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**SHOWING CONVICTION AND SUPPORT
FOR THE REFORMATION?
A 16TH-CENTURY STOVE TILE FROM TURKU
BEARING THE ELECTORAL COAT OF ARMS
OF SAXONY**

In the 16th-century Europe, the ruling classes used art, architecture and personal adornment as a way of showing their power, authority and wealth. Their portraits and coats of arms were also used as proofs of lineage and as expressions of political and religious loyalties and convictions. This article presents a stove tile from Turku in Finland, bearing the electoral coat of arms of Saxony, and discusses its role as an expression of this social display. Since some of the 16th-century Saxon electors were renowned secular supporters of the Lutheran Reformation, and their images were used as a form of religious and political propaganda, the article discusses the stove tile from Turku as part of this historical framework. The article analyses the origin and dating of the stove tile, on the basis of heraldry, stylistic analysis and archaeological sources. The significance and possible owners of the stove tile are explored by using historical sources.

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**Germanic origin of stoves and their use as signs of power,
wealth and convictions**

Medieval and early modern tile stoves were tall heating appliances, which consisted of vessel-, niche- or panel-shaped ceramic tiles. Although their history is said to have begun during the first millennium AD in the Alpine regions of the present-day Germany, Austria and Switzerland, the oldest indisputable stove-tile finds have been dated to the 12th century. The early stove tiles resembled plain ceramic vessels and it is difficult to distinguish them from each other (Roth Heege 2012, 30 ff.). In Finland the earliest stove tiles have been dated to the early 15th century. They are vessel tiles and they were discovered in Turku

(Majantie 2010, 166 f.). The history of tile stoves can be studied, in addition to archaeological sources, by using written documents, drawings and in some cases intact stoves. The written documents regarding tile stoves are, however, scarce and drawings and intact stoves have survived mainly in the German-speaking areas (e.g. Franz 1969, 44, 56 f., 124; Strauss 1968, 22 ff.; Unger 1988, 11, 22).

Tile stoves spread from the 13th century onwards to wide areas in northern, western and eastern Europe. Their diffusion was aided by the travels and movements of Hanseatic merchants, German craftsmen and the nobility and clergy. Although their main raw material was clay, which itself was common and inexpensive, their structure made them luxuries that not everyone could obtain. The early tile stoves were built mainly in castles, manors and monasteries, and as the urban burghers became wealthier tile stoves also spread to their dwellings in the towns (Gaimster 2014, 61–64, 69–72). In most cases they were heated through an opening in the wall via another room and the fumes that were released during their use were led out via flues and chimneys (e.g. Franz 1969, 14). Some tile stoves had, however, a firebox opening in the front and were not completely smokeless (Stephan 1991, 30). The popularity of tile stoves was probably a combined result of their smokeless use, their effective ability to emit and retain heat and their decorative appearances. A written document from the 1640s describes tile stoves in the following way:

A Cackle Oven /.../ are here Made of Cackles /.../, certayne hollow earthen tiles soe called, off greene, blew, ett[s]. coullours, with various worcks, built in Forme off a turrett: a pretty little structure, much adorning the roome; in heightt and bignesse, according to the roomes wherin they stand. From withoutt they make Fire into it. It Casteth a heatt to the Farthest part of the roome, which must bee kept very close. Noisome att First to those thatt are nott accustomed, and I thincke unwholsome att last, though commodious and proffitable otherwise, For by thatt Meanes a little woode will suffice to Make Fire to [111] warme a great Company, all participating alike, one Not hindering the other. Nott soe att our Chimney Fires. Those Cackle ovens are allsoe usuall in Most private Chambers off the house, to bee warmed as occasion shall require, and beeing once hotte, a small Matter keepe on and continues the heat (Mundy 1639–1647, 110).

Stove tiles developed from simple pots to relief-decorated panels in the course of the 15th century, and instead of potter's wheels they were manufactured with moulds. Mould technology enabled stove tiles to be decorated with detailed images, which soon began to act as expressions of their owners' wealth, status and power. The images were copied from the mid-15th century onwards from contemporary woodcuts and engravings. The spread of images, aided by printing technology, the trade in moulds and the migration of potters facilitated a wide distribution of stove tiles with identical pictorial motifs (e.g. Franz 1969, 9–18, 24–45, 57, 72–73, 87, 110). In Finland, too, the archaeological and written evidence suggests that the early stove tiles were imported from the German lands or manufactured locally with imported moulds and by German potters; their shape and decoration were based entirely on German models until the 17th century (Majantie 2010, 271 ff. and later in this article).

The simple vessel tile stoves were eventually replaced by relief-decorated stoves in wealthier circles of the society. However, the use of vessel tile stoves also continued, although often confined to more modest households and to the countryside, where they in some areas continued to be used until the 19th century (e.g. Kristiansen 2007, 117; Stephan 1991, 8, 30). In Finland they were replaced altogether by panel tile stoves in the 17th century (Majantie 2010, 103).

In the Middle Ages the pictorial motifs on the richly decorated stove tiles reflected the devotional themes of the Catholic Church, their style being inspired by Gothic ecclesiastical art and architecture. Since the early tile stoves were commissioned mainly by the nobility, the images on them also reflected the nobility's lifestyle and values and, accordingly, popular images on stove tiles consisted of knights, coats of arms and scenes of courtly love and hunting. From the 1520s onwards, stove tiles were influenced by Renaissance art and architecture, and the Reformation also had a strong impact on their pictorial motifs. The abolition of the doctrine of purgatory and the new understanding of sin led to the abandonment of themes related to the veneration of saints or emphasising suffering, which were replaced by portraits of contemporary rulers and by themes linked to salvation (e.g. Franz 1969, 31–45, 71–90; Gaimster 2000, 142 ff.; Majantie 2007a, 43 f.; 2010, 70 ff.).

The leading secular supporters of the Reformation were particularly active in using their portraits as a form of religious and political propaganda, and their images became popular motifs on the 16th-century stove tiles as well. One of the most widely used portraits on stove tiles was of Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony (1503–1554), who, because of his coat of arms, also takes a central role in this article. Stove tiles decorated with his images have been found in Germany, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Czech Republic and Poland, and their appearance on stove tiles has been associated with the support of the Lutheran Reformation (Kilarska 2007, 138 ff.; Vunk 2000, 164; Kristiansen 2003, 275 ff.; Majantie 2007c, 219, fig. 207; 2010, 204–211, 239–257; Ose 2007, 129; Žegklitz 2012, 33, 48, 51 f.; Ring 2013, 172 f.; 2014, 541).

