

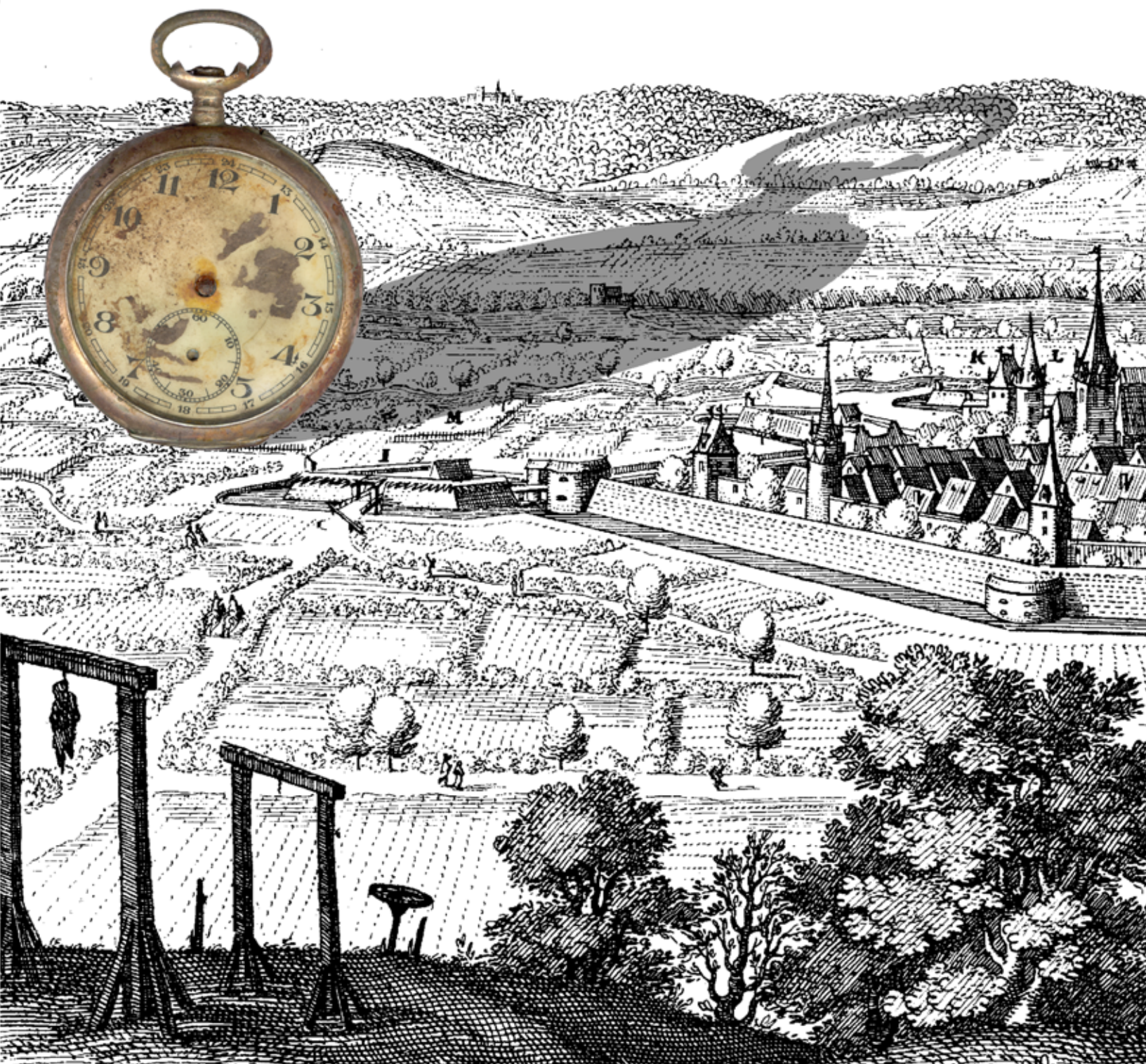
SPECIAL PUBLICATION NUMBER 10



Historical Archaeology in Central Europe

NATASCHA MEHLER

Editor



Historical Archaeology in Central Europe

(FULL COLOR EDITION)

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**SPECIAL PUBLICATION NUMBER 10,
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BACK COVER IMAGE: *The chimneys of Krupp Steel Works in Essen, Germany* (courtesy of Stadtbildstelle Essen, ca. 1890. Exact date unknown).

Dedicated to Paul Courtney

Contents

Foreword..... vii

I. DEVELOPMENT, CURRENT RESEARCH, AND PERSPECTIVES

Breaking New Ground: Historical Archaeology in Central Europe..... 11

NATASCHA MEHLER

Historical Archaeology, History, and Cultural Sciences in Germany: Some Reflections 31

RAINER SCHREG

Archaeology of the Modern Period in the Czech Territories:

A Long Tradition and Long Beginnings 53

JAROMÍR ŽEGKLITZ

Transcending Disciplinary Boundaries:

Historical Archaeology as a Problem Child—The Case of Slovenia 69

KATARINA PREDOVNIK

Some Remarks about Historical Archaeology in Poland..... 95

LESZEK KAJZER

Historical Archaeology in Slovakia..... 103

MARIÁN ČURNÝ

Historical Archaeology in Hungary..... 111

GÁBOR TOMKA

II. RELIGION, CONFLICT, AND DEATH

The Archaeology of Execution Sites in Early Modern Central Europe..... 139

JOST AULER

Religion, Belief, and Anthropological Research in Central Europe..... 149

SUSI ULRICH-BOCHSLER / CHRISTINE COOPER

Confessionalization in the Domestic Sphere during the 16th Century:

