



VISA IMMONEN

Golden Moments

Artefacts of Precious Metals
as Products of Luxury Consumption
in Finland c. 1200–1600

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CONTENTS

1 Setting the Stage	9
Gold and silver work from the perspective of biography, materiality and consumption	10
Chronological frames of the study and outlines for the main social developments	11
The Diocese of Turku as the spatial framework	14
The artefact material of the study	14
Written sources	16
Visual sources	19
2 History of Previous Research	20
Finland	20
Scandinavia	24
The Baltic countries, Germany and the United Kingdom	25
Analysis of previous research	26
3 Theories on Artefacts of Luxury Consumption	32
An alternative view of silver and gold through the concept of value	32
The cultural biography of artefacts	34
Artefacts as products of medieval and Early Modern luxury consumption	36
4 Methodology: The Spatial and Temporal Coordinates of Luxury Consumption	39
Principles of collecting and documenting the artefact material	39
Objects omitted from the final analysis	40
The fetish of provenance?	43
Formation processes related to particular provenances and find contexts	45
Churches	45
Castles, manors and rural sites	48
Towns	50
Hoards	50
Dating the material	52
Towards a social history of artefacts and luxury consumption	54
RAW MATERIALS AND PRODUCTION	56
5 Sources of Precious Metals and Circulation of Coinage	56
Element properties and acquisition of gold and silver	56
The origins and availability of raw materials in medieval and Early Modern Europe	58
The acquisition of silver in the medieval and Early Modern Nordic countries	60
Coinage in medieval and Early Modern Finland	62
6 Goldsmiths in the Archaeological Material	65
Goldsmithing as a form of craftsmanship	65
First archaeological indications of goldsmithing	68
Goldsmiths' workshops and archaeological finds of goldsmithing in towns	70
Traces of goldsmithing in Turku	73
Traces of finer metalworking in other towns	78
Stone moulds found in rural settings	79
7 Goldsmiths, their Social Status and Customer Relations According to Written Sources	84
Goldsmiths in the Finnish towns	84
The organization of the goldsmiths' craft	88
State control over goldsmithing	90
Control of the silver content of products	91
Interaction between goldsmiths and customers on the basis of written sources	92

8 Production Techniques Used in Medieval and Early Modern Goldsmithing	97
Treatises on goldsmithing	97
Model-books and single-leaf prints as visual sources	99
Miniaturization as a visual technique	101
Casting and production of small artefacts such as finger rings	107
Chasing and the production of communion vessels	110
Filigree, granulation and the drawing of wire	112
Soldering, gilding and niello	113
Enamelling	115
Chiselling, punching, engraving and other techniques	116
Conclusions regarding goldsmiths and the organization of their work in medieval and Early Modern Finland	118
ANALYSIS OF THE ARTEFACT MATERIAL	119
9 In Church	119
Outlines of the late medieval liturgy and its equipment	119
Funerary chalices and patens	124
Chalices and patens of precious metals	129
The earliest Finnish communion vessels of precious metals	130
Stylistic change from the High to Late Gothic and two chalices of Turku Cathedral	132
Communion vessels of Ulvila Church and St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku	134
The chalice and paten of Kemi Church	135
Communion sets of the Franciscan Convent in Rauma and the church of Tammela	136
Communion vessels of the Birgittine Nunnery Church in Naantali and the churches of Iniö and Nauvo	137
The Ejby set and other late-15th-century communion vessels	140
Early-16th-century communion vessels of the churches of Kalajoki, Rusko and Vehkalahti	145
The communion vessels of Hauho and Viipuri Churches	148
The last communion set before the Reformation - the chalice and paten of Pernaja	151
The Reformation and communion sets from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries	152
Written evidence and conclusions regarding communion vessels	154
Ciboria, pyxes and oblate caskets	157
Design and types of ciboria	158
Ciboria with flat-bottomed containers	159
Ciboria with spherical containers	160
Ciboria in written sources before and during the Reformation	161
Iconography associated with ciboria	162
The oblate casket of Hauho Church	163
Monstrances and ostensoria	163
Censers	166
Crosses	171
The Limoges cross of Rusko Church	172
Processional crosses	173
Altar crosses	174
Crosses and medieval processions	175
Rock crystals of the Lempäälä cross	178
Reliquary crosses	179
Cross pendants	180
The Late Iron Age crucifix of Halikko	181
Late medieval cross pendants	183
Crosses in written sources	185
Reliquaries	186
'Images', crowns and wreaths	189
Ears of corn	191
Fish	194
Bishop's insignia and the liturgical garment	197
Other objects of non-ferrous metals of the liturgy and altar	199
10 At the Table	205
Dining as a social ceremony	205
Drinking horns	207
Secular vessels of precious metals	212
Beakers	212
Tankards	215
Secular vessels of precious metals in the written sources	216

Spoons	220
Spoon found in the Lammaistenkoski Rapids	220
The chronological and geographical distribution of the medieval and Early Modern spoons	222
Classification of spoons based on stylistic epochs	222
Spoons with lily knobs and ball knobs	224
Spoons with lily crown knobs	226
Spoons with cherub knobs	230
Spoons and changing mealtime customs	231
Spoons in liturgy and church inventories	233
Spoons in the secular context on the basis of written sources	236
Knives	238
Conclusions on secular vessels and cutlery of precious metals	240
11 Dressing up and Making a Mark	242
Dress accessories and heraldic devices as luxury technologies of the body	242
Belts	244
Chains, necklaces, bracelets and cords	248
Mounts	252
Ring brooches	255
The classification and dating of ring brooches	255
The earliest ring brooches	255
Ring brooches with flat frames	258
Brooches in written sources	264
The use and users of ring brooches	265
Buttons, fastening hooks and dress needles	267
Scent lockets and buttons	271
Finger rings	273
Finger rings before the early medieval period	273
Early and high medieval finger rings	274
Vernicle finger rings	277
Iconographic rings	281
Iconographic finger rings with depictions of Christ and other holy persons	282
Iconographic finger rings with depictions of animals	286
Iconographic finger rings with depictions of hearts, flowers and other motifs	287
Decorative finger rings with stones in the 16th century	288
Finger rings with knot and fides motifs	289
Late-16th-century hoop finger rings	290
Signet finger rings	291
Finger rings of the Sarvas type	294
Finger rings in written sources	297
The magic of finger rings	299
Pendants with heraldic devices, and seal matrices	300
Conclusions on dress accessories and identity markers	304
PRECIOUS MOMENTS	308
12 Medieval and Early Modern Artefacts of Precious Metals as Products of Luxury Consumption	308
From declarations of rarity to the social processes affecting the survival of the material	308
The survival of ecclesiastical and secular silver in modern times	309
The chronological and social distribution of products of precious metals	312
Phase 1: Emerging church organization	312
Phase 2: Urban spaces as new arenas of luxury consumption and established ecclesiastical needs	313
Phase 3: The century of the Reformation and the consumption of courtly culture and farmers	316
Metal and use values of silver and gold artefacts	318
Objects of silver and gold in the pre- and Early Modern register of luxury consumption	320
Restriction of luxury consumption to the elite	321
The complexity of acquiring luxuries	322
The semiotic virtuosity of luxuries	322
Special knowledge required in the consumption of luxuries	323
Relation between luxuries and the consuming body, the individual and personality	324
Biography and materialization as focuses of research	327
Acknowledgements	329

1 Setting the Stage

The top brass plate of the early-15th-century sarcophagus of St. Henry in Nousiainen Church depicts the saint trampling his killer, Lalli, and holding episcopal regalia (Fig. 1).¹ St. Henry wears a mitre and a *pluviale* or liturgical cope, and holds an episcopal crosier in his left hand. The saint has raised his gloved right hand in blessing, and on the middle finger one can see his *anulus* or episcopal ring with its pointed-cut diamond stone. Another ring worn by St. Henry is present in one of the side panels of the sarcophagus. It represents a scene where St. Henry's finger, cut off by Lalli, is found on an ice float by two persons in a boat. Although the finger ring in the scene with its round stone cut *en cabochon* is not the same as the one on the top plate, it still is a sign of status and importance, proving the finger to be that of St. Henry. A ring denotes distinction and nobility, and it could be considered a mark of high birth.² In later Finnish folklore, it was even claimed that all later Finnish bishops were consecrated with St. Henry's golden ring.³

St. Henry's episcopal ring was a symbol of both the bishop's fidelity to the church and his commitment to the congregation. It also signalled the distinction between churchmen and the laity as well as between the bishop and other men of the church. The idea of artefacts as symbols and devices of both connection and difference is also a guiding principle of the present study on Finnish medieval and Early Modern artefacts of precious metals. Although it presents a catalogue of surviving artefacts and discusses their techniques of production, appearance, and survival, it above all tries to approach gold and silver artefacts as a window on the consumption of luxuries in the medieval and Early Modern culture of Finland, and place the objects in their contexts of use, discard and cultural significance. The Eucharist, feasts, marriage and burial were crucial events of life where gold and silver objects, luxuries *par excellence*, played a central symbolical role. Defined on these grounds, the main research question is first what kinds of artefacts of gold and silver were made for which purposes, and secondly, what were the effects of objects of precious metals as luxuries in their contemporary culture. The study focuses on artefacts of gold and silver, not on their raw metals as such, but rather on what role precious materials gave them as artefacts, and *vice versa*, what objects of precious metals contributed to the category of luxuries. This very broadly sketched main question can be divided into smaller and more approachable questions.

The issue of use naturally points to the makers and users of the artefacts, and thus to the problems of who made the objects found in Finland, how they were distributed and who consumed them.

¹ Hirn 1952; Edgren 1996, 40–41; Hiekkänen 2003a, 193.

² Jones 1890, 195.

³ Haavio 1948, 176–182.



Fig. 1. The top brass plate of the early-15th-century sarcophagus of St. Henry in Nousiainen Church depicts the saint trampling his killer, Lalli, and holding episcopal regalia (Nervander 1874, Pl. III).

Especially gold but also to some extent silver are metals of great endurance, which, in addition to their relative rarity, has given them great value during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. As in the case of St. Henry's episcopal ring, it seems natural to assume that finger rings were luxuries, potent signs of status and wealth. The use of gold, silver and various precious stones supports this assumption, and thus it seems valid to ask how artefacts of precious metals were used to present wealth. What did it mean for artefacts to be luxuries for those who used them? Artefacts themselves and their contexts of discovery may allow us to discern the patterns of luxury consumption and to clarify their users as males and females, as ecclesiastics and laypeople, or as priests, burghers, nobility and peasants.

To answer these questions this study offers a synthesis of existing museum collections and recent archaeological material with the aid of basic documentary research methods. The methodological issues of utilizing the very wide and varied range of find contexts will be clarified and the potential of the old museum collections concretized. The work will classify the medieval and Early Modern gold and silver artefacts, which may help museums to organize and document their growing collections. The results are presented in two sections in the publication. The first part is analysis of the material and its contribution to the understanding of luxury consumption, and the second part is a catalogue of all the artefacts with descriptions, measurements and photographs. This twofold solution will hopefully increase the reader's awareness of the content and potential of the Finnish museum collections as well as the importance of historical archaeology for the study of medieval and Early Modern material culture.

Gold and silver work from the perspective of biography, materiality and consumption

Artefacts as material entities make both connections and disconnections between people, places and different contexts of use. The present study refers to the faculty of artefacts for producing sameness and distinction through the concept of 'cultural biography'. Biography commonly denotes the history of the lives, actions and works of individual persons, and, indeed, it has originated in history and art history. Notwithstanding its origins, the concept has travelled from those disciplines to anthropology and archaeology and has changed their approach to material culture.⁴ The concept of biography itself has also changed during its travels, having lost some of its person-centeredness and focusing more on the significance of the materiality of artefacts. As an umbrella concept, it has produced a great variety of anthropological and archaeological studies, which place different emphasis on concepts of consumption and value, or even define their basic approach entirely without these concepts. Especially in archaeology the biographical approach seems to frame objects in terms of their use and effects on the lives of their users. It consists of the material processes whereby an object was produced, distributed, circulated, used and finally deposited.

Besides the biographical approach and its focus on consumption, the concept of materiality has taken a central place in recent theoretical discussion on the archaeological study of material culture.⁵ Materialization refers to processes in which ideologies emerge through material phenomena and actualize themselves in artefacts. How are certain thoughts, ideas, and beliefs present in everyday life in the form of artefacts and concrete objects, or how do material objects form mentalities? The materialization of ideology is acutely present, for instance, in the religious change from pagan to Christian society or in the phenomenon of fashion, where the concretization of social positions, identities or ethnicities has a central role. The question of fashion in the context of silver and gold introduces issues of international influences and the status of trade, for instance Hanseatic trade, in past society.

While aiming at constructing the pattern of luxury consumption during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period as a cultural phenomenon, the current approach, leaning on the idea

⁴ Immonen 2006a, 24. For Mieke Bal's ideas on interdisciplinary travel, see e.g. Bal 2002.

⁵ DeMarrais, Gosden & Renfrew 2004; Meskell 2005.

of biography and materiality, considers it crucial to connect the natural and cultural formation processes into addressing materialization. Various material processes have formed the artefact material studied and analysed by archaeologists. The relationship of artefact groups and their find contexts is highly varied in the studied material. Artefacts may, on the one hand, be stray finds deposited in old museum collections without any information on provenance, and on the other, archaeologically excavated objects from urban cultural layers with rich contextual information.

Understanding archaeological formation processes is an important part of studying the continual process of materialization. Artefact biographies, or the movement of objects through different social contexts and uses, are connected with materialization, especially cultural formation processes, and changes of social structure. Acknowledging the centrality of formation processes even further emphasizes the importance of conservation and natural sciences in approaching past material worlds. The issue of formation processes tackles the difficult question of how to take account of the interpretation of find contexts in the research process and how to treat the problem of representativity.

Although internationally material culture studies and, more specifically, research on medieval and modern artefacts have developed significantly in the 1990s, there are only a few thorough archaeological studies of Finnish historical artefacts,⁶ although many are under preparation at the moment. Many individual artefacts and excavated sites have been published especially in recent decades, but major overviews of various artefact groups are still awaited. Indeed, fragmentation is still the most characteristic feature of material culture studies concerning medieval and Early Modern Finnish material. One way of overcoming this dispersed research situation is to combine written and artefactual evidence from the perspective of material culture studies. The tool for combining these fragmentary sources is the concept of biography. It draws attention to the practices of using luxury items instead of stamping artefacts simply with the label 'luxurious' and thus will help to re-evaluate such dichotomies as international versus local, tradition versus innovation, male versus female and sacred versus profane.

The opposition between tradition and innovation, adopted from prehistoric archaeology, is typically forged in the study of historical artefacts of precious metals into such concluding categories as local versus imported. Without further articulation of the significance of these formal categories on the consumption of luxuries, historical archaeology cannot describe and interpret long-term local and international processes affecting the formation of such categories. In interpreting the historical period and its artefacts, it is vital to emphasize the inner tensions and juxtapositions of society instead of seeing it as a static structure. Material culture was probably more prosperous in the historically documented period than assumed so far, and the remains of material culture allow us to study numerous aspects of past life.

Consumption is one of the most often-used concepts in material culture studies. How are local and international fashions and accents present in the artefacts of luxury? Can the social use of artefacts be discerned from the surviving body of historical artefacts and their distribution, whether in a local setting such as the town of Turku or at the regional level of the Diocese of Turku? Furthermore, is it possible to detect material cultures typical of certain social groups, and how are social positions materialized in the archaeological material?

Chronological frames of the study and outlines for the main social developments

The periodization of silverwork can be based on three factors: technological, stylistic and social. Usually the artefacts themselves are organized into a temporal succession on the grounds of style or technology. The periodization of artefacts of precious metals based on their production technologies is the roughest method, because the basic techniques did not dramatically change

⁶ One of the older exceptions is Pylkkänen 1956a, and some newer archaeological studies are Pihlman 1995; Harjula 2005; Majantie 2007b; Harjula 2008a.

from the Middle Ages to the 18th century. Hence, it is rather a question of which technologies were chosen or rather emphasized at the expense of others at different times. One example of technological change is the technique of granulation, or the process of fusing tiny metal spheres of silver or gold in a decorative pattern to a surface of the same metal. Granulation is a technique used from ancient Mesopotamia onwards. It continued to be applied on Nordic artefacts in the early medieval period as well as the 16th century, although it was most commonly used in early medieval artefacts. Because they are not so much the result of technological innovations and their diffusion but rather stylistic choices, fluctuations in the production techniques of silverwork are, from the point of view of periodization, stylistic matters.

Stylistically the time-period pertaining to the scope of the current study can be defined using five major epochs as anchors: Viking art, the Crusade Period, Romanesque art, Gothic art and the Renaissance. The first is based on archaeological material, and the last three stylistic epochs are common to all the Nordic countries, while the second one, termed the Crusade Period in Finland, is a period difficult to adjust to the Scandinavian chronology of style. It is the last prehistoric period between the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages with no equivalent in Scandinavia. The period has not been attributed with special epoch-defining *style* characteristics in Finnish archaeology.⁷ Hence from the stylistic point of view it seems best to consider it as a transitional period between Viking art and Romanesque art.⁸ The conventional calendar years in the Finnish context for the five style epochs are:

Viking Art, 800–1025

Transition period (Crusade Period), 1025–1150/1200

Romanesque, 1150/1200–1250

Gothic, 1250–1550/1560

Renaissance, 1550/1560–1660

Epochs are useful in the broad categorization and dating of artefacts, but problematic when a fine-grained analysis is required. Usually features of two or even more styles can be detected in a single artefact. Viking art and Romanesque features are often both present in the artefacts of the archaeological period called the Crusade Period, and because of the small number of silver and gold artefacts from this period, distinguishing them solely on stylistic grounds is difficult. Prehistoric artefacts, i.e. from the Viking Age and the Crusade Period, are not included in the present work as a rule. As difficult as it is to draw a line between Viking Art and Romanesque artefacts, the same difficulty is present in categorizing some artefacts as Romanesque or Gothic, or Gothic or Renaissance. Stylistically the Renaissance also poses a problem, since from the Finnish perspective this epoch continues well into the 17th century or even further. This is partly caused by the popularity of the style in so-called peasant or vernacular silverwork, where Renaissance features survived into the 19th century. However, the intention of this work is not to study these quite recent products. Hence the stylistic periodization provides rough outlines for the study but cannot be the only criterion for setting the chronological limits.

The third way to set up the timeframe of this study is to base it on changes in production and consumption, which in turn are directly related to broader social changes. The period to be researched covers major changes and transitions in Finnish material culture.⁹ Firstly, there is the transition to Christian culture and becoming part of the Swedish kingdom during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. The dawn of the Middle Ages in Finland is conventionally linked to two related phenomena: the appearance of written sources and the establishment of Christianity. In Sweden, the beginning of the medieval period is at the same time the end of the Viking Age around 1050 or slightly later. However, in Finland the Viking Age is succeeded by yet another prehistoric

⁷ Sarvas 1971; Edgren (1992) 1998, 253–259.

⁸ Cf. Holmqvist 1963.

⁹ Cf. Cinthio 1984 on the significance and the major characteristics of the Middle Ages from the archaeological perspective.

period, the Crusade Period. Although the first written sources appear during the 12th century, they remain so rare that Christianization has to be deduced from archaeological sources such as changes in burial customs. Based on burials, Christianization had begun in southwest Finland in the 11th century, and the turn of the Crusade Period and historical period is dated, with reference to burials, to around the year 1200, whereas, in Karelia, for instance, the change did not take place until 1300.

The establishment of two supra-regional administrative and communication structures, the Church and the Crown, is considered pivotal in the change of the patterns of trade and consumption in the region, namely Finland, where such large-scale social structures were unparalleled. Politically organized provinces or regions did not emerge during the prehistoric period. On the basis of archaeological evidence, mainly on brooch types, the area of permanently settled Finland can, however, be divided into western and eastern cultural spheres with a border zone between them displaying artefacts of both spheres.¹⁰ Permanent settlement has been deduced from the occurrence of burial grounds. The rest of Finland was also settled and no less utilized, but these areas have left poor archaeological remains of activities taking place. Even in the permanently settled agrarian areas of west and south Finland, social organization seems to have been at a relatively low level compared to southern Scandinavia or the western shores of the Gulf of Bothnia.¹¹

Due to the lack of supra-regional structures in prehistoric Finland, the church and Swedish crown were the first institutions to create the social units and infrastructure that enabled urbanization. In Scandinavia urbanization was interlinked with the strengthening of royal power, kingship, while this was absent in Finland and caused urbanization to be late.¹² The parish system was established in Finland in the early 13th century.¹³ As part of this systematic organization, the bishopric see of Finland was transferred to Koroinen near present-day Turku Cathedral sometime after 1229, and in the late 13th century to its present location in Turku.¹⁴ Also the focal points of the crown's administration, the castles of Turku, Hämeenlinna and Viipuri were founded in approximately the same period.¹⁵ Even the first phases of the bishop's residence, Kuusisto Castle, seem to date from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁶

Another aspect of the new power structures was the foundation of towns and the creation of urban markets. The first of the Finnish medieval towns, Turku, was established at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, according to the current scholarly consensus.¹⁷ After its foundation, Turku remained the most important town throughout the medieval period, being the centre of the diocese and foreign trade. During the medieval period, five more towns in addition to Turku were founded in Finland and three more in the course of the 16th century.

The end of the Middle Ages is marked by the Reformation and the establishment of hereditary kingship in Sweden. Usually the year 1523, when King Gustavus Vasa (1496–1560) was elected as the king of Sweden, has been regarded as the end of the Middle Ages. Also the year 1527 could be said to be the turning point since this marked the official separation of the Church of Sweden from the Catholic Church and the adoption of Protestant doctrines. This ruined the church economically and also affected the consumption of silver and gold products. While these developments in the status of church and crown can be seen as fundamental, changes in larger social structures were much slower. The historian Mika Kallioinen argues that from the social perspective, the Middle Ages did not come to an end until the formation of the nation-state with centralized administration and deepening polarization between social classes or estates began at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁸ The death of King Charles IX in 1611 could be considered a political turning-point. In fact, the period 1560–1611 has been called the Early Vasa Era, which saw after Gustavus Vasa, the reigns of Eric XIV

¹⁰ Taavitsainen 2001.

¹¹ Pihlman 2004.

¹² Taavitsainen 2005.

¹³ Pirinen 1962, 72–74, 88–89, 218–220; Orrman 1994b; Hiekkänen 2004.

¹⁴ Hiekkänen 2002a; 2004.

¹⁵ Kallioinen 2001, 42.

¹⁶ Uotila 1994.

¹⁷ Hiekkänen 2002; 2003b; Pihlman & Majantie 2006.

¹⁸ Kallioinen 2001, 23.

(1560–1568), John III (1568–1592), Sigismund III (1592–1599) and Charles IX (1599–1611).

The founding of a hereditary monarchy was an aspect of the emerging nation-state along with the increasing state control of society. These developments were also reflected in the organization of goldsmiths. There is no written evidence of the existence of craft guilds in Finland during the Middle Ages, but the first craft corporation order on the goldsmiths of the Swedish realm was ratified in 1622. The first reference to a craft corporation functioning in Finland is from Turku and dates from 1629.

Since technological developments cannot be considered as a basis for periodization in the study in hand, the time frame is based on stylistic epochs and changes of the social sphere. The focus is mainly on the material, which stylistically conforms to the Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance styles, but ultimately the chronological limits are based on social and political developments, which affected the patterns of production and consumption. The beginning is in the emergence of the Swedish crown along with the church and the end in the foundation of nation-state and modern class society. Hence the material of the study comprises artefacts of gold and silver made in 1200–1600.

The chronological frame has intentionally been broken at some points. Some artefact groups in the material, such as finger rings and brooches, include a few Crusade Period articles due to the clear continuity displayed by the artefact type from the Late Iron Age to the historical period. Otherwise no grave goods found in the rich Crusade Period burials have been taken into account. In equal measure, some of the youngest communion vessels were produced some years after 1600, but they are incorporated in the study for the same reasons as the earliest material.