The stove tile presented in this article is therefore a valuable addition to the discussion of the use of portraits and the coats of arms of well-known supporters of the Reformation on northern European tile stoves. It is the only 16th-century stove tile found in Finland which is decorated with a coat of arms and similar finds are rare in the other Nordic and the Baltic countries. The majority of the 16th-century stove tiles found in Finland are decorated with portraits (for more details, see Majantie 2010, 199–267). The article examines the stove tile both by placing it in its original historical context in Germany and in its new context in Turku, considering that in the latter its dating and significance could be different than in its place of origin. The meaning of the tile is also studied by trying to identify its possible owner in Turku. Furthermore, the article examines whether the stove tile was imported or manufactured locally.

German merchants, the Swedish Crown and the Reformation in 16th century Turku

The town of Turku (Åbo in Swedish), where the stove tile discussed in this article was found, is situated in south-west Finland, at the mouth of the Aurajoki River (Fig. 1). Only a few written documents have survived from the time of its birth, and none of them gives an exact date for its founding. According to recent archaeological excavations, Turku arose in the area next to the present-day cathedral at the beginning of the 14th century (Pihlman 2010, 12 ff.; Seppänen 2012, 940 f.). The Swedish Crown and Church were behind its founding and it became an administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the eastern part of the kingdom of Sweden. It was also an important centre for foreign trade; many foreign merchants and craftsmen, especially the Hanseatic merchants from the German lands, moved to Turku and played an important role in the formation of an organised urban society. They brought with them their own customs and technologies, and it was through them that many novelties of material culture reached the town (Kallioinen 2000, 5–9, 41 ff.; see also Gaimster 2014, 61 ff. regarding the commercial and cultural networks of Hanseatic merchants). The influence of the German merchants and artisans continued well into the 17th century (Ranta 1975, 161 ff.; Toropainen 2006, 126 ff.).



Fig. 1. The location of Turku and other towns mentioned in the article marked on a modern map of Europe. Map: Free Vector Maps 2014, modified by Evangelos Daskalacos.

The Crown's castle, which was situated further towards the mouth of the river, also played an important role in the diffusion of new ideas. Foreign craftsmen were commissioned to work there, and it is known from written documents that many of them later worked in the town as well. Written documents describe extensive renovation works at the castle during King Gustav Vasa's reign (1523–1560) and a little later, especially when his son Duke Johan (later King Johan III) held his court there in 1556–1563. The castle was transformed from an old-fashioned medieval fortress into a modern Renaissance residence, and several tile stoves were constructed in the castle at this time (for more details, see Gardberg 1959, 52–54, 83–84, 186–190, 210–211, 333–342). Duke Johan's time has been considered as a particularly prosperous epoch in Turku, when foreign trade thrived, craftsmanship was encouraged and many building projects were completed. Duke Johan's court in Turku Castle had a strong impact in the town life too, since many burghers became his personal friends and often visited his court (Ruuth 1916, 176, 204 ff.).

As a result of the town's position as a centre for ecclesiastical activity, the Reformation had a visible impact in Turku. Ecclesiastical buildings were confiscated by the Crown immediately after the Reformation and were gradually turned into administrative buildings or sold to wealthy burghers (Ruuth 1909, 50 et passim; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 84, 91 ff.). In general the Reformation was, however, a slow process, and although Gustav Vasa introduced it to Sweden and Finland at the beginning of his reign, the new Church order only came into effect as late as in 1571. As with many other contemporary rulers, Gustav Vasa's interest in the Protestant movement was determined by political and economic considerations (Grell 1995, 1 ff.; Kouri 1995, 45–50, 64).

Gustav Vasa's death was followed by lengthy power struggles between the different lines of the Vasa family and also between Catholics and Lutherans. Gustav Vasa's eldest son Erik XIV (king 1560–1568) was anti-Catholic, but Johan III (king 1568–1592) leaned slightly towards Catholicism. Johan's motives were mainly economic and political, but he was also attracted to Catholic ceremonies, and his wife Katarina Jagellonica was a Catholic princess from Poland. He had, however, taken an oath to retain the Lutheran faith and never fully returned to Catholicism. His son Sigismund, however, who inherited the crown after him, was raised Catholic. The power struggles between Sigismund (king of Poland 1587–1632, king of Sweden 1592–1599) and Gustav Vasa's youngest son Karl IX (regent 1599–1604, king 1604–1611), who took on the role of defender of the Protestant faith, resulted in an agreement that limited the succession to the throne only to Lutheran kings. The final resolution that secured the survival of Protestantism was, however, the outcome of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) (for more details, see Montgomery 1995, 144–178; on the general history of the period, see Karonen 1999; Roberts 1968).

The written sources provide little information about the reception of the Reformation by private citizens in Turku. Burghers of German origin may have followed the example of their hometowns and converted to Lutheranism; it has

been said that the Reformation ideas were first introduced to Scandinavia via German immigrants and merchants (Roberts 1968, 68 ff.; Kouri 1995, 44). As was the case everywhere else, the nobility in Finland seems to have taken the side that was economically and politically most suitable for them (in general, see Scribner 1986, 32 f.). Gustav Vasa had persuaded the nobility to support the Reformation by granting them back the lands which they had donated to the Church after 1454 (Roberts 1968, 78; Kouri 1995, 50; Karonen 1999, 74). There was also some popular support for the Reformation in the biggest coastal towns as a result of the influence of German merchants. Furthermore, many students who had studied in Wittenberg also contributed to the spread of the Reformation (Kouri 1995, 44 f., 63 f.).

