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FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF A PROVINCIAL NOBLE FAMILY (ACCORDING TO THE DIARY OF THE SERVANT IN THE FAMILY OF URAL LANDOWNERS GOLUBTSOVS IN THE YEARS FROM 1872 TO 1875)

Based on the published Diary of a servant in the family of the Ural landowners Golubtsovs, the author reconstructs the food culture of noble provincial families in the 1870s. The family lived at an estate located in the Perm province. The Diary describes the menu, ingredients of food and drinks, etc. The food culture of the noble family combined traditions of the Russian, French and English cuisines, that were considered integral parts of everyday life of the provincial gentry.

Key words: the Golubtsovs, food culture, provincial noble estate, Perm province, Ural, nobility, gastronomic culture.

The food system as a mandatory attribute of everyday life, despite the seeming periphery of the topic, has become a subject of study for specialists in various fields who consider gastronomic culture as a complex phenomenon, a symbolic system, a cultural code of national identity [1. P. 47-54; 2. P. 80-92; 3. P. 201-205; 9. P. 149-155; 5. P. 373-379; 6. P. 54-75; 7. P. 183-185; 8. P. 7-16]. Eating is a process that is necessary to maintain the physiological component of the human body. It is something that happens several times a day, something that is often not realized, becomes routine, ordinary, everyday, which is actually the basis of everyday practices and represents "sustainable lifestyles." But, as T. Y. Zagryazkina correctly pointed out, "the boundaries of everyday life are not clearly defined, although it is believed that its antithesis as a routine and everyday phenomenon is something exclusive and festive," although the everyday and festive, routine and exclusive are concepts that are "interconnected and changeable [9. P. 150]". Therefore, it is no accident that such experts in the field of everyday life history as K. Levi-Strauss, F. Braudel, M. de Serto and others in their authoritative works paid attention to food as a sign system and an obligatory element of material life.

The problem of the source base for reconstructing the practice of food culture of different classes is solved in different ways: literary, artistic works, stories, impressions, cookbooks, works of cooks, and, finally, documents of personal origin: memories, letters and diaries can be taken the basis. Turning to such a published source as the Diary of Matvey Andreev, servant of the Ural landowners Golubtsovs, allows us to consider how the food system was organized in a middle-class noble family living in an estate located in the Perm province, near the County town of Krasnoufimsk in the estate of the village of Alexandrovskoye in the 1870s [4. P. 400].

Matvey Andreev's diary contains daily entries from 1872 to 1875, that is, for three years and 5 months, and for one day on June 24, 1876, about events that took place in the estate of Vladimir Platonovich Golubtsov (1832-1887), a collegiate adviser, Zemstvo figure, honorary majistrate, who in 1864 moved to the Urals to his family estate together with his family: his wife, lady Varvara Alexandrovna, nee Polovtseva (1836-1890) and children, young gentlemen: Vladimir (1856-1892) and Alexander (1858-?).

The Golubtsovs were service nobility, members of this family held important posts in the state and military service and were related to the famous ancient high-ranking clans of nobility, who have made a significant contribution to the cultural, political and economic development of individual provinces of the Russian Empire. Six generations of this family owned land in Perm province, the Ural region, from the second half of the XVIII century.

In addition to other carefully recorded events, Matvey Andreev in his Diary paid special attention to the table: who, what and at what time ate. It might be that the main range of Matvey's duties was associated with the master's table: he was supposed to set, serve, clear the table. Perhaps this was his favorite activity, so the Diary carefully recorded time of each meal.

From the Diary it becomes clear that in that noble family, the meal time was not clearly defined, and if it was, it was not observed. Breakfast, as a rule, was in the time interval from 10 a.m. to 1p.m., most often-at 11 a.m. Breakfast at 10 a.m. was considered early and was caused, as a rule, by the pre-planned trips either on business to the county town of Krasnoufimsk or a departure from the estate for a long time. For example, on March 16, 1874, Vladimir Platonovich had breakfast at 10 a.m. and left the estate at 11 a.m. At 10 a.m. he had breakfast on September 17 and 18, 1875, after which he went to the district town of Krasnoufimsk for meetings of the district Assembly, of which he was the Chairman [4. P. 224-225, 364-365]. The latest breakfast was at 1 p.m. An entry for November 29, 1873 reads: "Master had breakfast at 1 p.m." [4. P. 201].