The Diocese of Turku as the spatial framework

To say that the study collects its material from the area of medieval and Early Modern Finland would be anachronistic, since Finland as a political unit or even as a geographical entity is a very late phenomenon. There is no evidence of Finland forming a political or a cultural entity during the Iron Age. After the expansion of the Swedish kingdom in the early medieval period, Finland remained an eastern part of the realm until 1809, when it was granted the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Prior to that, Finland as such did not exist as a stable administrative unit. Furthermore, the eastern border of the Swedish realm, even when defined in geographical terms, fluctuated and was recurrently redefined.¹⁹

Another way of establishing the geographical limits of the current study can be based on medieval ecclesiastical administration. One of the dioceses of the Catholic Church in the Swedish realm, the diocese of Turku, and its geographical extent form the basis for the present study, although for a short period, from 1554 to 1578, the eastern province of Sweden was divided into two dioceses of Turku and Viipuri. Thus parishes belonging to Turku Diocese during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period are included in the study, though there can be some exceptions to this guiding rule. Some of the gold and silver artefacts in the material have been gathered from areas which were not counted as parts of the diocese until some later stage. Such artefacts are nevertheless included in order to collect and publish all available material in present-day Finland. Here, the study follows the antiquarian interest of treating and publishing material as thoroughly as possible rather than any strict research question based on the historical and social setting.

The artefact material of the study

The prerequisite of this study is the collection and documentation of all relevant material in its geographical confines. Although the importance of tools and other traces of production, written sources and the scarce available pictorial material are acknowledged, the research has first and foremost focused on objects of precious metals. Having said that, there is one important artefact group that has been left out altogether, namely coins. The reason for excluding them is the fact that

¹⁹ Fewster 1999, 20; Haapala 2007.

coins constitute a very special category of artefacts. Although minted of precious metals, they were not produced by goldsmiths but by another specialized group of professionals, minters. Moreover, the consumption of coins, if such a concept can even be applied to them, differs from other products as their use is to facilitate exchange and act as measures of value. Despite this primary function, one cannot exclude the possibility that coins were also used for other purposes, or that other artefacts would not have had a similar use. In addition to their function, coins constitute the subject matter of a distinct scholarly discipline, numismatics, which will not be used in this study extensively. Another important group of artefacts left out of the study is weapons, some of which were gilt or have inlays of silver.²⁰ Swords, daggers, maces and the like belong to the field of blacksmithing, even when precious metals were used in their ornamentation.

Another group of artefacts that was usually produced by goldsmiths and is included in the present work, consists of seal matrices.²¹ On the other hand, seal impressions as such are not treated here, although they are significant in studying the iconography attached to both public institutions and private persons. Reinhold Hausen compiled a corpus of Finnish medieval seal impressions in *Finlands medeltidssigill* in 1910, and even a portion of the seal impressions postdating 1530 have been published, though less systematically. Usually in these early publications the images are drawn, not photographed, which makes them slightly outdated as sources for current scholarship. The production of a new publication on seals would, however, be a task of its own requiring mastery of medieval and Early Modern diplomatics. Considering the extent of such an undertaking, it has been considered adequate to create a database on seals based on published sources and utilize it merely as comparative material for the present study.

As the reader will discover from the catalogue, some of its artefacts in addition to seal matrices are made of neither gold nor silver. Such objects are included for two reasons. Firstly, their usage is linked with similar artefacts made of precious metals or they are otherwise important for reconstructing the context of the use of gold and silver objects. Hence, funerary chalices and Limoges crosses have found their place in the catalogue in spite of having base metals as their raw material. Also censers of bronze and brass are part of the study, since they are related to the liturgy of the church, and some objects made of base metals might have been even made by goldsmiths. Secondly, these early items of non-precious metals are so rare in number that their inclusion serves the antiquarian aim of publishing the available material as extensively as possible. However, many types of artefacts made in base metals, such as Hanseatic tankards and other profane artefacts, which might have bearing for the understanding of luxury consumption,²² have been left out of the research material.

Whether made of precious metals or other materials, the artefacts of the research material can be roughly grouped into three categories. The first is ecclesiastical silver used in liturgy: communion vessels, ciboria, monstrances, censers, altar and processional crosses and candlesticks. The second group is related to dining and includes beakers and tankards as well as spoons and knives, while the third group comprises dress accessories and personal items such as brooches, finger rings and seal matrices. The total number of artefacts treated in the work and published in the catalogue is 409 (Table 1). This figure does not cover all fragments and small pieces of gold and silver objects in museum collections, but only those that can be identified and thus help construct the main argument. Moreover, it is far from complete with regard to artefacts of base metals.

The starting point for collecting information on available artefact material has been the archive of the Unit for Collections and Research at the National Museum of Finland, because it possesses nation-wide records on medieval and Early Modern artefacts even if they are not deposited in the museum's collections. The artefacts in the study have been documented in the collections of the National Museum, Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland and Åland Islands Museum as well

²⁰ E.g. the bronze mace with figurative motifs found in Finby, Sund in the Åland Islands has remains of gilt on its surface; ÅM 460.

²¹ Oldeberg 1966, 78.

²² Some of these artefacts of base metals are unique and definitely belong to the sphere of luxury items. For instance, the two-forked spout of a bronze flagon (PMSWF 14681:2759; Valonen 1958; Hiekkänen 2003a, 129) and fragments of a bed warmer (PMSWF 14681:1920; Valonen 1958, 23, 26–27) found in excavations in the centre of Turku in 1952–1953 are not attested anywhere else in Finland. Valonen (1958, 109) cautiously suggests that the bed warmer might be from the 16th century, but it seems more likely that the object was made in the 17th century (for a similar piece see e.g. ter Keuile 1986, 285 no. 392).

Table 1. The number of various artefact types analysed in the present work.

	Amount	Detailed amount
Funerary chalices and patens	4	
Communion chalices and patens	48	
Chalices		29
Patens		19
Communion chalices and patens obtained outside Finland after 1600	8	
Chalices		5
Patens		3
Ciboria	8	
Oblate caskets	1	
Monstrances	2	
Censers	14	
Limoges crosses	2	
Altar and processional crosses	2	
Reliquary crosses	1	
Cross pendants	4	
Crosses of precious metals		3
Crosses of base metals		1
Drinking horns	1	
Beakers	8	
Tankards	2	
Spoons	50	
Knives	2	
Belts	4	
Belts of precious metals		2
Belts of base metals		2
Chains	1	
Brooches	79	
Brooches of precious metals		40
Brooches of base metals		39
Buttons	12	
Needle boxes	1	
Scent lockets	2	
Finger rings	79	
Rings of precious metals		68
Rings of base metals		11
Signet rings	9	
Rings of precious metals		5
Rings of base metals		4
Finger rings of the Sarvas type	50	
Rings of precious metals		7
Rings of base metals		43
Seal stamps	12	
Stamps of precious metals		1
Stamps of base metals		11
Heraldic pendants	3	
Pendants of precious metals		1
Pendants of base metals		2
Total	409	

as the Satakunta Museum, Porvoo Museum and the Provincial Museum of West Uusimaa. Some artefacts have also been documented at Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm. Inquiries were furthermore sent to other provincial museums in order to ascertain whether or not their collections contain relevant material. A large portion of the artefacts selected for the study are mainly from the old museum collections formed in the 19th and early 20th century. Also the communion vessels and other liturgical artefacts documented in parish churches and the cathedrals of Turku and Porvoo were described for the first time in antiquarian works of the late 19th century.

Written sources

The existence of written sources is a major factor defining the discipline of historical archaeology, but more important than the technical matter of availability of texts is the embeddedness of practices of writing and keeping records in a specific social context. In addition to the importance of literary culture to the culture as a whole, it is important to understand this social background in order to estimate the value of written documents for analysing gold and silver artefacts. The appearance or adoption of literacy is not a simple formal addition to the previous cultural condition. It is a symptom of wider social changes, which have bearing on conditions and forms of production and consumption.²³

The written sources available on the Finnish past up to the end of the medieval period or even to 1600 are scarce, highly fragmentary and biased. As stated by the historian Eljas Orrman, the reason for the situation is twofold. Firstly, it is caused by the contemporary social conditions of producing literary records and saving them, and secondly, by subsequent

contemporary and later factors affecting the survival of documents.²⁴ The foremost producer of written records in Finland, if the surviving body of documents is considered, was the church, which had adopted written records to serve its administrative and judicial needs. In the Swedish kingdom, the first locally produced written records appeared during the course of the 12th century, but ecclesiastical literary culture did not establish itself until the following century, and the oldest document dealing explicitly with Finland dates from 1347.²⁵ The bishop of Turku had his archives in the Bishop's Castle in Kuusisto, but also Turku Cathedral had an important archive of which the most important single Finnish collection of medieval documents, *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis*, or the Black Book of Turku Cathedral, survives. None of the archives of the two Dominican and three Franciscan convents in Finland has survived, while the archive of the Bridgettine Nunnery in Naantali has. Only fragments of parish records remain.

²³ See e.g. Carelli 2001; Harjula 2008b.

²⁴ Orrman 1994a, 45–50.

²⁵ Paloposki 1972, 42.

Two larger catalogues of books have survived in Finland from the Middle Ages.²⁶ The first is attributed to Bishop Thomas and it is thought to list his acquisitions in Paris in the 13th century. The second is a catalogue of the books that Bishop Hemmingus donated to Turku Cathedral in 1354.²⁷ The rest of the shorter references to books can also be associated with clergy, the Cathedral School or with men who studied in foreign universities. This picture is even strengthened by some of the archaeological finds. Equipment related to writing, such as styli and book mounts and clasps, are known from churches as well as from the Convent of Kõkar,²⁸ Kuusisto Castle²⁹ and Koroinen.³⁰ Moreover, wooden styli and fragments of wax tablets have been found in the town of Turku near the place where the Cathedral School functioned.³¹ Even they can therefore be linked with ecclesiastical literacy.

In addition to the church, the administration of the crown also produced documents. In contrast to the church, its organization was still unestablished with regard to literary culture. There existed no conception of office as surpassing its personal holders, and consequently there were no crown archives as a permanent institution.³² Also local administrative archives were formed fairly late. However, some archaeological evidence of writing still survives from major castles.³³ Furthermore, judicial courts and town administrations had archives, but only fragments of these survive. In fact, none of the Finnish medieval archives has survived fires and other destruction in their original and undisturbed condition.

Although the written sources and archaeological finds underscore the importance of literacy for the church and nobility, this is not the whole picture. In the preamble to the new statutes of the Chapter of Turku Cathedral in 1474, the recording of cases and matters by a sworn clerk of the Chapter is emphasized: 'This has to be done to prevent uncouth laymen and unlearned townsfolk, who carefully record their legal affairs, from appearing to outrank enlightened men of the church, who with due cause should be examples to the layman'.³⁴ The statement implicitly refers to the records of the municipal court kept by the town council of Turku.³⁵ According to Tapio Salminen, the town administration of Turku, namely its scribes, used the same textual practices as any other town in the Baltic Sea area.³⁶ Further evidence of burghers' and even craftsmen's resorting to literary technologies is given by such archaeological finds as a late-15th-century stylus from Mätäjärvi³⁷ or a bone stylus from the Market Square³⁸, although the most impressive items of writing equipment were recovered from the Åbo Akademi site in 1998. The finds included, in addition to a book clasp and several styli and writing tablets, a few handsome writing tablet cases made of leather and adorned with heraldic motifs.³⁹ These finds support the conclusion that writing and reading were not a privilege of the clergy and nobility but were also practised by tradesmen and even craftsmen. However, stating this does not diminish the differences in the function and forms of literary practice among the various social groups or change the makeup of the surviving body of written documents.

The medieval and Early Modern written material now available deals mainly with land ownership or use and includes a number of deeds and demarcations of land boundaries. Even these documents are rarely originals but copies collected from various cartularies, registries and 17th- and 18th-century judgement books. In fact, there are only 66 original and 223 later copies of medieval documents in the National Archives of Finland, while in Sweden, depending on the criteria of counting, the number of surviving original medieval documents is over 20,000, as Toivo J. Paloposki estimates.⁴⁰

²⁶ Lehtinen 1988.

²⁷ Klockars 1960, 44, 54–78.

²⁸ Gustavsson 1992.

²⁹ Taavitsainen 1979, 50.

³⁰ *NM Hist.* 52100:57, 840, 206; Koivunen 2003, 43, 45 fig. 11.

³¹ Pihlman & Majantie 2006, 51–52.

³² Paloposki 1972, 40.

³³ Åqvist 1989, 145.

³⁴ FMU 3568; Pirinen 1996, 21; Harjula 2008b, 12–13.

³⁵ Pirinen 1996, 22; Salminen 2003, 107.

³⁶ Salminen 2003, 111–112.

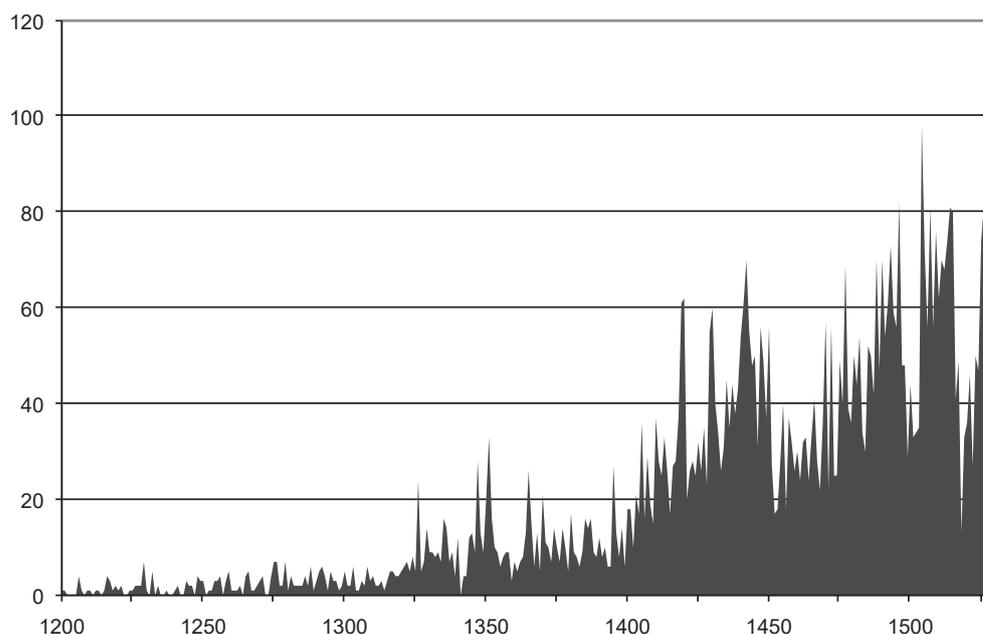
³⁷ PMSWF 17296:7; *Ikäheimo* 1989, 160–161.

³⁸ PMSWF 20315:1340.

³⁹ Harjula 1999, 46; Ahola et al. 2004, 211.

⁴⁰ Paloposki 1972.

Fig. 2. Chronological distribution of written sources available in Finland from the period 1200–1530. The diagram depicts the annual number of individual documents published in Reinhold Hausen's *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*.



The advantage of the poor survival of written sources is their high rate of publication. Reinhold Hausen made a major contribution to this task when he collected all known medieval documents dealing with Finland into *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder* I–VIII (FMU) published in 1910–1935. Its 6,716 entries⁴¹ comprise not only official documents and letters, but also inscriptions, and entries in chronicles and hagiographies covering all various sources up to the year 1530. For this reason the oldest historical events in the FMU are passages from Russian chronicles describing events in the 9th century. Hausen published longer unified documents in the series *Bidrag till Finlands historia* I–V (BFH) in 1881–1917, which includes written documents from the period 1531–1589.⁴² Hausen's publications do not include some late-medieval documents e.g. from the archives of the Tallinn town council or the 122 documents dealing with Turku Diocese from the period 1449–1523 in the archive of the papal penitentiary.⁴³

The chronological bias of the available written sources becomes evident when their temporal distribution is charted (Fig. 2). The decades of the late-medieval period are much better covered in contrast to the rarity of early medieval entries. The temporal bias is even more marked if only the entries which have relevance for the understanding of production and consumption of gold and silver objects are taken into account (Fig. 3). The total number of such records is as low as 162, only 2.4 % of all entries in the FMU. If the hagiography of St. Henry dated to the 1280s to 1290s with its episcopal finger ring is excluded,⁴⁴ the oldest document referring to silverwork is from the year 1285, when King Magnus Ladulås bequeathed silver to a Finnish church for making a chalice and pyx.⁴⁵

In addition to the medieval documents, the current study covers the published 16th-century judgement books and land cadastres.⁴⁶ Since the publication of post-medieval sources has much more gaps than the medieval corpus and includes several accumulative source entities, post-medieval written accounts cannot be treated in the same statistical manner in this study. A seminal accumulative source is constituted by the documents on artefacts confiscated from the church in the 16th century as part of the Reformation. Olle Källström's doctoral dissertation *Medeltida kyrksilfver från Sverige och Finland förlorat genom Gustav Vasas konfiskationer* (1939) presents these documents diocese by diocese and church by church in alphabetical order. Folke Lindberg

⁴¹ The last entry number in the corpus is 6,726, but ten entry numbers were left unused in the publication.

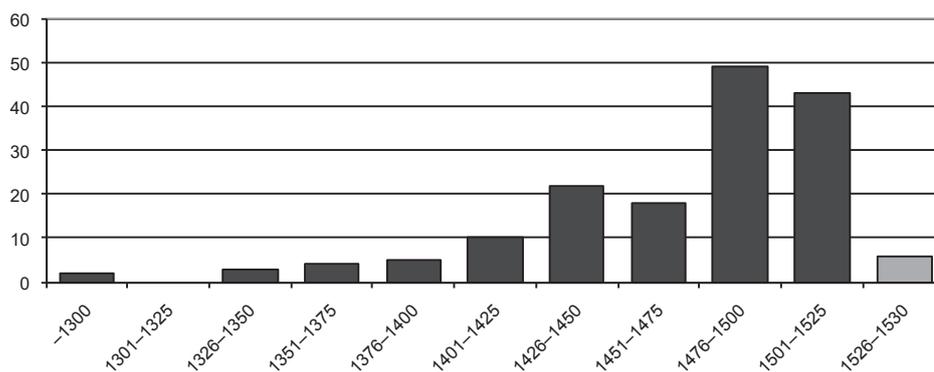
⁴² In the present study, when a document of the BFH is referred to, the volume and document numbers are separated with a colon (e.g. BFH 3:436), but if a certain page in the volume is referred to, their numbers are separated with a comma (e.g. BFH II, 28).

⁴³ Salminen 1998; Salonen 1998.

⁴⁴ FMU 1110; Heikkilä 2005, 235.

⁴⁵ FMU 183.

⁴⁶ AST, EF, IF, ST.



*Fig. 3. Chronological distribution of medieval written sources related to the production and consumption of gold and silver objects in the Diocese of Turku. The diagram depicts the annual number of individual documents published in Reinhold Hausen's *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*.*

has strongly criticized the work by pointing out its defective use of sources and conclusions based on them.⁴⁷ Also a Finnish reviewer has discovered inaccuracies in Källström's study.⁴⁸ Despite these weaknesses, Källström's study remains an important addition to the source material on ecclesiastical silver and gold.⁴⁹

Visual sources

Even smaller than the number of written sources is the number of pictorial sources available on silver and gold artefacts if the figurative motifs appearing on the actual items of silver and gold are not taken into account. Besides the sarcophagus of St. Henry, the visual corpus consists of mural paintings, wooden sculptures, seal impressions and book illustrations, but none of them is very extensive or varied considering the products of goldsmithing. Medieval mural paintings in Finnish churches are of relevance to the study with their depictions of communion vessels, other liturgical implements and even a few profane vessels. Christina Cleve has compiled an iconographical index of the medieval mural paintings in Finland, and it is available for public use at the Archives for Prints and Photographs of the National Board of Antiquities. The index has been consulted in various stages of the research. Also seal impressions depict some artefacts made of silver and gold, but their importance for the study is more related to the motifs used in seals in general and the social structure of their users. The same applies to wooden sculptures, which include depictions of chalices, belts and girdles, ring brooches and crosses, but which have been treated, where possible, as an iconographical corpus to be compared with the motifs appearing on liturgical artefacts of metals.⁵⁰ Wooden sculptures might constitute an important visual source for studying, for example, medieval dress accessories,⁵¹ but in the absence of detailed documentations and publications, this possibility has not been utilized.

Book illustrations as a visual source for the silverwork in Finland differ from the other pictorial material, because they do not have any direct relation to the local situation. Often one sees repeatedly the same Central European medieval and Early Modern woodcuts of goldsmiths at their work when leafing through various books on their products. Some of them will reappear in this study, but again, they cannot be used directly as evidence of what a goldsmith's workshop looked like in the North. Some of the 476 woodcuts in Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* or 'History of the Northern Peoples' (1555) depict items of luxury in use. They even include a scene from a goldsmith's workshop. The illustrations in Olaus Magnus's work are, however, rather problematic for analysing the situation in Nordic countries, since many of them were made in Italy or copied from other visual sources not related to Scandinavia.⁵² Hence even the woodcuts in *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* should be approached with caution.

⁴⁷ Lindberg 1940.

⁴⁸ Krook 1940, 399.

⁴⁹ On using the work as a source see Lahti 2006.

⁵⁰ Despite being somewhat dated, Nordman's 1965 work on medieval wooden sculptures in Finnish churches remains the seminal publication on the subject.

⁵¹ See Hiekkanen 2003a, 100, 103; 2008b.

⁵² Berg 1934; Granlund 1946; Boström 1988.

2 History of Previous Research

Finland

Before shifting the focus from the research questions to methodological matters, it is crucial to summarize the history of research concerning medieval and Early Modern artefacts, since the orientation of this study is largely created in a dialogue with previous research.⁵³ The research history of old Finnish silver is patchy. In spite of the large number of small studies on items of precious metals and their producers, few scholars have produced pioneering and enduring works. The scholars writing about historical silver have been art historians, historians, cultural historians, and even archaeologists and ethnologists. Prior to the 1930s, all publications on the subject were few in number, but relatively speaking, medieval communion vessels seem to have attracted scholars' interest the most. The number of publications has increased decade by decade since the beginning of the 20th century. At the same time, the institutional separation between the study of prehistoric and historical artefacts has become more articulated.

Antiquarians and historians were interested in medieval silverwork from very early on. The medieval gilt silver paten of Naantali Church with its historical inscriptions drew the interest of the early antiquarian Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), who published its image with commentaries in the history of the library of the Academy of Turku, *Historia Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Aboënsis* (1771–1795) (Fig. 4).⁵⁴ Chalices and patens have remained the most important artefact group discussed by scholars. In the 1820s, the chalice of Rusko Church was discussed in newspapers mainly because of the folk-tales associated with the piece. One version of the tale was published in the newspaper *Åbo Underrättelser* on 11 September 1824.⁵⁵ After the first article, the tale was republished in different forms and from various locations, and the Rusko chalice continued to be discussed throughout the 19th century.⁵⁶ However, the first historical study on Finnish silver and gold work which treats more than one artefact was published in 1885 and 1887. The two-part article 'Suomalaisia kalkkeja' (Finnish chalices) written by Eliel Aspelin (1847–1917), adjunct professor of aesthetics and art history, describes and dates five medieval chalices and five patens.⁵⁷ Otherwise many of the first published descriptions of medieval and Early Modern communion vessels appeared in the published parish surveys conducted by the Finnish Antiquarian Society from 1871 to the turn of the century.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, communion vessels continued to be the most interesting items for scholars. Aspelin or Aspelin-Haapkylä, as he was known at the time, discussed the so-called Ejby chalice of Turku Cathedral in 1902. The chalice was looted from Turku Cathedral in 1509 and moved to Denmark, where it was placed in the parish church of Ejby.⁵⁸ Art historian and museum curator Karl K. Meinander (1872–1933) published a description of the Ejby chalice and paten, art historian J. J. Tikkanen (1857–1930) the 13th-century chalice in Porvoo Cathedral, and historian and pastor Adolf Neovius (1858–1913) also discussed Finnish medieval communion vessels.⁵⁹ In 1904, the economic historian Juho H. Vennola (1872–1938) wrote an article on the 16th-century confiscations of the movable property of churches, a study which still remains the only one of its kind in Finland. Medieval archaeologist Juhani Rinne (1872–1950) discussed the medieval drinking horn of the Turku Historical Museum (present-day Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland) in one of his early articles in 1906.⁶⁰ Later Rinne wrote articles on a goldsmith's matrix found near Turku and

⁵³ Here the presentation of research history will be limited to the study of medieval and Early Modern silver. For a broader account of research history, see Immonen 2006a; 2006b.