Support for the Reformation became more difficult after Johan III died in 1592 and was succeeded by his Catholic son Sigismund, who had already been crowned king of Poland in 1587. His Catholicism and absence from Sweden led to conflicts between him and Gustav Vasa's youngest son Duke Karl (later Karl IX), who ruled the kingdom together with the nobility in Sigismund's absence. Their power struggles eventually led to a civil war. The role of Finland was interesting during these conflicts, since the most faithful of Sigismund's supporters was the governor and commander-in-chief of Finland, Klas Fleming (1535–1597). He managed to persuade the Finnish nobility to support him, and many burghers of Turku also stayed faithful to him and the king. Most of them supported Sigismund in order to retain their privileges and to stay faithful to the allegiance that they had sworn to, but also in fear of the powerful Klas Fleming. They only moved to Duke Karl's side after he attacked Finland in the final years of the 16th century (for more details, see Lappalainen 2009, 58–66, 81–86, 140–143, 153–158, 190–192, 243–257; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 53 ff.; Karonen 1999, 103–109, 113–117; see also Roberts 1968, 327–372; Ruuth 1916, 287).

As a result of numerous fires which destroyed the houses and archives in Turku, the sources which might have shed light on the identity and religious convictions of the owner of the tile stove discussed in this article and the motivation for its commissioning are relatively scarce. Turku has burned more than thirty times during its history; the last great fire of 1827 destroyed nearly the whole town (Kostet 1986, 16 f.). The sources that have survived are mainly wills, court records regarding various disputes and property dealings, and documents listing the tax paid for plots (Kallioinen 2000, 25–27, 193 f.; Toropainen 2006, 102 ff.; 2013; Savolainen 2011, 22 ff.). Combining the names and places mentioned in these documents with the archaeological sources is, however, not easy. The location of individual houses is often mentioned only in relation to another house or a street, and it is difficult to link them to the remains of houses and finds that have been discovered in excavations. Maps can also be useful when trying to identify owners of houses. However, the earliest map of Turku, which dates from 1634, only shows the locations of quarters and streets (Kostet 1986, 20–31, 58–61).

Coats of arms as social display and expressions of loyalty

The earliest use of coats of arms on shields and banners has been dated to the first half of the 12th century and their introduction has been associated with the transformation of feudal society and the development of military equipment in Western Europe; they were used as a means to identify heavily armed men on battlefields and tournaments. Although various pre-heraldic devices had been used on shields before, they became proper armorial bearings only when they were constantly used by the same persons. By the end of the 12th century coats of arms had also become hereditary. Even though their use was not restricted to a particular social class in most parts of Europe, coats of arms were primarily used by the nobility as a way of affirming their identity and status as a privileged social group (Pastoureau 1997, 13–20, 27). Since public tournaments had an important role in the nobility's display of power, they played an even greater role in the development of coats of arms than the battlefields. Once the coats of arms had become signs of ownership, they also became popular ornamental motifs in art and were often displayed without colours (Neubecker 1997, 68, 252 ff.; Pastoureau 1997, 19, 25–27, 64–66, 78).

The colours, however, played an important role on the armorial bearings, and some coats of arms can only be identified on the basis of their use (Neubecker 1997, 86 f.; Pastoureau 1997, 46 f.). The earliest coats of arms had only one or two motifs (charges), but as the number of charges increased, the shields were often divided into several compartments (quarterings). Family arms rarely stayed the same for long, as they often became more complex through marriages and acquisitions of new lands and titles (Pastoureau 1997, 52 f., 64). In addition to the shield that bore the arms, other elements were added to the coats of arms. These were either purely decorative or served as indicators of the identity, rank or office of their owners. The earliest of these ornaments were helmets on top of the shields and crests on the upper part of the helmets. Later shield supporters, mantlings, and armorial cloaks and tents were added (Neubecker 1997, 52, 144–165, 186–206; Pastoureau 1997, 68 ff.).

Since the period during which individuals carried particular compositions of charges on their arms was usually relatively short, heraldry is often used as an aid to dating (Pastoureau 1997, 78 f.). Coats of arms were, however, also used as commemorative expressions of loyalty. They can therefore appear in later contexts than their heraldic dating suggests (Neubecker 1997, 7). After the significance of shields in the battlefields and tournaments faded, coats of arms continued to be used as manifestations of ownership, rank and power in art, architecture and everyday objects (Neubecker 1997, 186; Pastoureau 1997, 20 ff.; Järvi & Segersven 2000, 41 ff.), which is also the case with the stove tile presented in this article.

A stove tile bearing the electoral coat of arms of Saxony

An almost intact stove tile bearing a quartered coat of arms was found during archaeological surveillance work in Turku in 2009 (Fig. 2). The surveillance was carried out in an area between Linnankatu 1–3 and the Old Main Library, on the west side of the river. The stove tile was found in an excavation area just in front of the Old Main Library building, close to the present-day riverbank (Saloranta et al. 2009, 1 f.; Saloranta 2013) (Fig. 3). This area had been part of the Aninkainen Quarter, which was one of the four town districts in medieval and early modern Turku. According to written documents the wealthiest citizens lived initially either around the cathedral or the Old Great Market on the east side of the river, but after these areas became overpopulated in the 16th century, the plots in the Aninkainen Quarter began to be bought by wealthy burghers, nobility, members of the town council and various officials (Ranta 1975, 31–33, 161–166, 185–191; Kuujo 1981, 193 ff.; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 91 ff.).



Fig. 2. Stove tile bearing the electoral coat of arms of Saxony found in Turku (Museum Centre of Turku, TMM22567:KA024:001). Photo by Kirsi Majantie.



Fig. 3. The oldest map of Turku, drawn in 1634. The four medieval districts in Turku are marked on the map. Also the Cathedral (A), the Old Great Market (B), the Hauenkuono Square (C) and the place where the stove tile was discovered are marked on the map. The original map is kept in the archives of the National Land Survey of Finland. Photo of the map: Museum Centre of Turku / Pekka Kujanpää. Map modified by Evangelos Daskalacos.

According to the excavation report the stove tile was found under a context which could be dated to the end of the 17th century (Saloranta et al. 2009, 2). No other fragments belonging to the same stove were discovered. The context where the stove tile itself was found could not be dated and since the excavation did not continue under this layer, the above-mentioned dating gives the latest possible date for the demolition of the stove.¹ Its actual date of manufacture can, however, be estimated more accurately on the basis of the style, shape and the coat of arms that it bears.

¹ Tile stoves were often abandoned only when the house where they belonged was demolished and even then old stove tiles could be re-used in new stoves. Furthermore, the debris from the demolished houses was often moved and used as filling and levelling material elsewhere. Stove tiles were sometimes also used as decorative details on walls of buildings (e.g. Majantie 2010, 103 f., 239–266; Århem 2007, 103 ff.).

