”
vessels hold, they clearly were items of conspicuous consumption, and worked as a collective marker of identity. The different symbols in the art work tell us of certain themes that are reoccurring on the drinking vessels. These symbols may tell more of how ideals of taste and consumption was constituted during the 17th century, but they may also tells a story of how these different symbols interacted both with the user and the drinking context, setting an agenda of identity for them both.

The craftsmanship – Art, symbol and material

The craftsmanship and design of the vessels may well be used to describe the different modes of fashion and taste which occurred during the 17th century, where engravings gave place to high embossments and ornamentations, which to a higher degree than before dominated the vessel. 214 The fashion of engraved silver vessels – in particular flagons and pitchers called Hansa pitchers— with small detailed ornamentations, characterize the vessels from the Renaissance and the Swedish 16th century. 215 During the Baroque and the Swedish 17th century the vessels became much more expressive and ostentatious, with wild and vivid embossments of plants, flowers, figures, animals where motives of both Christian and mythological character was functioning side by side. This cross interaction is a confirmation of how the influences of the baroque were embodied through the creativity of craftsmen and customers, but also that the baroque as an institution of fashion could conjoin and to some extent erase the no—man’s—land between religion and profanity. 216 The move between these two schools of low engraving and embossment of grandeur are an example of keeping the concepts of fashion and taste up to date, with the influences and fashion from Italy, the Netherlands, Germany (Augsburg and Nürnberg) and France. 217

A material which came to grow in production during the second half of the seventeenth century was glass. Glass was during the seventeenth century, as well as before an exclusive commodity which was either imported or manufactured in small proportions at small domestic glass works. These glass works was held under noble and royal patronage, which formed the clientele of the glass producers. 218 The high status of glass and glassmakers was not only defined

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214 Holmquist (1997) p 477
216 Holmquist (1997) p 477, 483— 487; NM.0101255; NM.0991008A-B NM.0148261; NM.0245488+;NM.0047730; NM.0186988
218 Ernstell (1997) p 497ff, 500, 503, 505, 507
with the patronage from the utmost top of individuals in society, but also by the great privileges these manufactories received from their patrons, e.g. living quarters, transport aid, deliveries of fuel (wood), clothing and provisions. Sometimes even monopoly was given during a limited period. An example of the rather extensive privileges a glass manufacturer could receive was apparent the case for Melchior Jung’s glass works. On the signing of his letter of privilege in 1641 he enjoyed the benefits of being the only manufacturer who could establish a glass work within the realm for eight years, a ban on imported glass, beneficial terms of export, free import on material, all workers was to be relived from conscription and soldiery and no one was to be allowed to lure the employed from the glass work. Those who signed this letter were Axel Oxenstierna, Karl Karlsson Gyllenhielm and Jacob De la Gardie, stating that the founding of a privileged manufactory of glass was in the interest of the powerful Swedish aristocracy. \(^{219}\) That the aristocracy and royalty benefitted from the domestic production stands out clear since on the death of Melchior Jung in 1678, he had claims on 26 692 copper dalers, where the indebted amongst others were King Karl XI, Magnus Garbriel De la Gardie and Johan Rosenhane. \(^ {220}\)

In order for the goldsmiths and goldsmith’s apprentices to keep their work up to date – thus keeping them in business and their customer fashionable – foreign influences was largely imported by the help of manuals, where patterns and styles were presented. \(^{221}\) These influences were not followed to the last draw – since drawing a design and making it were quite different aesthetics – but gave the craftsmen a database, where motives and patterns from different manuals were combined with the craftsman’s own design into a unity. \(^ {222}\) Herein lies a dilemma. Since the designs arguably did not only come from books but also from the craftsman aesthetic abilities, the guilds and from employers who wished to put their own design or feature on the product, some of the ornaments and embossments must be read carefully. It is not self-evident that every piece of ornamentation held a deeper symbolical meaning it once might have had. Due to the interaction between client and maker, the clients own image and presentation of fashionable taste are exposed, and through the symbolic and visual rhetoric of the drinking vessels a large extent of these symbols may be read as a noble language. \(^ {223}\) With this I wish to highlight that not every piece of a design is interpretable, although a clear majority of it is since it relies heavily on symbols with religious and mythological origin. It is from these symbols on the drinking vessels I will derive information, in order to construct the themes which are essential for understanding the identity of the early modern nobleman.

\(^{219}\) Ibid. p 499  
\(^{220}\) Ibid. p 500  
\(^{221}\) Fulton (1996) p 33  
\(^{222}\) Ibid p 41  
\(^{223}\) Eriksson (2002) p 26f, 244, 248f
Christian influences

Of the different influences which constituted the baroque epoch of art, the influence of Christianity is unquestionable. This mirror of societal religion may be seen in small ornamentation and embossment in drinking spoons and pitchers, where angels and cherubs and a dove with an olive branch tells of how Christian influences interacted through the small details on the vessels. The visualisation of biblical persons like St John, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary with the child and biblical event like Daniel in the lion’s pit, the birth and passion of Christ as well as decoration of angels and cherubs in a grand fashion, clearly states that the influences of Christianity was not something that was only fixated to the lesser ornamentations in the periphery, but something that was the part of the central theme of the vessels. On a great glass vessel–or Humpen which is the name for this kind of glass–a band encircle the vessel horizontally stating “Drink and eat. Do not forget God, your Lord.” This is a reference to the first Corinthians in the Bible where the last supper and the communion are described by Paul, which stated that everyone should examine their selves before consuming the wine and bread of the Lord, that it may be consumed without bringing God’s judgment upon their heads. This is arguably an encouragement and demand of its users to drink honourably and be soul–searching before the drink commences. Similar biblical engravings to the bread are found on silver spoons, where also God’s protection is summoned. On a silver flask a text states that the glory is only for God and no one else. This is a reference to the first and second of the Ten Commandments, wherein Gods undisputed authority and glory are manifested. In order to be able to understand these engravings the owner/user had to know the stories of the bible to such an extent that the text did not pass unnoticed.

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224 NM.0327748; NM.0245488+; NM.0172872; NM.0173090; NM.0175133; NM.0219213; NM.0172872; NM.219213
225 NM.0218209; NM.0186988; NM.0991008A-B; NM.0173015; Skokloster ID: 686. Also in Widenfelt (1993) p 19; Nordiska museet: Kunskap och Förmedling: Card catalog: Keyword: Kanna: Reference material. Also in Karlson (1945) p 532;
226 NM.0047730 "TRINK UND IES GOTT DEINES HERRESN NICHT VERGIS" Dated to 1646. Made in Southern Germany, probably in München. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1886. No connection to Swedish nobility.
227 McShane (PRE-PUBLICATION COPY) p 12; Daniel 5:1-29; I Corinthians 11:26-30
228 NM.0172862 “FØRTIENT BRØDH ÅR LIVEFELIGT; O GUD LADE MIG ALRI FARE SAA ILDE”; NM.0148261 ”Hielp Gud (F)ader som (He)lige Anda IHISU S NAM” Dated to 1588, no statement of origin. Dated to 1646. Made in Southern Germany, probably in München. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1924 from Malårsk church in Lappland. No connection to Swedish nobility.
229 NM. 0102052 “Gott mitt uns” & "Gott alein die ehr und sunst kein mehr” No date or place of origin. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1905. No connection to Swedish nobility except engravings of Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstierna and Bernhard of Sachsen.
Biblical references could take a much more direct approach as on a great glass vessel – *Humpen* – there the crowned two-headed Austrian Imperial eagle is depicted, with several shields of arms on its black wings, where the crucified Jesus is centred at the very corpus of the whole image, splitting the coat of arms. On a silver birch tankard is the birth of Christ, the kiss of Judas, Christ before Kaifas, the crucifixion and the entombing of Christ depicted. The tankard stands on several lions, with a single lion at the handle, which are engraved with fruit ornaments. On the cap of the same tankard the last supper is depicted, being one of the last images the drinker sees before opening the tankard. The focus on key figures in the Christian faith is seen on a gilded silver spoon where the Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus appears in embossment, uniting blade with handle, as well as on a gilded silver cup where the apostle John appears on an eagle.