Archaeology and Reformation 167

EDGAR RING

Ottoman Mosques and Cemeteries in the Hungarian Territories 185

IBOLYA GERELYES

Battlefield Archaeology of Central Europe—

With a Focus on Early Modern Battlefields..... 203

ARNE HOMANN

The Great Northern War Underwater: A Swedish Ship Barrier of 1715 in Northeast Germany.....	231
MIKE BELASUS	
Archaeology and Remembrance: The Contemporary Archaeology of Concentration Camps, Prisoner-of-War Camps, and Battlefields.....	241
CLAUDIA THEUNE	
The Drau Valley Tragedy: The Historical Archaeology of World War II Cossacks in East Tyrol	261
HARALD STADLER / FRIEDRICH STEPANEK	
III. TECHNOLOGY, INDUSTRY, AND MODERNIZATION	
Craftsmen's Pottery Kilns in Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland	279
ANDREAS HEEGE	
New Technologies in the Manufacture of Clay Tobacco Pipes in Central Europe	295
RALF KLUTTIG-ALTMANN	
Industrial Archaeology in Essen: The Former Friedrich Krupp Cast Steel Works	305
DETLEF HOPP	
Industrial Archaeology and Cultural Ecology: A Case Study at a 19th-Century Glass Factory in Germany.....	317
RAINER SCHREG	
Aviation Archaeology in the Alps	325
WOLFGANG FALCH	
IV. LANDSCAPES AND CITIES IN CHANGE	
Landscape, the Individual, and Society: Subjective Expected Utilities in a Monastic Landscape near Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Lower Austria.....	339
MICHAEL DONEUS / THOMAS KÜHNTREIBER	
Vienna, The Architecture of Absolutism.....	365
PAUL MITCHELL	
The Environment and Living Conditions in Wrocław (Breslau) in the 16th-18th Centuries	379
JERZY PIEKALSKI	
Archaeology in Pirna: The Systematic Study of Post-Medieval Finds Based on the Example of a Small Town in Saxony.....	395
RALF KLUTTIG-ALTMANN	
A Case Study on Cultural Contacts and Cultural Adaptation in Colonial Panamá— German Historical Archaeology in the New World.....	410
RAINER SCHREG / ANNETTE ZEISCHKA-KENZLER	

Confessionalization in the Domestic Sphere during the 16th Century: Archaeology and Reformation

ABSTRACT

Over the course of the 16th century images and their many copies took on a greater significance. In the context of confessionalization (i.e., the process of religious identity formation) and disciplining during the Reformation process, both the “old” faith and the Protestant persuasions utilized images. Among archaeological finds, these images became more prevalent on objects of everyday use. They served in accordance with Martin Luther as objects of instruction, guidance, and persuasion. While stove-tiles are the best known and most abundant category of finds with imagery from the Reformation, images are also often found on ceramic and glass vessels bearing central motifs from the Protestant faith, Protestant Reformers, and rulers, as well as general religious content. These archaeological finds provided images for ordinary citizens in their everyday pursuit of Protestant life. It is not, however, possible to outline a detailed course of confessionalization based on the archaeological finds alone.

INTRODUCTION

Das wyr auch solche Bilder muegen an die wende malen umb gedechtnis und besser verstands willen. Syntemal sie an den wenden ia so wenig schaden, als ynn den büchern. Es ist yhe besser, man male an die wand, wie Gott die Wellt schuff wie Noe die arca bawet und was mehr guter historien sind, denn das man sonst yrgent weltlich unverschampt ding malet, Ja wollt Gott, ich kund die herrn und die reychen da hyn bereden, das sie die gantze Bibel ynnwendig und auswendig an den heusern fur ydermans augen malen liessen, das were eyen Christlich werck.

—Martin Luther, *Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bilderb und Sakrament*, 1525 [Luther WA 1883-2000(18):82-83].

Although early modern period German is difficult to translate into English, Martin Luther’s 1525 words show just how important he felt images were in instructing, guiding, and convincing people if used correctly. He wished to see depictions of God creating the world and Noah building the ark, he sought Christian rather than worldly pictures on the walls of houses, both inside and out—images for everyone.

The archaeological finds from the Reformation era include numerous objects with such images. The most

abundant category of artifacts are stove-tiles, which show pictures and series of images that bear witness to the new Protestant faith in a central area of the house (Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:211-242). Glass and ceramic objects were also decorated with these images, however. Most of the depictions hark back to printed designs by Lukas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and Georg Pencz, among others, that were widespread in the 16th century.

In this phase of religious turmoil, particularly in places and regions where several changes in religious beliefs took place, one must raise the question as to which images in fact assisted in the process of confessionalization and disciplining. The study of archaeological finds as bearers of Protestant imagery reveals that objects can show the shared confessional identity of their owners (Ring 2007a). Protestant polemics against the Catholic Church, propagandistic depictions of Reformers and Protestant princes, and the utilization of genuinely Protestant motifs such as “law and grace” (original sin and salvation) are pictorial themes that can clearly be identified as bound to a certain denomination, even outside of a particular context of origin and usage (Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:224). Biblical stories, allegories, catechisms, and the depiction of virtues became popular themes over the course of the Protestant confessionalization process, but were not uniquely