⁵⁴ Porthan 1783, 159.

⁵⁵ *Communionkalken i Rusko kyrka 1824*; Wallenius 1828; 1830; Aspelin 1887, 205–206. For instance, a Swedish version of the tale was recorded in Hausjärvi and published in Lindström 1881, 155–156. Other early publications are Heikel 1882; Aspelin 1883.

⁵⁶ Wallenius 1828; 1830; Killinen 1878, 54–55.

⁵⁷ For a recent study on Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä as an art collector and art historian, see Selkokari 2008.

⁵⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1902; for earlier Danish descriptions on the chalice, see Kall Rasmussen 1854; *En Alterkalk fra det 15. Aarhundrede* 1899.

⁵⁹ Meinander 1902; Tikkanen 1902; Neovius 1911.

⁶⁰ Rinne 1906.

the Ejby chalice. Moreover, in the monograph on the medieval stages of Turku Cathedral, he also discussed the cathedral's medieval liturgical artefacts.⁶¹

Artefacts made before the early medieval period or the 11th/13th centuries have been left to archaeologists. Usually Finnish archaeologists are profiled according to a period, geographical area, or a particular type of ancient monument. Hence, the few finds of precious metals have been discussed as part of other, broader research subjects and find assemblages, especially in connection with burials and hoards. However, the earliest archaeologists to publish studies concentrating on objects of silver and gold included Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo (1853–1937) and Arne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945).⁶² From the 1920s onwards, also Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972) composed several articles on prehistoric objects of precious metals,⁶³ but during the same decade he began to write studies on medieval material, and eventually turned his attention to art history around the 1930s and 1940s.

While early antiquarians and art historians wrote of communion vessels and other larger artefacts or corpus silver and the interest of archaeologists was focused on prehistoric finds, ethnologists studied smaller artefacts, such as finger rings and brooches. The ethnologist U. T. Sirelius (1872–1929) discussed some of the medieval and Early Modern jewellery in his studies on the history of Finnish folk costumes, *Suomen kansanpukujen historia* (The History of the Finnish folk costumes) (1916), and Finnish folk culture, *Suomen kansanomaista kulttuurua* 1–2 (Finnish vernacular culture) (1919, 1921). Another ethnologist, Ilmari Manninen (1894–1935), published a small article on gold and silver in vernacular magic in 1917.⁶⁴

The number of publications on historical silver increased significantly in the 1930s. Most importantly Tyra Borg (1872–1948) published a key work on Finnish hallmarks and silver products in 1935, *Guld- och silversmeder i Finland: Deras stämplor och arbeten 1373–1873* (Gold- and silversmiths in Finland: Their hallmarks and works 1373–1873). In this work she collected from various archives the bibliographical records and hallmarks of goldsmiths as well as their surviving work from the historical period up to 1873. Its publication inspired Arne Appelgren (1902–1991) to organize the first major museum exhibition on the history of Finnish silver work at the National Museum in 1936–1937. In addition to a brief exhibition catalogue, Appelgren published some articles on the subject. In 1936 he wrote a paper on household metal dishes in medieval and 16th-century Finland mainly basing his arguments on written sources. Another pioneering article was



Fig. 4. Woodcut of the medieval paten of Naantali Church with its historical inscriptions. The engraver of the woodcut is unknown, and it was published in Henrik Gabriel Porthan's (1739–1804) Historia Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Aboënsis (1771–1795).

⁶¹ Rinne 1935; 1945; 1948.

⁶² Appelgren-Kivalo 1904; Tallgren 1914.

⁶³ Nordman 1923a; 1923b; 1934; 1944; 1945.

⁶⁴ Manninen 1917; see also Tallgren 1919.

Eino Leskinen's (1904–1971) study of vernacular stone moulds published in 1939.⁶⁵ In the same year, the Swedish scholar Olle Källström (1900–1983) defended his doctoral dissertation on 16th-century ecclesiastical confiscations.⁶⁶ He had published a study on medieval silver ears of corn in Sweden and Finland some years earlier.⁶⁷

Despite the Second World War, the number of publications on medieval and Early Modern silver did not diminish in the 1940s. In addition to articles, a classic stylistical study on historical silver, Riitta Pylkkänen's (1910–1982) *Vanhaa suomalaista hopeasepäntöitä* (Old Finnish silversmithing) was published in 1947. Pylkkänen worked as a curator at the National Museum of Finland, and although she specialized in the history of clothing, she also published several articles on historical jewellery and other artefacts of precious metals, the last ones appearing in the 1970s. Her dissertation on upper-class clothing during the Early Vasa Era, *Säätyläispuku Suomessa vanhemmalla Vaasa-ajalla 1550–1620* (The costume of the nobility, clergy and burgers in the earlier Vasa period, 1550–1620), included a chapter on jewellery and was published in 1956.

The ethnologist Ilmar Talve (1919–2007) studied medieval votive fishes of silver in a large study published in 1951. It was followed by an article by Carl Brage Liewendahl in 1953.⁶⁸ The ethnologist Kustaa Vilkkuna (1902–1980) wrote of historical drinking horns in Finland, and the ethnologist Niilo Valonen (1913–1983) discussed silver banqueting bowls. The historian Jalmari Jaakkola (1885–1964) as well as C. A. Nordman wrote articles on chalices, but the most important event in the 1950s was the launching of the series *Suomen Kirkot – Finlands Kyrkor* (Churches of Finland) (1959–1998) which published detailed inventories and architectural histories of Finnish churches. Tove Riska (1923–1995) and later Heikki Hyvönen (1943–2000), both from the National Museum, wrote descriptions of metal artefacts in the series.

In a dozen articles published from the 1920s to 1960s, Nordman studied not only single artefacts, but also their makers and places of origin.⁶⁹ His seminal work on Finnish medieval gold and silver artefacts, *Finlands medeltida konsthantverk* (Applied art of medieval Finland), was written in the 1950s, and was published posthumously in 1980. The work discussed all surviving forms of metal products and their producers in medieval Finland. In spite of publishing several articles on medieval silver and gold artefacts, Nordman never compiled them into a monograph as he did with his numerous writings on medieval wooden sculpture which were published in a major work in 1965.

No detailed studies on the history of silver and gold production technologies have been written so far in Finland, but Andreas Oldeberg's *Metallteknik under vikingatid och medeltid* (Metal technique of the Viking Age and the Middle Ages) published in Sweden in 1966 is usually referred to in Finnish studies.⁷⁰ It is often supplemented with Finnish technical guides on goldsmithing.⁷¹ During the same decade, Gunnar Mårtenson (1907–1975) published two books intended for a wide readership, *Samla silver* (Collect silver) (1965), and *Hopeakirja* (A silver book) (1966). He explicitly justified their publication by the new interest in collecting old silver.⁷² After Mårtenson's works, several other works with similar intentions and audience have appeared. The number of books of this kind has increased tremendously especially since the 1990s, and new editions of earlier books are also constantly published.⁷³

In Finnish archaeology, the material culture of the Late Iron Age (c. 9th–13th centuries) has attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Since the 1960s, Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander, Paula Purhonen and Leena Tomanterä among others have written articles focusing on such gold and silver artefacts,⁷⁴ but no major studies have appeared. Moreover, the use of metal analyses and

⁶⁵ Leskinen 1939.

⁶⁶ Källström 1939; a separate article on confiscations in Finland is Källström 1940.

⁶⁷ Källström 1936; 1937; cf. Lindberg 1940; Krook 1940, 399.

⁶⁸ Liewendahl 1953a; 1953b.

⁶⁹ Meinander 1991, 118–122.

⁷⁰ For a Finnish review, see Cleve 1967.

⁷¹ Aschan 1909; Aarne (1942) 1986; Aarne & Viherjuuri 1945; Metsistö 1968; Seppä 1998; Vaissi & Huovinen 2005.

⁷² Mårtenson 1966, 5.

⁷³ Heinonen & Vuoristo (1964) 2001; Nokela (1976) 2001; (1981) 2004b; (1998) 2004a; (2001) 2005; Hagelstam (1991) 2003; (2003) 2004; Vuorela 1995; Hagelstam & Toivonen 2001; Kokki 2005.

⁷⁴ Lehtosalo 1967; 1973; Tomanterä 1973; 1979; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1984; Purhonen 1984; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1985; 1986; Tomanterä 1986; Purhonen 1987; Tomanterä 1989; 1991; Purhonen 1992; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1994; Purhonen 1998; see also Strandberg 1938; Dreijer 1964; Cleve 1967; Rinne 1973; Bäcksbäck 1975; Teinilä-Huittinen 1993; Lehtonen 2002; Ojanlatva 2003; 2004.

other scientific methods has become relatively common since the 1970s. The first analyses were published in 1973, when Anna-Maija Rinne published measures of specific gravity of Late Iron Age silver brooches and Leena Tomanterä on the conservation of the filigreed ornament from Mahittula.⁷⁵ Tomanterä has also written other articles based on scientific analyses of prehistoric silver artefacts.⁷⁶ Analyses are usually done by conservators, whose professional field of research became increasingly distinct from other areas of archaeology during the 20th century.⁷⁷

From the 1970s to 1990s, the study and publication of medieval and Early Modern silver and gold was in the hands of scholars working at the National Museum. Curator Pylkkänen was the central figure in the exhibition *Ars Sacra / Ornamenta Sancta Cathedralis Aboensis* at the Turku Cathedral Museum in 1976–1977, where several medieval chalices and patens were exhibited. In 1980, state archaeologist Nordman's *Finlands medeltida konsthantverk* was published. Another important work of the 1980s is Raimo Fagerström's book *Suomalaista hopeaa* (Finnish silver) (1983). It was the first synthesized and detailed work after Pylkkänen's *Vanhaa suomalaista hopeasepäntöitä* (1947) to present the stylistic development of silver from the medieval to modern periods. Fagerström, an expert on silver at the National Board of Antiquities, has also written several other books, such as *Suomalaisia antiikkikoruja* (Finnish antique jewellery) (1989), and *Hopeaa Suomen kansallismuseon kokoelmassa* (Silver in the collections of the National Museum of Finland) (2000), as well as numerous articles on the subject. In a similar vein, ethnologists Ildikó Lehtinen and Pirkko Sihvo, both working at the National Board of Antiquities, have written several articles on jewellery in ethnographical collections since the late 1970s.⁷⁸

Apart from the above-mentioned publications, no major work on medieval and Early Modern silver appeared in the 1990s or the early years of the 21st century. In fact, it seems the established research profile of the previous decades has become only more emphasized. One of its central characteristics is the large number of small articles focusing on single artefacts or a small group of artefacts. For instance, in the 1990s Pastor Matti Komulainen wrote some articles on the 16th-century chalice of Juva parish⁷⁹ and Heikki Hyvönen discussed the corpus of silver artefacts of different parishes.⁸⁰ Otherwise treatments of old silver fall into two categories. First there are stylistic presentations of all silver periods intended for a wide readership. Secondly, many of the articles written on old silver were in museum exhibition catalogues. The catalogue of the large Nordic exhibition on the life and times of Margaret I of Denmark (1353–1412) has small texts on a variety of artefacts of precious metals.⁸¹ More directly related to Finnish material are recent exhibitions on table settings and manners (*Pöytä koreaksi* [History of the Table Setting], Design Museum in 2005–2006) and silver by the goldsmiths of Turku (*Hohda hopea* [Shine silver], Turku Castle in 2005–2006).

Although not directly related to medieval and Early Modern silver, the dissertation of the historian Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen published in 1994 is valuable for the study of silver and gold artefacts as a whole. She first discusses how the career of a goldsmith progressed from apprentice to journeyman and finally to master craftsman, and secondly, other social and economic conditions affecting the work of goldsmiths. Thirdly, Vainio-Korhonen analyses customers, who 'have been almost entirely ignored in previous research'.⁸² Using archive resources she explores the formation of sales areas and the social structure of potential buyers. Fourthly, Vainio-Korhonen examines the hallmarking of silver artefacts. Her aim is to broaden the stylistic study of artefacts and biographical study of goldsmiths into an examination of the networks of production and consumption.⁸³ According to Vainio-Korhonen, the previous studies on goldsmithing have produced interpretations of its economic and social circumstances on the basis of the surviving corpus of artefacts, whereas

⁷⁵ Rinne 1973; Tomanterä 1973.

⁷⁶ Tomanterä 1986; 1989.

⁷⁷ Tomanterä 1989; Vilpas 2002.

⁷⁸ Lehtinen 1979; 1994; Sihvo 1980; 1987.

⁷⁹ Komulainen 1992; 1999.

⁸⁰ Hyvönen 1994; 1997; 2000.

⁸¹ Grindler-Hansen 1997.

⁸² Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 14. This and all the other translations from Finnish and Swedish to English by the author.

⁸³ Also the British historical silver studies of the 1990s have striven to pose similar research questions (cf. Glanville 1990; Clifford 1995).

the rich written archival evidence has not been utilized to its full extent.⁸⁴

In contrast to the prehistoric period, the archaeological study of medieval and Early Modern material culture is a relatively recent phenomenon. Moreover, the few studies of medieval material culture before the 1990s focused mainly on monumental architecture, such as churches and castles. Archaeological works on smaller artefacts and everyday material culture have been few indeed, though not lacking altogether.⁸⁵ The situation has, however, begun to change from the 1990s onwards with a burst of publishing activity that has resulted in numerous articles and even monographs on medieval and Early Modern objects. In the early 2000s the art historian Tuija Tuhkanen studied representations of donors in medieval communion vessels⁸⁶ and Immonen finger rings.⁸⁷ Similarly, it was only at the turn of the millennium that scientific analyses were performed on historical items of gold and silver, when geologist and gemmologist Leevi Vilpas analysed gem stones in jewellery in the collection of the National Museum, especially in a scent box found in Liuksiala.⁸⁸

Scandinavia

The research history of silver work in the other Nordic countries does not differ greatly in its outlines though the scale is different. Having said that, the most significant difference compared to Finland is the number of large, corpus-like studies published during the 19th and the earlier part of the 20th century. Hans Hildebrand's (1842–1913) monumental work *Sveriges medeltid: Kulturhistorisk skildring 1–3* (The Middle Ages of Sweden: A cultural historical description) (1879–1903) is frequently referred to in later Swedish studies on medieval silver and gold. Even the Finnish scholar Juhani Rinne took Hildebrand's work as the basis for his own interpretations of artefacts.

The most extensive stylistic analyses on Scandinavian silver appeared in the first half of the 20th century. Thor Kielland studied Norwegian medieval goldsmiths' works in *Norsk guldsmedkunst i middelalderen* (Norwegian goldsmithing in the Middle Ages) (1927). In Sweden, Gustaf Upmark (1875–1928) published the first corpus of Swedish goldsmiths, *Guld- och silversmeder i Sverige* (Gold- and silversmiths in Sweden) (1925). It set a model for Borg to follow in her similar work on Finnish hallmarks and goldsmiths.⁸⁹ The 1940s saw the publication of the four-part series *Svenskt silversmide 1520–1850* (Swedish silversmithing, 1520–1850). Its first volume was published in 1941 and written by Carl Hernmarck (1901–1990) of the Nationalmuseum and Olle Källström. Hernmarck was an expert on baroque and later silver, while Källström wrote the part on the earlier periods. The third volume includes an extensive study on silversmithing by Bengt Bengtsson (1910–1981). He also published several works on items of precious metals in the collections of the Kulturen Museum in Lund.⁹⁰ As the title *Svenskt silversmide 1520–1850* indicates, the publication does not cover medieval silver work. The expert in that field was art historian and keeper of Statens Historiska Museum Carl R. af Ugglas (1884–1946), who wrote numerous influential studies on medieval artefacts of precious metals as well as goldsmiths.

After the Second World War, the most important Swedish scholar to write about medieval silver has been professor of art history Aron Andersson (1919–1984), whose major study was on the 14th-century communion vessels: *Silberne Abendmahlsgeseräte in Schweden aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert* (1956). In Denmark, Fritze Lindahl has specialized on the medieval and Renaissance collections of the Nationalmuseet and published several articles on finger rings culminating in *Symboler i guld og sølv: Nationalmuseets fingerringe 1000–1700 årene* (Symbols in gold and silver: The finger rings of the National Museum, 1000–1700) in 2003. Some years earlier Alf Hammervold had completed a work on Norwegian finger rings, *Fingerringe fra middelalderen i Norge* (Finger rings from the Middle Ages in Norway) (1997).

⁸⁴ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 9–11.

⁸⁵ Taavitsainen 2000.

⁸⁶ Tuhkanen 2000; 2005.

⁸⁷ Immonen 2004; 2006.

⁸⁸ Vilpas 2001a; 2001b.

⁸⁹ Nikander 1947, 33.

⁹⁰ Bengtsson & Mynthe 1945; 1962.

The craft organization of goldsmiths has been addressed by some Finnish historians, usually as part of larger studies on the social history of craftsmen. Scholars in Sweden, sketching broad outlines of their social history, have had impact on these studies, especially on the views of the oldest historical phases. Nils Adlerstam published an overview of the economic history of goldsmithing in Sweden, *Guldsmederna i Sverige: Något om guldsmedsbranschens ekonomiska historia fram till industrialismens genombrott* (Goldsmithers in Sweden: On the economic history of the goldsmithing to the industrialization), in 1948, but more relevant for the current view on the social and organizational history of goldsmithing are the studies by Folke Lindberg, C.-J. Gadd and Dag Lindström.⁹¹

Besides ecclesiastical artefacts and objects owned by the upper classes, also other sections of Swedish society have attracted scholarly interest. In 1962, ethnologist Phebe Fjellström published the two-part *Lapskt silver: Studier över en föremålsgrupp och dess ställning inom lapskt kulturliv* (Lappish silver: Studies on an artefact group and its position in the Sámi cultural life). It remains the most thorough study of the role of silver artefacts in the past of the Sámi in Northern Scandinavia as well as Finnish Lappland. Another more recent work relevant for Finland's northern areas is archaeologist Inger Zachrisson's doctoral dissertation on Sámi metal deposits *De samiska metalldepåerna år 1000–1350 i ljuset av fyndet från Mörtrträsket, Lappland* (The Sámi metal deposits A. D. 1000–1350 in the light of the find from Mörtrträsket, Lapland) (1983). Furthermore, ethnologist Sigfrid Svensson (1901–1984) studied and published extensively on silver in peasant culture, and Maj Florin wrote two articles on the role of silver in modern peasant culture in the 1930s.⁹²

The Baltic countries, Germany and the United Kingdom

Owing to intensive contacts with these areas during the medieval and early modern period, the comparative material of the Baltic countries and especially Germany are crucial for dating and understanding the Finnish situation. The material culture of the British Isles, in contrast, is not so pertinent from the same perspective, but the high accessibility of museum collections in the form of publications makes the British and Irish material also relevant for the Finnish case.

In the Baltic countries the research situation differs from the other areas in the Baltic Sea region largely due to the poor survival of medieval and Early Modern silver. Especially devastating were the wars of the 17th century, when silver and gold treasures were plundered from the region. Nevertheless, there are studies of the remaining artefacts. One of the earliest works is Anton Buchholtz's *Goldschmiedearbeiten in Livland, Estland und Kurland* (1892). Adolf Friedenthal published an overview of goldsmiths in Tallinn, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, in 1931.

After Friedenthal's publication, several decades passed until Ella Vende (1901–1987) published her work on Estonian silver of the 16th to 20th centuries in 1967. Later Kaalu Kirme has written on old Estonian silver, especially brooches,⁹³ and more recently, Anu Mänd has studied the silver chamber in the Church of St. Nicholas in Tallinn and the festive culture of the urban elites in Hanseatic towns of the Eastern Baltic during the Middle Ages. In the vein of current international scholarship, it examines the social history of conspicuous consumption.⁹⁴ Her latest book *Kirkute hõbevara* (2008) is a catalogue of liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia.⁹⁵ In addition to the new historical studies, the boom of Estonian archaeology since the 1990s has produced a growing body of articles and other publications on archaeological finds of the historical period that are highly relevant as comparative material for the Finnish situation.

Both the German-speaking and British research traditions have strong profiles and numerous published works, but for research on Finnish medieval and Early Modern material culture, the German scholarship is definitely more significant due to the dominance and impact of Hanseatic

⁹¹ Lindberg (1947) 1989; Gadd 1991; Lindström 1993.

⁹² Florin 1935; 1938.

⁹³ Kirme 1986; 2000; 2002.

⁹⁴ Mänd 2002; 2005; 2006; 2008b.

⁹⁵ Mänd 2008a.

trade on material culture in the Baltic Rim and Finland. German scholars, such as Joseph Braun, have also produced many important works on European silverwork in general. Braun's many books on the development of liturgical implements in Europe remain unparalleled, among them *Das christliche Altargerät* (1932) and *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (1940), overviews of communion vessels and reliquaries. Johann Michael Fritz published important reference publications, *Gestochene Bilder: Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik* (1966) and *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (1982), while the most recent one is the lavishly illustrated *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgerät in Deutschland* (2005).

In addition to the published catalogues of museum collections and exhibitions, archaeological surveys of medieval silver objects are relevant comparative material for the current study. Stefan Krabath's *Die hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Buntmetallfunde nördlich der Alpen* (2001) is the most comprehensive study on its subject. Another vast publication is the presentation of the Fuchsenhof hoard, *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof* (2004).⁹⁶ The Austrian Institut für österreichische Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit has also produced several significant studies in the field of conspicuous consumption.

British scholars have studied medieval and early modern silver extensively and produced many notable studies. Charles C. Oman has written several works on English plate and, for instance, on finger rings, and Joan Evans on jewellery,⁹⁷ while Roland W. Lightbown's *Medieval European Jewellery* published in 1992 is outstanding in its scope. The new contextualizing approach to silver studies is represented by historian Helen Clifford, art historian Philippa Glanville and jewellery historian Diana Scarisbrick.⁹⁸ Archaeologist Geoff Egan has published several works on medieval metal finds, which are also relevant to the present study.⁹⁹

Analysis of previous research

Although the first works written expressly for a wide Finnish readership appeared in the 1960s, collecting antique silver has defined the study of silver and gold artefacts even longer. Several scholars writing on old silver have also been collectors themselves, such as Tyra Borg.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, many silver collections in museums are donations from collectors. Karl Hedman's and Ingwald Sourander's collections in the Museum of Ostrobothnia in Vaasa and Herman Frithiof Antell's and Karl Erik Arvid Bergman's collections in the National Museum are a case in point.¹⁰¹ This historical background did not go unnoticed by the social historian Sven-Erik Åström, who wrote in his review of Mårtenson's book *Samla silver* published in 1969:

Interest in 'collecting silver' has spread in parallel with the process of democratization. A clear consequence of the ideology of equality is the appearance of more potential collectors in the market. There was a time when the value of a silver artefact = metal value + wages of the craftsman. Now the antique value has become the most important factor of value.¹⁰²

Because of the extreme rarity of Finnish medieval and Early Modern objects of precious metals and the subsequent lack of antique trade in them, general presentations of ancient silver very often begin with 17th-century Baroque silver. Hence studies of older silver have focused on museum and parish collections, and larger publications are almost exclusively catalogues of exhibitions. One important consequence of the central role of museum collections is the institutional background

⁹⁶ Prokisch & Kühntreiber 2004.

⁹⁷ Oman 1930; Evans (1953) 1989; Oman 1957; 1974.

⁹⁸ Glanville 1990; Scarisbrick 1993; Clifford 1995.

⁹⁹ Egan 1998; Egan & Pritchard 2002.

¹⁰⁰ Fagerström 2000b; Arell 1988, 81–83.