On a grand tankard – a *welkomna* – made of silver birch, is a great illustration of Daniel in the lions pit engraved. On the left in the picture lies a man decapitated, with a lion at his right side. The lion’s jaws are filled with a stone from a man who seems to be of the clergy, due to his clothing which consist of a tunic and cloak. Over the man’s head a crown appears, with two arrows of lightning striking of each side of him. Most interestingly is the man who lies to the right in the picture. He lies down reaching towards the sky or the holy man with his left hand. His attires are high boots, trousers, long coat with wide arms, a bottomed shirt and a cravat. His appearance is fulfilled with the wig which crowns his head. Although the absence of a rapier there is no doubt that this man on the right is portrayed as a nobleman. The scene is a reference to the biblical scene, where Daniel – the nobleman – is saved by an angel – the clergyman – from lions due to the grace of God he have earned by being a faithful servant.

It is fascinating how this vessel as the only one in the study makes a clear line of connection between nobility and biblical persons, in this case Daniel – King Dareios’s most faithful and talented minister – who was thrown into the lions pit due to his opposition to a royal decree, decreasing the right of religious exercise. This decree had only come to pass because the other ministers of the King sought to get rid of Daniel, since he was to be the foremost in the kingdom. Although King Dareios tries to resist the will of his ministers and save Daniel, he is forced to oblige their will. Before the tomb is sealed the King says to Daniel that his God may

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230 Skokloster. ID: 686. Also in Widenfelt (1993) p 19. Dated to 1581. Made in Bohemia. Was used by the Swedish nobility since it was connected to family Bielke. In 1757 it was noted as part of the inventories of Skokloster a year after the execution of Erik Brahe.
231 Nordiska museet: Kunskap och Förmedling: Card catalog: Keyword: Kanna: Reference material. Also in Karlson (1945) p 532
232 NM.0173015; NM.0219209 Dated to 1661. Came into the possession of the Nordic Museum in 1933. No connection to Swedish nobility.
save him. Since Daniel was saved by the will of God, the vicious men of the King where executed
and the God of Daniel was honoured and feared across his kingdom. As for Daniel himself he
had great success in the government of King Dareios and the Persian King Kyros.

This particular story holds some interesting themes. The talented minister in government who
was loyal to the King; who was promised wealth and success, whose fortune arouse envy at his
peers to the point that they evoked royal decrees against him and slandered him. Due to man’s
piousness their plot backfired; which in turn brought this man to be the favoured minister in the
King’s government. These themes were clearly references which suited the early modern nobility
perfectly, especially in time where their right to govern was challenged and their attributes of
performance was restricted, due to royal decrees of sumptuary laws. But it also tells of a story of
being a loyal servant to the state and crown, where piousness will reward the subject with the
protection of God. A protection the nobility clearly tried to embody through this tankard.

Arguably as a part of this Christian iconography was Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden – since he
was held as one of the front figures defending Protestantism in the Thirty years war – who’s face
and bust is to be found on four of the thirty vessels. 234 On one of these cups where Gustavus
Adolphus is brought in grandeur, an engraved message of honour brings the connection between
Gustavus Adolphus and Protestantism into light.

To the glorious memory and honour/ of the most powerful principality/ Herr Gustavus Adolphus,
ture/ King of Svears, Göters and Venders/ The victorious hero/ And the greatest triumphant/ He
who came here from the midnight/ And fought for Gods honour/ For religion and the freedom of
Germany/ With great fortune and valour/And with chivalric courage/ shed his royal blood/ But even
in his death/ With the Lord victory/ exterminated the power of the foe,/To everlasting honour and
glory/ The highest Lord preserve his soul. 235

Gustavus Adolphus was the one who came and fought for the glory of God and for religion. His
victories were achieved by the Lord and his soul was preserved by the same. Even though this is
a goblet of homage to Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant themes and the power it had in

234 NM.0990202; NM.0102052; NM.0245488+, Dated to 1632. Germany, probably in München. Came into the
possession off the Nordic Museum in 1952. No connection to Swedish nobility; The Royal coin cabinet. ID:6839
No information.
235 NM.0245488+ Zu Ehren Gedächtnis und Ruhme/Dem Groszmächtigsten Furstenhume/Herrn Gustav
Adolphen Loblich/Der Schwedn Goten und Wenden König/Dem sieghaftigsten Helden [erkorn]/Und dem
grossen Triumpfa [rn]/Der von Mitternacht kommen her/Gestritten hat für Gottes Ehr/Religion Tevtschlands
Freuheit/Mit grossem Glück und Taperkeit/Auch drob mit ritterlichen Mute/Vergossen sein koninglichs
Blut/Dock in sein Todt des Feindes Macht/mit herrlichm Sieg zunicht gebracht/Zu unsterblichem Ruhme und
Ehr/Sein Seel bewahr der höchste Herr
describing valour and deed, is obvious, thus stating an example for those who drank from it to act piously and with courage. His deeds were to God, directed by God and preserved by God. 236

These vessels clearly states that drinking and Christianity could interact with each other, where the vessels through symbols and engravings are urging the drinker to pious living, reminding the drinker to be aware of stories and quotations from the bible. These engravings call for submission, loyalty, to be reminded of the bible and the martyrdom of Jesus, that the soul–searching may continue even during drinking and to stand true and brave to Protestantism. It is clear that Christian ideals were present in the noble drinking context, arguably as a universal trait of identity, which could take the form of noble distinctions, both through advanced craftsmanship and clear connections between Christian and noble virtues.

Classicistic influences

The grandeur through which classicism were expressed in eight of the thirty vessel, with its ostentatious embossment which deform the original form of the vessel, clearly points that Christianity was not the only influence, which constituted and fashioned the Baroque art epoch. 237 This influence is embodied through different figures with connection both to Greek and Roman mythology – Justitia, Pallas Athena, Aphrodite, Eros, Hera, Hades, Persephone, Sisyphus, Dionysus, Poseidon, Hephaestus, Apollo, Artemis, Ares and Arachne – and ancient views of different virtues – Fortitude, Prudence, Piety, Hope, Love, Justice, Philosophy and Moderation. 238 These classicistic themes required a level of reading and learning of a kind which were not available to every rank within society, which arguably was not as easy to obtain as many Christian stories which were tutored through church services. The ability to read and understand these images became a social marker and distinctions between different ranks in society.