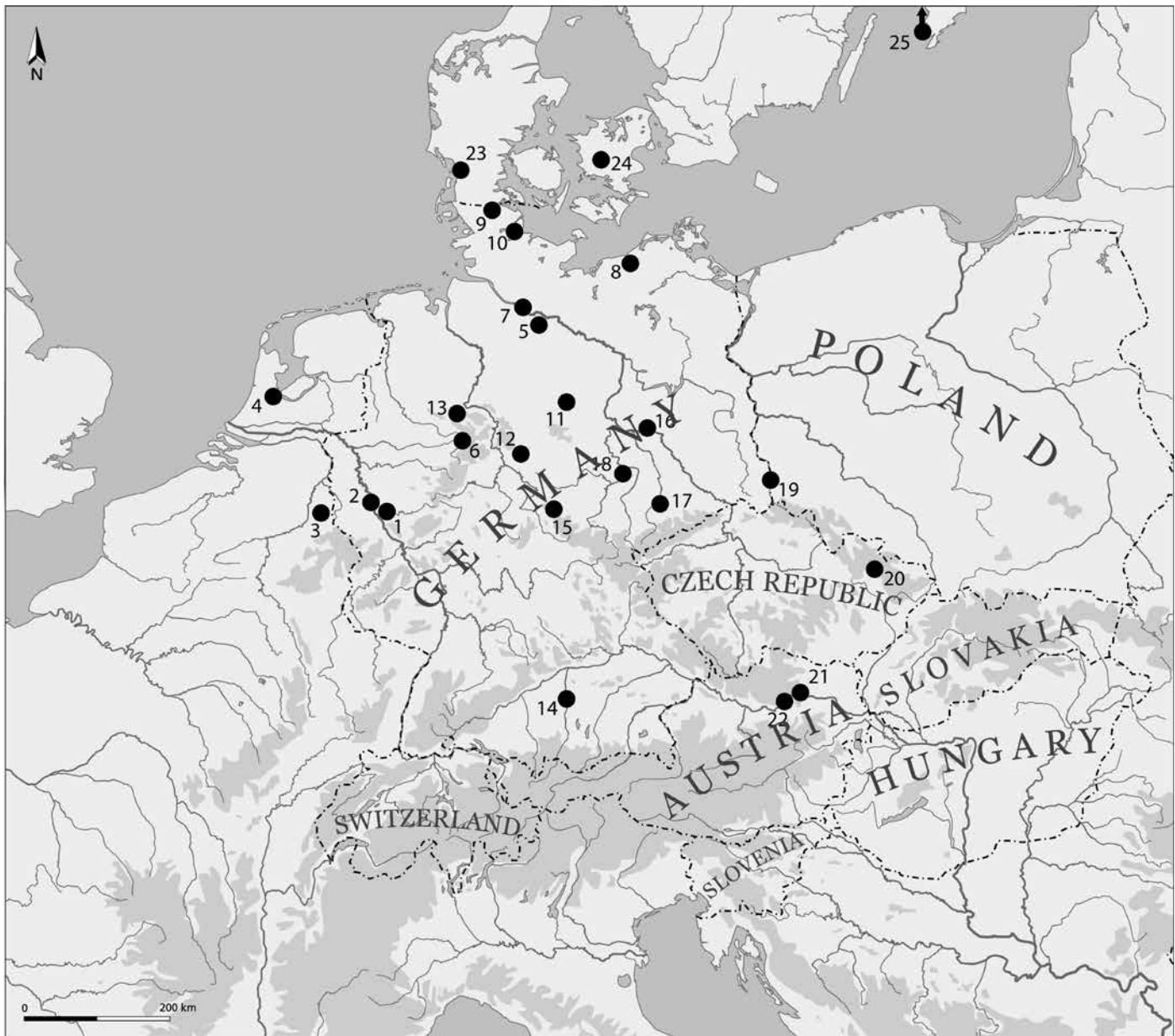


Figure 1. Map with places mentioned in the text (in Germany, unless otherwise noted): (1) Siegburg; (2) Cologne; (3) Raeren, Belgium; (4) Amsterdam, the Netherlands; (5) Lüneburg; (6) Paderborn; (7) Hamburg; (8) Rostock; (9) Flensburg; (10) Eckernförde; (11) Helmstedt; (12) Göttingen; (13) Herford; (14) Augsburg; (15) Schmalkalden; (16) Wittenberg; (17) Waldenburg; (18) Merseburg; (19) Görlitz; (20) Janovice, Czech Republic; (21) Grafenegg, Austria; (22) Weißenkirchen, Austria; (23) Ribe, Denmark; (24) Lyngø, Denmark; and (25) Stockholm, Sweden (Map provided courtesy of the Department of Prehistory and Medieval Archaeology, University of Vienna, Austria).

Protestant and can therefore only be interpreted in the context of their usage and discovery.

POLEMICS AND PROPAGANDA CREATED IN SIEGBURG POTTERS' WORKSHOPS

Around the mid-16th century potters in Siegburg, a center of stoneware production near Cologne, began to manufacture drinking and serving vessels bearing round medallions and rectangular mounts with polemic and propagandistic images in

relation to the battle between the religious denominations (Gaimster 1997:148) (Figure 1). The double-faced depictions showing the Pope and the devil or a cardinal and a fool (Figure 2), inspired by medals, became particularly popular (Barnard 1927; Krueger 1979:259-268;

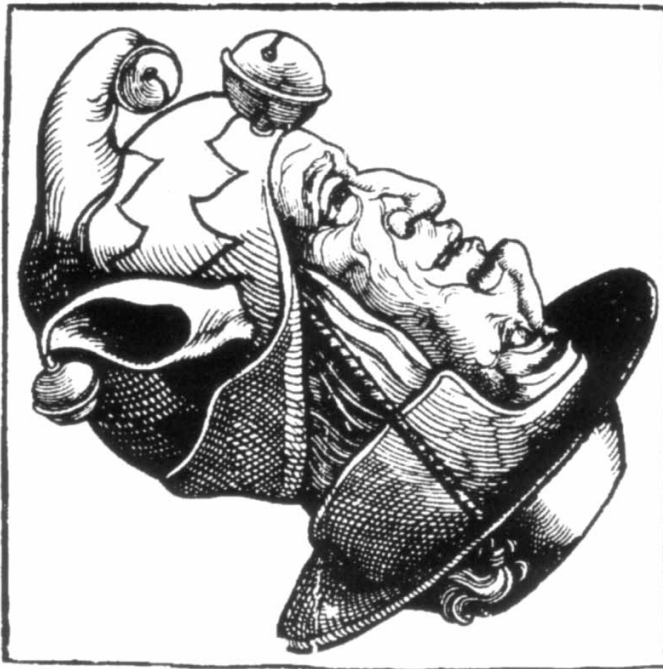


Figure 2. "Cardinal and Fool," woodcut ca. 1525 (Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:plate 176,5).

Kat. Bonn 2010:196). The motif had its origins in a wood engraving by an unknown German artist dating from around 1525 (Gaimster 1997:149; Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:pl. 176,5). Molding on jugs produced between 1550 and 1580 in Cologne, Siegburg, and Raeren polemically dealt with the Augsburg Interim, an agreement that became Imperial law in 1548, by which Charles V (1500-1558), after his victory over the Schmalkaldic League, attempted to impose his religious and political will and which in some quarters encountered strong resistance on both the Protestant and Catholic sides (Krueger 1979:268-275). In the example shown in Figure 3, the Protestant polemics are expressed in three scenes: Christ pushes the devil aside, accompanied by the inscription *PACK. DICH./TEVFEL .IN/INTERIM* [begone./devil .in/interim]; a three-headed monster—a Turk, the Pope, and an angel; and Christ chops down a tree with liturgical implements, accompanied by the inscription *DAS VNKRVT / WILL ICH AVS / ROTEN VND / WERFEN ES / INS FEVR* [the weeds / I want to eradicate and / throw them / on the fire]. The depictions were copied from printed designs.