The form of the stove tile is trapezoid, and it had belonged to a crest of a tile stove (e.g. Stephan 1991, Abb. 128–129, 108–110, 172). Its height is ca 16 cm and its width on the top is ca 15 cm and at the bottom ca 9 cm. It is made of redware and has a patchy green glaze, which has partly burned into bubbles, indicating that its manufacturing process was not wholly successful. Also the flange at the back of the tile, which facilitated its fastening on the stove wall, has a bend on it (Fig. 4). This could only have been caused by firing the tile at too high a temperature. Also its relief-decoration is relatively crude. On the basis of the colour of its glaze, the style of its decoration and the shape of its panel and flange, the stove tile dates to a period between the second quarter of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, i.e. when Renaissance stove tiles were in fashion. Before these years the flanges had not fully developed into the form that is found at the back of the stove tile discussed here, and after these years the shape of the flange became bulkier. Also the glaze on later tiles is often dark brown or almost black and their relief-decoration is shallower (Majantie 2010, 70–79, 91–96; see also Franz 1969; Liebgott 1972).



Fig. 4. The stove tile photographed from the back, showing the flange with a bend on it (Museum Centre of Turku, TMM22567:KA024:001). Photo by Kirsi Majantie.

The dating of the coat of arms that is displayed on the stove tile matches the dating mentioned above; it bears close resemblance to the 16th-century electoral coat of arms of Saxony. Its first quartering bears the arms for the duchy of Saxony, i.e. a barry of ten with a wreath of rue. On the second quartering it has two crossed swords, i.e. the arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire, referring to the electorate of Saxony. The third quartering has been preserved very poorly, but on the basis of the identification of the first two quarterings, the figure could be a lion for the landgravate of Thuringia or for the margravate of Meissen. The fourth quartering depicts an eagle, possibly for the palatinate of Saxony (for more details, see Hefner 1856, 17 ff., Pl. 23–27; Nickel 1981, 185). Lions and eagles were the most typical animals depicted on coats of arms and they were distinguished from each other by small details and colours (Neubecker 1997, 84, 91, 96 f.; Pastoureau 1997, 50 ff.). It is, however, difficult to differentiate the lion and the eagle depicted on the stove tile from Turku because of its monochrome glaze.

The shield is crowned with three barred helmets with crests on top. The number of helmets confirms the stove tile's German origin, since only in the German lands did the shields carry more than one helmet and crest. They represented different rights that the owner had; the barred helmets were for example only used by the nobility. The most typical crests consisted of horns, feathers or wings (Nickel 1981, 187; Neubecker 1997, 160–163, 171, 178 f.). The crests on top of two of the helmets on the stove tile discussed here could be the crests for the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire and the landgravate of Thuringia. Both of them were pairs of horns. The crest on the left (heraldically *dexter*) is harder to identify, and it could represent almost anything. In this context, it is tempting to identify it as the crest of the margravate of Meissen, i.e. a torso of a bearded man with a pointed hat. All these crests were used on the electoral coat of arms of Saxony. It has been noted that on the earliest versions of the crests, a cone-shaped hat of ducal Saxony was used instead of the pair of horns of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire and that these separate crests were combined around 1535 (for more details, see Hefner 1856, 19 f., Pl. 26–27; Nickel 1981, 187 f.; on heraldic terminology see Neubecker 1997, 42 ff.; Pastoureau 1997, 120 ff.)² (Figs 5–6).

The most definitive of the charges is the one depicted on the second quartering, since its use was most restricted. The same charges were often used by different lines of one family when there were many individuals with the same title. There were, for example, many dukes in Saxony as a result of various family lines and marriages and they all used the same arms (a barry of ten with a wreath of rue). However, there could only be one elector of Saxony, and therefore only one individual could use the electoral arms (two crossed swords) simultaneously with the ducal arms. The reason for this was that from the 14th century onwards one of the dukes of Saxony had been given superior status over the others as one of

² The combined crest already appears on a woodcut from 1526 (Jahn 1972, 417).

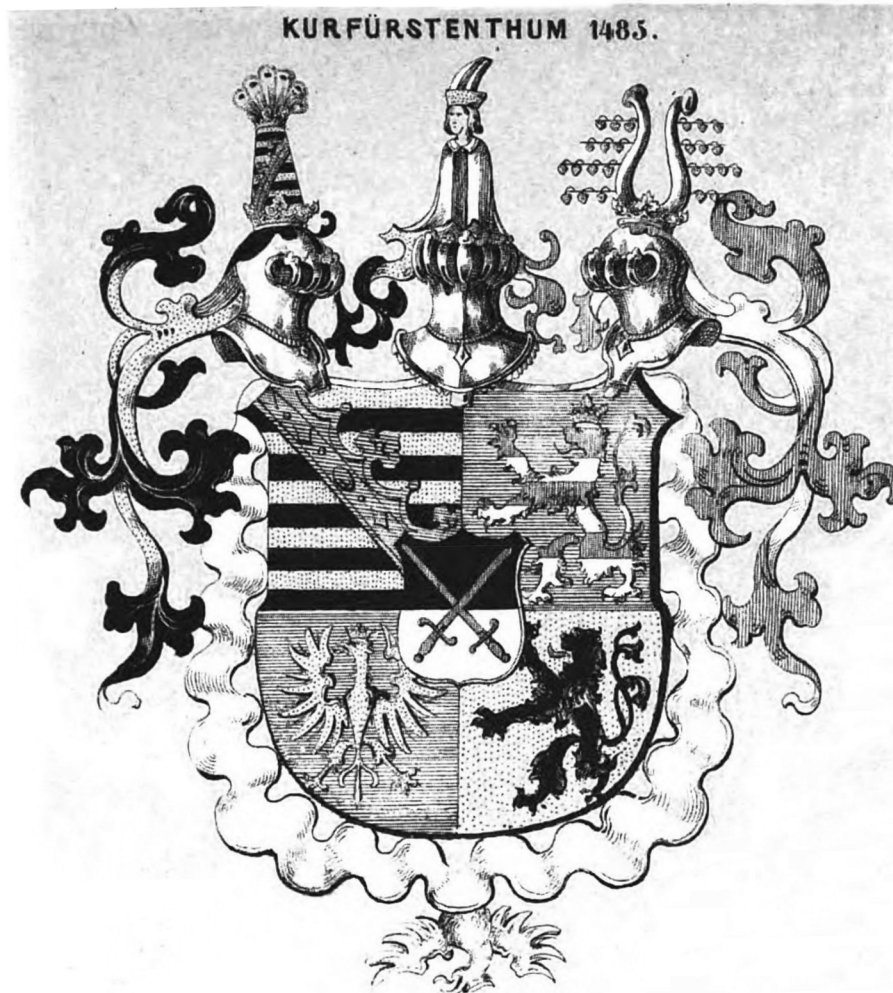


Fig. 5. The electoral coat of arms of Saxony in 1483, according to Johann Siebmacher (Hefner 1856, Pl. 26).