At a silver birch tankard depicting the different virtues the importance of symbols and location is apparent; Upon the vessel itself there are the allegories of Faith, Hope, Love, Justice and Philosophy, but on the cap itself – the last symbol the drinker sees before opening the cap to drink the vessel’s content –the symbol of Moderation rules, urging the drinker to drink moderately. 239 On another silver birch tankard Bacchus sits on his barrel with a wreath of vines on his hair, Cupid is picking an arrow from a quiver and below him lays his bow. On the forth

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236 NM. 0245488+
237 NM.0245488+; NM.0186988;NM.0990202;NM.0101255; NM. 0229146A; NM.0991008A-B
238 NM. 0148261; NM.0991008A-B; NM.0245488+; NM.0047730; NM.0186988; NM.0101255; Nordiska museet: Kunskap och Förmedling: Card catalog: Keyword: Dryckeskanna: Reference material.
image on this vessel – the third being that of Daniel in the lion’s pit – a more chaotic and hard-interpreted image appear. In the sea stands Poseidon with a trident held over his head. In front of him stands a women surrounded by dolphins, presumably the nymph Amphitrite, who on her escape from Poseidon’s wooing was reclaimed to him by dolphins. 240 In the upper half of the image stands a male figure playing the flute in front of a behemoth, which is a reference to the Dragon Python and the Pythian Games – a predecessor to the Olympic Games – where flute playing was one of the main challenges, which represented the combat between the god Apollo and the monster. 241 This vessel has visualizations of classicistic characters and tale which required a lot of bildung 242 in order to be interpretable. It is not a known tale of a divinity with characteristic attributes e.g. Cupid with bow or Bacchus on a barrel with a wreath of grapes in his hair, but these two stories which figures in the same sphere of depiction, required much knowledge of the stories of the classicistic world. This sort of vague suggestion to classicistic tales and identification of different gods through attributes, reoccurs in other vessels where hounds or a doe is symbolizing the goddess Artemis, a lyre is symbolizing Apollo and the hammer and anvil the god Hephaestus. 243 Some symbols also tell of specific stories from the Greek classicism on the vessels, where a spiders web tells of the story of Arachne, a most skilled weaver who after much drama was turned into a spider by Athena, and a woman with golden fruit is symbolizing the Goddess Hera, the owner of the Hesperidins gardens from which the golden fruits came. 244 A more complex form of expressing classical narrative is the ostentatious glory goblet of gilded silver which is one grand allegory of the hierarchy of the Olympus. Among fruit ornamentations, cherubs and river Gods are Hera, associated with the sceptre and peacock, Athena with the owl and Aphrodite with Cupid with the arrow of Love depicted. 245 Below follows mermaids and different attributes of the ocean and under the ocean stand Hades, Persephone and an agonizing Sisyphus, in half figures symbolizing the lower world and the kingdom of the dead.

The classicistic influences which were presented as parts of complex and advanced visual language at the vessels, states that in order to be able to read these required a fair amount of

241 Ibid p 145; NM.0186988 Dated to 1726. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1931. Connection to the noble families Roos and von Stefken.
242 Since there does not exist an English noun which to a satisfying degree fulfills the meaning of the German word Bildung (approx: education, intellectuality, ability to interpret) I will use the German equivalent. Hard (2004) p 142, 167, 186. NM.0047730, Dated to 1646. Made in Southern Germany, probably in München. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1886. No connection to Swedish nobility; NM.0101255, Dated to 1695. Germany. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1904. No connection to Swedish nobility.
by the user, thus stressing the importance of education and intellectuality amongst the nobility to read this cultural language, which frequented their social gatherings. The large amount of references to the Greek mythology, points into the direction that this language required advanced knowledge in the classic literature and its visual language, making the vessel a social marker and symbol of acquired bildung, both for the surrounding as well as to the proprietor. When these symbols and figures were interpreted it indicated drunkenness (Bacchus), love (Venus and Amor) and fidelity (Hera). These vessels was as well a statement that a nobleman could afford to have drinking vessels of the latest fashion in exquisite material, which made these vessels into instruments for expressing taste and promoting noble identity through bildung.

War, weapons and valour

Gustavus Adolphus should not only be viewed as a marker and rally point for protestant strength, but also as an ideal for valour, the warlike leader and militaristic virtues. On a silver goblet the King, dressed in armour and lace collar, crowns the whole vessel on the cap, whose bust is held by angels. On the goblet itself there are four spheres, where in each two female figures/virtues are depicted, which holds different attributes as columns, torches, swords, armours, sceptres, vessels and books. Despite the hardship of interpreting these, it stands clear that the female figures symbolize different virtues which were attributed to Gustavus Adolphus. The whole goblet is held by the Royal lion, which holds a sword and a shield, standing on a base where weapons, drums and cannons are engraved.

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246 Eriksson (2002) p 26f
247 Ripa (1971) p 26, 28, 36, 48, 51, 56, 64, 72, 83, 84, 120, 137, 139, 198, 200; NM.0245488+. Dated to 1632. Germany, probably in München. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1952. No connection to Swedish nobility. Despite these attributes some figures are very hard to identify as one single classicistic figure or virtue. A female figure in gown with book in her left hand and a scepter in her right may be interpreted as Vigilance, Doctrine or Philosophy. Next to her stands a female figure in gown holding a sword in her right, making her the symbol of Government or Justice. In the next sphere stands a female in some sort of armour and cape, holding a grand scepter in her left hand, whilst the right is open holding a very small item, which could be a heart making her the symbol of Faith. Next to her stands a woman in cape, helmet and possibly armour, holding a Column, making her the symbol of Constancy (Fortitudo). In the third sphere stands a woman in a toga with her right breast bare, her left hand holding a vessel, whilst the right reaches or grasps a second vessel above her. The vessel could make her the symbol of Chastity or Joy. On her left stands a female in full body armour, helmet with plumes, a shield on her chest, her left hand holding a torch, whilst her right is holding a shield with the mark of a laurel either crossed with arrows, or crossed as if symbolizing the cleaving of the laurel. This attributes could make her the symbol of Perspicacity (Athena), War or Protection.
In the cap a poem in German is engraved to the glory of the Champion of Protestantism, who fell at the fields of Lützen 1632 at the front of the Swedish forces:

To the glorious memory and honour/ of the most powerful principality/ Herr Gustavus Adolphus, true/ King of Svears, Göters and Venders/ The victorious hero/ And the greatest triumphant/ He who came here from the midnight/ And fought for Gods honour/ For religion and the freedom of Germany/ With great fortune and valour/And with chivalric courage/ shed his royal blood/ But even in his death/ With the Lord victory/ exterminated the power of the foe,/To everlasting honour and glory/ The highest Lord preserve his soul. 248

Due to the text’s content and location under the cap, which had to be lifted and beheld every time the user was to drink, it further confirms the vessels symbolic power as a grand homage to Gustavus Adolphus, his warlike virtues and his deeds.

On a silver flask upon which Gustavus Adolphus, Bernhard of Sachsen –Weimar and Axel Oxenstierna are engraved, is also the Swedish battle–cry from the Thirty years war Gott mit uns – God with us – engraved over the image of Bernhard. 249 Since Gustavus Adolphus and Bernhard, one of the most important allies of Sweden during the Thirty years war, as well as the most important statesman Oxenstierna are depicted together, alongside the Swedish battle–cry, the reference to war, Christian valour, Swedish grandeur and concord are apparent. The flask stands as a monument for commemorating the heroes who formed the great era of Swedish history, setting them as an example for noblemen of what may be accomplished. That the nobleman, chancellor and great statesman Axel Oxenstierna was depicted alongside heroes from the Thirty years war, was a clear symbol for the nobility that they had a certain responsibility within society. In this sense, Oxenstierna worked in a similar way as the nobly dressed Daniel in the lion’s pit.