A jug of Siegburg provenance found in Amsterdam (Figure 4) bears one of the central motifs of the Reformation: original sin and salvation—a version of the painting of the "glorious difference between the law and grace," painted in several variants by Lucas Cranach the Elder from 1529 (Weimer 1999; Krueger 2000). The central molding on the jug depicts a seated naked man

praying in front of a tree whose trunk bears a plaque with the inscription *HOMO*. The tree is flanked by two figures that recur in the sprigs to the left and right. The lady on the left is praying to a snake hanging from a cross, the shepherd surrounded by his sheep on the right is looking up to Christ on the Cross.

An early and antagonistic confessional polemic dating from the mid-1520s depicts the theme "Sheepfold of Christ" (Figure 5) on a Siegburg jug manufactured around 1570 (Krueger 1979:284-291). The central sprig shows Christ standing in the doorway of a building, with Paul to his right. The person on the left appears to be John. Two men wearing high caps and each holding a sheep are sitting on the roof. A devil's bust can be seen between them. Two kneeling figures, a monk and a Turk identified by the inscription *DER TURCK* [the Turk], on either side of the sloping roof are praying to the men. Christ, the good shepherd, is threatened by thieves and robbers who are trying to steal his sheep. The robbers are identified by inscriptions as a Pharisee and a Turk.

The jugs with anti-Catholic depictions can be viewed as precious tableware used for drinking, but also flaunted as artistic and ingeniously decorated showpieces (Krueger 1979:294). It can be assumed that the buyers of such vessels with religious propaganda were not just from the Rhineland, but also from the Calvinist Netherlands and the Protestant north. Only in the case of the so-called interim jug is it possible to trace the ownership back far. The jug came from St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg and in 1876 was listed as church property "since time immemorial." It is therefore quite possible that it served as a lavabo jug or a jug for Holy Communion.

The Siegburg potters depicting anti-Catholic motifs on stoneware were not motivated solely by the chance of supplying the Calvinist or Protestant market, but also by the local denominational situation (Krueger 1979:293-294). Both the Episcopal city of Cologne and the town of Siegburg nearby saw times of religious tolerance and Counter-Reformational strictness. In Siegburg the Reformation movement had its heyday between 1568 and 1572, but after 1572 the Protestant potters were gradually forced to leave due to religious reprisals.



Figure 3. (above) "Augsburg Interim," cylindrical tankard (Schnelle), Siegburg stoneware (Krueger 1979:figures 7, 11, 15).
 Figure 4. (below) "Law and Grace," cylindrical tankard (Schnelle), Siegburg stoneware (Krueger 2000:figure 2).





Figure 5. "Sheepfold of Christ," cylindrical tankard (Schnelle), Siegburg stoneware (Krueger 1979:figure 26).

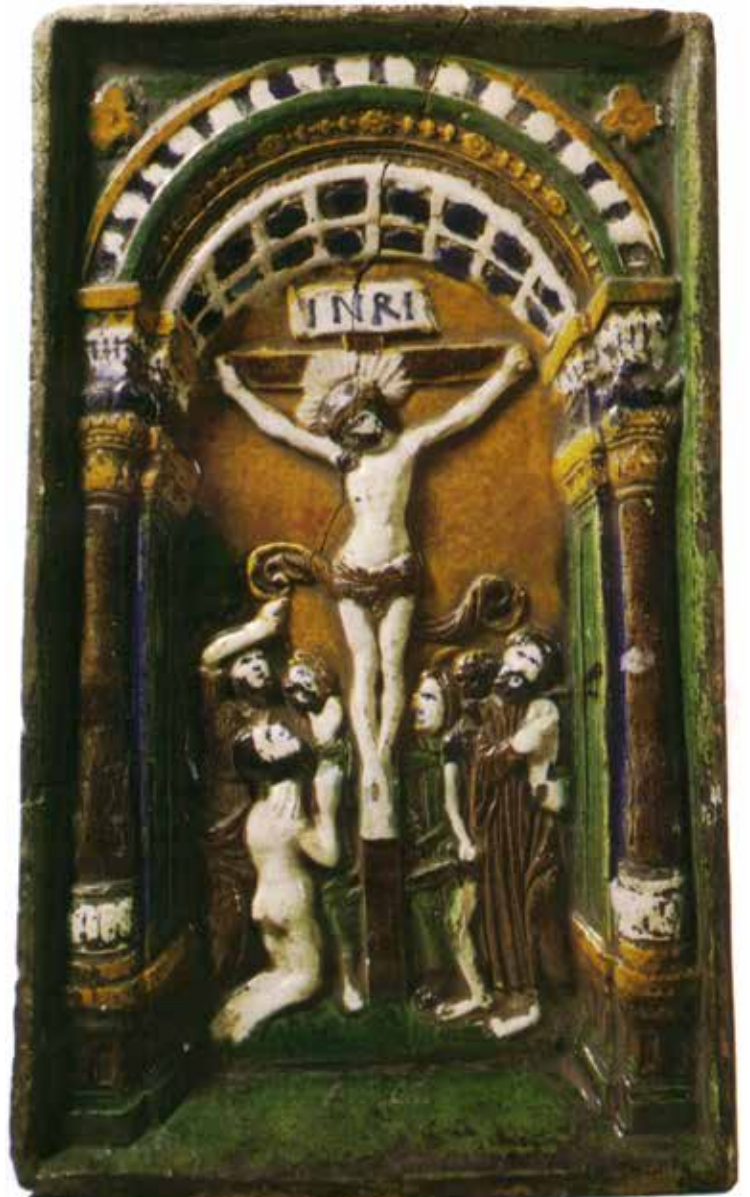


Figure 6. "Law and Grace," stove-tile, polychromatic glazed red earthenware (Franz 1981:4).



Figure 7. "Christ in Limbo," stove-tile, green glazed earthenware (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Stadtarchäologie).



Figure 8. "Elector John Frederick I," stove-tile, black glazed earthenware. (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Stadtarchäologie).