the seven electors of the Holy Roman Emperor. The Golden Bull of 1356 defined the seven electors and also designated the Saxon elector to be the high marshal of the empire, entitling him to carry the electoral sword and the arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire (e.g. Wellman 2011, 8).

As mentioned before, the style and form of the stove tile narrows its earliest dating to the second quarter of the 16th century. Elector Ernst, who inherited the electoral title in 1464, divided Saxony between himself and his brother Albert in 1485; these different lines of the Wettin dynasty came to be called the Ernestine and the Albertine lines. The princes of the Ernestine line retained the original



Fig. 6. The electoral coat of arms of Saxony in 1535, according to Johann Siebmacher (Hefner 1856, Pl. 27).

electoral lands and the electoral title; they were therefore able to use both the ducal and electoral coats of arms of Saxony. They also held the title of margrave of Meissen, and from 1482 onwards the title of landgrave of Thuringia (Bünz 2007, 42 ff.; Wellman 2011, 4 ff.). The first owners of the coat of arms could therefore have been the Ernestine princes of the Wettin dynasty. However, they lost the electoral title and most of their lands during the religious wars of the Reformation in 1547 and the title and the lands were taken by the Albertine line, who achieved them by siding with Emperor Charles V during the wars (Christensen 1992, 49, 72 ff.; Rudersdorf 2007, 90 ff.). The Albertine princes thus continued using the same charges on their coats of arms as the Ernestine princes.

On the basis of the style of the stove tile and the historical facts described above, the first Saxon elector whose coat of arms could be depicted on the stove tile is Friedrich III, who held the electoral title in 1486–1525. Since he did not have a legal heir, he arranged for the title to be inherited by his brother Johann in 1525 (Wellman 2011, 109–111, 159, 267–268). After Johann the title was inherited by his son Johann Friedrich I in 1532. He held it until 1547, when he

lost it to his cousin Duke Moritz I of the Albertine line. Moritz, however, died already in 1553 and the title went to his brother August I (1553–1586) and his successors (Bruning 2007, 110 f.; Nicklas 2007, 126 ff.; Rudersdorf 2007, 90 ff.). Since numerous stove tiles with portraits of Johann Friedrich have been found in Turku and can be most likely connected with the religious and political conflicts of the 16th century, it is tempting to think that the stove tile with the electoral coat of arms of Saxony could also have been linked with him and the Reformation (see Majantie 2007b, 404 ff.; 2010, 204–216, 239–260 and later in this article). The crests mentioned above support this, since they seem to include the crest of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire, which was adopted in the combination of the three crests around 1535. After Moritz and his successors became the bearers of the electoral title, it is less likely that the coat of arms would have been used as a sign of support either by the Lutherans or the Catholics, for Moritz was considered a traitor by the Lutherans, but he also turned against the Catholics again in 1552. His successors, on the other hand, were all Lutherans, but even they allied themselves with the Catholics during the Thirty Years' War (Gotthard 2007, 139 ff.; Rudersdorf 2007, 104 ff.). Their portraits were not popular on tile stoves either.

The Ernestine princes used two versions of their electoral coat of arms: one with four quarterings and another with ten or eleven quarterings, the latter showing all their titles and lands. At first the different arms were shown on separate shields, but from the 16th century onwards all the lands and titles were often shown on one shield (Neubecker 1997, 227). Since Friedrich III, Johann and Johann Friedrich I ruled the same lands and held the same titles, their coats of arms were almost identical (see Christensen 1992, 33, 46, 65, 67, 73; Hefner 1856, 19 f., Pl. 25–27; Jahn 1972, 409, 417, 544, 690). Their smaller coat of arms consisted of four quarterings, with an *inescutcheon* in the middle, depicting the two crossed swords of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire for the electorate of Saxony. On the first quartering it had the arms of the duchy of Saxony, the second quartering had a lion for the landgravate of Thuringia, the third quartering had an eagle for the palatinate of Saxony and the fourth quartering had a lion for the margravate of Meissen. In 1535 the full electoral coat of arms of Saxony had ten quarterings and an *inescutcheon* bearing the arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire. The quarterings bore the following arms: a barry of ten with a wreath of rue for the duchy of Saxony, a lion for the landgravate of Thuringia, a lion for the margravate of Meissen, an eagle for the palatinate of Saxony, two pales for the county of Landsberg, three waterlily leaves for the county of Brena, an eagle for the palatinate of Thuringia, a lion and hearts for the county of Orlamünde, a rose for the county of Altenburg, and a lion for Pleissnerland (Hefner 1856, 19 f., Pl. 25–27; Nickel 1981, 185 ff.) (Figs 5–6).

The stove tile from Turku bears resemblance to the smaller electoral coat of arms. What is unusual about its composition is that the arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire are shown on the second quartering,

instead of their normal place on the inescutcheon. There are, however, also other examples which show that the images and inscriptions on stove tiles were not always correct copies of the originals, especially if they were manufactured locally (see for example Ose 2007, 128).³

The widespread use of images of the Saxon electors

The wide distribution of Johann Friedrich's portraits and their use as Reformation propaganda were linked with the increased power of princely territories in the German lands and with the presence of Luther and Lucas Cranach the Elder's printing house in Wittenberg, the administrative town of the Saxon electors. As a result of various privileges that the Holy Roman Emperor, who was the overseeing ruler of the German lands, had given to the regional princes in order to buy their support in political matters, the princes had become sovereigns in their territories and were even able to determine the religion of their subjects, which also happened in Saxony when its electors started to support Luther. The religious conflicts of the 16th century were therefore strongly influenced by the Catholic emperor's need to demonstrate his sovereignty over the princes. Luther's position as a professor of theology at the university of Wittenberg and the impact of Cranach's workshop, which produced vast amounts of pictorial propaganda to support the Reformation, made the Ernestine princes of Saxony the best-known secular supporters of the Lutheran Reformation (for more details see Christensen 1992, 5 ff.; on the development of the princely territories, see Hughes 1992; Richardson 2002; on the Reformation, see Cameron 1991; MacCulloch 2004).