Even commemoration of an officer’s merit during battle was engraved on the cap on a silver tankard which states; “This tankard is for the General Major Wilhelm Mauritz von Post Battle merit at the Siege of the Fortress of Torn Where after Disposition it may not in any way leave the


249 NM.0102052, No date or place of origin. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1905. No connection to Swedish nobility except engravings of Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstierna and Bernhard of Sachsen.
Postic Family as long as it exists”. 

Although the engraving was not made on the tankard as an original feature, but as part of the tankard being given to the family von Post, the engraving commemorated the battle valour of a family member each time the tankard was used, which did set an example for those noblemen at the table who used, war and violence as an ideal for noble purpose and identity.

Great sumptuous embossments were not only something which was present on vessels depicting Christianity, Greek mythology and virtues, but was also depicting vivid and brutal scenes of combat and battle. On a vessel made out from a rhinoceros tusk, held up by an exquisite sculpture of two naked male Olympic champions who are standing on a silver base, appears a whole battle scene of armoured men. On the cap, which are crowned by a rhinoceros in silver different kinds of weapons and armour are engraved. The appearance of wrestlers and warriors gives the impression that the aesthetics are influenced by the classical era.

There are although not only embossments and engravings that may express the culture of war on drinking vessels during the 17th century, but also actual replicas of weapons. In the form of live seized pistols – with knob, shackle and trigger well defined as a united part of the whole glass vessel, with white and blue details of the flintlock, one painted in darker shades of blue and the other one in the same shape as the former, although to large parts unpainted and transparent – two gun–vessels gives a grand confirmation of how war and it attributes interacted with social culture, in the case the drinking culture. Through the use of these gun–vessels we get an image of how the contempt of death, favoured in battle and held as a warlike virtue, had its influence on the drinking culture. In order to use these gun–vessels one have to put the barrel into the mouth, drinking the content of the gun in a fashion which to obviously states the symbolism to the contempt to death, since the contained shot is consumed wholeheartedly.

It stands clear that the influences of warlike valour, bravery and references to war and violence is a strong theme in the drinking vessels. The noble ideal of being the estate within society which had the privilege to wear arms and leading armed forces, as have been stated by Marklund and Collstedt, brings these themes on the vessel to comprehensibility. The ideal of the nobility being the group who had a special relation to violence and honour, was apparently so strong that

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251 Ossbahr (1924) p 41ff

252 NM.0229146A, Dated to 1670. Southern Germany. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1944. No connection to Swedish nobility

253 NM.0060149; NM.0079600; No information.

it was a theme within the arts of the craftsman, which came forth through the interaction between noble client and maker. Drinking through vessels with great heroes and militaristic attributes on them, did set an example of valour and bravery which obviously reminded the noble drunkard of his heritage and right as an officer, to stand by the King’s side to protect subjects and country from hostile takeover.

A cup fit for a King

The reoccurrence of Gustavus Adolphus on the silver flask and on the goblet of glory, does not only work as a symbol for Protestantism and belligerent virtues, but also works as a symbol for royal and authoritative power. By drinking from the cup which has a visual connection to the King, the symbolic act of drinking manifests the drinker’s loyalty to the regent in much the same way as when drinking the King’s toast.

A good example of this is the welkomna made of silver birch, on which cap a coin from 1713 of King Charles XII are presented, dressed in armour and cape, with the text – translated from latin – “Carolus XII with God's grace king of Svear”. Below the cap on a small silver plate an engraving challenges the user to “Drink faithfully if you endure/ Toast for the prosperity of this house”. Due to the custom of greeting visitors with a welkomna, visitors were not only proving their worth and honouring the host through excessive drinking, but also proving their allegiance since this vessel had the image of the King attached to it.

The culture of attaching coins to drinking vessel was an old custom which have traits from the era of the Romans. During the renaissance the custom of artistic goods spread, which gave a new area of consumption and presentation for coins and medals, where the picture of potentates replaced the engravings which used to crown the cap of drinking vessel.

This customs is evident in a the tankard – the von Post tankard – from Elbing in Prussia which cap is crowned with a silver medal of Gustavus Adolphus, dressed in armour, a broad lace collar and sharp folded cape. Around the portrait is a cartouche engraved with fruit and a winged angels just above and below the Kings head. Outside the cartouche the Kings titles engraved in Latin, which translated says “Gustavus Adolphus, with God's grace king of Svears, Goths and Venders. Grand Duke of Finland. Duke of Estonia and Karelia. Lord of Ingria”. On the vessel there are

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255 NM.024588+; NM.0102052
256 Hammarstedt (1932) p 298; NM.0186988 CAROLUS*XII*D.G*REX*SVE
257 NM.0186988 “Drick troget om tu tähl/ för huses wälgång skåhl”, Dated to 1726. Came into the possession of the Nordic Museum in 1931. Connection to the noble families Roos and von Stefken.
258 Ossbahr (1924) p 30ff
three silver riksdaler of the young Queen Christina, standing by a table where the royal regalia lies; crown, orb and sceptre. She is surrounded by her titles in Latin; “Christina by the grace of God, designated queen and hereditary princess of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals”.  

Except these three coins the rest of the vessel are dressed with eight Gustavus Adolphus riksdals, and eight talers of Wladislaw IV, all of them coined in Elbing, with the insignia of Elbing, two crosses on two fields, surrounded by cartouche and in the latter with an angel’s head. Beyond these coins and medals, there are sixteen small coins divided equally on the cap and on the foot, which were minted during the reign of Sigismund I of Poland. Under the foot of the vessel there is a medal whereupon the elector Georg Wilhelm and the elector prince Friedrich Wilhelm stands fully armoured, the former with sash and command staffs, the latter with a cane, both with folded lace collars, before a table where the elector hat and sceptre lies. On the sides of the electors lies plumed helmets. Surrounding the medal are two files engraved in Latin; “Georg and Friedrich, the hope of Brandenburger blood, have an authority of power, where even the old times stand in awe and which we still admires, when it graces the Rhen, Oder and our Bregala with suitable water.” This vessel was arguably constructed with attributes which told of the regional history of the area surrounding Elbing, from Sigismund I on through the Thirty years war, where Gustavus Adolphus after the landing at Pillau took Elbing, to the medal of George and Friedrich which was minted to commemorate that the Swedish armed troops were to hand over cities in the Brandenburg area, amongst them Elbing. 

This way of presenting the history of royalty and government is also apparent on a gilded silver tankard, with grand medals of the regents Gustavus Adolphus, Charles X and Charles XI, as well smaller ones of queens, members of the regency and the council of the realm, in all 26 medals. A medal of a young image of Louis XIV further strengthens the view of the tankard as a mediator to present political history, due to the alliance between France and Sweden. The different male persons are presented in bust form, with armour and cape, fine moustaches, long curly hair and sometimes with a wreath of laurel upon the head. Only Queen Christina is presented with a laurel wreath in her hair amongst the female presented. All the different medals have a text in Latin, stating name and titles. The medal of Gustavus Adolphus, which is found on the bottom of the

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260 NM.0990202 CHRISTINA D. G. SVE. GOT. WAN. Q. DE. REG. ET. PRI. HAE. Dated to 1642. Preussen Elbing. Came into the possession off the Nordic Museum in 1912. Connection to Swedish noble family von Post

261 Ossbahr (1924) p 35f


263 Ossbahr (1924) p 37ff
vessel, is truly a feast for the eyes and a unique piece due to the way a King is presented on this vessel. The King lies on a great sarcophagus, with the text “Born on the 9th December 1594, he died gloriously the 6th of November 1632”. He is dressed in armour, cape, crown, with a sword and sceptre, which lies at his side. To the left on the medal a Swedish cavalry charge drives the Papists to retreat, with an angel above them holding a sword of fire and a banderol with the text “Even before the dead they run away”. On the right side two cloud pillars lead from the Kings chest to the shining heaven of God. Around these pillars do eleven angels fly, whereof two lifts the King’s soul towards the grace of God, on the text “Splendid, faithful servant”.  