There were days when there was no breakfast at all, in particular, on June 24, 1873 because guests were invited to a festive dinner and on July 29, 1875 because an early lunch was planned on the occasion of a trip to the city of Krasnoufimsk [4. P. 166, 349].

Before breakfast, as a rule, the landowner and members of his family had time to do something: visit the Church and attend the services [4. P. 201, 251,

253, 343, 352, 254, 367, 363], go to the fields for the harvest, to the glass factory or a barn vard (depending on the time of year) [4, P. 96, 108, 175, 253, 343, 251]. in good weather, they went for a swim [4, P. 248, 249].

The lunch time was not clearly defined either and often an early lunch was instead of breakfast or a late lunch replaced dinner. The earliest lunch time was 11 a.m., it's mentioned on March 7, 1875 [4. P. 310]. The dinner time depended on what the inhabitants of the estate were doing. From November to March, lunch was served early: at 12 noon, 1 or 2 p.m., in particular, this is reflected in the entries for January 4 and 5, February 17 and 23, March 8, 10 and 19, 1875 [4. P. 283, 284, 300, 302, 310, 311, 315]. The entry for January 25, 1875, clearly states that "Master ordered an early lunch at 12 noon [4. P. 290]".

During the busy period of household chores from April to October, the lunch time was moved to a later period: 3, 4 or even 5 p.m., in particular, this was recorded on May 19, 14, 20, 23, August 6, and September 25, 1872, February 9, 1874, June 20, 24, July 14, 18, August 7, 8, September 9, 1875, etc. [4. P. 79, 105, 108, 109, 112, 118, 215, 338, 347, 356, 357, 362]. And, finally, the dinner could be quite late, so, for example, on August 11, 1872, they dined at 9 p.m. [4. P. 104]. As a rule, the late dinners were caused by trips to the city or household chores at the estate. There were situations when plans suddenly changed: for example, on August 10, 1872, the Golubtsovs had breakfast at 11 a.m., planned to have lunch at 2 p.m., but at 12.30 p.m. guests from Krasnoufimsk arrived, and all together, including the servants, they went to the fields to pick berries. Matvey Andreev wrote in his Diary: "At 2.30 p.m., our lady, the magistrate's wife and his two children went to pick cherries in a carriage. An hour later our carriage started with Vladi [mir] Vlad [imirovich], Alek [sandr] Vlad [imirovich] and Kerber, Natalia; in the cart: Fekla, Pasha, Lisa, a two-bucket bottle of water, a samovar and carpets, everything was taken. An hour later, nanny and I went to Nikitin's log with the tea things. We arrived [at] 4 p.m., put a samovar in a row, and drank tea. The master and o Svedomsky arrived there and also drank tea." We dined on our return at 9p.m. [4]".

As the records show, Master always dined, unlike other members of his family, who, because of the late dinner, had only tea. Only once the author of the Diary noted that on September 13, 1873, V. P. Golubtsov arrived in the county town of Kungur at 1 a.m., did not have dinner or drink tea and went to bed [4. P. 184]".

On February 5, 1874, at a quarter past one, the Perm Governor N. E. Andreevsky arrived at the estate. Despite the late hour he dined in the green room [4. P. 214]. At 8 p.m., V. P. Golubtsov dined on January 29, February 13, March 8, March 17, 1875 [4. P. 292, 299, 310, 315], however, most often his dinner was from 9 to 10 p.m.: this time is recorded on November 1 and 16, 1873, February 20 and 28, 1874, March 3 and 9, June 30, July 25, 1875, and other days [4. P. 199, 195, 219, 222, 308, 310, 341, 348].

Meals in the Golubtsov family did not always take place in a close family circle. Most often, guests took part in the meals, guests were representatives of

the local Krasnoufimsk district society and members of their families: a bailiff, a lawyer, a magister, surveyors, a district doctor, etc. Representatives of the provincial administration also stayed at the estate: Perm Governor Nikolai Efimovich Andreevsky twice visited the estate: in February 1873 and February 1874, Perm Vice-Governor Vladimir Andreevich Lysogorsky also twice spent the night at the estate: in July 1872 and July 1875 [4. P. 137, 213, 214, 94, 345, 346]. Moreover, it seems that there were always some guests staying at the manor, and cases of their absence were rare: for example, the author in his records for May 21, 1872 wrote that "there were no strangers at the breakfast." Similar entries we see on August 15 and 17, 1872 "no strangers for breakfast or lunch," on August 19 and September 30, 1872 "no strangers for lunch" [4. P. 80, 106, 107, 119]. When the family left the estate and Master was left alone, he dined with the nanny.