¹⁰¹ Kälpi 1946; Krooks 1971; Talvio 1993; Salminen 2006.

¹⁰² Åström 1969, 127.

of scholars involved with old silver. Publications are mostly results of work by museum personnel, not academic scholars, which of course does not imply that the authors lack academic education. On the other hand, the institutional background has certainly shaped the ways in which old silver has been approached and the kinds of questions the research has posed.

The social and organizational contexts of silver studies are apparent in the research literature. Major emphasis in these studies has been put on dating the artefacts, identifying their producers and their place of production. Vainio-Korhonen has divided the publications into three groups: style-historical artefact studies, the history of technology, and registers of goldsmiths.¹⁰³ The discourse on historical silver can be characterized by three concepts: art as style history, production as agency, and consumption as use. These three concepts form a triangle, in which each of the three angles is defined by the two others.

The most important of the three concepts is style. It appears repeatedly in texts on historical silver, although no explicit definition or exposition of its use as a methodological device is ever presented. However, its effects can be traced in scholarly texts. In Aspelin's pioneering article on medieval chalices, he describes the structure and decoration of the objects, and attempts to date them according to their inscriptions or style. He writes of the chalice in Masku Church:

*The circular shape present in various parts of its foot proves that it was produced at a time when a Romanesque sense of style still remained. On the other hand, the cut-through decorations of the node and the trefoil shape of bosses as well as the so-called neo-Gothic letters (majuscules), which were common from the mid-14th century to the middle of the next century, point to the Gothic style period. On these grounds the chalice can be judged to have been produced during the so-called transition period around the year 1300.*¹⁰⁴

In principle, the same manner of dating artefacts on the basis of their style is present in recent studies.¹⁰⁵ In this discourse, the concept of style refers to two things. First, it denotes a certain period or epoch with temporal limits and certain features. The objects of the style repeat these features or stylistic characteristics in their form. Secondly, each object has its own style. The unique style of an object is connected with the style of the epoch. Hence, say, a Renaissance beaker is defined by its commonality or similarity with other Renaissance beakers. Style-oriented scholars look for similarities between the unique object and other objects, or between the object and a stylistic ideal or epoch. Seeing an artefact of precious metals as a product of applied art defines it as an aesthetic style object, which can be placed into the continuum of style epochs and subsequently dated.¹⁰⁶

Style is present in an object in three ways. It is discernible in the object's overall form, in its smaller elements, and in the decorations made on the surface. In drinking beakers, 'the Renaissance style is most apparent in engravings.'¹⁰⁷ The styles of an object's general shape, its elements and surface decorations may differ from each other, or more precisely, like the features of the chalice of Masku described by Aspelin, they cannot be identified with only one style period. The unique styles of objects often differ from the ideal or constructed ideal style of an epoch. Because of this disparity, objects are often categorized either as stylistic models or as objects that follow these models more or less accurately. Hence the analysis of style is based not only on observations of similarity but just as importantly on identifying differences and evaluating them.

In addition to time, style also connects objects with their places of production and thus the stylistic comparison of objects may reveal the movement of styles from one place to another. Usually the origin of a style is in an economically and politically influential town or country, from where it

¹⁰³ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 11.

¹⁰⁴ Aspelin 1887, 198.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. the stylistic development of Renaissance beakers in Fagerström 1983, 31.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Mårtensson 1966, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Bäcksbäcka 1989, 10.

spreads to other towns and countries, replacing older styles.¹⁰⁸ In studies of Finnish medieval gold and silver, styles originate in the Hanseatic towns of Northern Germany, and are often mediated by Stockholm.¹⁰⁹ The agreed assumption seems to be that style change was somewhat delayed in Finland compared with more southern areas. Discussing post-medieval styles, Gunnar Mårtenson states that in Finland, ‘old forms and models that were unfashionable in Sweden [remained in use] many years after they had been forgotten in Stockholm and Gothenburg’.¹¹⁰ Comparisons between foreign and Finnish gold and silver products usually end up admitting that Finnish artefacts were worse, since ‘our silversmiths were provincial colleagues in comparison with the best Swedish silversmiths’.¹¹¹

The goldsmith has a pivotal role between a style epoch and an object. He gives the product its shape and decorations. On the basis of research literature, creativity or the lack of it is the force that defines or gives form to the relationship of an artefact with a style epoch. The products of a creative master follow the general style and thus the taste, but in itself this is not enough. His products must also be executed in a manner standing out as personal and aesthetic. The more creative a master is, the easier it is to distinguish his products from those of others. Despite its importance as the link between objects and producers, the concept of creativity has not been discussed comprehensively in previous studies.

Although it is not present in Finnish medieval silver, the phenomenon of 18th- and 19th-century ‘peasant silver’ is revealing. It has been characterized as stylistically degenerate or conservative, a feature which it shares with Sámi silver. Writing about silver spoons of the peasant and Sámi type, Fagerström states that

*Old types of spoons were produced even during the 18th century. These spoons are termed peasant spoons. Northern spoons are called Lapp spoons. This term is due to their production especially in northern towns for the market in Lapland. They are degenerate forms of earlier models.*¹¹²

Despite the name, peasant and Sámi silver was not produced by peasants or the Sámi, but by professional goldsmiths in towns and thus even these artefacts are evaluated according to Western European stylistic norms.¹¹³

From the perspective of style, the most important quality of a craftsman is his ability to create a certain form for an object. His creativity in executing style is his agency. This agency can be identified through the artefacts and their distinctive styles. Identification is also possible with the help of hallmarks.¹¹⁴ In the Swedish realm, the first hallmarks were stamped on silver artefacts in the late 15th century, but hallmarking did not become a regular practice until the latter part of the 18th century.¹¹⁵ Hallmarks make silver and gold artefacts a unique group among ancient artefacts, since it is exceptional that craftsmen’s products can be connected relatively easily with persons known from written sources. In stylistic studies of historical silver, hallmarks function as artistic signatures. They create the bond between artistic agency and its manifestations.¹¹⁶

Craftsmanship understood as creativity and hallmarks as signatures are combined in a particular form in surveys of goldsmiths’ lives. In Borg’s work, all craftsmen are listed chronologically by town. Their lives are reconstructed from official records, and a list of their identified products is given. The more compressed versions of these biographies merely state on one line the name of the goldsmith, the signs of his hallmark and the years in which he worked. Whether long, descriptive

¹⁰⁸ In addition to international flows of styles, more provincial, regionally delimited style centres have also been identified in the production of modern-period silver artefacts (Fredrikson 1990, 59).

¹⁰⁹ Bäcksbäcka 1989, 10.

¹¹⁰ Mårtenson 1966, 93; see also Pylkkänen 1947, 6; Fredriksson 1990, 74.

¹¹¹ Mårtenson 1966, 93.

¹¹² Fagerström 2000a, 31.

¹¹³ Cf. Immonen 2006c.

¹¹⁴ Heinonen & Vuoristo 2001, 238.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the case of Christoffer Bonstorff (master in 1641–1647) (Fagerström 1983, 187–190).

¹¹⁶ Fagerström & Juntikka 1996, 21.

biographies or shorter lists, the primary intention of these repetitive accounts is to give tools to identify hallmarks in antique objects. A by-product of this practice is that the agency of goldsmiths is represented as the same throughout the ages. Similar events and products appear with every goldsmith, the only difference being the years stated.

The craftsmanship of goldsmiths has to some extent and increasingly during the past decades been linked with the techniques of production. There is a clear difference in the technological descriptions of prehistoric and of historical silver artefacts. In historical studies of old silver technology is a cultural historical background or a style-historical feature and thus part of the stylistic description of an artefact. In contrast, the rare technical analyses of Finnish prehistoric artefacts focus on revealing their material content and structure.¹¹⁷

Instead of technology, a more important aspect of the agency of goldsmiths is their professional organization, which has been specifically discussed in several histories of goldsmiths' corporations.¹¹⁸ Goldsmiths have also been discussed in studies on craftsmanship and craft corporations in general,¹¹⁹ but these studies do not treat silver artefacts as such. The history of craft organization from the early modern period to 1869 is the history of craft corporations. The practice of goldsmithing was prohibited in rural areas, and in towns the organization of craftsmanship was based on craft guilds, or corporations. A corporation comprised all craftsmen practising the same craft and its aim was to secure their economic and social interests.¹²⁰

Descriptions of the professional organization of goldsmiths seem to have two forms. Firstly, there is the presentation of practices of hallmarking and quality control, which is motivated by the need to understand hallmarks, the metal content of silver artefacts, and the use of hallmarks to identify the makers of objects. Secondly, there is the need to show the educational function of the craft organization, which secured the continuity of craft skills and thus the continuity of style. 'The forms of decorations and artefacts in fashion at a given time spread partly through itinerant journeymen, partly through artefacts or even model drawings from abroad.'¹²¹ Prior to Russian rule in 1809, the Finnish goldsmith journeymen mostly spent their apprenticeship in Stockholm or other western cities.

Style and agency do not fill the conceptual sphere of silver studies entirely. The third aspect that is needed is the client, who is inserted into the discourse through the concept of use. In the Finnish research literature, the use of artefacts of precious metals falls on them through style-historical categorization. Use explains the appearance of a new artefact type or a change in the forms of artefacts. Consequently, medieval communion vessels find their explanation in the distribution of bread and wine, while the new tea and coffee sets of the 18th century have their explanation in the new stimulants. Use equals customs. For instance, the production of silver vessels for storing and serving sugar is described in terms of sugar coming into widespread use: 'The lowering of the price of sugar turned it from a rare luxury into a stimulant of the people, which is apparent in the development of the forms of these artefacts.'¹²² The way in which customs function is the same as with style. A new custom has its place of origin, from where it spreads into the surrounding area, replacing an older custom.

In the Finnish literature, the identification of the use and consumption of silver is based on conclusions made in previous or foreign research. Often the use is only implicitly present. Aspelin and later Nordman wrote extensively of medieval communion vessels, but neither of them describes, directly at least, how they were actually used in the liturgy.¹²³ When the use of silver artefacts is provided with a larger background of consumption, the reconstruction is based on the lifestyle of courts and the customs of the nobility, which were imitated by the lower classes

¹¹⁷ E.g. Rinne 1973; Tomanterä 1989. Furthermore, tools from prehistoric, medieval as well as ethnographic collections, like clay and stone casting moulds, have also been discussed (e.g. Leskinen 1939; Sarkkinen 2005).

¹¹⁸ Helenius-Lehto 1933; Pylkkänen 1957.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Heino 1985; Lindström 1991.

¹²⁰ Willberg 1989, 5.

¹²¹ Pylkkänen 1947, 6.

¹²² Fredrikson 1989, 168; Fagerström 2000a, 62.

¹²³ Cf. Hiekkänen 2003, 124–136.

‘according to their abilities and means’.¹²⁴ Since the highest social classes have defined the forms of artefacts through their customs, their silver and gold artefacts have also been considered the most important subject to study.¹²⁵

If consumption is conceptualized through customs and ultimately through style, it is seen as the behaviour of customers, who strive to acquire the set of artefacts necessary for their social standing, or artefacts imitating more expensive ones. The social criteria of clientele, and their conservative tastes and stylistic whims have set stylistic demands and restrictions on goldsmiths. Before the design silver of the 20th century, goldsmiths created their collections ‘based on their personal tastes, general fashion, and the wishes of customers’.¹²⁶ Indeed, the conservative tastes of buyers have directly restrained the creativity of goldsmiths.¹²⁷

Artefacts which are in the margins of the style continuum or outside it force scholars to treat their consumption differently. Peasant, Roma, and especially Sámi silver as stylistic exceptions are phenomena calling for a more culturally contextualizing interpretation compared with artefacts fitting more easily into the continuum of style. The relationship between the production and consumption of these artefacts has a different tone as the groups consuming the products were ethnically or socially different from their producers, but the products still had a close connection with their lives and denoted ethnicity.¹²⁸ To ethnologists, the discrepancy between production and consumption has not been a factor that would diminish the cultural significance of silver and gold artefacts:

The fact that silver – indirectly – could reveal periods in the ancient history of southern and northern Sámi is not a self-evident point of departure for historians, economic historians or linguists, for example. For an ethnologist approaching phenomena as culture, the situation is different. The question is how to interpret the meaning of things correctly, to set them into their context and learn to understand that world of ideas which they – in this case the Sámi silver – symbolized.¹²⁹

Erkki Fredrikson, in turn, wrote in 1990:

The production of Finnish goldsmiths has been discussed very little in research literature. Not a single extensive study which would meet scholarly criteria has been done on the subject in our country,¹³⁰

The first sentence deploring the lack of research is quite typical of historical studies on Finnish silver, but the latter sentence commenting on the scholarly quality, or rather the lack of it, is highly exceptional. In the Finnish tradition, scholarly critique of research and its objectives is a new phenomenon. Fredrikson’s study focuses on the silver artefacts produced in the town of Jyväskylä from the 1820s to the 1930s. Another study from the 1990s which takes a critical stance on previous research is Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen’s doctoral dissertation published in 1994. The new approach is evident, for instance, in her treatment of consumption from the point of view of the social background of consumers. One of her central discoveries is the duality of the clientele:

¹²⁴ Heinonen & Vuoristo 2001, 235.

¹²⁵ E.g. Heinonen & Vuoristo 2001, 235; Tillander-Godenhjelm 1989, 20.

¹²⁶ Fageström 2005, 60.

¹²⁷ E.g. Fredrikson 1990, 58–59.

¹²⁸ Itkonen 1948, 532; Nazarenko 1986, 43.

¹²⁹ Fjellström 1995, 36.

¹³⁰ Fredrikson 1990, 11.

[T]he division of buyers of gold and silver artefacts into fashion-conscious, wealth-accumulating gentry and economical, often financially pressed, common people seems clear on the basis of previously examined estate inventories. In the following chapters, the production of goldsmiths is largely studied from the perspective of buyers, and their needs and tastes. The effect of the duality of the clientele on the quality of goldsmiths' production will also be discussed.¹³¹

Vainio-Korhonen's focus is on volumes of production, the structure of the clientele and the use of artefacts, whereas style-historical analysis remains merely a bypath: 'The Gustavian successor of the Rococo beaker, which had still been often of high quality, developed into a peasant artefact made of thin silver plate and decorated with clumsy vegetative ornaments.'¹³² This distinction between the conservative, waning Rococo style and the new Gustavian style is the most important stylistic element in her analysis of the actual artefacts.

The new approach proposed by Fredrikson and Vainio-Korhonen appears to question the validity of the three concepts so important in previous studies: art as style, production as agency, and consumption as use. Especially the conception of production as artist-agency loses its monolithic nature to the social and economic analysis of the conditions affecting production. Also the stark duality between gentry and common people in the consumption pattern of 18th-century silver artefacts is an important change to the conception of consumption as customs displayed in the previous research. Vainio-Korhonen's study is a move towards the sociology of taste and consumption.¹³³

On the other hand, both of the two monographs display characteristics partly contradicting their disengagement from the three basic concepts shared by older silver studies. Despite its critique of previous studies, Fredrikson's work has a very traditional structure, and its treatment of goldsmiths and their products follows the beaten path. Vainio-Korhonen, on the other hand, shifts the emphasis from artefact analyses to the historical treatment of archive material. Although the concepts of agency and use are contextualized and their meaning is altered, the stylistic analysis of the artefacts themselves is bypassed. It can be argued that the shift of focus to social history has not sufficiently destabilized the concept of style or indeed style-historical study as such.

¹³¹ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 216.

¹³² Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 219.

¹³³ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 283–289.

3 Theories on Artefacts of Luxury Consumption

An alternative view of silver and gold through the concept of value

The quest for an alternative tradition for silver studies, other than the one based on the style continuum, cannot be separated from the question of how silver studies should be carried out, i.e. what the methodology of the new approach should be. In spite of the fresh perspective provided by material culture studies, the old style-historical discourse is still a highly functional and productive manner of examining the past and future of silver work. The discourse and its three constitutive elements, style, agency and use, do not, however, provide a foundation on which to build a tradition encompassing all aspects of silverwork or effective conceptual solutions for a new, more differentiating approach.

For the first point of departure in the search for an alternative discourse on historical artefacts of silver and gold, the concept of materiality seems important. Another central concept, almost self-evident when discussing precious metals, is value. The way in which the value of silver and gold is conceived already affects the perspective taken when approaching artefacts. The focus of style-historical discourse on hallmarks and on goldsmiths as artisans is parallel to the ways in which artefacts of precious metals are perceived as valuable objects in the antiques market. The concept of value thus provides means to analyse both the social history of silver artefacts in the past as well as the allegiances of their research history.

The concept of value implies a social context in which values are defined. Usually the value of gold and silver artefacts equates with the showing of status and conspicuous consumption of the upper classes or institutions. The classic name in the study of conspicuous consumption, Thorstein Veblen, makes a division between the status value of silver artefacts and their use value, and consequently separates taste from usability. He then argues that status artefacts actually have a lower use value compared with primarily functional objects. This is apparent in his discussion and comparison of the raw materials of spoons:

The utility of articles valued for their beauty depends closely upon the expensiveness of the articles. A homely illustration will bring out this dependence. A hand-wrought silver spoon, of a commercial value of some ten to twenty dollars, is not ordinarily more serviceable – in the first sense of the word – than a machine-made spoon of the same material. [...] The former of the two utensils is, in fact, commonly a less effective contrivance for its ostensible purpose than the latter.¹³⁴

Veblen's model of the utility of silver is based on assuming a rational and ahistorical consumer, who can see behind the illusory or fetish value of artefacts of precious metals. However, the construction of the value ascribed to gold and silver artefacts is a more complicated process. In a historical study, the assumption of an ahistorical consumer using silver artefacts only to enhance her or his social status is untenable. In fact, it can be argued that there was no direct, uniform relationship between social position or status and economic status at least before the 18th century and the birth of the modern consumer.¹³⁵ Despite the importance in silver studies of value creation and the social processes involved, they are concepts left without further discussion in the Finnish research. Usually value is mentioned when the role of old artefacts is described as investments by

¹³⁴ Veblen 1992, 94–95.

¹³⁵ Rosén 2004, 92–95; Nurmi 2005, 28–29.

which accumulating wealth could be stored. In this situation, the appearance of the artefacts loses its meaning in establishing value, and again the most important features of silver and gold artefacts are their stability, reusability and rarity.

The value of silver and gold has not been constant. On the one hand, they possess material characteristics, which can be described as relative stability, malleability and difficult attainability, but on the other hand there are historical factors, such as politics, economics and taste, which further affect the availability of the materials. The central position in establishing value of gold and silver artefacts before the 20th century belonged to the church, the crown and the lifestyles of the higher social groups. Artefacts of precious metals were chains in social and material networks linking higher classes. The Pre- and Early Modern European elites viewed and used conspicuous consumption and luxury as symbols that maintained the established social order. They were expressions of dignity befitting the great, not something superfluous. Luxury constituted a necessary manifestation of the virtuous man rather than a needless expression of hedonism. Hence the consumption of silver and gold was not a matter of personal and private gratification but a public act of social responsibility. They were vitally functional objects, which structured social, political and religious relations through their materials, imagery, and contexts of use.¹³⁶ Success in battle, political alliances, religious ceremonies, trade, the maintenance of kinship relations, as well as changes in social structure such as birth and death, were situations where artefacts of precious metals were bought, exchanged and invested with effectivity.

In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, social changes as well as new industrial forms and materials of production eroded previous networks of silver consumption, and the relationship they created between the buyers and goldsmiths. At the same time, the age of gold and silver artefacts gained a special value not previously known. Benton Seymour Rabinovitch and Helen Clifford point out that silver and gold artefacts are no longer as socially profitable as before, or at least not as unambiguously. The dining room and toilet have given way to the kitchen and other spaces of the house related to leisure time in showing social differences. Now the kitchen and its expensive furnishing as well as possessing domestic appliances have taken the place of artefacts of precious metals.¹³⁷ The monetary value of silver and gold is still high, but that value has lost its relevance in many social spheres. In sum, gold and silver objects have a spectrum of values, whose fluctuations and discontinuities define the history of silver to a great extent.

The value of silver and gold artefacts is anchored in their materiality. The concept of materiality has become a special interest of theoretical debate in material culture studies,¹³⁸ where it refers to two things. Firstly, materiality denotes a process by which society and its individuals are present or make themselves present in and through artefacts. In other words, materiality is a process by which societies become concrete and present in everyday lives. Social status and identity are given a tangible, effective existence in materiality. On the other hand, another important revelation in material culture studies has been the realization that studying materiality does not mean the reduction of artefacts to mere representatives of identities and mentalities. Artefacts as material entities are also part of practices that do not manifest anything.¹³⁹ This is the point that material culture studies have expressly focused on: materiality is at the same time representative as well as present. Consequently, it is not enough to study ideologies and the linguistically expressed identities to which artefacts refer, but also those material practices in which they take part and which can even define the ways of creating ideologies and identities.

Secondly, materiality refers to the cycles and phases of using artefacts, their biographies. Objects are biographical entities as traces or signs of the past but also as material continuities from the past. From the perspective of scholarly study of ancient artefacts, the materiality of artefacts involves the formation processes of museum collections.¹⁴⁰ How has an object ended up in a museum

¹³⁶ *Belozerskaya 2005*, 2, 3, 87.

¹³⁷ *Rabinovitch & Clifford 2000*, 10, 22.

¹³⁸ *E.g. Meskell 2005*.

¹³⁹ *This present interest of culture studies on materiality is inspired e.g. by the writings of Gilles Deleuze (see e.g. Deleuze & Guattari 1972; 1980; cf. Parikka & Tiainen 2006)*.

¹⁴⁰ *On formation processes in archaeology in general see Schiffer 1996*.

collection? What kinds of practices have delimited and selected the material that has survived into the present day? In many previous silver studies it is complained that the provenance of old silver is very poorly documented, but typically even this very scanty material has not been systematically collected and analysed.¹⁴¹ Although style-historical discourse focuses on the surviving body of artefacts, they are used as illustrations of style, or carriers of style, which leaves the materiality of objects untouched. What do artefacts in fact present of the past? This question is important especially when discussing ancient silver and gold artefacts in Finland, because during the 17th century, when Sweden was a great power, many luxury items were brought from German-speaking areas as booty of war. The biographies of these artefacts differ markedly from the artefacts found in hoards or kept as family heirlooms in peasant families.¹⁴²

The style-historical tradition has constructed a methodology for dating artefacts and identifying goldsmiths. After the preliminary crucial work has been done, the research could move, on the one hand, in a more materialistic and more detailed direction, and on the other hand, towards a more socially contextualizing approach. Combining these new pursuits into focused research requires firstly thorough catalogues which focus on surveys of the whole body of surviving artefacts as well as the written sources instead of only illustrating the style continuum with well-selected examples. Secondly, taking the materiality of objects into consideration means that the research process needs to be archaeologically aware of provenance and museum contexts and to examine their effects on the research material at hand. The past is present in fragments, and reconstructing the past does not mean merely putting these fragments together but also in relationship to that which is no longer present. Besides formation processes, scientific analyses common in archaeological research could also provide new insights. Thirdly, silver studies should not end the practice of utilizing extensively both artefact and written evidence for reconstructing the social networks in which silver and gold artefacts were produced and consumed. Fourthly, the materiality of artefacts means studying them through the uses and practices into which they were embedded. The emphasis on practices does not imply limiting the scope of study to the use of an object as an explanation for its form, but taking into account all the everyday and festive practices that created the value of silver and gold artefacts. Taking these four points as the basis for the research ideally leads to a fuller understanding of the materiality of the past and the position of artefacts of gold and silver in the material processes of production, distribution and consumption.

The cultural biography of artefacts

Cultural biography and materiality are interdisciplinary concepts. Interdisciplinarity is usually understood in archaeology as the transfer of methods, results and perhaps even theories from one discipline to another. It is like the exchange of modules constructed in one discipline and moved to others to provide new results. Radiocarbon dating is a good example of bringing a module from physical chemistry to archaeology, which revolutionized prehistoric chronologies. One has to know the basics of the module to work with it in archaeology, but one cannot tamper with or alter it without thoroughly understanding its background and principles in physical chemistry. Discussing the humanities at large, Mieke Bal argues instead that interdisciplinarity could be also conceived as the travel of concepts through disciplines and their discourses. During their travels, concepts change and gather history from different disciplines and usages and they become placed into other kinds of disciplinary contexts. The potential of these interdisciplinary concepts is their ability to destabilize the traditional approaches of a given discipline and to provide new insights, instead of following the exact contents and ways of working which they had in the original discipline. Hence the most important quality of travelling concepts is their effectiveness on various disciplines, not their scholarly purity.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ However, an important study related to the formation process of medieval and early modern silver is Källström 1939.