By looking at these two tankards, there is arguably more at work than presenting collectables or wealth in a vaingloriously way. The coins worked in a similar fashion as the Christian and classicistic symbols, where they had to be read in a certain fashion in order to be understood. The composition of coins alongside the origin of the tankard certainly tells a story of the region and nation, where regents, electors and aristocracy are used to symbolize times of glory, distress or peace. By using the drinking vessel in this way the constructor – and later the drinker – mediated and tended to the preservation of the past and those who had formed it. Due to the fashion and location Kings and electors are presented in, these vessels arguably worked in a similar way as the great glory goblets of e.g. Gustavus Adolphus, namely to honour these national leaders by toasting to their memory and thus showing humility and allegiance. The importance of portraying history states that if there was not a cup fit for a King, there was certainly a King fit for a cup.

A statue of glass

Relevant for this study is the glass manufacturer Kungsholm, which from the beginning could boast with a number of associates which held positions in the high aristocracy. Amongst these were Rålamd, Gyllenstierna, Soop, Fleming, Olivecrantz and Grill, and the letters of privilege was signed by King Karl XI in 1676.  

Some examples of the wares of Kungsholm which was delivered to the royal court is a decanter where the crowned monogram of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the younger is engraved alongside vines of leaves and flowers. On the opposite side of the monogram a sun or the northern star is engraved. The sun was used by Kungsholm as an individual ornament, whilst the northern star in the beginning was symbolizing King Karl XI, but later came to symbolize Sweden and Swedish science. Similar engravings exist on two glass

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264 The Royal coin cabinet. ID:6839. NATUS 9 DEC: ANNO 1594 GLORIOSE MORTUUS 6 NOU: ANO 1632; VEL MORTUUM FUGIUNT; EUGE SERVE FIDELIS. No information
265 Ibid. p 505
266 Ibid. p 508; NM. 0073132
cups with caps, where two olive branches surround the crowned monogram of Queen Ulrika Eleonora. The influences of the continent and in particular Venice had on Swedish craftsmanship is apparent in the bone–monogram cup, where the crowned insignias of King Karl XI forms the whole leg of the vessel in a seemingly contempt to physical laws.

Glasses could also be used by royalty to get support for their endeavours, in a fashion which brings another level to the toasting to sovereigns. The political power a glass vessel could hold is apparent in the insignia “GOD BLESS QUEEN SWEDAN” and “GOD SAVE ULRICE ELEONORE” on the small tapering glasses, which Kungsholm made after English influences in the early 1720’s. These spoke directly for the support of Queen Ulrika Eleonora, since it was not given that she was to inherit the crown after her deceased brother King Karl XII, making the glasses into instruments of propaganda and drinking into a political act.

Glass ware with personal insignias was not although something which was restricted only to the royal table. Relevant for this study are the glasses which were ordered to celebrate the completion of the aristocrat Carl Gyllenstierna’s palace at Steninge –drawn by the famous baroque architect Nicodemus Tessin the younger. He had a set of glasses in four different sizes, made for this grand occasion. They are all of high quality where design and ornamentation confirms their resemblance as different parts of a whole set, something which were very unusual for this period. Surrounded by rich vine ornamentation thrones the insignias of Carl Gyllenstierna which crowned with the crown of the duke. On the opposite side a seven edged star as well as the inscription “Steninge 1705” commemorates the joyous occasion when the new chateau was completed and new glass wares was ordered. To present the self in the form of insignias with the crown of the count, surrounded by rich ornamentations was arguably a physical way to show social status and economic potency, thus bringing social rank on to the tables of dining. By presenting the unique glasses he had ordered on an occasion where his new chateau was celebrated, another level of conspicuous consumption was presented where both chateau and glasses interacted to create an aristocratically notion of Gyllenstierna. By also being one of the company members of Kungsholmen he could also in a rather physical way through the unique glasses, show the patronage relation he had to the manufacturer. On this occasion Gyllenstierna could really show to his guest – as well as to him self –, that he was a patron of architecture and the arts, a businessman as well as patron of Kungsholmen and a man who with his crowned insignia was a member of the royal court and government of Sweden.

267 NM.0077072A, NM.0077072B
268 Ibid. p 509f; NM.0077071
269 Ibid. p 513
270 Ibid. p 512
271 Ibid. p 512; NM.0248182A; NM.0248182B; NM.0248182C
Summary

Central elements as conspicuous consumption, political performance and the relationship to violence, which have been emphasized by Revera, Englund, Ågren, Karlsson, Collstedt and Marklund, are apparent points of departure of how an analysis of the vessels could be performed. But there is more which have presented itself through these objects, which may twist the perspective of some of the conclusions made by earlier researchers. One of these is the emphasis on conspicuous consumption by Revera. Her perspective is rather meta–focused, by which an analysis of the vessels would have focused on accessibility of the material e.g. the high status of glass, and how vessels followed the fashioning of the Continent. This analysis has proved that there was more at work than taste and conspicuous consumption, even though these are noble ideals which are clearly confirmed in the material. Focusing on the ornamentation of the vessels this analysis have emphasised the cultural influence of classicism and Christianity in the vessels, as two themes which had great importance in embodying noble ideals of piousness, loyalty and bildung. The classical influences clearly demonstrate that in order to interpret the symbols of ancient Greek gods and special stories, large amount of knowledge and classic education was required, something not every subject of the reign was equipped with.

The conspicuous consumption and taste is although a trait that is not to be ignored when discussing the vessels. Silver vessels with ornamentation and grand embossment, as well as glasses with personal insignias were obviously a way of presenting the self by extending it into a vessel, for the surrounding to behold. This if anything states the point of Revera that conspicuous consumption was a way for the nobility to define their rank.

Christianity is although a trait which have not been discussed sufficiently in earlier research. Presenting Christian symbolism and stories through the vessels, was arguably not only a way of presenting taste, but also a manner of demonstrating and performing oneself as a true Christian, a fashion which affected both the owner and the user of the vessel. To be able to interpret these symbols constructed the ideal of the pious nobleman, since this interpretation inevitably created an interaction between vessel and individual. Through this interaction the individual was reminded of not forgetting God, the Lord, to demonstrate submission to both God and Crown, since those who were soul–searching and was obeying their superiors would receive their reward. It is clearly demonstrated in the example of Daniel in the lion’s pit, that the Swedish nobility used Biblical references to portray their rank in society as those who governed the country alongside the King, but also that they were pious individuals who did not falter in their conviction in God and their status in society.
The representation of war and violence is clearly embodied in the vessels, again defining the drinking context as a sphere where the nobility’s relation to violence was reminding itself, demonstrating that it was not only through the execution of violence – or the possibility to execute – that the nobility perceived and promoted their status and relation to war and violence. Through the presentations of war heroes and their virtues, the interaction between object and individual urged and reminded the nobleman of glorious pursuits, which promoted itself through the drinking context.