PROTESTANT IMAGERY CREATED AT A LÜNEBURG POTTER'S WORKSHOP

Lüneburg was a city that had committed itself to the Protestant faith in 1530. Excavations carried out on a plot at “Auf der Altstadt 29” uncovered a potter’s workshop that specialized in creating Protestant imagery. Stove-tiles depicting the Apostles’ Creed, the Passion, and Protestant rulers constituted the majority of its output in the second half of the 16th century and early 17th century (Ring 2007a). The workshop would have primarily supplied the local market. The high quality of its products, however, may also have afforded the opportunity to market its wares further afield.

The Lüneburg potters also used central Reformation motifs including original sin and salvation (Ring 2007a:figure 3a) as is exemplified by a tile mold bearing the “law and grace” image and a stove-tile with polychrome glazing from Nuremberg with the same motif (Figure 6) (Franz 1981:83-84). Bisque fragments and

wasters attest to the production of tiles bearing depictions of the Apostles’ Creed by the same workshop. A waster showing Christ’s descent into hell and a fragment of an inscription that reads “GESTIEGEN [...] Z HELLE [descended [...] into hell]” was clearly inspired by Albrecht Dürer’s *Christ in Limbo* painting from the Great Passion series of 1510/1511 (Figure 7) (Strauss 1966:pl. 42,2).

The “cardinal and fool” motif already known from Siegburg funnel-necked beakers was also used on stove-tiles, as can be seen on a bisque fired example from the Lüneburg workshop (Ring 2007a:figure 2). This popular Reformation polemic was also used on other stove-tiles. All the examples published to date were found in northern Germany (Langenheim 1962; Busch 1987; Arnold et. al 1990:52-53; Rötting 1997:318).

PROTESTANT PRINCES

The range of products made by the potter’s workshop at “Auf der Altstadt 29” in Lüneburg also included stove-tiles with portraits of Protestant princes from a defensive alliance called the Schmalkaldic League. Especially depicted were members of the House of Wettin with the older branch of the Ernestines and the younger branch of the Albertines. The series starts with the founder of the Schmalkadic League, the elector John Frederick I (1503-1554) (Figure 8). The portrait refers back to a 1551 painting by Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515-1586) (Christensen 1992:97, figure 31). John Frederick I is also depicted in another example with a short sword and a hat inspired by a medal minted in 1537 (Kat. Gotha 1994:23-24, cat. no. 4.22). The next members of the Ernestine succession were John Frederick II (1529-1595) and John William (1530-1573), whose portraits have survived on stove-tiles and on a mold (Ring 1996a:figures 16, 189). A large proportion of the prints the tiles were modeled on were created by Lucas Cranach the Younger.

The Albertine branch in Saxony is represented by Duke George (1471-1539) (Ring 2007a:figure 8). A painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) dated 1534 can be identified as the inspiration (Kat. Nürnberg 1983:172-173, cat. no. 211). It is surprising that Duke George of Saxony is part of this series of portrait tiles, since he

remained steadfastly opposed to religious changes up to the time of his death. His inclusion in this series would have been based not only on his family ties but also on his support for a disputation between Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Johann Eck (1494-1554), the Franconian reformer. The theological debate, known as the Leipzig Disputation, took place in 1519. Duke George himself sought for church reform to stop the prevalent commercialization and corruption. But he became Martin Luther’s adversary due to Luther’s commitment to Jan Hus.

Stove-tiles with portraits of the Princes of the Schmalkaldic League, the Protestant defensive alliance against the religious politics of Emperor Charles V, were extremely numerous and widespread. They have been found throughout the entire Baltic region, northern Germany, Hesse, and Thuringia (Stephan 1997; Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:238-240; Majanti 2007a:94-95, 2007b; Ose 2009:223-224). The most striking examples in respect to quality and heritage are the tiled stoves in Wilhelmsburg Castle in Schmalkalden, Thuringia.

A Stockholm stove-tile highlights the close connection between one of the Protestant sovereigns and Martin Luther (Majanti 2007c:214, cat. no. 179). Frederick

the Wise, Elector of Saxony, and Martin Luther are depicted kneeling under Christ's Cross. A parallel find is known from Janovice Castle in the Czech Republic (Figure 9) (Menoušková 2008:81, no. 237). A similar depiction showing John Frederick the Magnanimous and Martin Luther can be seen in a woodcut by Lucas Cranach on the frontispiece of the 1547 bible print (Stievermann 1994:75, A 41).

REFORMERS

The Lüneburg potters also made ceramic objects bearing the portraits of reformers. One of the tile molds shows Martin Luther wearing the robes of a scholar (Figure 10). This motif could have been inspired by a copper engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever (1502-1555/1561) dating from 1540 (Wex 1996:22-24, cat. no. 13). Another reformer, Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), is portrayed on a ceramic relief (Figure 11) (Ring 2004). This relief, together with another depicting the elector John Frederick of Saxony and a portrait of Martin Luther, now lost, can be identified as the work of the Lüneburg artist Albert von Soest. An accomplished carver, he was best known for the wood reliefs he created for the great hall of the Lüneburg City Hall in the 1570s and 1580s, which measured approximately 49 × 35 cm. These were impressed in clay, which was then fired in the potter's workshop. Using these fired clay molds Albert von Soest produced a series of papier mâché reliefs. It remains uncertain whether the known ceramic reliefs had also been part of a series.

Portraits of Luther on stove-tiles were very widespread. In the region of the Baltic Sea, examples are known from areas including Latvia (Figure 12), Estonia, Finland, and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and further south from Lower Saxony and Hesse (Kollmann 2004:159; Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:pl. 173,1; Ose 2007:124; Hoffmann 2009:313-314). Stove-tiles bearing the portrait of the bohemian reformer Jan Hus (1369-1415) had a similar distribution area, but have been found in smaller numbers than the Luther tiles (Bencard and Kristiansen 2006:46-47; Hoffmann 2008:206). A stove-tile from Lüneburg shows the portrait of Johannes Hus in profile (Figure 13), which was widely known from medals minted around 1530 (Kat. Berlin 1983:380, F 17.1).