Tea and coffee enjoyed special attitude in the noble family. The day began and ended with these drinks, tea and coffee were drunk in between the meals, tea from the samovar was drunk during trips to nature, tea or coffee finished breakfast, lunch and dinner. Tea was drunk in warm weather on the balcony and in cool or cold weather – in the rooms. Practically every day, the author made entries in his Diary, noting: tea, coffee. Sometimes, instead of coffee, he wrote tea twice, which indicates that the meal was delayed and it was necessary to re-brew and pour tea. But the author never mentioned what was served with tea or coffee.

As a rule, the author did not specify the composition of dishes for breakfast and dinner, but noticed that the quality of food was excellent. For example, on July 17, 1872, Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky had breakfast that "was very good" and after which a dessert was served "in the green room, where they ate raspberries and strawberries with sour cream [4. P. 94]". Only once Matvey Andreev described breakfast that was served on July 21, 1875 to the above-mentioned Perm Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky and the provincial engineer who accompanied him. Breakfast consisted of the following dishes: "a bowl of broth, cold roast beef, cold turkey, cheese, butter, asparagus, fried chicken, cucumber salad and garden berries with sugar and cream." "Lysogorsky liked it very much," said Matvey Andreev [4. P. 346]. As you see, breakfast was quite heavy, it included several dishes and dessert. Broth with "chicken" was served for breakfast on July 05, 1872 to the recovering Vladimir Golubtsov. From the text it becomes clear that such a breakfast was modest and not complete, but on the same day the young master dined with everyone: "He ate everything that was served on the table" [4. P. 91].

Lunch was also a heavy meal of several courses and a dessert. Soups were a mandatory component. From the text, we see that there could be traditional Russian soups or French vegetable soup prentagnier, fish soup, crawfish soup or even just "pure broth" without ingredients. The main dishes were fish, meat or poultry. Moreover, both fish and meat were served simultaneously. Fish was fried, stewed or used for pies. They ate sterlet, muksun, nelma, sardines or "sea"

fish. Fish was bought at fairs, in shops or stores of the district city of Krasnoufimsk. The Diary has records that its author and the cook caught fish in rivers and lakes, including pike, bream, perch, but it is impossible to say for sure whether this fish was used for food. One can only make a guess about this. Meat – pork and beef – was stewed and fried. Records show that meat, as well as fish was purchased at fairs, in stores and shops. They used chicken, geese and turkey cooked in various ways. Traditional Russian pies occupied a special place, they were always on the table and included several "varieties." Another mandatory element was vegetables: asparagus, cauliflower, etc. in the manner of European cuisine. The menu included all sorts of sauces and salads made from vegetables, usually radishes and cucumbers. For dessert, they prepared dry cakes, ice cream: fruit, cream, or strawberry. In summer they ate berries grown in the garden: strawberries and raspberries with sugar and cream, grapes. Thus, on August 6, 1873, the guests came from Krasnoufimsk, and they "ate berries, grapes, and cakes on the balcony [4. P. 176]". Another sweet treat was jam, which was made by the lady, Varvara Alexandrovna, herself from the berries grown in the garden: raspberries, strawberries, black and white currants [4. P. 94, 96, 103]. Jam was probably served with tea. There was a special attitude to gingerbread: it was baked and eaten on Church holidays, distributed to all employees and residents of the estate in the courtyard of the manor.

Here are different versions of dishes served at lunch: thus, on February 9, 1874, lunch "was as follows: soup, pancakes, boiled nelma, roast goose, pies, jam" [4. P. 215]. On December 4, 1874, V. P. Golubtsov had lunch with magistrate I. A. Svedomskiy and bailiff K. G. Sebyakin. They were served: "sturgeon soup, pie with fresh sturgeon and muksun, aspic fish, beef stew, fried fish, fresh [e] muksun, champagne, cake, strawberry jam [4. P. 274]". On December 15, 1874, Master had a very bad toothache, but the dinner, however, took place, Vladimir Platonovich sat at the table with a certain Petrov, they were served: "crawfish soup, veal cutlets, roast beef, cake, jam. Master could not eat anything, his teeth were very sore [4. P. 276]". On June 15, 1875, on the occasion of Master's name day, he invited guests. Here's how the author of the Diary described the event: "They ate on the balcony at 4 o'clock: soup patenier [so in the document, it should be: printanier – M. L.], asparagus, pies of three varieties, roast beef, mayonnaise, fish, grilled chicken, salad, sliced light-salted and fresh cucumbers, cake, two varieties of ice cream: vanilla and strawberry. The food was all cooked to taste. After lunch we served coffee and tea and more tea [4. P. 344]". On January 5, 1875, lean lunch was served at 1 p.m. But Matvey Andreev wrote: "at half past four, the police officer Paltov arrived from Perm. I served him half-lunch: broth, cutlets, and sardines as an appetizer. He ate it all with great appetite [4. P. 284]".