The aristocracy as one of the highest institutions of power, governing the country together with the sovereign demonstrates itself in the drinking vessels which present Swedish regents and aristocrats. Due to the cap’s presentation of hardened old aristocrats on one of these aristocratically tankards, where they are forming a sphere around a young and androgynous looking Karl XI, gives the notion of old noble experience against unrestrained royal youth. To use such a tankard was naturally a way of drinking to grand efforts made by Kings and Queens in the past, but the symbol of noble power and the ideal of political importance is obvious.

The toast of loyalty to the sovereign was made in tankards and glasses with clear associations to the regent, which could be a coin on the cap or a text engraved on the vessel. Through these symbols and engravings the symbolic importance of making a toast to the regent was further enhanced, since the nobleman did not only show loyalty by drinking a toast, but also by drinking from a vessel which worked as a political instrument. Through this act the nobility demonstrated their loyalty to dead and living regents, but also to the hierarchical system since they clearly showed submission and their rank by making a toast to their superior, which was also performed in body by kneeling and by removing any headwear.

In the views of Morrall and Miller the vessels were clearly an extension of the self and the culture within which the nobility acted, where subject and object interacted with each other giving mutual meaning and value both to themselves and the culture, through which they identified themselves. The labour or attributes and ideal through which the nobility equipped themselves with, embodied itself in these products which stood as an instrument for liquids in the drinking context. Through material, ornamentation and embossments different ideals of the nobility promoted itself in the interactional space between object and subject, enhancing the apprehension and expression of who a nobleman was.

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273 Miller (2010) p 58
274 Morrall (2009) p 56f
The noble drunkard

The chaos Simplicissimus thought he beheld when the Christian nobility turned themselves into a roaring crowd of drunkards was an occasion which together with the results from this study may be viewed in new light. Alongside this information, the theory by Jenkins which are emphasising the outer façade a collective performs as a way of stressing similarities through rehearsing certain institutions and behaviour, brings the notion of a staged theatrical performance to mind. 275 Through such a façade the collective could define itself and distinct itself from the surrounding through an interaction centred on mutual visual performance. The results of earlier research on noble identity further enhance this perspective of theatrical performance, where the focus have been on the visual performance which occurs between artists and public, as well as between the apparel/coulisses on stage and the public. Marble pillars and clothing are important to explain the social and cultural context to the audience, as well as small attributes as a cane or a cigar may be used to accentuate status and superiority in a fashion that certain social and cultural expectations may be transferred to the beholder. 276 This sort of performance and staged identity has been the focus to understand how the artists through the scene and staged attires, manifested their rank as a certain character. What has not been emphasised is how objects on the stage interacted with the artists, making/helping her act in a certain way, where the cane or cigar made her to actively accentuate class through a performed self. Therefore much more is happening on stage than what the audience actually sees, since through objects a whole set of behaviour and understanding of context is transferred. 277 In a way was a whole show of performance and perceptions occurring on stage, where both actor and objects acted in the same way as actors and audience, in a mutual interaction to present a trustworthy performance to the third part, the surrounding audience. 278 This is the way I have tried to analyze the early modern noble drinking context by emphasising the interaction between objects, individuals and collective and thus describing what made the noble drinking culture unique in comparison to the universal drinking contexts. The results do indeed bring an anthropological tingle.

275 Jenkins (2008) p 134ff, 140
276 Ibid. p 150
277 Miller (2010) p 50f
Drinking and sociability

By focusing on social belonging, collective similarities and how sociability may come to pass through institutions and customs, the drinking ritual has appeared as an obvious instrument for the early modern Swedish nobility for enhancing the feeling of belonging in a social context. By sharing and subjugating oneself to collectively rehearsed and practiced drinking rituals, belonging and sociability was created.  

The importance of allowing conformism to blossom through collective drinking rituals was entangled with personal honour, as was stated by Ogier when he mentioned the importance of not letting down the mutual agreements as well as showing oneself worthy the universal drinking belonging. La Motraye did rather willingly accept the greeting cup – as well as Ogier and Magalotti – in order not to offend customs of the host, but obviously to enhance social bonds and sociability through a shared cup, making social hierarchies through the individual conformism to the benefit of collective customs. Goeteeris was puzzled by this rituals but did as well join the collective drinking – on one occasion in a drinking game which had great similarities to the game Musical chairs, although in this game there was only one winner and several losers, since those who did not finish their cup fast enough had to make a second attempt to empty the cup – thus enhancing the social bonds and feeling of collective belonging thorough collective competition.  

The importance of collective drinking was arguably a well rehearsed institution, which was used by the nobility in order to enhance and create social bonds between each other. The firmness and faith in this institution was clearly demonstrated when the ambassador Whitelocke refused to drink a toast. This toast was arguably made with all good intentions by the Master of ceremonies, as an act to show respect to Whitelockes and his superior, by using the toast as a pretext for sharing a cup together and thus enhancing the social bonds between them.  

To toast with each other was a practice to enforce social bonds by showing respect to each other by sharing a cup in mutual interest to each others superiors. But this act was also to test and challenge each other’s loyalties, through this stating good intention, demonstrating collective loyalties, mutual political interest and establishes mutual similarities through which social bonds and sociability could be made. By drinking a loyal toast, kneeling and taking of any headgear, was a ritual of honour to demonstrate respect to the sovereign, as well as stating ones loyal intension as if the King himself was present.  

280 Ibid. p 45, 135f, 150, 159  
281 Ibid. p 45, 135f, 149f, 161f  
282 Ibid. p 38, 102f, 105, 112, 134ff, 140, 200
Through excessive drinking a concept of honour was performed by demonstrating personal control and resilience against alcohol, a concept which was performed by the nobleman Rosen who Goeteeris witnessed vomit under the table since he had had too much to drink, a gross act which was covered by a piece of cloth. That Rosen resumed the collective drinking right after states the importance of continuous drinking as concept of honourable behavior. To leave a drinking bout would have been to dishonor the collective, affecting the feeling of belonging and sociability by having a member who was thought of as honourable leaving the collective. To stay as Rosen did, was to show oneself in control of the own body and ability to stay for another round, thus honouring the collective. 283

To show collective loyalty was clearly an institution or custom which required drinking, especially when mutual agreements had been carried through, which was demonstrated in Ogier honouring the treaty between France and Sweden, when La Motraye witnessed Russian and Swedes drink to their peace treaty, and Magalotti’s emphasizing that smugglers toasted to a successfully performed operation. This was arguably a custom which was universal all over the early modern society. 284

The social composition of the collective during drinking was composed only by the nobility and the higher ranks of the social strata, whose interaction with each other obviously created a sense of social belonging as well as social distinction. This distinction probably enhanced an ideal that those with power and social authority were those who interacted with each other by creating sociability together through drinking. 285 The importance of certain occasion and rites of passage was arguably a way for the nobility to rehearse and promote social cohesion, due to changes in the collective structure. By celebrating christenings, weddings and funerals by collectively sharing alcohol during the actual ceremony and at feasts was to give legitimacy to a new structure when a member was entering or leaving the collective. The ritual of using alcohol as a contract sealer was an act which states the authority alcohol had in the making of collective contracts. 286