Even though Friedrich III had protected Luther, he had previously been a devout Catholic. He started using Protestant symbols and slogans in the 1520s, but it was only his nephew Johann Friedrich I who started actively using art as Reformation propaganda (Christensen 1992, 20 f., 26–46, 124–129; see also Wellman 2011). Johann Friedrich was also one of the leading figures of the Schmalkaldic League (1531–1547), which was a military alliance that was founded to defend and protect the spread of the Reformation (Cameron 1991, 270, 343 ff.; Christensen 1992, 57 f.). Even though Johann Friedrich lost the family's electoral title during the religious wars, he was by no means forgotten after this. Instead he became a martyr of the Reformation because of his capture and injuries that he suffered in the Schmalkaldic War in 1547 (Christensen 1992, 49, 57, 72, 87, 92).

³ A similar stove tile, although with a polychrome glaze and the electoral swords placed on the inescutcheon, has been found in Denmark. It is more sophisticated than the stove tile found in Turku, but its colours are incorrect. It has been suggested that it could have belonged to a same stove with tiles depicting Johann Friedrich of Saxony as a duke after 1547 (Liebgott 1972, 22–26, 34–36). In this case, the electoral coat of arms could, however, no longer have officially referred to him (see Christensen 1992, 72–79, 119 f. and later in this article regarding the late use of Johann Friedrich's electoral insignia).

Johann Friedrich died in 1554, but his images continued to be widely used as religious and political propaganda long after this. They were especially popular during the Thirty Years' War (Christensen 1992, 88, 92–101, 129; Koerner 2004, 19 ff.).

What was then the connection between the electors of Saxony, the Reformation and Finland, and how did a stove tile with the electoral coat of arms of Saxony end up in Turku? As mentioned before, Turku had close contacts with the German lands in the 16th century and many German merchants and craftsmen had moved there permanently. Also the Reformation had a visible impact in Turku as a result of its position as an administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the eastern part of the Swedish kingdom. Numerous stove tiles depicting Elector Johann Friedrich have been found both in the castle and the town, and at least some of them were most certainly connected with the Reformation. It should, however, be noted that his portraits were also displayed on same tile stoves with portraits of the Catholic emperor. The best example of such a stove is a still-standing tile stove in Gdansk,⁴ which is decorated with portraits of Emperor Charles V, various other contemporary rulers and the Protestant princes, including Friedrich III and Johann Friedrich I of Saxony. It is, however, interesting that even this stove, built in 1545–1546, seems to emphasize support for the Lutheran faith; it contained more portraits of Johann Friedrich than of Charles V (seven against four on the front side of the stove) and the stove's plinth was placed on top of a monk and a nun, as if in criticism of the Catholic faith (see Kilarska & Kilarski 1993, 31 ff.; Kilarska 2007, 138 ff.; on the use of both Protestant and Catholic figures on stove tiles, see also Ring 2014).

It is naturally more difficult to say if the portraits of Johann Friedrich had the same meaning in Finland as in the German lands.⁵ The appearance of stove tiles with his portraits in Turku could have been a consequence of the power struggles between the Lutherans and the Catholics in the second half of the 16th century and the early 17th century, but the late use of some of the stove tiles could simply have been a consequence of copying the images from old tile stoves. They could therefore have been popular because of their Renaissance style rather than the identity of the portraits that they bore (see Majantie 2007b, 398–425 and later in this article). The appearance of portraits of well-known European rulers and princes on stove tiles could also reflect the aspiration of the local nobility and burghers to present themselves as learned and cultured figures. For example in England painted portraits of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs were popular among the nobility and wealthy burghers in the 16th–17th centuries, and it has been suggested that in addition to symbolising allegiance to the ruling dynasties, they could also have emphasized their owners' cultured status and historical

⁴ The stove was partly destroyed and dismantled in the 1940s and rebuilt again in the 1990s (Kilarska 2007, 137).

⁵ Also in Germany, not all stove tiles which were decorated with images that suited the Lutheran doctrine were intended as support for the Reformation (see Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2007, 323 ff.).

knowledge (Cooper 2010, 160 ff.). Portraits of the European rulers and princes and their consorts were also used on the 16th-century game-piece series, popular among the nobility (Wilson-Chevalier 2002, 477 ff.).

Tracing the possible owner of the tile stove from written documents

The written documents regarding the inhabitants in the Aninkainen Quarter, where the stove tile was found, unfortunately shed little light on the possible owner of the tile stove or the motivation for its commissioning. The documents that have survived reveal, however, that the most esteemed buildings in the Aninkainen Quarter were situated precisely in the area where the stove tile was found. There was a small market square called Hauenkuono in this area, which was surrounded by houses of wealthy burghers, mayors, members of the town council and the nobility. Three of the biggest buildings around the market square belonged in the 16th century to merchant families of Innamaa, Tavast and Gröp. Also members of an influential noble family called the Kurki family owned property in this area (Ruuth 1909, 129 f.; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 106 ff.).