¹⁴² Cf. Appelgren-Kivalo 1910.

¹⁴³ Bal 2002.

In a way, the concepts described by Bal are analogous to artefacts and their movements through different contexts. In recent years the concept of biography has gained an established position in describing the trajectories that objects have, and artefact biography has become part of the repertoire of conceptual tools utilized in archaeological and ethnographical research.¹⁴⁴ The number of ways in which the concept has been interpreted and put to use is striking.¹⁴⁵ The origin of the concept of biography is in historiography, which constructs from the acts of a certain human being his or her course of life, biography. The concept is also common in the form of art history where works of art are explained by the biographies of their creators. The concept of biography involves questions of narrativity and agency, the first referring to the act of reconstructing or constructing biographies and the second to the effectivity of actors or entities. The two concepts are in fact the defining characteristics of biography and present in all historical, biographical studies.

The biographical view was adopted in anthropological studies of material culture, where it has been used to refer to the ways in which artefacts are used to perceive and shape the biographies of their users.¹⁴⁶ Biography, however, is not only a means of looking at the lives and activities of persons, but crucially also artefacts can be approached as biographical entities. Artefacts have agency through their materiality and the effects triggered by them, and this breaks down the person-centred conception of biography. Alfred Gell argues that artists do not simply express themselves in their works – on the contrary the being of an artistic agent is carried out or made present in them.¹⁴⁷ The emphasis on the materiality of works of art underscores even further the centrifugal nature of being an artist, or of agency in general, and the dispersion of agency to artefacts.

Transferred to archaeology, the concept of artefact biography has brought along the anthropological interest in the movements of artefacts between contexts and spheres of value, but the concept has become even more object-centred, emphasizing materiality and its effects. If an artefact is a social actor carrying meanings into different environments and has the ability to alter its surrounding contexts, the artefact also has a biography. To articulate this idea further, Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall separate the object's use-life from its biography.¹⁴⁸ Use-life refers to changes in the artefact's physical and functional characteristics. Approached through its use-life, an artefact is a passive object of changes. In contrast, the concept of biography aims to destabilize the division that positions humans as active and artefacts as passive.¹⁴⁹

The totalizing view of archaeology encompasses the various sources, contexts of discovery and available artefacts, and the tool for drawing these fragmentary facets together is the concept of artefact biography. The benefit of this approach is that it proceeds from the actual surviving artefacts and sources and tells their story using style history more like an aid than as the aim of the study. The awareness of formation processes and different contexts of discovery give archaeology a unique view on ancient objects. The biography of an artefact consists of the material processes whereby it was produced, distributed, circulated, used and finally deposited. Changes in artefacts and styles and their distributions are not interpreted so much as isolated phenomena or as part of a diffusionist framework but rather as embedded in social systems. Men and women have a special kind of relationship with the materiality of their worlds. This relationship is created in and through artefacts.

As biographical entities artefacts gather time. Their meanings at any given time consist of the people, objects and events with which they have been involved. The lifecycle of artefacts can, in principle, be divided into distinct phases such as production, use, breakage and deposition.¹⁵⁰ The meanings borne by artefacts and the changes in these meanings originate not only from their physical transformations but also from changes and shifts in the social system and contexts. When

¹⁴⁴ Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Strathern 1988; Gell 1998; Hoskins 1998; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Langdon 2001; Chapman 2000; Immonen 2002; Herva 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Ammann 2005.

¹⁴⁶ Hoskins 2006, 78.

¹⁴⁷ Gell 1998.

¹⁴⁸ Gosden & Marshall 1999, 169–173.

¹⁴⁹ Kopytoff 1986, 64–68.

¹⁵⁰ Shanks 1998, 16–17.

developing an interpretation of the use of ancient silver, such changes and shifts in the biographies of artefacts constitute one of its concerns. Moreover, the notion of biography has been considered to be particularly useful when studying exceptional artefacts such as objects made of precious metals, because their materials and production techniques were invested with value.¹⁵¹

Despite the perspectives opened by the concept of biography, the source material poses its limitations on the approach. Vesa-Pekka Herva has voiced concern about the tendency of archaeologists to replace the materiality of artefacts with their iconographic, sign-like treatment, which sees objects as references to something else, to some discourse or immaterial idea.¹⁵² This critique, however, is somewhat difficult to apply to medieval and Early Modern material culture studies. On the one hand, it is true that too often the iconological decoding of medieval art seems to discard the study of art objects as material entities with their individual biographies and multiple, socially conditioned receptions. On the other hand, the Middle Ages and Early Modern period were the golden age of iconography if any. As, for instance, Johan Huizinga and Umberto Eco have shown, this was a time when the world and its objects were understood in terms of symbol and allegory. In experiencing art and artefacts, deeper meanings and references God were fundamental. The universe was a harmonious polyphony of signs and images.¹⁵³

However, to place trust in the existence of an integrated medieval worldview might be an illusion created by the surviving body of written sources, which are the work of a thin social stratum. If the social fissures and discontinuities of the past society and material culture are to be discovered and exposed by archaeological inquiry, how much confidence can be laid on iconological analysis? The question does not have any simple answer, but has to be contextually explored in every type of source material used in the study of artefacts. The context, in all forms, is the most important means for understanding the meaning of things.¹⁵⁴

The scholar approaching Finnish Pre- and Early Modern artefacts is furthermore faced with the crucial methodological problems posed by the limitations of the source material at hand, which does not possess elaborate contextual information. However, the limitedness of the source material lies at a different level than the issues of the materiality and biographies of artefacts. In fact, vague complaints of the inadequacies of find contexts seem to be symptoms of an ideal, where an all-embracing view of artefacts, requiring total knowledge of all aspects of the objects studied, is possible. All research, however, is both contextual and partial or, in a word, dirty, and at the theoretical level, the problem of contextualizing artefacts and the form it takes is directly affected by the research question and the way it orientates the scholar towards artefacts. Hence, before analysing the potential insufficiencies of the source material, the notion of artefact biography will be related to the consumption of luxuries, the main issue of the present study.

Artefacts as products of medieval and Early Modern luxury consumption

Medieval and Early Modern artefacts of gold and silver were luxury items. Modern consumers typically understand the concept of luxury as lavish and excessive consumption – luxuries are things that we can live without, in contrast to physiological necessities. This definition of luxury, however, runs into difficulties on closer examination. It is extremely difficult to find a comprehensive definition for necessity, and one extreme conclusion could be that all things cultural, in contrast to biological – air, food and water – are intrinsically excessive and unnecessary to human beings. Moreover, if this conception of luxury is accepted, the definitional problems would also be reflected in methodology and would make it difficult to find sustainable criteria for categorizing archaeological material as either luxuries or necessities. In fact, the concepts of luxury and necessity are part and parcel of social and cultural contexts, and thus luxury is not just

¹⁵¹ Langdon 2001, 582.

¹⁵² Herva & Ikäheimo 2002; Herva 2004.

¹⁵³ Huizinga (1919) 1996; Eco (1959) 2002, 52–64.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. Herva 2004, 96.

an item of conspicuous consumption but crucially also a device in social strategies to sustain and enhance one's position in the world.

The historian Christopher J. Berry has proposed a categorization of luxuries, approached as objects, into four types. According to his division, luxuries are goods related to *sustenance* or food and drink, to *sheltering* or housing, to *clothing* and apparel, and lastly goods related to *leisure activities*.¹⁵⁵ Berry's four categories are useful for grouping luxury items and gaining access to the patterns of luxury consumption, but they do not reveal *how* and *why* luxuries function as social devices. However, luxuries are goods the primary use of which is rhetorical and social. They could be conceived as materialized signs responding to political needs. As the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai argues, 'it might make more sense to regard luxury as a "register" of consumption' instead of a special class of objects.¹⁵⁶ To consider the consumption of luxuries as a sign system emphasizes one dimension of luxury which is often overlooked by archaeologists. Luxury products not only transmit socially acceptable or even admirable messages, but they may also carry negative and objectionable connotations. The moral dimension of luxuries is exemplified by the famous difference in the attitudes of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and Suger (1081–1151), the Abbot of Saint Denis, to decorating churches with earthly treasures. Whereas the former criticized the splendid adornment of churches as corrupting and leading to visual pleasures and away from God, the latter considered it necessary to embellish the house of God sumptuously in order to honour Him and to provide a glimpse of the radiance of Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁵⁷ The same religious ambivalence between abstaining from luxuries and wholeheartedly approving of them or even considering them a necessity is typical of medieval thinking and present in Nordic medieval texts. For instance, in the revelations of St. Bridget, the luxurious lifestyles of knights are criticized and their excessive consumption is condemned.¹⁵⁸

Moral attitudes might even explain some distribution patterns of ancient material culture, weapons being a case in point. Arms and weapons are known from the medieval urban layers in Turku, although carrying arms in towns was to some extent regulated by contemporary legislation.¹⁵⁹ The weaponry found in the Åbo Akademi plot near the centre of medieval Turku comprises a spike from a club, two trigger thresholds of bone for a crossbow, and dozens of armour-piercing crossbow quarrel-heads.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, as Janne Harjula shows, scabbards and dagger sheaths have been found in the Market Square and other areas in medieval Turku: the Rettig site and the Luostari Quarter as well as the Åbo Akademi site. Harjula suggests that the artefacts found in the medieval layers of Turku could be connected with military persons, nobles and well-to-do burghers.¹⁶¹ However, no swords or brigantines have been discovered in Turku, and of the 15 daggers known from Finland, only one has been found in Turku in the Rettig plot near the Market Square.¹⁶² Four more daggers are known from within a radius of some four kilometres from the town, two of them from Turku Castle.¹⁶³ The lack of swords and daggers in the urban area is a possible example of the importance of moral conceptions on the consumption of luxuries. The use of daggers was not only regulated by legislation, but they could also be considered as weapons of traitors and assassins, as Harjula and J.-P. Taavitsainen cautiously suggest. Although daggers also had an association with fashion and eligibility, the legislation as well as moral connotations could be the cause of their near absence from the finds from the medieval towns of Finland.¹⁶⁴

To approach and analyse the consumption of gold and silver artefacts as luxuries, this study adopts Arjun Appadurai's concept of luxury as a register of consumption. He continues the argument by assigning five features to luxuries, approached as 'incarnated signs',¹⁶⁵ all or some of

¹⁵⁵ Berry 1994, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Appadurai (1986) 2005, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Panofsky (1946) 1979, 13–14.

¹⁵⁸ Nielsen 1966; Bengtsson 1999, 243.

¹⁵⁹ Harjula 2005, 73; Harjula & Taavitsainen 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Pukkila 1999, 41; Harjula & Jokela 2003, 260; Harjula 2005, 73.

¹⁶¹ Harjula 2005, 73.

¹⁶² Harjula & Taavitsainen 2008.

¹⁶³ Harjula 2005, 73.

¹⁶⁴ Harjula & Taavitsainen 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Appadurai (1986) 2005, 38.

which must be present in order for an item to function as a luxury. The first is *restriction* or the limitation of their consumption to elites by price or regulations. Not all members of the community have equal access to the products marking differences in wealth or social status. In Berry's words, it is not possible to 'democratize' luxuries.¹⁶⁶ In the Pre- and Early Modern period, burghers and even farmers might well have had the means to obtain the same luxury objects as the higher social classes, but their restricted consumption was based on the idea of decorum or prescribed limits of appropriate conduct, which were connected with one's social rank and enforced with moral attitudes and ideals as well as sumptuary orders and laws.¹⁶⁷ However, Mary Douglas has argued that restriction as such is not an essential characteristic of luxuries, because any society, family and individual, be they consumers of luxuries or not, may have symbolic days and events which are celebrated with the consumption of rare or unusual goods.¹⁶⁸

The second feature is the complexity involved in the *acquisition* of luxuries. This is related to the scarcity of lavish artefacts. Luxuries have to be imported and their transport usually even further increases their value; they are specifically commissioned or the situation of purchase in some other way requires more involvement from the consumer or perhaps rather his or her subordinate. The complexity of acquisition is often related to the complexity of the luxury items themselves. Their commissioning might require composing detailed pictorial or visual programmes with intricate meanings. In fact, the *semiotic virtuosity* of consumed products, or their capability to transmit complex social messages, is Appadurai's third feature. The luxuriousness of an object can be emphasized by creating or rather commissioning a form that is rich in detail and laden with meanings. The labour required to create the semiotic virtuosity may increase the value of the object, but more importantly it gives the object a seductive quality – the potential to impose the conception of its own luxuriousness on users and spectators. Douglas, however, again points out that Appadurai proposes here a rather restricted view of luxuries, since semiotic virtuosity may be applied to almost any artefact.¹⁶⁹

The fourth feature is the need for special *knowledge* in consuming luxury products correctly. This refers to usage and customs but also to the regulative nature of fashion. It is not enough to own a fashionable product; one has to wear or use it appropriately to achieve the desired effect. The last feature is the strong link between the consumption of luxuries and the *consuming body*, individual or personality. The intimate relationship between luxuries and bodies is apparent in food products, tableware and clothing but also visible in housing, the use of a coat of arms, and various luxurious leisure activities.¹⁷⁰

Appadurai's idea of luxuries as materialized signs forming a specific register of their own brings together the materiality of silver and gold objects with the social and cultural spheres in which this materiality was brought about and on which it had effect. Douglas's critique of Appadurai, however, brings forth the ahistorical nature of the characteristics which he assigns to luxuries, and this has led e.g. Maxine Berg to stress that definitions of luxury goods are always historical and moulded by the consuming community and individuals.¹⁷¹ The five features Appadurai assigns to luxuries are not what constitutes them as luxury items but what makes them socially and materially effective artefacts. They can therefore be useful for analysing gold and silver artefacts and for discovering new insights on their consumption. If indeed Appadurai's list of characteristics typical of luxuries as a register of consumption is taken as the point of departure, the next step is to find ways to analyse the actual objects and the discussion thus moves from the theoretical background to the methodological issues involved.

¹⁶⁶ Berry 1994, 32.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Tuhkanen 2005, 29–31.

¹⁶⁸ Douglas 1996, 109–110.

¹⁶⁹ Douglas 1996, 109–110.

¹⁷⁰ Appadurai (1986) 2005, 38.

¹⁷¹ Berg 2005, 31.

4 Methodology: The Spatial and Temporal Coordinates of Luxury Consumption

Principles of collecting and documenting the artefact material

The methodological challenge of the study is to proceed from the concept of luxury as a register of consumption to the reconstruction of patterns of consumption from written and archaeological sources, but before the methods of the final analysis, the more practical issues of collecting and documenting the material must be addressed along with the problems of dating ancient artefacts. Discussing the research process of artefacts deposited in museum collections, the ethnologist Ilmar Talve claims that artefacts in the museum are 'unorganized reality,' which after certain research procedures leads to scientific or academic knowledge.¹⁷² Even if understood metaphorically from the point of view of the research process, Talve's position is completely untenable in the face of museum studies from recent decades.¹⁷³ The traditions of museum and archive practices condition the material that is scrutinized and the conclusions that are made.

Artefacts in museum collections are not slices of the past transferred to the museum from which the whole cake, the reality of the past, could be reconstructed. Museum collections are structured and distilled assemblages of artefacts from the outset, and this has to be taken into account when studying material culture through such collections. Arguably, the elementary task of any inquiry focusing on old museum collections is to acknowledge the complexity of such collections and how it affects the representativeness of the material studied.

The first challenge to arise in studying museum collections is to find all the relevant material. The task is especially tricky when trying to collect artefacts from a large geographical area, in this case the whole of Finland. Going through all the objects in museum collections is impossible in terms of both time and work. It is therefore necessary to search for the appropriate material, or to be more precise, inventory numbers, through main catalogues, various indexes and databases, which unavoidably leads to a biased research sample. If the reference to an object in the main catalogue is brief without a dating and illustrations to accompany the entry, the artefact is in danger of being excluded from the study. Especially finds which are difficult to identify or cannot be dated on the basis of the context – for instance, if the item is a stray find or the archaeological context of its discovery has no definite date – remain underrepresented in the material selected for further study. Archaeological finds discovered in churches are a case in point. Often the find catalogues of church excavations are extremely economical due to the large number of items, and the older the inventory is, the less accurate information it usually provides. Furthermore, soil layers under church floors are mixed, because of centuries of intensive activity and grave digging, and they form a context that does not help in estimating the age of finds.¹⁷⁴

Another difficulty is posed by the varied quality of artefact identifications in catalogues. They may be misleading, but this, however, is not a serious problem as such. The fundamental problem lies in artefact characterizations that are too brief. Marja Anttila has pointed out that one reason for these harmfully general descriptions is a misguided effort to be objective. If the person who has made the entries does not recognize the object and registers it vaguely in order to avoid any misinterpretations,

¹⁷² Talve 1979, 37 is echoing ideas presented in Pelto & Pelto (1970) 1978, 1–4.

¹⁷³ E.g. Pearce 1997; 2000.

¹⁷⁴ Hiekkänen 1994, 215.

the cryptic description might become harmful and hide the relevant artefact from later research.¹⁷⁵

The basis for collecting the material of the current study has been the archives of the Unit for Collections and Research at the National Board of Antiquities although the archives and collections of the Department of Archaeology have also been consulted to some extent. The Unit for Collections and Research houses not only the main catalogue of the National Museum and the overwhelming majority of the inventories of archaeological excavations carried out at Finnish historical sites, but also a topographical archive with the results of parish surveys and other information organized alphabetically according to municipality. All larger medieval and Early Modern silver objects are fairly well documented and easy to find, whereas smaller items are harder to locate. The thematic index of artefacts in the archive is a great help, but it does not cover all the relevant objects listed, e.g. finds from archaeological excavations. Those have to be searched using individual excavation catalogues, the topographical archive, published literature and even the main catalogue itself. In addition to the National Museum, the research has covered other major Finnish museums, most notably the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland, the Åland Islands Museum and the Satakunta Museum.

All objects in the material in museums and parishes have been measured and if possible weighed. The visual documentation has been done with a digital camera and portable studio. Only in cases where the objects have been unattainable for some reason, the study has been based on previous documentation, which is stated in the catalogue.

Despite all the efforts to find and collect the material in its entirety, the artefacts in this study represent only a portion of all relevant artefacts surviving from the past. Some of them still lie undiscovered in museum collections or belong to private collections. The size of this surviving body of ancient artefacts can only be guessed. Moreover, it represents only a fragment of all artefacts deposited into an archaeological context in the past or hoarded or otherwise collected and passed on to later generations, and this population in turn is only a small sample of all artefacts produced and used in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. The factors affecting the transition of objects from one sample population to another form the formation processes which have to be analysed when the provenances and datings of the material are discussed below, but first a glance will be taken at artefacts which do not belong to the material of the present study.

Objects omitted from the final analysis

Two types of artefacts potentially impair the usability of the existing body of medieval and early modern silverwork from a scholarly point of view. One is forgeries and the other objects brought to Finland after 1600. Forgeries of prehistoric, medieval and Early Modern artefacts, however, are very rare in the country, though not unheard of.¹⁷⁶ A large *gravoir* or steak-knife with an ornamental ivory handle found in Perniö in the earlier part of the 19th century was suspected to be a forgery, but Taavitsainen considers such claims unfounded and dates the object to the 14th century.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, there are two crudely made forgeries. The more famous or infamous one is a seal matrix of bronze found in the refuse pile of soil dug out of the so-called 'convent cellar' in the ruins of the medieval Franciscan Convent on Kökar in 1974. The seal depicts St. Anne with the Virgin and the Child, i.e. St. Anne *Selbdritt* and is inscribed with the text *sigillum convntus tiockarlensis*, which would make it the institutional seal of the convent.¹⁷⁸ The historian Jarl Gallén, however, notes the exceptional shape of the matrix as well as problems in its inscriptions, which reveal the seal stamp to be 'a clumsy forgery'.¹⁷⁹

The other object is a scent locket (Fig. 5), which was once part of Johan Fredrik Heldt's (1780–1854) collection,¹⁸⁰ although it was acquired by the National Museum from the K. S. Weckström

¹⁷⁵ Anttila 2002, 2–5, 117–118; cf. Koivunen 1973, 179–181; Takala 1998, 190–191. A more detailed account of these issues is given in Immonen 2007b.

¹⁷⁶ Herva 2008, 126.

¹⁷⁷ NM Hist. 51; Taavitsainen 1979.

¹⁷⁸ ÅM 471:265; Dreijer 1975; Edgren 1977, 404–408; Lamm 1984, 172 no. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Gallén 1990.

¹⁸⁰ NM Hist. 4831:3.



Fig. 5. Scent locket from Johan Fredrik Heldt's (1780–1854) collection (NM Hist. 4831:3). The locket was made in the latter part of the 17th century.



Fig. 6. The Sifridus chalice in Porvoo Cathedral, which was made around 1230, and taken as war booty from Osnabrück Cathedral in Germany by Swedish soldiers in 1633 (Cat. 3:1).

– the number of authentic pieces in circulation is so small. Forgeries remain isolated, singular phenomena, but the group of genuine pieces made prior to 1600 but brought or imported to Finland in the following centuries constitutes a more significant challenge for research.

Especially during the wars of the 17th and early 18th centuries that were waged in Central Europe, large amounts of silver and gold were taken as booty from the German and Baltic areas and brought to the kingdom of Sweden by the returning soldiers. Even other kinds of medieval objects of the church and its interior, such as the reredos of Rauma and Pernaja Churches, were brought to Finnish churches as spoils of war during the modern period.¹⁸³ At least five looted medieval and Early Modern chalices and four patens remain in Finnish churches. The most famous of them by far is the so-called Sifridus chalice in Porvoo Cathedral which was made around 1230 (Cat. 3:1)¹⁸⁴ (Fig. 6). The chalice and its now missing paten were taken as war booty from Osnabrück Cathedral in Germany by Swedish soldiers in 1633. Also the 14th-century paten in Tyrvántö Church (Cat. 3:2) and the 15th-century communion set of Finström Church (Cat. 3:3), and probably even the chalice and paten of Kirkkonummi Church (Cat. 3:4) are spoils of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), while the chalice and paten of Juva Church made in 1594 (Cat. 3:5) was taken from Riga at

collection in 1906. The locket has the shape of a balsam apple or rather a balsam orange. It has six compartments, which are organized around a hexagonal central axis. The facets of the axis bear engraved inscriptions with the years 1533, 1549, 1566, 1567, 1567 and 1569 referring to King Eric XIV of Sweden (1533–1577), his wife Karin Månsdotter (1550–1612), their marriage and children. The surface of the container displays engraved human figures. A chain connects the locket to a group of toiletry articles. Four of these items are inscribed with the dates 1612, 1577, 1568 and 1549, while the fifth has the inscription 'Joh : Fr : Heldt – 1780'. Although the inscribed years suggest that the group of toiletry articles was made in the early 17th century, the closest parallels for it are from the middle of the 17th century.¹⁸¹ The body of Heldt's balsam apple was probably produced around that time, too. Moreover, the inscriptions as well as the figures are engraved in the late-18th-century style. It is well known that Heldt was in the habit of having such fantastical attributions and depictions added to his antiques.¹⁸²

The two forgeries reflect reasons for the rarity of counterfeited Finnish medieval and early modern silver. Their production requires extensive expertise to accomplish credible results and is made unprofitable by the number of forgeries that can be released on the antiques market without being noticed

¹⁸¹ Cf. von Philippovich 1966, 264–265.

¹⁸² Fagerström 1989, 188–190.