To share a vessel or a drinking song was a very physical way to promote sociability together and collective drinking. The song could in many instances be viewed as a toast – or a signal for the toast much similar to trumpets, drums and blazing guns – since similarities and recognition of themes and genres in vessels and songs were features, which gave a mutual toast and a pretext for drinking, increasing the feeling of belonging and sociability. In the songs the strong focus on hierarchies, the creation of a collective which was freed from the burdens of the outside world,

285 Jenkins (2008) p 37f, 102f, 105, 112f, 135, 200f
did in an oral way promote certain behavior founded on excessive drinking, where the notion existed that some themes was best left outside of the drinking bout in order to promote sociability. By being freed from the outside world, the drinking bout could focus on the making of social bonds and collectivity since they shared a sense of right and wrong, honourable behavior as well as dishonest behavior, founded on drinking. Through drinking and singing notions of hierarchy explains how a noble identity within this special social context was performed. Never in the drinking songs was any toast paying homage to an institution which was lower than the King, warlord or divinity. Due to the absence of authorities which was lower than the nobleman, the noble drunkard could through these songs propose toasts to a higher institution, which also defined their high status in society. Although Christian authorities glimpses through in the drinking songs the focus was on noble virtues as well as performing loyalty to King and divinities. Through certain toast and the order they were made social hierarchies became apparent to the gathered. The toast to honour the loyalty to the father and *pater familias* was demonstrated through the letter correspondence of Johan Ekeblad, thus stating the importance of patriarchal family structure. A clear notion in the drinking songs is how they are gendered, where females are seen more as a subject to which toast and love is directed, often in a very eroticizing and objectifying way, than being seen as an actual part of the drinking bout. Through drinking and escapism the notions of equality was emphasized in the drinking songs, where drinking was sealing bonds of equality between those who shared a cup, which again states the importance of drinking as an act which promoted social bonds and sociability.

**Ideals and identity**

Through the diaries and vessels the noble ideal of performing identity through conspicuous consumption with the use of silver crafted vessels, as well as large amounts of imported wine, states the results by Revera. To use exquisite and expensive material in vessels worked as an extension of the noble perceptions and promotions of rank, both within as outside their collective. There is however more layers in analyzing early modern noble material culture. The ideal of *bildung* is a theme which has bypassed Revera due to her perspective where objects, material and their importance for social status have been the foremost focus. Thus have the importance of ornamentation as a feature which creates status, rank and identity not been emphasized enough as a part of the making of noble perceptions and performances. This study has demonstrated that the ideal of the educated nobleman was a feature which was clearly perceived and promoted through the vessels and drinking songs, due to the requirements
which were demanded by the user in order to interpret the ornamentations. This notion of material culture is a clear marker of social distinction, where the interaction between subject and object intensified this ideal, where they both confirmed each other’s belonging and identity within collective and noble drinking culture.  

In the drinking context – arguably also a part of the concept of bildung – the Christian virtues and the influences of Christianity clearly states the notion of the pious nobleman, as well as noble perceptions of their responsibilities and perceptions of the self. The reoccurring Christian themes in both drinking songs and vessels worked as a mediator between object and subject, making the subject aware of what constituted a Christian and how this was to be constituted through soul-searching as through drinking. In toast to His most Christian Majesty, engraved text with connection to Protestantism, references to the chapters and characters in the Bible, the nobility where repetitively made conscious that they belonged to the Christian collective culture. Among the vessels the silver birch tankard with the depiction of the noble Daniel stands as a powerful mediator of noble virtues and notions of responsibilities.  

This is a feature which to a large degree has been neglected by contemporary research, where the nobleman perceived himself as a highly pious being, a feature which has been clearly demonstrated through the Christian features in drinking songs and vessels. Although the jesting act which occurs in the drinking songs, there are solemn messages in the instruments of the drinking culture which are urging piety, loyalty and responsibility from the subject. The ideal of the pious subject, which could take form through the drinking context was although not an ideal which was only secluded to the nobility, put was arguably a notion which was widespread amongst the ranks of society.  

The demonstration of sovereigns accomplishments and noble political representation promoted the perception of the nobility as the political class within society, which alongside the regent was responsible for the country’s governance. The old aristocratically ideal that power was to be centered to the aristocrats, is a feature which is visual on the vessels who presents certain noble individuals through engravings and coins. Englund emphasizes this ideology and noble responsibility, although due to the strong emphasis on written sources this performance appears to be more of an abstract notion of understanding society through the eyes of the nobility. The politically and socially strong nobleman, who felt his responsibility of leading the country, was a noble feature which also was promoted in the vessels, drinking songs and personal scripts. Here

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289 Mattson (2002) p 18ff
hierarchies, visual performance and perceptions of this notion reminded the nobleman of his faith, which was clearly shown in the vessels which mediate national and regional history.  

The loyalty to sovereign and divinities is a theme which occurs in all the sources, which clearly states the importance of social hierarchy and concord, as well as promoting the high position of the nobility. To toasts, sing and have a vessel with royal attributes which stated the authority of the sovereign was a clear statement of loyalty, where these items worked as instruments to demonstrate unquestionable loyalty. As Ogier’s diary has shown was the toast to the welfare of the sovereign a toast which occurred in other ranks of society as a part of everyday drinking, although the nobility arguably had more incentive to perform their loyalty, due to their frequent contact with the institutions of royal power. 

The appearance of violent themes is perhaps the most surprising result which have been revealed through this study. This is a theme which features all of the sources, stating the importance ideals of war, honour, courage and violence had for the early modern Swedish nobility. Features of war and gallant virtues was an ideal which made itself visual through vessels and drinking songs, as well as the way officers and nobles referred to the drinking bout as a skirmish of intoxication. Through drinking songs and vessels the interaction between subject and object made the culture of war visual in the drinking context, promoting valiant examples to the drinking nobility, which had as its prerogative to lead the armed forces to glory and honour. This culture history of war made itself particularly visual in the drinking context where military attributes like trumpets, drums and blazing cannons signaled the toast. Marklund and Collstedt argues that the nobility wore and protected this requisites of honour and violence through their body as a marker of nobility, but this study demonstrates that this noble feature was something which was much more embedded in the noble identity.

This feature was noticeably perceived as a social feature of the nobility as Marklund and Collstedt has demonstrated, but it was also a feature which increased drinking and was perceived and performed through the drinking context. The bellicose virtues were reminding the nobility of their origin, which they clearly weren’t afraid of performing in the drinking context through different military attributes.

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290 Morrall (2009) p 47f, 54, 56, 61, 63f; Miller (2010) p 60, 145, 155
291 McShane (PRE_PUBLISHED) p 27f
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Photo Appendix: Vessels

ID: NM.0219213
Category: Tankard
Material and technique: Silver, gilded, engraved
Date: 1587–1601
District: Odense, Denmark; Hamburg, Germany; Stockholm, Sweden
Ownership: Sperling, Hans Poulsen; Sperling, Peter the older; Gyldenstierna, Anna; Gyllenstierna; Brahe; Järta, Fredrik; Brahe Jörgen
To the Nordiska museet: 1933–04–04
Description: The Hansa tankard is a good example of late renaissance craft, with its rather clean appearance and ornamentation. In image 4 is a dove with an olive branch, marking the influence of Christianity. On the cap two helmets with plumes, stating the influence of noble symbols.
ID: NM.0173015
Category: Spoon for Aquavit
Material: Silver
Ownership: Kjellberg, Zelma
To the Nordiska museet: 1928
Description: In image 1 The Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus. On the top of spoon a female angel. An example of how Christian influences could interact with the drinking context, especially since the Virgin Mary with Jesus is the last thing user sees before drinking the content of the spoon.
ID: NM.0047730
Category: Glass vessel, Humpen
Material and technique: Glass, enamel painting
Date: 1646
District: München Germany; Stockholm Sweden
Ownership: Odelmark
To the Nordiska museet: 1886–03–14
Description: An example of how classicistic bildung was a requisite for interpreting the enamel paintings on this glass. Image 1: Artemis symbolized through the doe. Image 2: Athena pointing on a spider web, symbolizing the story of how Athena transformed the skilled weaver Arachne to a spider. Image 3: Hera symbolized by eating the golden fruits of the Hesperian gardens.