The noble family strictly observed fasts and during these periods ate exclusively lean food. So, on February 12, 1874, the author of the Diary was sent to the store "with an instruction to buy lean food, fish, etc.", M. Andreev wrote [4. P. 217].

They also ate mushrooms picked by family members: thus, on August 3, 1874, "the nanny, Alex [andr] Vladimirovich, the cook, Lisa and three clerks and Olga – the cook went to pick porcini and milk mushrooms. The cook found 15 pieces, Lisa-2, Olga-3, and baskets were supplemented with milk mushrooms [4. P. 248]". The author of the Diary noted that on June 24, 1876 "lunch was cooked from mushrooms and fish" [4. P. 366].

Finally, the family consumed food produced on the estate: cheese, butter, sour cream, eggs. For example, Vladimir Platonovich ate for dinner eggs soft-boiled on a samovar [4. P. 353, 367].

The family drank alcoholic beverages, both traditional Russian beverages, like honey, home-made liqueur and vodka, and European beverages. On holidays, they always drank champagne, white sweet French wine Chateau-Ikem, white fortified wine sherry, Madeira, liqueur, and maraschino. On January 19, 1874, Master had guests, they dined and drank "two bottles of foreign red wine." [4. P. 209] on December 3, 1873, in the evening, Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky "sat with Master until 3 a.m., they had dinner and drank one bottle of "Chateau and Clicquot" at the price of 3 rubles [4. P. 202]".

Food was cooked in the kitchen, located in a separate wing, by at least three persons: the cook, Olga-the cook and the pastry chef. Olga's exact duties as a cook are not defined by the author, except for the nickname indicating that she performed them, but it is indicated that, in addition to the main work, she went to pick berries and mushrooms with other servants, participated in holidays (riding horses, etc.), mass gatherings in the manor yard on the occasion of various events (saw off / met the master, etc.).

The pastry chef, most likely, was from the former serfs: the text says that he had his own house, bath, garden, and in October 1873, his bath was robbed. He had relatives in Kiev: a certain "Vasilyevna" worked with him in the manor house (unfortunately, it was not possible to establish a more precise name and position). On July 29, 1872, she received a letter from Kiev with the news of the death of a certain Erast, who bequeathed 1000 rubles to the pastry chef in the Kiev Bank.

During the period covered by the Diary, the Golubtsovs changed two cooks. The first cook, Afanasy Timofeyevich, served for at least three years. His last name, unfortunately, could not be established, so we have information about him only from the Diary. In addition to his immediate duties, he loved to hunt, often he accompanied Master's children with guns around the neighborhood in search of various kinds of game ("Alexander Vladimirovich and the cook went to Achitskaya mountain and killed two black crows with both guns in one shot. ... The cook went to the bushes under the Cossack mountains to spend the night, but did not kill anything. ... The cook spent the night at the Smirnov Bush and killed two drakes of the Shiloh-tailed breed. ... The gentlemen went with the cook to the Stone log, killed a Mallard duck"), fished, helped with the household: in particular, he took care of the cattle during the epidemic and mass pestilence of 1873).

He caught thieves together with other servants, watched that strangers did not fish in the lake, accompanied the gentlemen for berries and mushrooms, making preparations. In February 1874, the cook and the employees of the estate had a conflict that turned into a fight. The case ended in a trial in the master's house, the latter did not defend the cook, apparently, it was not the only case when something happened to him. Eventually, Afanasy Timofeevich was dismissed and, according to fragmentary information, went to Perm to look for a job. The new chef was brought by Vladimir Platonovich Golubtsov on his return from a trip to the capital or the Central provinces. The author of the Diary met the new cook Semyon in Perm on June 18, 1875, when he went to meet his Master: "They also showed me the new cook Semvon, with whom I moved all things [4, P. 337]".