¹⁸³ Hiekkanen 2005, 176; 2007, 453

¹⁸⁴ The first number in the marking refers to the object type in the catalogue and the number after the colon indicates the individual object in that type.

the beginning of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). Lastly, the late-16th-century communion set of Karjaa Church (Cat. 3:6) was originally made for a Danish church, but was transferred to Karjaa in 1725.¹⁸⁵ All these vessels are covered in the catalogue to satisfy the antiquarian objective of thorough documentation, but not analysed any further.

Corpus silver is easy to identify as having been brought to Finland after the year 1600 with the help of inscriptions and other written records. The challenge is much more difficult with smaller artefacts, which are not documented in written sources. Because of the effects of Hanseatic trade on stylistic uniformity in the Baltic Sea area, stylistic analysis cannot be used as a straightforward method to distinguish modern imports from artefacts used here during the Pre- and Early Modern periods. In fact, there do not seem to be any clear criteria for how such objects should be identified, which always somewhat hampers final interpretations and conclusions. Certainty can be achieved through adequate provenance information or knowledge on the context of discovery, but as shown in the following, this is available in only few cases.

The fetish of provenance?

Handbooks of archaeology and material culture studies constantly emphasize the importance of contexts, whether find contexts or contexts of use, as the basis for understanding the meanings and social significance of artefacts. Arguably the provenance of ancient objects constitutes one such context, which underlines the deficiency of old museum records on the origins of artefacts. All museum artefacts have been removed from the cultural totality of which they were once a part, but some items have better documentation of their life histories prior to the process of turning into museum pieces. Especially some of the 19th-century records are irritating in their brevity. The situation was largely caused by the aesthetical intent of accumulating and documenting collections, where individualized information on historical artefacts was of less importance than the objects themselves. Where cultural background was required, it could be retrieved from history books and art-historical studies.¹⁸⁶

Provenance is understood to refer to the history of the ownership of an object or its coming from some particular source. In a way, it is a signpost pointing to the past of the object, to the previous locations where it has resided and to the other artefacts, built structures and actions with which the artefact has been involved. In museum catalogues provenance almost never, especially with ancient artefacts, refers to the site of production or use but usually to the location where the object was before entering the museum. However, in some cases the stated location denotes the place where the representative of the museum obtained the artefact or the home of the donor or the person who found the item. Hence the information provided by museum records may not have anything to do with the actual place of discovery or use of the object. Moreover, there are even cases where the old entries do not reveal what the stated location actually refers to.

The efforts of the 19th and early-20th-century private collectors form an important factor in survival of Finnish medieval and Early Modern silver. Although there were some enthusiasts of ancient artefacts already as early as the 18th century, such as the above-mentioned Johan Fredrik Heldt, collecting finger rings and other small silver was particularly a hobby of 19th-century elite men. Diana Scarisbrick has pointed out that in Europe the phenomenon of collecting rings coincided with the intensification of agrarian land use and the consequent unprecedented increase in the number of stray finds.¹⁸⁷ In Finland particularly Herman Frithiof Antell (1847–1893)¹⁸⁸, Karl Hedman (1864–1931)¹⁸⁹ and Karl Erik Arvid Bergman (1867–1944)¹⁹⁰ were crucial for the survival of

¹⁸⁵ In 1656, a lidded 'oblate chalice' appears in the inventory of Lohja Church. The object is later termed as a 'monstrance', but it disappears from the records after 1804. The object was donated by Major Erich Liustra who e.g. participated in the Battle of Warsaw in 1656. Hence the vessel might have been war booty from Central Europe as Riska (1990, 218) suggests.

¹⁸⁶ Immonen 2007b.

¹⁸⁷ Scarisbrick 1994, xxiv–xxv.

¹⁸⁸ Talvio 1993, 33–34, 42–52, 135–45.

¹⁸⁹ Airola 1990, 7–9.

¹⁹⁰ Kälpi 1946, 38.

medieval and Early Modern metal artefacts, but at the same time, their collections can be subjected to severe criticism for the lack of provenance information. Karl Hedman's notes on the items in his collection are very sparse. He collected silver from all over Europe, but concentrated on Ostrobothnia and thus the medieval finger rings of silver in his collection, currently in the Museum of Ostrobothnia, are most likely to have come from that region. The Bergman and Antell collections cannot be contextualized even to this extent, since most of their objects have been acquired from antique dealers and travelling merchants.

Besides the collectors, two professional groups were much involved in accumulating the body of silver and gold in museums. The first group are the 19th- and 20th-century goldsmiths, who in many cases acted as middlemen in acquiring artefacts of precious metals for museums. Unfortunately, the provenance information of artefacts obtained through goldsmiths is usually as weak as that of collectors. The second, much smaller group, were professional, or rather paid, collectors. They were relatively poor men who received money from the National Museum for shipments of ancient artefacts, which they collected around the country. The most famous of these men is Salomon Wilskman.¹⁹¹ Unlike the gentlemen collectors or goldsmiths, these paid men recorded the background information of the items they obtained – probably because the museum personnel had instructed them on the importance of documentation.

The term *find context*, which appears in archaeological texts, overlaps with the concept of provenance. The find context, however, involves the physical and temporal environments and relations of artefacts rather than the persons to whom the item in question belonged. Typically archaeological finds are categorized according to their find context as they are discovered. In Finnish archaeology the categorization of find contexts has become rather established, usually comprising four types of contexts:¹⁹²

- 1) An excavation find is an item unearthed during archaeological investigations. The context of such a find or its relationship with other finds, structures and soil layers is extensively documented.
- 2) A find in a hoard is part of an assemblage of items deposited in a certain relatively small area with no necessary connection to a prehistoric or historical site. The items are related to each other primarily only by their spatial proximity, i.e. they are not delineated into a whole by a built structure.
- 3) A stray find is an item which has a temporal or spatial relation to a known prehistoric or historical site although no archaeologically documented find context.
- 4) A special type among stray finds consists of objects which have no known connection to other ancient finds or a known prehistoric or historical site.

This established series has to be supplemented with finds donated to and bought for museum collections. Occasionally such finds turn out to be actually stray finds on the basis of the main catalogue or other documents, but in many cases such information is not available for historical artefacts. They have to be categorized simply as 'donated' or 'acquired'. In fact, even some of the items in the last category can be moved into the third category if appropriate information is found in the archives. Using maps and archaeological surveys, it is possible in certain cases to identify a prehistoric or historical site to which the item can be connected. The border between the last two categories is also blurred in other ways. A Renaissance scent-box was found in the fields of Liuksiala Manor in Kangasala in 1887 (Cat. 22:1).¹⁹³ Should it be considered a stray find of the fourth type as it has no clear connection with a certain structure or site, or should it be considered part of the field structure or even the manor and thus an item of the third type?

¹⁹¹ Aspelin 1894, 7–8; Tallgren 1913, 99–100; 1918, 5–7; Leskinen 1979; Lilja 1996, 18–19.

¹⁹² For a more fine-graded typology of find contexts see e.g. Pihlman 1990, 60–61; see also Gräslund 1974.

¹⁹³ Vilpas 2002.

Closer examination of the type categorization of find contexts reveals that the concept refers not only to an artefact's spatial and temporal relationships, but essentially also to the amount of information on its background and the completeness of museum records. Usually this information aspect of find contexts is overlooked, probably due to its self-evident nature in research.¹⁹⁴ However, it reveals that the identification of find contexts is not fixed, but artefacts move between the different classes and even their definitions change depending on the research questions and theories, which means that the reconstructions of artefact biographies are necessarily fluid and conditioned by the research process.

The categorization of finds according to the context where they were discovered is a way of treating the plurality of their background information and describing the possibilities for tracing their biographies. Consequently, differences in the quality of find contexts are part of the final biographical interpretation without weakening the reliability of the arguments presented. The limited museum records on finds can take one only so far, but as Anttila has argued, one should not remain stuck with the limitations of provenance. Further information on the provenance might help in dating an artefact and analysing the context of its use, but the provenance of past artefacts provides a glimpse of only some of the more recent stages of their biographies.¹⁹⁵

Formation processes related to particular provenances and find contexts

If the find contexts that are most important for this study are considered, a rough division can be made between objects in non-archaeological contexts and finds from archaeological investigations. The former category consists of artefacts that continue to be in use in churches, objects donated or otherwise acquired to museum collections from private persons, and stray finds. The spectrum of background information on these artefacts and finds varies from almost nothing to extensive documentation, and thus the value of the contextual information has to be evaluated case by case, site by site. In the following, however, the most important contexts of survival and discovery, churches, castles, towns and hoards, are presented and discussed.

Churches

Churches play a leading role in the present study. The majority of medieval and Early Modern communion vessels and other liturgical equipment in the material – ciboria, monstrances, censers etc. – have been preserved in their inventories. Reasons for the over-representation of ecclesiastical silver in the material are manifold. Firstly, apart from the secular crown administration, there was no other organization that would have paralleled the parish system. The establishment of parishes began in the early 13th century, and Markus Hiekkänen estimates their number to have reached approximately 40 around the year 1250.¹⁹⁶ The number of parishes grew constantly during the Middle Ages, and on the eve of the Reformation in the earlier part of the 16th century, their number was, according to Kauko Pirinen, 101 with 30 chapels,¹⁹⁷ and according to Ari-Pekka Palola 103 with 44–52 chapels.¹⁹⁸ Also Hiekkänen has counted 155 churches in the Diocese of Turku at this time, but the number does not include smaller chapels in the archipelago.¹⁹⁹

Secondly, the bishop and cathedral chapter were also important actors in the economic life of Finland due to their steady income in tithes and other revenues as well as large land holdings. Hence it was not only silver needed in liturgy that churchmen consumed; the medieval bishops of Finland and other high officials, who had often studied in Central Europe and possessed large private properties, played an important role in spreading foreign influences and in consuming

¹⁹⁴ On the use of archives in ethnological artefact studies, see Sammallahti 1979; 1985.

¹⁹⁵ Anttila 2002, 5.

¹⁹⁶ Hiekkänen 2004, 163.

¹⁹⁷ Pirinen 1991, 155–156.

¹⁹⁸ Palola 1996, 101.

¹⁹⁹ Hiekkänen 2003a, 251.

luxuries.²⁰⁰ In fact, the consumption patterns of the highest church officials probably did not differ markedly from those of the high nobility.²⁰¹ Thirdly, the ecclesiastical organization with its network of parish churches presents a unique institutional and spatial continuum in Finland. In spite of the devastation of the Reformation on ecclesiastical property, the items left in churches were protected by institutional constancy. Even if some of the remaining medieval liturgical equipment did not have any use in the Lutheran church, their legal status as artefacts belonging to church property and its traditions secured their survival.

Notwithstanding the advantages of church organization, even the currently surviving body of ecclesiastical silver is only a sample of the number of items present in churches in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. The most dramatic single event affecting their survival was the Reformation, or rather the confiscation of church property, which Gustavus Vasa organized in his kingdom during the 16th century. The first confiscations in 1526–1530 took place only in the largest and richest churches of the realm, but from 1531 onwards rural churches were included in the confiscations. In the Diocese of Turku they began in 1535, when the churches of Porvoo, Pernaja, Pyhtää and Sipoo in Uusimaa along with Uusikirkko in Karelia had to give up some of their silver. A few pieces were also taken from some other Finnish churches, but systematic confiscations were not initiated until after the death of Bishop Michael Agricola in 1557. The silver and gold of Turku Cathedral were confiscated in the same year, and parish churches followed in the next year.²⁰²

Fortunately, accounts were written of the confiscated objects, although they are somewhat problematic. The brief administrative documentation of artefacts was intended to serve the estimate of metallic value, not to give any accurate, scholarly descriptions. Moreover, the entries are geographically biased. In addition to Turku Cathedral, only 87 parishes of the diocese are mentioned, and especially parishes in Ostrobothnia, Savo and Karelia are underrepresented. The items confiscated included not only liturgical objects but also private property of churchmen and silver bequeathed by laymen. However, the total amount of precious metals from Finnish churches did not reach more than 101.3 kg, which is little compared with the 3,200 kg of silver confiscated from the entire kingdom.²⁰³ In fact, in the Diocese of Turku, the number of confiscated chalices was only 42 and there were 40 patens, while the number of surviving chalices dated to 1300–1550 is 25 and that of patens 15. These numbers do not include communion vessels which have been stolen or legitimately reused after the 16th century. Hence, although a highly relevant factor for the survival of the ecclesiastical objects, confiscations were perhaps not as dramatic in the eastern diocese as is repeatedly claimed.

The Reformation was only one of the phenomena that diminished the amount of silver and gold in the diocese during the 16th century. The Dane Otto Rud sacked the town of Turku with his soldiers in 1509 and looted the cathedral of its treasures of which only individual items were later returned.²⁰⁴ The Danes also plundered Inkoo Church, which had no silver left to give during Gustavus Vasa's confiscations.²⁰⁵ Wars and thefts taxed the pool of medieval and early modern silver in churches even more. The first church robbers were active already in the Middle Ages. For instance, in 1482 Erik Olsson from Taivassalo and Henrik, the son of Olaff Starcks of Parainen, had looted silver and gold from several Swedish churches and were facing charges in Stockholm.²⁰⁶ Six years later in 1488, the 'great church thief' Lars, born in Huittinen in Finland, was summoned before the Stockholm town council to answer for his deeds.²⁰⁷ Moreover, the Finnish priest Larens was accused of stealing from churches by the same town council in 1514.²⁰⁸ Mickel, a priest of Loimaa Church was also accused of stealing silver from the church on several occasions in 1550–1551, but was acquitted of all charges.²⁰⁹

200 Nuorteva 1997, 139–180; Bengtsson 1999, 41.

201 Lindberg (1947) 1989, 13–14.

202 Källström 1940.

203 Källström 1939, 313–325.

204 FMU 5398, 5414, 5454, 5957, 6099.

205 FMU 5403, cf. 5405; Källström 1939, 314 note 2.

206 FMU 3947.

207 FMU 4195.

208 FMU 6184.

209 AST 40, 116.

Stealing church valuables has continued throughout the centuries. In 1945, a 15th-century chalice was stolen from Lohja Church at night,²¹⁰ while one of the latest thefts occurred in 1974, when a medieval censer was stolen from Mynämäki Church (Cat. 7:4).

Apart from such illegal deeds, the church itself has caused the loss of medieval and Early Modern silver. Many of the surviving communion vessels have been repaired to meet new needs. Most of the conical and relatively small bowls in old chalices have been replaced with larger containers to hold enough wine for the whole congregation. Old items have also been melted down or sold to fund new communion vessels. For instance, the ancient crosier of Turku Cathedral lost its silver hook in 1777, when the metal was used for making a new set of communion vessels.²¹¹

In addition to the artefacts still held by churches, the archaeological material found beneath their floors has relevance for the current work. Artefacts found in churches and churchyards have been exposed to complex processes of deposition, which are usually difficult to analyse and identify. Also the considerable variations in documentation and find collecting between different excavations affect the representativeness of archaeological finds from churches.²¹² Moreover, the activities conducted in church spaces were numerous and this variation is partly connected with historical changes in liturgy and partly with broader social developments. The traces of material culture preserved in churches, whether under or above their floors, reflect larger parish-dependent patterns of consumption and deposition. Churches are places that have been in use for centuries and are situated in locations that may have been sites of human activity already in prehistoric times. The soil beneath the floors has been affected since the first human activity, whether prehistoric or historical, although the largest effect has been left by grave-digging and soil brought into the church for filling the graves. Hence most of the finds unearthed in churches should be considered as stray finds from an ancient site, and the contextual information they provide of contemporaneity, relative dating and differences in deposition is very problematic.²¹³

According to Anne-Marie Mørch von der Fehr's and Inger Helene Vibe Müller's categorizations, the artefact material of church excavations comprises: 1) architectonic fragments and parts of the interior as well as liturgical equipment related to the church inventory and ecclesiastical services, 2) graves and related objects: fragments of coffins and metal pins used for fastening shrouds, 3) caches and depositions related to folk beliefs, 4) dress accessories and other personal objects such as clay pipes, 5) domestic equipment and tools, 6) weapons, and finally 7) coins. Müller associates the first three categories with the church, while she considers the remaining categories much more problematic. Their connection with the church and its religious functions is not clear.²¹⁴ Such objects may have become deposited in the soil of the church firstly as part of the personal belongings put into a grave together with their deceased owner. Wedding rings, pearl necklaces and some of the coins may be such objects. Secondly, the finds can be artefacts lost by living parishioners, when they have accidentally dropped them through the gaps between floorboards. Thirdly, coins and other artefacts may also be intentional, sacrificial depositions.²¹⁵

Müller suggests that due to the complexity of the formation processes involved, archaeological finds from churches should not be treated as single entities but as artefact types, whose distribution pattern across the church space is analysed from a statistical point of view. If distinct concentrations can be detected in the distribution, it may be possible to distinguish intentionally deposited finds from finds deposited by chance.²¹⁶ In studying the archaeological material collected from Finnish churches Hiekkänen has approached the distribution of various artefact groups, especially beads, from a similar perspective.²¹⁷ Müller's conclusion assumes that the number of items of a certain artefact type is rather large, and Hiekkänen's case studies are based on a considerable number

²¹⁰ Along with the medieval chalice, the thief also took another chalice made in 1656 (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 27.9.1945; *Riska* 1990b, 215–216).

²¹¹ *Pyökkänen* 1976, nos. 38, 102–103.

²¹² *Alén* 1998; 2001. For a list of archaeological excavations carried out in Finnish churches, see *Hiekkänen* 2006a.

²¹³ *Müller* 1984, 184; see also *Hiekkänen* 1988; 1993b; 1994, 215; *Taavitsainen* 1989b, 72.

²¹⁴ *Müller* 1984; *Mørch von der Fehr* 1984, 205.

²¹⁵ *Hiekkänen* 1993, 71–72.

²¹⁶ *Müller* 1984, 194–197.

²¹⁷ *Hiekkänen* 1988; 1993b; 2006b; 2006c.

of finds. This requirement, however, is impossible to meet when artefacts of gold and silver are discussed – the number of such finds is simply too small for statistical analysis and relevant distribution patterning. Hence the interpretation of such objects is based more on their assumed function than the microanalysis of their find contexts in churches.

Many deceased persons were laid to rest in graves dug inside churches, but most were interred outside church buildings in burial grounds and cemeteries. The interment of grave goods with the dead is usually considered to be a sign of pre-Christian faith and a characteristic of burials of the Late Iron Age, but Pirjo Varjola argues that various objects were placed into graves throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.²¹⁸ Her claim is correct in general terms, but there seems to have been great variation between regions, churches and cemeteries in the number of objects deposited with the dead.²¹⁹ The present study covers material from Crusade Period burial grounds as well as from such early and high medieval cemeteries as Kirkkailanmäki in Hollola, Kappelimäki in Lappeenranta and Valmarinniemi in Keminmaa.

The macroanalysis of cemeteries and the microanalysis of single graves form a specialized branch of archaeology. This study, however, cannot venture too deeply into analysing the structure of burial grounds or dating individual graves, and here it relies to a large extent on previous studies and datings. On the other hand, the study of burial grounds is focused on such questions as the relationship of grave goods and burial rituals to the body, life or social status of the deceased, and how the burying community and its rituals are reflected in the formation of the grave. These issues of materially representing individuals and social standing reach into the heart of the present work and are discussed further in the concluding analysis.

Finally, a survey of sites related to church and devotional life would not be complete without mentioning the Dominican convents of Turku and Viipuri, the Franciscan convents of Kökar, Rauma and Viipuri, and the Birgittine Nunnery in Naantali as well as the 13th-century bishop's see at Koroinen. The archaeological material of Koroinen and the Convent at Kökar are of relevance to the study at hand. Hjalmar Appelgren and Juhani Rinne conducted extensive archaeological excavations at Koroinen in 1898–1902. They collected a rich archaeological material and Rinne documented it in an exemplary manner though proper excavation reports were never written. Further archaeological excavations at Koroinen took place in the 1970s. However, the material of the early as well as the later fieldwork still remains largely unanalysed and unpublished.²²⁰ The ruins of the Franciscan Convent on Kökar, founded around the mid-15th century, were excavated for the first time in 1868–1869, and again in the 1920s and 1930s,²²¹ but the most extensive find material survives from the excavations directed by Kenneth Gustavsson in the 1980s and 1990s.²²² However, the excavation reports, the final analysis, and results of the research have not yet appeared. Besides the sites of Koroinen and Kökar, the availability of archaeological find material and documentation from the other convents and monastery in Finland is relatively poor and does not contain material relevant for the current study.²²³

Castles, manors and rural sites

The archaeological material of Kuusisto Castle in Parainen gives a glimpse of the material culture of a bishop's residence.²²⁴ The backbone of the administrative organization of the Swedish crown, in turn, was based on three major castles of Hämeenlinna, Turku, and Viipuri. The castle of Raasepori was founded in the latter part of the 14th century for more regional administrative purposes, while the construction of the late-medieval castle of Olavinlinna was to a large extent a project of Erik Axelsson Tott (c. 1419–1481). Moreover, there is also a group of smaller castles and castle manors

²¹⁸ Varjola 1980.

²¹⁹ E.g. Hiekkänen 2006b, 26–27.

²²⁰ Koivunen 2003 presents an overview of the history of research concerning Koroinen.

²²¹ Hiekkänen 2006a, 51–52.

²²² Gustavsson 1986; 1988; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1997.

²²³ Hiekkänen 1993a is an archaeological overview of the Finnish monastery and convents. See also Brusila 2001 on the Dominican convent in Turku.

²²⁴ Taavitsainen 1979.

of the higher nobility founded during the Middle Ages. These sites have been investigated and excavated for a long period beginning in the 19th century. The documentation and collection of finds during fieldwork have varied, with the greatest emphasis being placed on architectural features. For instance, the artefact material from Olavinlinna Castle is non-existent because of the choices made in the restoration of the castle. The situation is slightly better with the other castles, although further analyses of the archaeological find material have remained rare.²²⁵

The wealth accumulated by the crown has not left similar material traces as ecclesiastic wealth in the form of luxury products. The number of artefacts of precious metals surviving or found in Finnish castles is minimal compared with the objects from churches and other devotional sites. The reasons for this contrast are not entirely explained by differences in the histories of research. The final destination of tax revenues collected in Finland was mainly Stockholm, outside the province, but even the money accumulated into the pockets of local crown administrators and other nobility was private property, not institutional, and consequently liable to social and political disruptions. Moreover, court culture never really had an opportunity to take root in the eastern province of the kingdom. In fact, the term court can be applied to only two brief periods in the history of Turku Castle.

First mentioned in written sources in the 1280s, Turku Castle lies on the Aurajoki River three kilometres downstream from the town of Turku. The castle had a small community consisting of a garrison and representatives of the Swedish crown. The first court in Turku Castle was held by Mats Kettilmundsson, *capitaneus terrae Finlandensis*, from 1324 until his death in 1326.²²⁶ During Kettilmundsson's overlordship, the castle functioned as the centre of court culture in the eastern part of the kingdom.²²⁷ His detailed will composed in 1326 lists a number of luxurious items of clothing, goblets, cups, jewellery and hides, and it also reveals that Mats Kettilmundsson employed five chaplains, two cooks, masons, a minter, a barber-surgeon and falconers as well as several other servants.²²⁸ After Mats Kettilmundsson, a number of lords of lesser nobility held the castle, although there are exceptions such as the German Ernst von Dotzen (1365–1372), *capitaneus Finlandiae*, and Bo Jonsson Grip, *capitaneus de Osterlande* (1372–1377). After the 14th century, however, the castle became more directly controlled by the king, and Sten Sture the Elder, regent of the kingdom, had the castle in his possession in 1472–1499. In spite of these noblemen and high officials, it was not until the future King John III lived in the castle in 1553–1563 as the Duke of Finland that the court culture of the castle flourished. A glimpse of the rich and elaborate court life that Duke John and Catherine Jagellon of Poland (1526–1583) enjoyed can be gained through the extensive inventories of the couple's movable property, none of which has survived.²²⁹

In addition to castles, archaeological studies have also been carried out at rural sites such as manors in the 1990s and, especially during recent years, in rural villages.²³⁰ One of the rural sites relevant for the present study is Kyrksundet ('Church Strait') in Kemiönsaari.²³¹ The site, excavated from the late 1970s onwards, was situated earlier on Kyrkö Island ('Church Island'), but is now part of the larger Hiittinen Island off the southern coast of Finland. This archipelago site has been identified as the Örsund mentioned in a Danish itinerarium, which is part of the *Liber census Daniae* or *Codex ex Holmiensis A 41* compiled in the second half of the 13th century. Some of the artefacts found at the site date from the Viking Age, but the material also includes medieval finds and the foundations of a chapel with a graveyard. So far the archaeological finds and results of macrofossil analyses suggest that Kyrksundet was a seasonally used Late Iron Age and early medieval trading post with traces of small-scale craft production, especially bronze working, but the concluding analysis has not yet been published.²³²

225 Rinne 1902; Rinne S. 1930; Taavitsainen 1979; Sinisalo 1977; Carlsson 1988; Åqvist 1989; 1991; Mikkola 2005.

226 Beckman 1954.

227 Bengtsson 1999, 57.

228 SD IV 2601; FMU 328.

229 Lösegendom 1909.

230 See e.g. Haggren et al. 1998; Niukkanen 1997; 1998; Uotila 2000.

231 Asplund 2004, 88.

232 The archaeological find material of the 1970s lacks inventory numbers and the relevant excavation reports have not been filed (Nordman 1940; Edgren 1977; 1979; 1995a; 1995b).