ID: 686
Category: Glass vessel, Reichadlerhumpen
Material and technique: Glass, enamel painting
Date: 1581
District: Unknown
Ownership: Bielke; Brahe, Erik
Inventory of Skokloster: 1757
Description: The crucified Jesus in the centre of the Holy roman coat of arms
ID: NM.0186988  
Category: Tankard  
Material and technique: Silver birch, gilded, chasing, embossment  
Date: 1726  
District: Rosenborg, Sweden; Stockholm, Sweden  
Ownership: Norén, Mathias; Stefken, Merta; Roos, Carl Gustaf; Traugott, Ivan  
To the Nordiska museet: 1931–09–25  
Description: Image 2: Bacchus on his barrel. Image 3: Embossment which depicts the dolphins capturing Amphitrite for her future husband Poseidon. In the upper part the behemoth Python and a man playing the flute, symbolizing the Pythian games or Apollo. Image 3: The noble Daniel in the lion’s pit, being rescued by the clerical angel.
ID: NM.0245488+
Category: Goblet, Cup
Material and technique: Silver, gilded
Date: 1632
District: Frankfurt am Main, Germany; Westfalen, Germany; Stockholm, Sweden
Ownership: Birckenholtz, Paul; Link Otto
To the Nordiska museet: 1952–11–21
Description: Glory goblet to the honour of Gustavus Adolphus, seen in image 2. Image 3: Pallas Athena and an unknown virtue. Image 4: The influence of war; Drums, cannons, helmets and banners.
ID: NM.0102052
Category: Flask
Material and technique: Moulded, engraving
Date: Unknown
District: Stockholm, Sweden
Ownership: Martin, F R
To the Nordiska museet: 1905–03–09
Description: Image 1: Axel Oxenstierna. Image 2: Gustavus Adolphus. Image 3: Ornamentation of crops, a craftsman’s tool and the text “Got alein die ehr und sunst keiner mehr”. Image 4: Bernhard of Weimar-Sachen, with the battle-cry “Gott mit uns”
ID: NM.0991008A–B
Category: Goblet, cup
Material and technique: Silver, gilded, embossment
Date: 1626
District: Ulm, Württemberg Germany; Netherlands; Stockholm Sweden
Ownership: Kienle, Hans Ludwig; Kristina; De Geer, Groen; Oscar I
To the Nordiska museet: 1935–07–11
Description: This great glory gobbler demonstrates the influences of the Baroque, where both classicistic and Christian themes are united in one vessel, through ostentatious aesthetic embossments. A treasure demonstrating the skilled craftsmanship of the seventeenth century. Image 2: Pallas Athena with her owl. Image 3: Sisyphus in agony, side by side with Hades and Persephone. Image 4: Cherub in armour.
ID: NM.0229146A
Category: Goblet, cup
Material and technique: Rhinoceros tusk, silver, gilded, embossment
Date: ca 1670
District: Southern Germany
Ownership: Fröding, Anders
To the Nordiska museet: 1944–04–06
Description: The influences of war, classicism and manliness are obvious in this goblet, where Olympic champions are wrestling, whilst a battle is fought on the container. Attributes of war – armour, helmets, shields and bow – are crafted on the cap.
ID: (1)NM. 0079600; (2)NM.0060149
Category: Flask
Material and technique: Glass, enamel painting
Date: (1)1615; (2)1618
District: Köln, Germany
Ownership: Hammer, Chr; Vendt, A;
To the Nordiska museet: 1894; 1888
Description: Glass flasks in the shape of flint lock pistols. By drinking through the barrel, which could be uncorked, the content could be consumed. Indeed a Hot shot for the brave and daring.
ID: NM.0990202
Category: Tankard
Material and technique: Silver, gilded, moulded, coins, medals
Date: 1642–1665
District: Elbing, Prussia, Germany; Sweden
Ownership: Henning, Niclas; von Post, Wilhelm Maurit; von Post, V F; Westerberga fromma stiftelse
To the Nordiska museet: 1912–10–24
Description: A tankard with its high embossed handle, states the influence of the Baroque. Coins and medals mediate the regional history in and around the German city Elbing, which after Polish possession and Swedish occupation came into the possession of the house of Brandenburg. Image 2: Medal of Georg and Friedrich of the house of Brandenburg. Image 4: Gustavus Adolphus surrounded by the inscription Dena kanna är Tillkommen För General Majorn Wilhem Maurit von Post fältmerit vid Fästningen Torns Belägring var Före den ej Får efter Disposition komma på något Sätt Från den Postiska Familien så Länge den är Till, which states the battle merit of one of Karl XII's Generals.
ID: 6839
Category: Tankard
Material and technique: (Silver), (moulded), embossment, medals
Date: Unknown (17th century)
District: (Sweden)
Ownership: Unknown
To the Royal coin cabinet: Unknown
Description: An amazing tankard dressed with medals of Swedish royalty and aristocrats. Image 1: The lower medal of Louis the XIV of France. Image 2: Karl X under an embossment of an angel. Image 3: The great honour medal of Gustavus Adolphus lying on a sarcophagus, whose soul is raised to the heavens by God’s angels, whilst the Swedish forces continues to press the Papists to retreat. Image 4: The young androgynous looking Karl XI, surrounded by the aristocrats Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Gustav Bonde, Sevedh Bååt, Per Brahe and Gustav Wrangel.
ID: (1)NM.0077072A–B; (2) NM.0077071; (3) NM.0073132
Category: Goblet; Carafe
Material and technique: Glass, engraved
Date: (1) Beginning of the 18th century; (2) 1676–1699; (3) Beginning of the 18th century
District: Sweden, Stockholm, Kungsholms glass work
Ownership: (1) Queen Ulrika Eleonora the younger; Hammer, Chr ; (2) Karl X Gustav; Kristina; Karl XI; Hammer, Chr (3) Matsson, A; Ulrika Eleonora the younger
To the Nordiska museet: (1;2)1893–05 (3) 1892–07–23
Description: Three examples of the magnificent glass works which dressed the royal tables.
ID: NM.0248182A–C
Category: Glasses
Material and technique: Glass, engraved
Date: 1705
District: Kungsholms glass work, Stockholm, Sweden; Västmanland, Snevringe hd, Rytterne, Tidö, Sweden; Uppland, Ärlinghundra hd, Husby–Ärlinghundra, Steninge, Sweden; Stockholm, Sweden
Ownership: Gyllenstierna, Carl
To the Nordiska museet: 1954–05
Description: Three examples of the glasses which Gyllenstierna had made to commemorate his newly finished chateau at Steninge in 1705.