Despite his complicated character Afanasy Timofeyevich, apparently, knew his business very well and cooked very well. Both he and the pastry chef were often asked by the County officials to prepare treats for home celebrations. In particular, on February 1, 1873, the cook went to Krasnoufimsk to prepare a table for the wedding of the official Ksenz Nagrodsky, the author of the Diary himself served at the event, both returned back to the estate only on February 3 [4. P. 133, 134]. On January 12, 1874, the chef prepared a festive dinner for 18 persons on the occasion of the close of the regular session of the provincial Assembly of the County of Krasnoufimsk. The next day, January 13, 1874, he was again sent to Krasnoufimsk to prepare snacks: "80 sandwiches: 1st grade with veal, 2nd – with roast beef, 3rd – with ham, 4 – with cheese. In addition, there was cheese, butter and caviar as appetizers. Vodka more than ¼ buckets, sherry, liqueurs, red wine – all cleaned up, 2 bottles of champagne – finished," wrote Matvey Andreev. On October 10, 1873, the cook was again instructed "in the morning tomorrow to prepare for assessors." Matvey wrote: "On October 11, I started with the cutlery at half past eleven. I arrived at noon, went to Shavkunov's shop, bought caviar, sardines, oil of Provence, Swiss cheese from Sorokin, Madeira, red wine, white wine from Bedlinski's cellar, sherry and champagne from Shchegolkov, and I brought all this to Yumashev. There, I sorted the dishes (the box I took from the estate) and set the table. And by 3 o'clock, the cook's breakfast was ready. I went to the police station and let Master know that it was ready." On January 24, 1874, the cook was sent to Krasnoufimsk to Yumashev "to prepare dishes. Tomorrow is his birthday" [4. P. 208]. On August 11, 1875, the cook went to prepare a festive dinner at the Krasnoufimsky Real School [4. P. 354].

Finally, on July 9, 1873, both the cook and the pastry chef were invited to prepare treats for Grand Duke Alexey Alexandrovich during his stop at Achit station. Here's how it happened: "... we set to work. The cook was busy with his work, and we – with the arrangement of dishes. At half past five, Pavel and the gardener arrived with berries and bouquets ... We laid out berries, bouquets. The cook made burettes on 5 plates. And at 10 o'clock Prince Alexey Alexander[ovich] arrived and washed himself. The samovar was placed on the table. His man made

the coffee, and I made the tea and the Prince himself poured the coffee and tea, and the Governor drank with him, and the adjutant. Then the Prince ate some pastry cookies. After that, he ate a sandwich. After that, he ate 10 strawberries with fine sugar, praised them. ... And when the Grand Duke was drinking coffee, I watched what he would eat: he took 2 cookies and ate them..." [4. P. 168-169].

Perm officials carefully prepared for the meeting with the Grand Duke: on the eve of July 6, a bailiff from the Governor himself came to the Golubtsovs "to ask for dishes and silver for the Prince". The dishes were really impressive, "the Prince studied the dishes and asked the Governor: "whose dishes should this be?" The Governor said that they were our dishes. In short, the Prince was satisfied with the entire reception and stayed for an hour. Then he left," wrote Matvey Andreev [4].

The Golubtsovs also took their dishes to the County town of Krasnoufimsk to organize gala dinners on the occasion of the opening/closing of County Assembly meetings. In some cases, the author of the Diary recorded what cutlery he put on the table, for example, he wrote that guests who came to see his Master on October 28, 1873, dined from the "blue, Kiev" dishes [4. P. 194]. From the Property inventory we know that the Golubtsovs, in addition to the mentioned silver dishes, had sets with the family coat of arms.

Thus, the system of catering in the provincial landowner family in the Urals combined Russian and European traditions, adopted from the capital's rich landlords and imported to the far Perm province. Various dishes of Russian, French and English cuisine were prepared from natural products grown on their own estate. Despite the frequency of events related to the food culture, we cannot talk about a clearly accepted regime and a single meal time. We cannot say either that the noble family limited themselves in food, on the contrary, the simultaneous reception of various dishes: soups, fish and meat, and desserts, indicated to a very dense diet, whether it was breakfast, lunch or dinner, regardless of whether it was a holiday or an ordinary weekday. As evidenced by Matvey Andreev, the Golubtsovs very rarely ate in a close family circle: as a rule, there were some "strangers" at the estate, and the accepted traditions of hospitality did not allow not to treat people who came to the estate. So, the cook always had to be ready at any time to serve a snack, or put on the table as many dishes as necessary, so that everyone was fed. Perhaps it is this uncertainty that has led to the fact that every meal in the Golubtsovs' house was a rich feast.

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