The house of the Gröp family was one of the grandest houses on the west side of the river. Henrik Gröp, who owned the house until his death in 1560, was one of the most successful merchants in Turku and also its mayor in 1539–1559 (Nikula & Nikula 1987, 143 f.). The Innamaa family, on the other hand, is interesting because of Henrik Innamaa's personal relationship with Duke Johan (later Johan III). He is mentioned in the written documents for the first time in 1549. He conducted overseas trade with Lübeck and other German cities and became one of Johan's foremost suppliers. He also accompanied the duke, as a captain of his ship, to Poland in 1562 in order to bring his Polish wife to Turku. Henrik Innamaa's fortune changed in 1563, when Duke Johan was imprisoned by his brother Erik XIV. The written documents reveal that his property was looted and that his family had to move out of their home. Henrik Innamaa is mentioned for the last time in the written documents in 1564, but his widow Valborg Innamaa continued the family business successfully for several decades after this. She also continued the personal relationship with Johan; she wrote many letters to him in order to claim back the goods that were stolen and after Johan became king she was eventually compensated for the losses that the family had suffered (Ruuth 1916, 179 f., 232 f.; Oja 1937, 94 ff.; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 135 ff.; Toropainen 2006, 156 f.). An inventory of goods that were stolen during the looting has survived, revealing that the house of the Innamaa family in the Aninkainen Quarter was furnished with the latest fashion (Oja 1937, 97 f., 102, 107). Unfortunately it only mentions movable items, and not fixtures, such as tile stoves.

The written documents do not reveal any details about the religious convictions of the above-mentioned families either. It is, however, interesting that tile stoves which were decorated with portraits of Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony were built in Turku Castle when Duke Johan held his court there in the

early 1560s. The potter who manufactured these stove tiles was called Abraham von Wittenberg and he had most likely brought the stove-tile moulds with him from his hometown (for more details, see Majantie 2007b, 404 ff.; 2010, 217 and later in this article). Since it is known that many of Duke Johan's personal friends from the town visited his court in the castle, it is possible that the same potter could have manufactured stove tiles also for their homes, including the house of the Innamaa family.

On the basis of the arguments discussed above, the most likely date for the manufacture of the tile stove is the 1560s. It can be argued that the electoral coat of arms of Saxony could no longer have referred to Johann Friedrich in the 1560s because he had lost the electoral title, but other archaeological evidence from Turku proves that his electoral portraits were used on Finnish tile stoves until the early 17th century (for more details, see Majantie 2010, 240 ff.). If the stove tile was made in the late 16th or early 17th century, it could have acted as support for the Reformation during the period's political and religious conflicts. However, as mentioned before, the portraits and coats of arms of both Protestant and Catholic rulers were sometimes depicted on the same stoves, and in this case the argument that the electoral coat of arms of Saxony had been linked solely to the support of Reformation naturally loses its reasoning. Since the majority of stove tiles from Turku bear the portraits of Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and in the case of the stove tile presented here, his coat of arms, it is likely that at least some of them were in support of the Reformation. No clear images of Catholic rulers appear on Finnish stove tiles. However, one portrait shares similar features with the early portraits of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand of Bohemia and Hungary (1503–1564), later Emperor Ferdinand I (Majantie 2010, 266).

Local manufacture or import?

It is difficult to determine without chemical analyses of the clay if the stove tile discussed here was imported or manufactured locally. Its poor glaze, the bend on its flange and the fact that the coat of arms that it bears is not a correct copy of the original, could indicate local manufacture.

As with the other written sources, there are unfortunately only a few surviving documents that mention potters or tile stoves in the 16th-century Turku. The earliest of them date from 1543–1544, when a potter called Hans was working in Turku Castle. The stove tiles that he made were most certainly vessel tiles. The first Renaissance tile stoves were built in the castle during Duke Johan's time, when the potter Abraham von Wittenberg was working there. He arrived at the castle in 1560 and manufactured stove tiles until 1563 (Gardberg 1959, 164, 189). Even though the type of stove tiles that he made is not described in the documents, the numerous fragments which have been found in the castle and which are decorated with portraits of Johann Friedrich of Saxony were most likely among them (Fig. 7). Even though Johann Friedrich is depicted as an elector on these



Fig. 7. Stove tile bearing a portrait of Johann Friedrich of Saxony found in Turku Castle (Museum Centre of Turku, TMM18434:1). Photo by Kirsi Majantie.

stove tiles (they bear a text *Herzog Hans Friderich Korfvrst*), their archaeological find contexts suggest that they date to the 1560s; they had been located in a floor built during Duke Johan's time (1556–1563). This dating is also supported by the fact that Gustav Vasa described the castle as old-fashioned and uncomfortable in his letters in the 1550s; it is unlikely that he would have used these words if the highly decorated Renaissance tile stoves had been situated in the castle (for more details, see Gardberg 1959, 84, 224–226, 291–294).⁶

Two more potters are mentioned in the written documents of Turku Castle in the 16th century: Henrik Küll in 1563 and Michel Kramer in 1584–1586 (Gardberg 1959, 291 f., 339, 509 f.). Any of these potters could have manufactured the stove tile discussed here, even though they worked in the castle. There are many examples of identical stove tiles found in the castle and the town, which proves that the same potters manufactured stove tiles for both places (Majantie 2010, 213 f.).

The written documents regarding potters and stove tiles from the town of Turku are even scarcer than those from the castle. The first written documents

⁶ On some identical stove tiles from Stralsund in Germany and Nya Lödöse in Sweden, the text encircling Johann Friedrich's head has been completely removed, perhaps also indicating their late use (see Hoffmann 2009, 309 ff.; Strömbom 1924, 253; Majantie 2007c, 219, fig. 207).

which mention a potter in the town date from the 1550s. The name of this potter was Hans, and he could have been the same person who worked at Turku Castle in the 1540s (Nikula & Nikula 1987, 380 f., 547, 660 ff.). His products are not described in the documents, but they were most likely vessel tiles. There are no known written documents that mention potters in the town between the 1560s and 1620s; the next written documents which refer to a potter date from the mid-1630s (Hyvönen 1983, 50; Svante Dahlstöm's register).

No evidence of actual potters' workshops has been found in Turku either, but a large amount of workshop waste has been discovered in a stone cellar north of the cathedral, including fragments of both ceramic vessels and stove tiles. The ceramic vessels have been dated on the basis of their form and decoration to the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century (Tulkki 2003, 208 f., 214). Also one coin, which dates from 1610, came from the same context. The cellar itself was most likely never part of a potter's workshop and the ceramic waste was dumped there after the building was demolished. This must have happened in 1634 at the latest since on a map from that year there is no building in this location (Brusila & Lepokorpi 1981, 11 ff.). What is interesting in regard to this article is that the stove-tile fragments found in the cellar include several fragments of panel tiles with portraits of Johann Friedrich of Saxony and also one positive mould with the same image. Although Johann Friedrich is depicted as an elector on these stove tiles (the image is the same as on the stove tiles found in the castle), the other finds suggest that they date from the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, indicating that stove tiles decorated with portraits of the Saxon elector were being manufactured in Turku at least until this time (for more details, see Majantie 2010, 239 ff.).