Another Lüneburg potter's workshop on Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Platz 2 yielded a pottery fragment of red, green-glazed earthenware with a male portrait in bas-relief (Figure 14) (Ring 2007b). This relief was

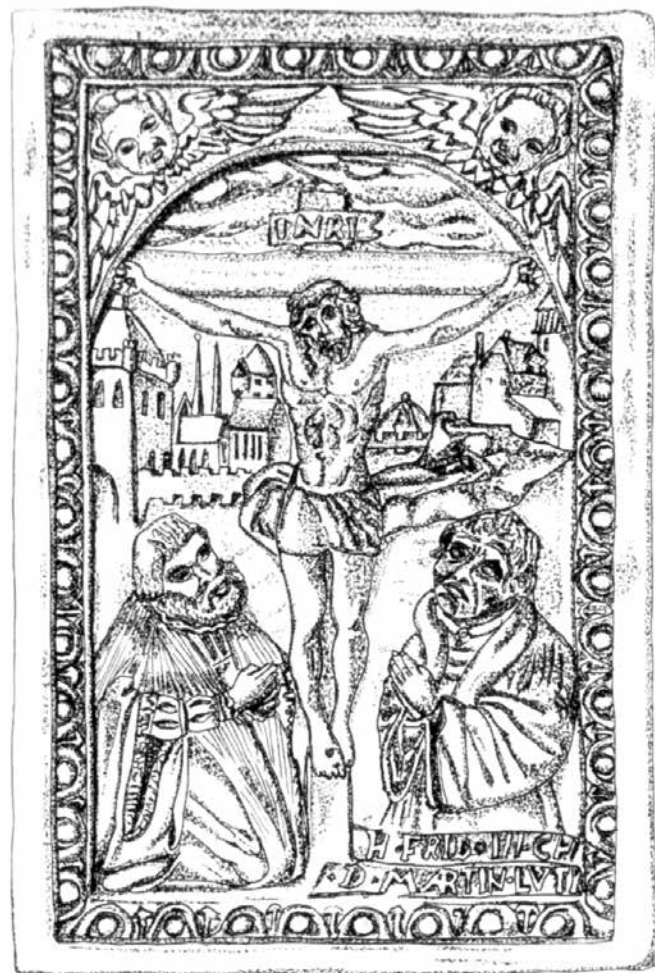


Figure 9. "Elector Frederick the Wise and Martin Luther Kneeling under Christ's Cross," stove-tile (Menoušková 2008:81, no. 237).

undoubtedly created with the aid of a mold. The distinct forehead and hair line allow us to positively identify the person as Philipp Melanchthon. It is a portrait *en face*. No print has yet been identified that could have inspired the depiction. While the ceramic fragment was made in a mold like a stove-tile, the size of the portrait itself suggests that it was not a fragment of a stove-tile. It was more likely a private memorial portrait that, produced in series, expressed reverence toward the scholar who had played an important part in the religious life of the town of Lüneburg, particularly in the years following the beginning of the Reformation in 1530.



Figure 10. (left) "Martin Luther," tile mold, red earthenware (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Stadtarchäologie).

Figure 11. (middle) "Philipp Melanchthon," ceramic relief, red earthenware (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Museum Lüneburg).

Figure 12. (right) "Martin Luther," stove-tile (Ose 2007:figure 3).

LAW AND GRACE

The central motif of the Reformation, original sin and salvation, or "law and grace," could only be depicted on narrow tile faces in a compressed form. Christ on the Cross is at the center of the image. Moses with the Tablets of the Law, the devil, and death are shown beneath the cross on the right, while John the Baptist can be seen on the left with a naked man kneeling in front of him (Franz 1981:color plate 4; Peine

2001:47; Kristiansen 2002:273; Ring 2007a:241-242). Another version also shows Christ on the Cross at the center, with the Sacrifice of Isaac on the left and the Brazen Serpent on the Cross on the right (Figure 15) (Stephan 1992:79; Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2006:165). Although Martin Luther considered the "law and grace" motif to be very important, relatively few stove-tiles decorated with this motif have been found to date.

THE TILED STOVE—A MEDIUM OF CONFESSIONALIZATION

The tiled stoves in burghers' houses were installed in rooms that were used for purposes of representation or business. Here, the stove served not just as a heater, but also as a medium to express one's world-views and religious beliefs (Ring 1996a:72). Tiled stoves bearing the motifs described above are often given the name "Reformation stove," a prime example of which was the tiled stove from Grafenegg Castle near Krems in Austria. It had originally stood in the town hall of Weißenkirchen on the Danube and was destroyed in 1945 (Strauss 1966; Hellenkamp-Lumpe 2007:324-325). Its imagery was composed of biblical scenes without inscriptions or with catechism quotes, portrait tiles of Saxon electors, polemic motifs, and references to the "law and grace" subject.

Stove-tiles with Reformation imagery have been found in large numbers in archaeological investigations and are known from vast areas of northern and central Europe, and from the Baltic to Transylvania (Stephan 2008:73).



Figure 13. (left) "Johannes Hus," stove-tile, green glazed earthenware (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Museum Lüneburg).



Figure 14. (right) "Philipp Melanchthon," ceramic relief, green glazed earthenware (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Stadtarchäologie).

They played a central role in Protestant households as a medium of confessionalization. Archaeological assemblages that allow us to reconstruct a Reformation stove, however, are more rarely found. While the study of the Lüneburg potter's workshop at "Auf der Altstadt 29" revealed that the components for Reformation stoves had been produced on site, we have not yet been able to reconstruct such a stove from any particular household in the town.

The finds recovered from a burnt layer with stove-tiles in the Danish town of Ribe have allowed researchers there to reconstruct five tiled stoves (Bencard and Kristiansen 2006). Only two of them could actually be identified as Reformation stoves, however. Stove 3 had polychrome tiles bearing the motifs of *patientia*, "Joseph's dream" and "Joseph cast into the well" from the story of Joseph, Geometria, Atalanta, and a portrait of the reformer Jan Hus (Bencard and Kristiansen 2006:45-50). Another tiled stove showed scenes from the Passion of Christ as well as a number of parables, for example the subject of "the sheepfold of Christ," which is also known from a Siegburg jug. The stove also had one tile bearing the inscription "ANNO Lii," or "1552" (Bencard and Kristiansen 2006:50-62). The burnt layer can probably be associated with a conflagration that raged through the town in 1580. The reconstructed Reformation stoves stood in the house of a wealthy citizen, a merchant called Niels Thamsen.