Towns

After the foundation of Turku at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries,²³³ five more towns were founded in the diocese during the Middle Ages. Ulvila and Porvoo were founded after the middle of the 14th century. Although Viipuri Castle was founded in 1293 and the town community as well as the town council is mentioned in the written sources in the course of the 14th century, the settlement was not officially granted town privileges until 1403. Rauma and Naantali were founded in the same century. The foundation of Rauma and Viipuri was probably motivated by trade and discord of the Scandinavian Union, whereas the foundation of Naantali had the sole purpose of serving and supplying the nearby Birgittine Nunnery and its visitors. Also Rauma had an ecclesiastical community, the Franciscan Convent, close by but the foundation of the town had mainly economic reasons.²³⁴ The second wave of urbanization started during the 16th century, when the towns of Tammisaari (1546), Helsinki (1550) and Pori (1558) were founded partly in order to promote international trade.²³⁵

When considering the number, surface area and population of the six medieval towns of Finland, it is apparent that urbanization here followed the general Swedish pattern. The first towns in the kingdom were founded later and they remained smaller than those in southern Scandinavia, northern Germany and the Baltic countries. The lateness of urbanization is even more apparent in the eastern province of the Swedish kingdom, where only six towns were founded during the Middle Ages compared with 40 in the western parts of the kingdom.²³⁶ None of the towns in Finland were members of the Hanseatic League, and probably one reason for this is the low productivity and low scale of urbanization in the region.

Archaeological observations of medieval and early modern cultural layers in Finnish towns began to be recorded in the mid-19th century, but this activity remained rather haphazard and mostly undocumented. Although important sites were excavated and published in Turku already in the early 19th century,²³⁷ the first fieldwork following the modern archaeological standards did not take place in the town until the late 1970s. In the 1990s and 2000s a number of large-scale excavations have uncovered a wealth of material in the medieval town area of Turku.²³⁸ Some of the new finds have been published, but thorough studies e.g. on architectural remains or artefact groups found in abundance, such as ceramics, are still under preparation. The situation in other towns is not as good as in Turku, although it has improved significantly since the 1990s.²³⁹

The current research situation, in which only a fraction of the new abundant and documented excavation material has been analysed and published, probably downplays the differences in local patterns of consumption in the towns of the Diocese of Turku in comparison with other towns in the kingdom, and overemphasizes interregional similarities. Furthermore, the vast and varied find material of the recent excavations may give a biased impression of the material culture of the town if compared uncritically with materials from previous, differently executed and documented excavations.

Hoard

The current study is interested in hoards that contain other artefacts of precious metals than coins. Such hoards are usually recognized as a distinct category where deposition is particularly motivated. There are several factors to consider when interpreting the intentions of hoarding such as the time of depositing the hoard and its composition, although according to Peter Spufford, the basic reason for hoarding is always some form of fear: fear of disorder, whether related to wider social calamities or confined only to the individual person, fear of not being able to replace the coins made keener, or fear of debasement and instability of money.²⁴⁰

²³³ Hiekkänen 2002; 2003b; Pihlman & Majantie 2006; 2007; Taavitsainen 2007b.

²³⁴ Suvanto 1973, 287–297.

²³⁵ See Mökkönen 2002a; 2002b; 2002c.

²³⁶ Callmer 1994, 78–79; see also André 1989.

²³⁷ The most important early publications are Appelgren 1902 and Valonen 1958.

²³⁸ Taavitsainen 2003a. For overviews of the major excavations and methods used, see Harjula 2005b, 22–27; Taavitsainen 2006.

²³⁹ See e.g. Niukkanen 2004.

²⁴⁰ Spufford 1987, 856–857.

Table 2. Those 17 hoards in Finland which have revealed, in addition to coins, also other medieval and Early Modern gold and silver artefacts.

No.	Location	Inv. no.	Composition	Deposition (tpq)
1	Halikko, Joensuu	NM Arch. 2570:1-5	1 cross pendant, 2 encolpion crosses, 36 filigree beads, fragments of 1 clay vessel	mid-12th century
2	Pattijoki, Iso-Märssylä	NM CC 18/31	627 coins, 2 finger rings	1387
3	Laihia	SHM 375	31 coins, 1 spoon, 1 finger ring	1592
4	Johannes, Päätilä, Hiekkaranta	NM Ethn. 4156	117 coins, 1 button	1593
5	Suonenjoki, Knuutila	NM Hist. 1449-1451	3 spoons	late 16th century
6	Kuusamo, Törmäsenlahti	NM CC 328	34 coins, 1 spoon, 1 finger ring	1603
7	Puolanka, Kivarinjärvi	NM Hist. 58105:1-2	3 coins, 2 spoons	1607
8	Muhos, Laitasaari, Ähkylä	NM Hist. 6752:1-14	13 coins, 1 spoon	1609
9	Korpiselkä, Kokkari, Huoppola	NM CC 35021	c. 500 coins, 1 finger ring	1613-1645
10	Pielavesi, Heinämäki	NM Hist. 2742:1-9	112 coins, 3 banquet tankards, 2 beakers, 4 spoons	1673
11	Tohmajärvi, Värtsilä	NM Ethn. 2667	250 coins, 2 finger rings	1677
12	Keminmaa, Lautiosaari	NM Hist. 57081:1-3	2 spoons, 1 finger ring	17th century
13	Siuntio, Sunnavik, Lavors	NM CC 871a	26 coins, 2 finger rings, 1 piece of silver	1705
14	Ylistaro, Myllykoski, Heinola	NM Hist. 49001:1-5	copper coins, 5 spoons	1707
15	Kaskinen	NM Hist. 55058:1-7	coins, 2 candelabra, 1 beaker of pewter, 2 finger rings, 2 ring brooches of brass	early 18th century
16	Nivala, Sarjankylä, Konginkangas	NM Hist. 2792:1-12	1 tankard, 2 beakers, 8 spoons	early 18th century
17	Sääminki, Moinsalmi, Lammassaari	NM Hist. 3979:1-5	4 spoons, 1 chain	early 18th century

Nevertheless, a basic division can be made between hoards made in an emergency and those used for collecting capital in more or less peaceful times. Even some form of sacrificial deposition could be involved, but none of the hoards in the current material has been interpreted as such. However, all types of hoards may or may not contain other artefacts than coins: silver and gold plate and jewellery as well as broken objects and raw material. Even valuable coins with high silver or gold content were an important source of raw materials for goldsmiths, although the crown tried to restrict the melting down of coinage.²⁴¹ Traditionally hoards with broken objects, metal bars and other pieces kept for reuse are interpreted as craftsmen's hoards, but the deposition of other objects along with coins could also suggest merchants and farmers – the final attribution has to be done on the basis of the artefact assemblage in the deposition combined with spatial factors. The caches of craftsmen and merchants are more likely to have been placed near trade routes, trading posts and markets, whereas remote rural places are more likely depositions by farmers.²⁴²

None of the vessels or wrappings in which caches were deposited in Finland c. 1275–1546 was made of precious metals. Moreover, only one of the 26 hoards deposited during the period has revealed other objects of precious metals than coins.²⁴³ The exception is the hoard discovered at Iso-Märssylä in Pattijoki, North Ostrobothnia, which contained 627 coins and two finger rings. While 609 of the coins are of Swedish, four of Gotlandic, eight of Norwegian and two of German origin, four bracteates remain unidentified. The youngest coin in the hoard was minted by Olav Håkansson in 1380–1387.²⁴⁴ In striking contrast, the twelve hoards of the late 16th to 18th centuries have revealed numerous spoons and other artefacts dating from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries (Table 2). Furthermore, the geographical pattern of these late hoards with silver objects is conspicuous. The distribution accentuates the east and north parts of the country, while no such hoards are known from the oldest and richest areas in Southwest Finland. Not surprisingly, these rural hoards have been interpreted as capital storages deposited by farmers. Another distinctive feature is the lateness of many hoards considering the dating of their silver artefacts, which suggests that the hoards are the family heirlooms of farmers.

²⁴¹ Sarvas 1981, 4.

²⁴² Sarvas 1981, 8; on the locations of hoards see Talvio 2002, 160–162.

²⁴³ Talvio pers. comm. 1.10.2007.

²⁴⁴ Malmer 1980, 208 no. 212.

Dating the material

Besides clarifying the spatial coordinates of objects, the analysis involves defining their age more precisely. The dating of artefacts can be based on the artefacts themselves and their contextual information, which comprises find contexts and written sources. The usefulness of contemporary written sources is nevertheless minimal in dating Finnish artefacts – instead, they typically provide more help for tracing the institutional or donor-related situation where the artefact in question was produced. More often than not the age of an object has to be deduced from the object itself and its find context, though even contextual information can be rather problematic. Provenances and find contexts are often either too vague for setting the date or too poorly documented to be of any use.

Even hoards and archaeological context information are somewhat difficult for dating silver and gold. Because artefacts of precious metals are quite durable and retain their metal value even if stylistically outdated, the lifespan of some gold and silver objects can be considerably long in contrast to abundantly found items such as ceramics. Hence the dating of the archaeological context or hoard should not be considered more than a *terminus ante quem* for the objects in question, unless there are no other means of dating them.

Ultimately, in most cases, the date of the artefact has to be based on the object itself or at least verified on the basis of the item itself. The age can be deduced from the object's inscriptions, whether referring to a year, a certain person or other relevant context, from engraved coats of arms, punched hallmarks and finally from stylistic features or techniques of production.

Engraved year markings are typical of objects made of precious metals, and often scholars assume a self-evident link existing between the date of production of such an artefact and the year marked on its surface, but establishing this connection is not an uncomplicated matter. On the basis of ethnological collections, Toivo Immanuel Itkonen points out that the year markings carved on 17th-century wooden objects cannot be taken at face value, since in some cases an artefact can have a year marking which points to a period even a few centuries older than the stylistic characteristics of the artefact actually would allow. Hence Itkonen arrives at comparing year markings with other datable characteristics of the artefact before accepting the dating offered by the marked year.²⁴⁵

The ethnologists Elina Kiuru and Nina Sääskilähti suggest that a year mark, whether indicating the date of production or some other date, could be conceived as a wish to immortalize certain important events. This moment might be the date when the object was donated or some other significant event in the life of its owner, but nevertheless it was considered important enough to be materially fixed on the surface of the artefact.²⁴⁶ Year markings are not merely aesthetically pleasing ornaments, which just happen to be an aid in dating artefacts. Moreover, the marking of a year could also be interpreted as elevating any artefact into the public, official sphere as is the case with coins and modern stamps. The complexity related to interpreting year markings is underscored, if the Pre- and Early Modern conceptions of time and social background of historiography are considered.²⁴⁷ The ebb and flow of time fixed into years can be associated with the command of literacy among the ecclesiastical, administrative and courtly cultures, but perhaps also among the urban merchant culture.²⁴⁸ Hence the marking of a year on an object can be understood as extending also to it the value associated with literacy and texts.²⁴⁹ Of course the marking of a year on an artefact requires knowledge of numbers and the calendar, but the function of the year marking, its significance, is not merely in counting the past of time and fixing moments into eternity. It is also a socially contextualizing phenomenon.²⁵⁰

Another complex issue related to dating artefacts is the hallmarking of silver. In Central Europe the first hallmarking orders were given in the late 13th century, while in the Swedish kingdom, the oldest known order for goldsmiths to mark their products with a hallmark or identification mark was

²⁴⁵ Itkonen 1957, 96–98.

²⁴⁶ Kiuru & Sääskilähti 1998, 125–128.

²⁴⁷ Le Goff 1980.

²⁴⁸ Kiuru & Sääskilähti 1998, 128–132.

²⁴⁹ Andrén 1997, 156–157.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Lévi-Strauss (1955) 1997, 336–339; Derrida (1967) 1984, 124–126.

given by Sten Sture in 1485. The order was repeated in 1489 and again in 1529, when Gustavus Vasa ratified his order on goldsmiths. Despite these reiterated orders, the hallmarking of silver remained rare in the kingdom. In fact, one single hallmark in medieval silver has been identified as belonging to a Finnish goldsmith. A hallmark representing the letter S in mirror image appears in a chalice of St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku (Cat. 2:10) and a chalice in Rauma Church (Cat. 2:13). Tove Riska links the mark to Sven guldsmed (= goldsmith) of Turku, who appears in written sources in 1443–1480.²⁵¹ The association, however, is conjectural, since there is no evidence to support the attributions other than the same initial and the dating of the chalices to the same period when Sven guldsmed was active in Turku.

Hallmarking in general and also hallmarks in Finnish pieces began to emerge on a larger scale after the mid-16th century, although the practice did not become well-established until the 17th and 18th centuries. The earliest hallmarks usually consist of only the goldsmith's mark. The identification of such marks and the dating of artefacts by them are not without their difficulties, as shown by the case of Sven guldsmed. These earliest hallmarks were based on goldsmiths' identification marks, and consequently they do not reveal the initials or names of craftsmen directly. Hence, linking certain hallmarks to certain goldsmiths has to be based on written sources, where goldsmiths and their seals or actual hallmarks appear. Due to the lack of such suitable records, many early marks remain unidentified or identification is more or less uncertain. The custom of using identification marks as hallmarks continued well into the 17th century, although the oldest hallmarks in the kingdom based on initials date from the late 16th century. The need to use town marks was affirmed in 1596, while the year mark was not established in the kingdom until the late 17th and early 18th century.²⁵²

When inscriptions or hallmarks do not provide a dating for the studied piece, or generally even if they do, the age of the artefact has to be deduced from its technical and stylistic features. From the perspective of dating, technical and stylistic characteristics cannot be separated from each other.²⁵³ Style is an amoeba-like concept, which can take a range of forms, uses and meanings depending on the environment in which it is used. In the present study, style is applied as a pragmatic tool to distinguish between different ways of doing things.²⁵⁴ Similarly repeated acts materialize in artefacts displaying similarities with each other and sharing a difference in relation to other objects made in some other way. In other words, the process of materialization makes the differences and similarities of various, repeated acts visible and tangible.

Beside the idea of materialization of acts, the use of stylistic analysis as a tool for dating requires the assumption that similarly repeated acts and their materialization – certain styles – share a temporal proximity to each other. Certain ways of doing things are preceded and succeeded by other ways of doing things, which is the basis for the relative dating of artefacts. The temporal fluctuations of style are grouped as style epochs, and absolute dates can be provided for them with the help of written sources. The elementary style epochs of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period and their calendar dates are rather established, although variations occur.²⁵⁵ In practice, the stylistic dating of objects of precious metals is based on finding stylistically similar items, which can be linked to an absolute time-scale, usually on the basis of a securely dated find context.

However, the stylistic analysis of historical artefacts not only provides chronological anchors, but often indicates two other things, the quality of workmanship and place of production. These have attracted a lot of attention from Finnish scholars writing on medieval and Early Modern silver for whom distinguishing local products from imported objects has been a major issue. The items without hallmarks could have been produced almost anywhere around the Baltic Sea, most likely in Stockholm and the Hanseatic towns of Tallinn, Danzig, Wismar and Lübeck, and imported to Finland. Hence the only way to identify local products can be stylistic analysis.

²⁵¹ Riska 1981.

²⁵² Borg (1935) 1977, 20–24; Andrén et al. 2000, 14–17.

²⁵³ Cf. e.g. Vitali 2000, 8.

²⁵⁴ Kallio 1998; see also Hiekkänen 1998, 228.

²⁵⁵ A brief account of the relevant stylistic phases and their characterizations is given e.g. by Oldeberg 1966, 132–133.

The distinctive characteristics of local products, however, seem rather few in number. The use of Swedish in inscriptions instead of Latin or German has been interpreted as a sign that the object was made in the Swedish kingdom or even by a Swedish-speaking goldsmith. Also the other assumed characteristics are shared by all Swedish products and are not confined to Finland. Since fashions and styles were international, the only characteristic of local production seems to be the weaker technical quality of work. The conclusion seems very grim: local production was very poor in quality compared with the skills of foreign goldsmiths. Carl af Ugglas states in a similar vein that despite some astonishing pieces of craftsmanship, the average skill of Nordic goldsmiths should not be overestimated. In those rare situations where securely based comparisons are possible, the result is not flattering for the local masters.²⁵⁶ On the other hand, consumers and their demands as well as the ability of goldsmiths to master several styles are clearly viewed too rigidly in this line of argument, which is based on very scant material. The current study does not want to dismiss questions of origins or quality altogether, but instead of treating them as the primary aims of style analysis, it approaches the two themes as part of a social analysis of consumption.

Towards a social history of artefacts and luxury consumption

After tackling the spatial and chronological dimensions of the research material, the research process and methodological presentation are ready to proceed to the socially oriented issue of consumption. The methodological challenge in the archaeological study of material culture is to proceed from the concept of luxury to identifying items of luxury and reconstructing patterns of their consumption from written and archaeological sources. The present study avoids the problem of first needing to identify its objects as luxurious, since silver and gold were already used as a measure of wealth *per se* as materials. The main issue, however, lies in how to make the study of silverwork more finely graded through approaching the objects as elements in the register of consumption and analysing the ways in which the five characteristics of luxury consumption – restriction, acquisition, semiotic virtuosity, knowledge and the consuming body – emerge in objects of precious metals.

The identification of luxurious products in archaeological studies is usually done in two ways which both are comparative and mutually complementary. The first method is based on intraregional comparisons where the local source material is interpreted in relationship with materials known from other places. In practice, this means that luxury items are identified on the basis of publications of material from other sites. The second method basically involves creating a scale where all contemporary material of one particular artefact category from one or more sites is arranged so that the rarest occurrences of certain artefact types are interpreted as luxuries.

The two methods cannot be applied separately. When the method of scaling is applied, the rarity of an artefact type in one site or region is not enough to meet the requirements of luxury. Rarity may be due to other factors not related to lavish consumption, as in the case of pilgrim badges of base metals. Badges were rare due to the complexity of their acquisition, but as products they were still available to everybody. Complexity of acquisition is indeed only one feature shared by luxuries, and thus the method of scaling should be complemented with intraregional comparisons and literary sources. On the other hand, when the method of intraregional comparison is used, an artefact of luxury in one area cannot be directly interpreted as a luxury product also in another area, where in fact it may well have been just an everyday object. Usually this situation applies to imports versus locally produced artefacts such as ceramics.²⁵⁷ After initial identification, the distribution of luxury products, whether in written or archaeological sources, can be interpreted as patterns of luxury consumption, or the distribution of goods can be compared with the social topography reconstructed on the basis of other sources. Subsequently socially relevant patterns of luxury consumption emerge. The social dimension of the consumption of precious metals is reconstructed firstly on the basis of contextual analysis of the artefacts, meaning the spatial

²⁵⁶ cf. Ugglas 1942, 21–22.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Verhaege 1998, 278, 286.

Table 3. Thematic distribution of entries with a reference to goldsmiths or artefacts of gold and silver in Finland's Medeltidsurkunder (1910–1935) from the 1280s to 1530.
N = 162.

1. Will, probate inventory or other similar document related to property transfer (36)
2. Document related to a juridical process. The group consists mainly of the minutes of the Stockholm town (36)
3. Document with the name of one or several goldsmiths (28)
4. Document describing looting and similar thefts (21)
5. Document related to a sale or pawn (10)
6. Inscription on a communion vessel (9)
7. Order or declaration of the crown (6)
8. Miscellaneous (5)
9. Inventory of secular property (4)
10. Order or declaration of the church (4)
11. Inventory of ecclesiastical property (3)

distribution of their sites of discovery across the diocese and the possible indications on their users and usage, and secondly by relating these results with written data of the artefact type in question.

In examining the medieval and early modern written sources one has to remember their biased nature. Not only do they overemphasize certain sections of society at the expense of others, but importantly, the documents are made to serve specific intentions. One form of presenting this intentionality is to group documents related to artefacts of precious metals according to their type or genre. The grouping of the relevant entries in the FMU can even be presented statistically (Table 3), which shows that most of the documents are either wills, documents related to juridical processes and looting, or various documents mentioning goldsmiths by name. An essential characteristic of the medieval documents related to individuated goldsmiths is that they never speak of them as craftsmen of their profession. In a way, their being goldsmiths is incidental for the document. The grouping of the written sources is more or less similar when the Early Modern period is considered, with the fundamental exception of the confiscation documents of ecclesiastical silver.

Finally, when the chronological framework of all relevant artefact types and their consumption has been reconstructed using archaeological and written data, this complete scheme can be addressed as the register of luxury consumption, and the analysis moves on to trace the temporal fluctuations in the five characteristics of the register. But before becoming absorbed in the examination of individual artefact groups and the related written sources, it is necessary to give an overview first of the flows of precious metals in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period and secondly of the production and producers of silver and gold artefacts.

Raw Materials and Production

5 Sources of Precious Metals and Circulation of Coinage

Element properties and acquisition of gold and silver

The value of gold and silver is defined by their properties as metals and by their scarcity and the amount of labour required to acquire them from the earth. Alfred de Foville estimates that all the gold in the world taken from the earth by the early 20th century put together would form a cube with all sides measuring ten metres, in other words 1,000 cubic metres.²⁵⁸ A similar cube made in 1500 would have measured only two metres each way, i.e. eight cubic metres.²⁵⁹ Hence it is not surprising that fluctuations in the availability of precious metals are usually cited as the reason for changes in their value. In addition to their rarity, the whole socio-economic context of their use must also be accounted for as well as the changes in the appreciation of their material properties.

Gold (Au) and silver (Ag) are malleable, lustrous and heavy metals. They are also highly burnishable but not easily stainable.²⁶⁰ Silver is slightly harder than gold, which can be hammered or rolled into thin sheets of even 0.001 mm. Still both metals in their pure form have a rating of 2.3–3 on the Mohs scale of relative mineral hardness, in which the score for diamond is 10 and for talc 1. The melting point of silver is 961.78 °C, and it is thus moderately suited for casting, whereas casting gold in its pure form is not very practical as the metal shrinks significantly during solidification. The melting point of gold is somewhat higher than that of silver, 1,064.18 °C, but the temperature needed can be reduced by using alloys. With an alloy of 23 carats (96 %) the melting point is c. 1,005–1,017 °C and for 18 carats (75 %), 872–885 °C. Because of their softness and value, both silver and gold are often alloyed with base metals, silver especially with copper and bronze, which also enhance its casting qualities. As a matter of fact, all silver in circulation is actually some form of silver alloy. The same applies to gold which usually has some portion of silver or copper.

Silver and gold are highly stable metals, although silver is tarnished by being exposed to ozone, hydrogen sulphide or air containing sulphur. When in contact with these gases, silver produces a dark surface. Nevertheless, their stability combined with ductility made them ideal for covering other metals, and especially gold has been used for this purpose ever since prehistoric times.