Conclusions

It is difficult to reconstruct the true reasons for the commissioning of the stove tile bearing the electoral coat of arms of Saxony in Turku, even with the help of written documents. It belonged to an era when the ruling classes used art and architecture as a way of showing their power, authority and wealth, and their portraits and coats of arms were seen as proofs of lineage and expressions of political and religious loyalties (e.g. Johannesson 1998, 11–16, 23–25; Richardson 2002, 35, 172). On the basis of the background described in this article it seems plausible that the stove tile was linked with the religious and political conflicts of the 16th century and that it was situated in a house whose owners wanted to emphasize their support for the Reformation and its Saxon protectors. The earliest date for its manufacture, on the basis of its style, shape and the coat of arms, is the second quarter of the 16th century. However, on the basis of other stove-tile finds discovered in Turku, it most likely dates from the second half of the 16th century. It could have been manufactured by local potters who are mentioned in the written documents dating from the 1560s to the 1580s.

There were several wealthy merchant families in the 16th century who lived in the area where the stove tile was found, and it is likely that the tile stove once decorated one of their houses located around the Hauenkuono Square. One of these houses belonged to the Innamaa family, who had close contacts with Duke Johan in the late 1550s and early 1560s. Duke Johan's court in Turku Castle had tile stoves decorated with portraits of Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and it is tempting to think that the same potter, who came from Wittenberg and who made the castle's stove tiles in the 1560s, also made tiles for the Innamaa family.

Even without a definite identification of the owner of the tile stove and the reason for its commissioning, the stove tile is valuable evidence of the use of tile stoves as luxurious heating appliances in 16th-century Turku, when many of the houses were still heated with simple chimneyless ovens. It also shows that the portraits and coats of arms of the Saxon electors were widely used images on tile stoves, even in such a distant place as Turku, and that they were most likely used as signs of support for the Reformation. It needs to be kept in mind, however, that some of the stove tiles which seem to carry religious and political significance could also have been used for purely decorative reasons or as showcases of their owner's cultured knowledge.

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Kirsi Majantie

OSUTADES TOETUST REFORMATSIOONILE? ÜHEST TURUST LEITUD 16. SAJANDI SAKSI KUURVÜRSTI VAPIGA AHJUKAHLIST

Resüme

On tutvustatud Soomest Turust leitud 16. sajandi ahjukahlit, mida dekoreerib Saksi kuurvürsti vapp. Tegemist on ainsa sellise leiuga Soomest ja samasugused leiud on harvad ka teistes Põhja- ning Baltimaades. Enamik Soome 16. sajandi kahlileidudest on portreedega kaunistatud.

On analüüsitud ahjukahli päritolu ja vanust, tuginedes heraldikale, stiili- analüüsile ning arheoloogilistele allikatele. Samuti on ajaloolistele allikatele tuginedes käsitletud kahli tähtsust ja võimalikke omanikke. Kuna mõned 16. sajandi Saksi kuurvürstidest, esmajoones Johann Friedrich (1503–1554), olid tuntud luterliku reformatsiooni toetajad ja nende portreesid kasutati usu- ning poliitilise propaganda vahendina, keskendub Turu kahlile pühendatud artikkel leiu vastavasse ajaloolisse raamistusse panekule. Samuti on artiklis oletatud, et lisaks usuveendumuste osutamisele võis ahjukahhel rõhutada ka omaniku sotsiaalset positsiooni, haritust ja autoriteeti, sest 16. sajandil kasutasid valitsevad klassid kunsti, arhitektuuri ning ehteid oma positsiooni näitamiseks ja seadustamiseks ühiskonnas.

Artiklis kirjeldatud taustinfole tuginedes näib võimalik, et käsitletav ahjukahhel on seotud 16. sajandi usu- ja poliitiliste konfliktidega ning asus hoones, mille omanikud soovisid rõhutada oma toetust reformatsioonile ja selle Saksi kuurvürstidest kaitsjatele. Toetudes stiilile, kujule ja vapile võib kahli varaseim valmistamisaeg olla 16. sajandi teine veerand. Tuginedes aga teistele Turust leitud ahjukahlitele, näib, et see kahhel on pärit pigem 16. sajandi teisest poolest. Kahli võis valmistada kohalik pottsepp, keda on kirjalikes allikates mainitud 1560.–1580. aastatel.

Kahli leiukoha naabruses elas 16. sajandil mitmeid varakaid kaupmeeste perekondi. On võimalik, et ahjukahhel pärineb mõnest Hauenkuono väljaku ümbruse kaupmehemaja kahhelahjust. Üks sealsetest majadest kuulus Innamaa perekonnale, kellel oli 1550. aastate lõpul ja 1560. aastate algul lähedasi sidemeid hertsog Johaniga (hilisem Rootsi kuningas Johan III). Hertsog Johani õukonna Turu linnuse residentsist on teada kahhelahje, mis on kaunistatud Saksi kuurvürsti Johann Friedrichi portreedega. Seetõttu on kiusatus oletada, et sama, Wittenbergist pärit

pottsepp, kes valmistas 1560. aastatel linnuses kasutatud ahjukahleid, on ka Innamaa perekonna valdustest pärit ahjukahli valmistamise taga.

Isegi kui me ei tea täpselt ahjukahli omanikku ega eseme tellimise põhjusi, on käesolev ese oluline tõend kahhelahjudest kui 16. sajandi Turu luksuslikest küttesüsteemidest, samal ajal kui paljudes linnamajades kasutati lihtsaid korstnata ahje. Ese osutab samuti, et Saksi kuurvürstide portreesid ja vappe kasutati sageli ahjukahlite dekoreerimisel isegi sellistes kaugetes kohtades nagu Turu. Suure tõenäosusega näidati selliste kahlitega toetust reformatsioonile. Samas tuleb toonitada, et mõnesid sellistest kahlitest, mis näivad osutavat usuliste ja poliitiliste veendumuste tähtsusele, võidi kasutada ka dekoratiivsetel eesmärkidel või lihtsalt tõendina ahju omaniku haritusest.