Another Reformation stove can probably be reconstructed from tiles found in Lynge on the Island of Zealand in Denmark (Kristiansen 2002:270-273). While only three tiles have survived, two of them fit into this context, depicting "law and grace" based on the famous Cranach depiction and a portrait of Sibylle von



Figure 15. "Law and Grace," stove-tile, green glazed yellow earthenware (Stephan 1992:79, figure 111).

Jülich-Kleve-Berg (1512-1554), the wife of the elector John Frederick I of Saxony, who is seen as the leader of the Schmalkaldic League.

WALL FOUNTAINS AND TABLEWARE

Similar to stove-tiles, glazed wall fountains were also adorned with decorations inspired by printed motifs. These box-shaped ceramic water containers were permanently built into wardrobes or alcoves. The central theme on a wall fountain from Görlitz is the "law and grace" motif with Christ on the Cross (Figure 16) (König 2008:103-104). The sacrifice of Isaac is shown on the left, the Brazen Serpent on the Cross can be seen on the right. A wall fountain from Luther's house in Wittenberg shows a crucifixion motif with John the Baptist and a naked person. This scene is reminiscent of

the "law and grace" painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder, reduced here to the concept of "grace" (König 2008:101).

Besides the high-class tableware produced in Siegburg in the Rhineland mentioned at the outset, another type of tableware was manufactured in the Saxon town of Waldenburg. Stoneware production in Waldenburg was probably initiated by potters that had migrated there from the Rhineland. So-called beehive steins made of Waldenburg stoneware with applied relief decorations were excavated in Merseburg (Figure 17) and in Göttingen (Jarecki 2004). The central motif shows the



Figure 16. "Law and Grace," wall fountain, green and yellow glazed earthenware (König 2008:figure 5).

fall of Adam and Eve, flanked by two *en face* full figure images, undoubtedly depicting Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon.

Glass tableware with Reformational imagery is extremely rare. A goblet excavated in Lüneburg had been made in southern Germany or Bohemia in the second half of the 16th century (Figure 18) (Steppuhn 2003). It bears a motif from John 3:14-16, a passage from the bible that was important to the Lutheran creed, which spoke about the comparison between the Crucified Christ and the Brazen Serpent (which appears in the Book of Numbers 21:4-9). The serpent suspended from the cross as a means of survival on earth (as described in the Old Testament) is given a Christian meaning by referring to the mercy of eternal life that lies in the belief in the crucifixion of Christ. The translucence of the glass brings the two motifs closer together. The translucence of the glass brings the two motifs closer together. A footed beaker found in Paderborn also bears the same two motifs (Kruse 2002; Gai 2006:60-61). A so-called *stangenglas* (a tall, narrow, cylindrical drinking vessel,

or "pole glass") from the Catholic Herford Abbey bears only a depiction of the Brazen Serpent. The glass, which was found in a cesspit, was probably used by the abbess of the aristocratic Imperial Abbey of Herford, which was very loyal to the Pope (Grewe and Wemhoff 1995; Gai 2006:60).

The example of the Brazen Serpent and the Crucified Christ shows the problems associated with identifying the creed behind Christian motifs on archaeological finds. In the case of Lüneburg, the combination of the Brazen Serpent and Christ on the Cross after the widespread acceptance of the Reformation in 1530 became a sign of commitment to the new creed in Luther's sense. The depiction was quite well known in Lüneburg, as is shown by a 1656 inventory of the Töbings, a Lüneburg patrician family, which lists an "emblem of the old and new testaments painted on wood by Lucas Kranach, but very old and brittle" (Ring 2007a:242). Owning a glass bearing such motifs in Paderborn would have been a more powerful expression of one's convictions during the process of confessionalization because, although the town was predominantly Protestant from 1525 onwards, Catholic resistance continuously flared up and a Counter-Reformation took place from 1580 onwards, which ultimately ended in the town losing its independence to the Catholic prince-bishop. In the Catholic Abbey of Herford, on the other hand, the depiction of the Brazen Serpent must be viewed as a symbol of salvation and as a typological precursor to the Christ on the Cross motif.

Reformational images on vessels among the body of archaeological finds are still quite rare. They were predominantly high-quality objects that were not used in everyday life. The research on the production of ceramic vessels with explicitly Reformational imagery by Saxon potters' workshops is still in the early stages (Jarecki 2004). The central focal point of the process of confessionalization was the tiled stove, which in the Middle Ages was being used from the Netherlands to the State of the Teutonic Order and from the Duchy of Burgundy to Hungary and became a prestigious object of representation in the 16th century (Baeriswyl 2006:514-522). The Reformation stove with image tiles depicting Protestant polemics attacking the Catholic church, portraits of Reformers and Protestant princes, and the "law and grace" motif began to replace medieval devotional images and became an object of instruction (Ring 1998). It was an expression of a private religious practice, while at the same time attesting to the confessionalization of

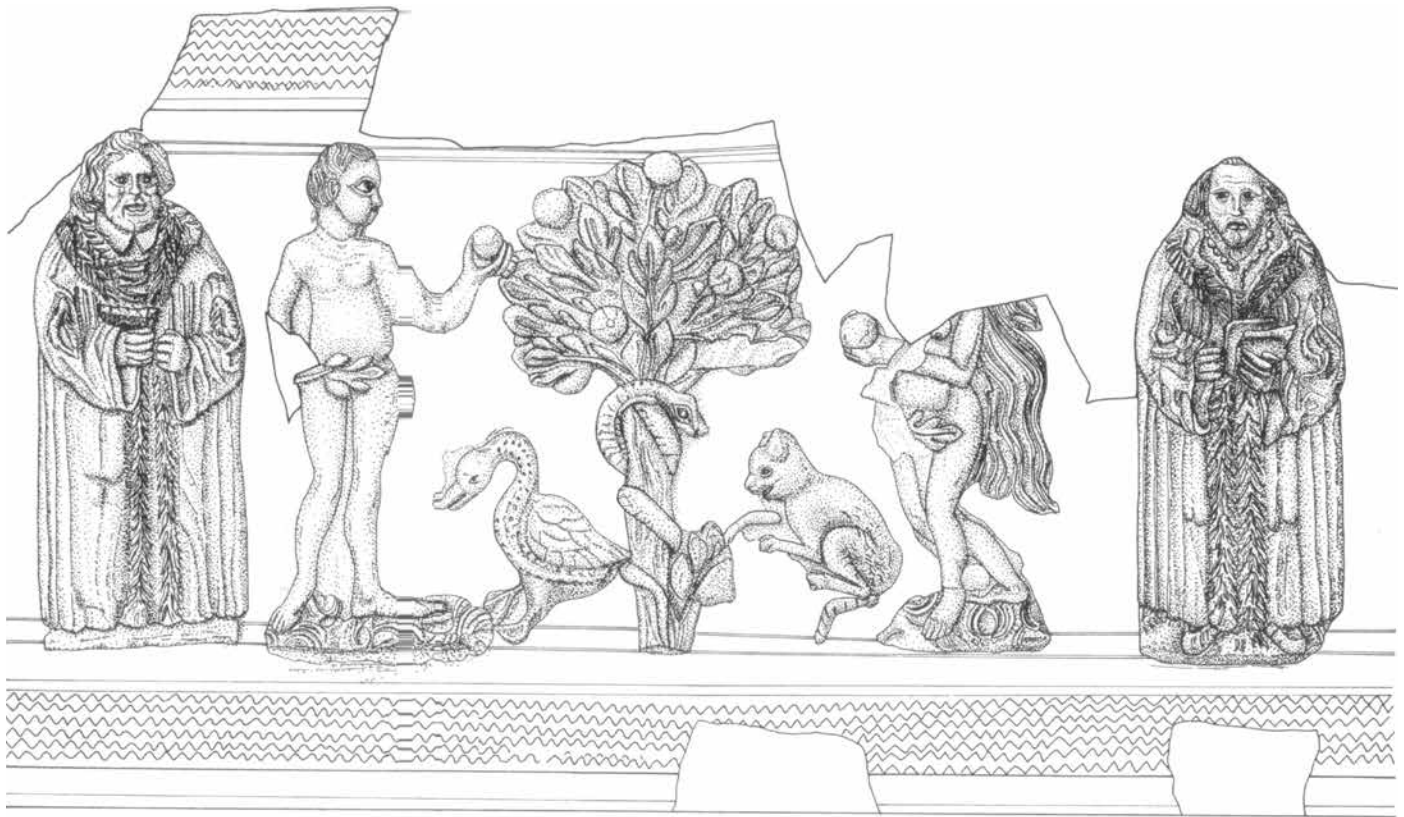


Figure 17. "Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchton and the Fall of Man," stoneware, Waldenburg (Jarecki 2004:figure 2).

the bourgeoisie. The demand for tiled stoves in bourgeois households was met by potters who specialized in the production of stove-tiles with the appropriate imagery as is exemplified by the finds recovered from a potter's workshop in Lüneburg (Ring 1996a). By extension, a potter's workshop in Flensburg may also be

mentioned, which worked closely with the Flensburg bell founder Michel Dibler, who cast baptismal fonts for St. Nicholas' Church in Eckernförde in 1588 and for St. Mary's Church in Flensburg in 1591, both of which bear all-round relief depictions with scenes from the Passion of Christ (Kristiansen 2007; Ring 2007c:169).

THE PROCESS OF CONFESSIONALIZATION

The final question is whether archaeological finds can actually outline the spread of the Reformation in a differentiated chronological sequence of events (Scholkmann 2007:7). Under critical scrutiny it becomes evident that the imagery on archaeological finds does not reveal a chronological sequence of the Reformation in one particular place or region, due to a lack of precision in the dating of the objects. The prints that inspired the objects bearing biblical and religious motifs were largely created prior to the mid 16th century, while those that inspired the portraits date from the second half of the 16th century and from around 1600. This, however, only provides a *terminus post quem*.

May we in fact assume that Protestant households also had memorial portraits and images of better understanding, as Martin Luther mentioned? In order

to identify such images and trace the process of the Reformation from the very first proclamation of the new doctrine to its visualization in churches, public houses, and particularly in private rooms, we must be able to study household inventories and catalogs of estates listing mainly furniture and movables, furnishings kept in museums, and archaeological finds. This can be demonstrated with some examples from Lüneburg. The information, however, only refers to the patrician social stratum. The inventory of the estate of the Patrician Margarete Grönhagen, compiled after her death in 1544, lists tiled stoves for both the study and the parlor (Terlau-Friemann 1991:86-89) with imagery that can be reconstructed thanks to the archaeological finds recovered on site. Another inventory, however, dating from 1656, provides yet further information about the furnishings of the parlor (Kühlborn 1999). This list

mentions several paintings, including “a small round picture of the elector of Saxony.” Perhaps this was also the original location of the “emblem of the old and new testaments” by Lucas Cranach? The inventories also list papier mâché pictures. We may assume that these were paper reliefs from the workshop of Albert von Soest, perhaps with portraits of reformers (Ring 1996b). The parlor was not, however, the actual living room of the family, but a room for the purpose of prestige where the head of the family could withdraw to tend to his business affairs (Terlau-Friemann 1991:88-89). The actual private room of the family was located on the ground floor of the wing behind the main building, which was heated by a fireplace. A small marriage casket dating from around 1565 that belonged to Johann Borcholt,

Professor of Law in Rostock and Helmstedt, and his wife Anna von Dassel, may have been kept in such a room (Figure 19). The lid bears prints showing the Crucifixion of Christ, the Brazen Serpent, Abraham’s Sacrifice, and portraits of Luther and of the elector John Frederick of Saxony (Michael 1991:65 E 13.1).

The introduction of Protestant themes in private homes was a gradual process, often linked to a marriage or the construction of a house, which were occasions for acquiring chests or wall hangings, or having tiled stoves constructed.

Protestant images entered the private spheres of patrician households at an early stage in northern Europe,



Figure 18. “Law and Grace,” goblet with enamel ornamental painting (Steppuhn 2003).



Figure 19. Box depicting "Johann Friedrich I, Law and Grace, Martin Luther," wood, leather, and paper (Courtesy of Hansestadt Lüneburg, Museum Lüneburg).

from around 1550 to 1580. The signs of a confession-
alization in items of everyday use, which are mainly
studied by archaeologists, would surely have developed

in parallel. This process can be traced particularly
well in stove-tiles and in high-quality drinking vessels
and tableware.

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