Gold is a fairly common element in the earth, but it usually occurs in such small quantities that it is not worth refining. The metal can be found as mountain gold in ore deposits as well as alluvial gold, when small particles of gold have eroded from ore and have become mixed with gravel, sludge or other products of erosion. Now and then gold appears in relatively large lumps. Whether mined from ore or panned from alluvial soils, gold in nature does not occur in its pure form, but mixed with silver, copper and iron. It may even contain smaller traces, for instance, of tellurium, bismuth, antimony, mercury and platinum. Because of these various gold alloys, there are two basic refining processes for extracting the metal. The first is the process of separating gold as well as silver from base metals, usually copper. The other process is for separating gold from silver.

Silver, in contrast to gold, occurs as a free metal in grains or threads and less commonly in larger pieces among quarried quartz, calcite or other rock types. Silver is also found as part of

²⁵⁸ de Foville 1907, 112–125.

²⁵⁹ Vilar 1976, 19.

²⁶⁰ Henderson 2000, 212–213.

various minerals such as argentite or silver-glance (Ag_2S , silver sulphide) and chlorargyrite (AgCl , silver chloride). The actual silver ores such as argentite contain sulphur and antimony. Most silver currently circulating in the world, in fact, is acquired as a by-product of copper, gold, lead, and zinc mining. The amount of silver in ores varies greatly.²⁶¹

The oldest silver artefacts among Finnish prehistoric finds are from the Early Iron Age, when the metal was used in individual artefacts or as inlays and other surface decorations on objects of other materials. Silver, however, did not become a common material in the Finnish finds until the Viking Age, when the number of silver objects – dress accessories, coins or other types of artefacts found in hoards or in graves – increases significantly. This silver was most probably acquired from Arabic coins.²⁶² Gold, in contrast, remains a very rare material throughout Finnish prehistory. The oldest find of gold is dated to the Early Bronze Age around the 9th and 8th centuries BC. It is a fragment of a gold plaque found in a grave under a cairn at Kaasanmäki in Harjavalta.²⁶³ After that, gold does not occur again until the Roman Iron Age (1–400 AD) and it remains very rare throughout the entire Iron Age. The abundance of gold reflected in the South Scandinavian finds during the Migration Period (400–600 AD) never reached Finland, although there are more gold artefacts known from the earlier part of the Finnish Iron Age than its latest periods.²⁶⁴

An important metal for working with precious metals is mercury or quicksilver (Hg), which is used as an amalgam in the process of gilding and silvering. Since the metal has a very low melting point, $-38.83\text{ }^\circ\text{C}$, it is ideal for mixing with precious metals.²⁶⁵ Mercury was used throughout Europe in the Iron Age and the Middle Ages. It was prepared from cinnabar ore mined in various places around the continent, the most important being Wieda in the Harz region. In 1403 King Rupert of Germany (reigned in 1400–1410) gave the town of Dambach in the Palatinate the first German mercury charter, but the mine was probably in operation already before this official recognition. The mercury mine of Idrija in present-day Slovenia was opened for mining in the 1490s.

Besides specialized mercury mines, also silver mines can produce the metal. It is not known, however, to what extent Swedish mines were used for supplying mercury, although the Swedish Birgittine monk Peder Månsson (c. 1465–1534) mentions the metal and its extraction processes as taking place in Sweden in his *Bergmanskonst* written in the early 16th century. Whatever the case, mercury must still have been imported. There are no references to the metal in the customs records of Lübeck or Hamburg, but a list of goods imported to Nya Lödöse in 1546 has an entry of four *lipunds* or 34 kg of quicksilver. Moreover, the probate inventory of goldsmith Niels Jeppesen (master in 1544–1578) dated in Malmö in 1580 lists chemicals which the master needed in his work: *Boras, Sal Amoniacum, Glas gull, Wiinsteen and Queg söloff*, i.e. borax, sal ammoniac, glass lustre, potassium bitartrate and mercury.²⁶⁶ Although there is neither archaeological nor written evidence of the metal being imported to Finland in the medieval period,²⁶⁷ post-medieval trade records reveal that it was acquired to Turku in 1551 and to Viipuri in 1551 and 1558.²⁶⁸ Mercury, however, was needed for gilding and silvering even before the mid-16th century, and thus importation must have occurred in one form or another.

261 Henderson 2000, 237–239. Tracing the origins of materials used in silver and gold artefacts with chemical characterization is a tempting idea, but according to Henderson (2000, 282–285), the results would be highly problematic, because thorough chemical analyses of the European ores are lacking, and moreover, the only objects which are definitely known not to contain metals from several mines are coins minted of metals quarried from particular mines.

262 Kivikoski 1961, 132, 143, 153, 179, 211.

263 NM Arch. 5104:1; Tallgren 1914; Meinander 1954, 220–221.

264 Kivikoski 1961, 88, 132–133, 153, 179, 211; Salo 1981, 280–281.

265 Henderson 2000, 240–241.

266 Strömbom 1924; Bager 1953, 58; Pedersen 1964; Bengtsson 1946–1947, 205; Oldeberg 1966, 41–42; Andrén et al. 2000, 464.

267 On 12 January 1878, the newspaper *Länsi-Suomi* published a brief note in a section entitled 'From Pori' reporting that an unspecified informant had told the paper that in 1876 he or she had found a container of iron, c. 30 cm in height and 12.5 cm in width. It was tightly sealed and contained quicksilver. The year 1510 was engraved on the side of the container. Since nothing is known about the subsequent fate of the container and its contents, the reliability of the note remains questionable. Furthermore, the container and its mercury could have been used for magical purposes, not as raw material in metalworking.

268 Grotenfelt 1887, 160.

The origins and availability of raw materials in medieval and Early Modern Europe

In the Nordic countries, the precious metals used in the medieval and Early Modern Period came from several sources as a result of quarrying, importing and recycling. Hence, direct evidence of silver and gold mining in the Nordic countries must be embedded into a more general sketch of the economic development of medieval and Early Modern Northern Europe. Notwithstanding the major impact of silver mining and circulation of silver on the European economy,²⁶⁹ John Granlund argues that the fragmentary source material available does not permit any final conclusions on how the general development of the role of silver elsewhere in Europe affected the Nordic countries.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the great differences between the Baltic and more southern trade systems have to be borne in mind. Based on written sources, luxuries played a very important role in Mediterranean and Near Eastern trade, though it also involved bulk goods, whereas trade in medieval Northern Europe was largely based on foodstuffs such as grain, dairy products, fish, wine and beer along with raw materials such as furs, timber, pitch, tar, wool, coal, and salt.²⁷¹

In spite of the shortcomings of the available data and regional differences, Granlund distinguishes four phases in the production and circulation of silver and gold on the European scale:

- 1) The first phase during the 12th century was a period of rapid economic growth especially in Germany.
- 2) The second phase from the early or mid-14th century to the mid-15th century saw a great decline in silver production as a consequence of the Black Death and its economic impact.²⁷² At the same time, gold grew in importance with the opening of new mines in Central Europe.
- 3) The third phase began around the 1450s, when new sources of silver became available and the European economies expanded aggressively.²⁷³
- 4) The fourth phase in the early 16th century is characterized by silver and gold being brought from Mexico and Peru to Europe in such great quantities that it had an inflationary impact on the whole course of economic development. In Scandinavia, however, the effects of the American silver flow were not visible until around 1560.²⁷⁴

Especially this last phase in Granlund's chronology can be questioned in the light of more recent studies. Tom Scott claims, on the basis of substantial source material, that the impact of Mexican and Peruvian precious metals in the European economy cannot be detected in the early 16th century, and its importance has largely been exaggerated.²⁷⁵

Based on archaeological finds, the first phase of Granlund's chronology, namely the Crusade Period, was the great period of imported silver in the Nordic countries, since local resources were not yet utilized. Silver was acquired from three directions, firstly from the southeast, the area of the Caliphate, secondly from Germany and the British Isles, and thirdly from the Carolingian Empire. Silver, mainly in the form of Arabic dirhams flowed from the Caliphate to Sweden and Finland from the earlier half of the 9th century onwards. The diminishing output of silver mines in Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, however, also affected Nordic importation, and finally the flow of silver from the southeast ceased altogether by the early 11th century.

The Western European imports of silver were mostly in the form of denars. Silver mined especially in the Rammelsberg mines in the Harz Mountains, Germany began to be transported in the mid-10th century and the mines quickly grew in importance. The 12th century saw a strong

²⁶⁹ Postan 1987, 177.

²⁷⁰ Granlund 1970a.

²⁷¹ Postan 1987, 168–169.

²⁷² Schreiner 1948, 54; Postan 1987, 201, 212.

²⁷³ Nef 1941, 585.

²⁷⁴ Hammarström 1958.

²⁷⁵ Scott 2006.

economic upswing in Germany, although the silver imports to the Nordic countries ended gradually by the mid-12th century.²⁷⁶ Nevertheless, after the mid-12th century silver was needed by states for minting, which also began in Scandinavia, although the actual monetization of the economy or the adoption of coins into everyday economic practices across wide social strata occurred much later. In the heartlands of the Swedish kingdom monetization was achieved by 1300.²⁷⁷

Throughout the Middle Ages, the flow of silver and gold from southern areas, perhaps indirectly from even outside Europe, continued, but the written evidence of importing precious metals to Scandinavia is scarce. In fact, the only actual reference to silver imports is a passage from customs accounts from the latter part of the 14th century. There *1 marca puriargenti* or '1 mark of pure silver' is claimed to have been transported from Lübeck to Kalmar.²⁷⁸ In 1478 a group of men in Gotland turned to Danzig to buy silver for minting purposes, but the outcome of their inquiries is unknown.²⁷⁹ Lübeck was possibly an exporter of silver in the Baltic sphere. The town acquired silver from Bohemia, Erfurt and Braunschweig in 1365–1376,²⁸⁰ and in 1470 Lübeck acted as a middleman for a silver purchase between Hungary and Nürnberg. In 1495, silver was again imported to Lübeck, this time from Frankfurt.²⁸¹ As in the case of Lübeck, silver may also have been imported to the Nordic countries from Rammelsberg and possibly from the Schwarzwald district in the Rhine area.²⁸² Another important source of raw materials consisted of existing silver and gold artefacts and coins, although the Swedish crown regarded this to be a threat and in 1473 forbade goldsmiths to melt down coins.²⁸³ Even objects discovered as stray finds or reclaimed from Late Iron Age burial grounds may have been exploited as a source of silver.²⁸⁴

At the European level, the importance of gold as circulating currency began to increase from the early 14th century onwards. The reason for this was the difference between the supplies of gold and of silver available for coinage, the result of new Hungarian gold deposits opening around Kremnitz in the 1320s. Although gold had been mined there before, the change in output was significant.²⁸⁵ As more and more silver had become available during the 13th century, the value of gold had increased, but as more gold was mined after the 1320s, the value of gold declined.²⁸⁶ Regardless of this transition, the panning and mining of gold had continued in the Mediterranean since Antiquity. Further north, in Bohemia and in the valleys of the Rhine, Po, Salzach, Rhone and the Danube, the panning of gold continued throughout the medieval period. Gold was also quarried in the Fichtelbirge and the Erzgebirge Tauern, Siebenbürgen, and Goldberg, Nikolstadt, Reichenstein and Löwenberg in Silesia, but especially in Reichenstein, owned by the house of Fugger.

The great commercial expansion that had begun in Europe in the 12th century came to a halt with the Black Death and the depression of the mid-14th century.²⁸⁷ The late 14th century and the early part of the 15th century were a period of arrested development. This depression also affected the silver-mining regions in Central and Southeastern Europe. As Michael Postan argues, the diminishing output of mines cannot be interpreted as directly affecting the availability of precious metals. In fact, the increase of silver per capita compensated for the effects of falling mine supplies. The depression, however, probably increased the tendency to hoard precious metals.²⁸⁸ Moreover, according to Peter Spufford, during the period from the last decade of the 14th century to the mid-1460s the availability of silver was also greatly restricted, and its price in relation to gold rose until

276 Nef 1952, 345.

277 Klackenborg 1992, 179–187; Carelli 2001, 337–354.

278 Koppe 1943, 201.

279 Ericsson 1923, 40 no. 307.

280 Jesse (1929) 1967, 158.

281 Jesse (1929) 1967, 320.

282 Granlund 1970a, col. 267.

283 PRF I:176 § 49, 179 § 5, 181.

284 Taavitsainen 1991.

285 Spufford 1987, 831.

286 Spufford 1987, 851.

287 Postan 1987, 240–243.

288 Postan 1987, 251–263.

silver was again more freely available in the 1460s.²⁸⁹ The shortage of silver ended quite suddenly at that time with the opening of new silver mines in the Alps and the Erzgebirge and with technical innovations which made the reopening of old mines profitable.²⁹⁰ In the case of Scandinavia and especially Finland, the situation is difficult to interpret as the impact of the Black Death and even whether it reached the fringes of Europe are debated questions.²⁹¹

In the more southern areas of Central Europe, a general transition from silver to gold currencies occurred during the mid-14th century; earlier this phenomenon had been limited to the Mediterranean. The period from the 1320s to 1460s was dominated by gold. Gold coins were also introduced into the northern European monetary systems already in the latter part of the 13th century, but in Fennoscandia silver coins continued to dominate well into the 16th century. To be more precise, silver was used more in local and interregional trade, while gold and gold coins were common in international trade. Gold as the most valuable metal was easier to transport. Also its value was more stable.²⁹²

The acquisition of silver in the medieval and Early Modern Nordic countries

No evidence exists that the alluvial gold deposits of Northern Fennoscandia were exploited during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, although there may have been knowledge of these northern gold deposits which was then forgotten until the 19th century. According to Olaus Magnus, Gustavus Vasa founded the first Nordic gold mine in North Sweden,²⁹³ and in Olaus Magnus's *Carta Marina*, the gold mine was marked as located in the Luleå River Valley in Norrland. In a later work, Georgius Agricola places the mine in Finnmark.²⁹⁴ Moreover, Peder Månsson recorded a note that in his youth, around the 1480s, he had found gold.²⁹⁵ The Swedish silver and copper resources utilized since the Middle Ages were rich in gold, and for example, the silver from Öster-Silfberg held at least 12 % of gold. The gold content was high enough to proceed with a profitable separation process. A letter of the priest Johannes of Linköping, written in 1512 to Sten Sture the Elder, reveals that a method for separation was known.²⁹⁶ In his treatise Peder Månsson describes this process used by Swedish miners as based on *aqua fortis* or 'strong water', a corrosive solution of nitric acid made from saltpetre, which dissolved silver from gold.²⁹⁷

Whether gold was mined and processed in the kingdom or not, the domestic production of the metal was of such a low scale that had little importance for Swedish goldsmiths. They had to rely on material obtained outside the Nordic countries.²⁹⁸ The importation of gold was probably mostly done through German merchants. An indication of this is that in 1473 the Swedish goldsmiths were prohibited from using raw material that was of lower quality than Rhineland gold.²⁹⁹ In 1482 a merchant of Kolberg sold 'a large [amount], 100 (units of) gold' for three iron vessels in Stockholm.³⁰⁰ Furthermore, gold was possibly acquired from Russian sources through the eastern harbour towns, but there is no concrete evidence of such eastern imports.

Silver was also imported to the Nordic countries from southern regions. Especially the lead mining areas of England in Worcestershire and Somerset were important for Fennoscandia, but rich lead and silver ore deposits are also rather common in Continental Europe. In Northern Europe, the first written reference to silver mining survives in the *Res gestae saxonicae* written by the monk Widukind (deceased c. 1004) of Corvey Cloister around 968. King Otto I had silver quarried in

289 Spufford 1987, 851–852.

290 Spufford 1987, 860.

291 Kallioinen 1998.

292 Postan 1987, 213–214.

293 Olaus Magnus 6:12.

294 Agricola VII:X; Granlund 1960, col. 565.

295 Månsson 140.

296 Granlund 1960, col. 565.

297 Månsson 139.

298 Yrwing 1966, col. 572.

299 *wærre gul en rinst gul*; PRF I:175 § 1.

300 *eth stoorth C gull fore iij fat järn*; STb 2:1, 355.

Saxony, probably in Rammelsberg. The amount of silver in circulation around Europe increased significantly during the 12th and 13th centuries. The increase occurred at the same time as the trade links via the Baltic Sea became stronger. Silver was an important product exported from west to east, and in this flow of the precious metal German silver played the leading role. In fact, the main sources of European silver were, besides Hungary, in Saxony and the Harz Mountains, which were taken into more efficient utilization during the 10th to 12th centuries. In addition to mined silver, the economic changes of the 12th century mobilized wealth previously deposited in hoards, plate and ornaments.³⁰¹ According to the historian Vilho Niitemaa, German silver was also imported to Finland both through direct contacts with North German towns, which are reflected for example in the late medieval business letters of Pål Scheel,³⁰² and partly through the Baltic countries and towns such as Tallinn.³⁰³

Unlike gold, silver was mined in significant quantities in medieval Sweden, though there are no traces of the utilization of silver ores in the Diocese of Turku.³⁰⁴ Nordic silver mining may already have started during the 12th and 13th centuries, since in the mid-13th century, the Franciscan friar Bartholomeus Anglicus mentions in his *De proprietatibus rerum* that silver mines were quarried in Sweden,³⁰⁵ and *argentum Kalmaricum*, 'silver of Kalmar', is mentioned in German written sources in 1298.³⁰⁶ The first certain indication of silver mining, however, is from Magnus Ericsson's mining and town charter for the mining company of Norberg dated 24 February 1354, where it is stated that there are *Wikabergh Lindabergh oc Jarnhyttonor a Silbergheno*, thought to refer to the 'silver mountain' in Norrbärke in southern Dalarna. Estimates of the mine's annual production capacity during the 14th century are around 1,000–1,300 kg. The mine was mentioned always in the singular until the mid-1480s, when a new discovery of silver was made in present-day Östra Silverberget or Gamla Silverberget in Stora Tune in Dalarna.³⁰⁷ In a letter of King Hans from 1498, Nils Sture was given a large share of this new silver deposit, the production of which equalled his own old mines in the old Silverberget. In the 16th century, there are further references to the two mines, Västra and Östra Silverberget. Västra Silverberget was closed during the late medieval period and reopened in the early 16th century.³⁰⁸ The mines of Silverberget produced c. 102 kg of silver in 1527 and 41 kg in 1533.³⁰⁹

The most important source of silver in the kingdom during the late medieval period were the Sala mines in Västmanland founded in the first decade of the 16th century.³¹⁰ In 1529 the mines produced silver to the amount of 320 kg and in 1533, 515 kg of silver. Moreover, the silver content of galena from the mines, 3.23 %, was the highest in the world. Not surprisingly their utilization was made into a strict state monopoly through land taxes.³¹¹ Lastly, another silver mine was opened in the early 1530s in Glanshammar in Närke. There are also references in 16th-century written sources to silver mines near Arboga, Guldsmedshyttan in Linde, and the Kopparberget mines in Dalarna.³¹²

The exporting of silver from Sweden, notwithstanding the mining activity, is only once mentioned in medieval written accounts, when a customs list from 1368 records silver being shipped from Gotland. The exported amount is *3 frusta Lubicensis argenti*, the value being 76 1/8 Lübeck marks. Silver was exported, however, on an everyday basis in the form of the coins with which imported goods were paid. Eli Heckscher estimates that 0.2 % of all exports in 1559 were in the form of *daler* coins.³¹³

301 Postan 1987, 213–214.

302 Leskelä 2007.

303 Niitemaa 1970, col. 271.

304 Granlund 1970b, col. 275.

305 Tunberg 1922, 34–39.

306 USL CII.

307 Ekström 1948.

308 Ekström 1948, 132.

309 Hammarström 1956, 306–307.

310 Holmkvist 1954; Hammarström 1956, 306–307.

311 Granström 1940, 128; Granlund 1970b, col. 272.

312 Granström 1940, 28.

313 Heckscher 1935, 35.

In addition to controlling the export of silver metal, the Swedish crown tried to regulate the export of coins.³¹⁴ In 1485 a representative of the town of Stockholm complained that the silver produced in the kingdom is for the most part taken abroad by merchants.³¹⁵ The export of precious metals was prohibited in 1486 and the export of coins in 1473 as well as in 1495.³¹⁶ In 1489, the export of silver was forbidden as harmful to the state. Moreover, after control marking all fine silver was to be sold only to the minter of the state. The law was reissued in 1491, when all purchases of silver from Silverberget by private buyers were forbidden.

According to an order of 1487 renewed in 1493, everyone who exported silver or lead from the kingdom of Sweden was to lose his life and property.³¹⁷ Nevertheless merchants were recorded in 1499 to have gone to Silverberget, bought the silver they needed and taken it abroad. Because of these violations, silver purchases from the miners were forbidden. They were to transport the silver to Stockholm, where goldsmiths could acquire the silver they needed.³¹⁸ The prohibition on silver trade between miners and merchants continued.³¹⁹ A privilege charter issued in 1512 orders silver to be sold only to the mint in Stockholm or Västerås.

The continuous repetition of the orders reveals that they were ignored, and the existence of silver markets in Västerås and Hedemora is indicated by written sources. Especially the exceptionally wealthy goldsmiths of the Central Swedish towns are believed to have worked with quarried Swedish silver to satisfy the demands not only of the church but also those of farmers.³²⁰ According to Hugo Yrwing, silver was consumed in all social classes from the nobility to farmers to such extent that the domestic silver market as well as the local utilization of domestically produced silver were self-evident phenomena.³²¹

It appears that during the latter part of the 15th century the flow of silver turned from importation to export. At the same time continental inflation caused the exchange value of silver plummet, while the old silver content of the coins was kept unchanged. The situation led minters, for example, to melt silver coins into silver, which the state tried to forbid. Officials also strove to increase their control of minting and exports, but the export of silver continued.³²² The crown even gave an order to the Swedish and German merchants in Stockholm that the silver content of coins was to be reduced by 20 % in 1509–1510,³²³ but this did not have the desired effect, since e.g. in 1512 a Swedish man had to pay a merchant in Tallinn for imported goods with Swedish coins instead of other currencies, because the Swedish coins were preferred.³²⁴ The flow of silver out of the kingdom continued throughout the century, especially after the death of Gustavus Vasa, alongside galloping inflation.³²⁵

Coinage in medieval and Early Modern Finland

The broadly sketched outline of the availability and circulation of raw materials in the whole of Europe is admittedly problematic from the Nordic point of view due to the weak source basis here. The issuing and circulation of coinage, however, were closely linked to the quarrying and distribution of precious metals throughout the continent. Coin evidence can thus supply a more detailed and localized picture, firstly, of the circulation of precious metals in Finland, and secondly of the valuation of gold and silver. Coins form a very distinct group of artefacts with their own processes of issuing and use as well as patterns of distribution. Since there are no thorough monographs on medieval and early modern Finnish numismatics available, the following summary

314 Lönnroth 1940, 236; Jesse 1968, 157.

315 *alth thet silffuer, som her görs i landet, thet föra köpmennene mesta delen wtlendis*; PRF I:192; Clason 1903, 134.

316 STb 2:1, 133; PRF I:175, 210.

317 PRF I:205 § 9.

318 PRF I:224 § 3.

319 Granström 1940, 119.

320 Granlund 1970b, cols. 274–275.

321 Yrwing 1966, col. 572.

322 Niitemaa 1970, col. 271.

323 Hammarström 1956, 129–130.

324 Mickwitz 1938, 8, 123.

325 Heckscher 1935, 215–222.

is based on articles by Pekka Sarvas and Tuukka Talvio, the leading scholars on the subject.³²⁶

In Sweden, the first coins were issued in Sigtuna c. 995, but minting ceased after the 1020s and 1030s to begin again in Lödöse c. 1050 and in Gotland c. 1140. After that it continued during the reign of Knut Eriksson (1167–1196) in Lödöse and Sigtuna. The minting remained, however, rather small in scale well into the 13th century. The monetary system of the kingdom was based on a Germanic system of weights from early on and it remained in use throughout the Middle Ages until the Early Modern Period.³²⁷

In Finland, as in Scandinavia, the importation of coins decreased during the Late Viking Age from the mid-11th to the 13th century, and only some 22 coins are known from the 12th century.³²⁸ Among them are the oldest Swedish coins found in Finland, dated to the late 12th century. Half of them are German and English imports, and the rest from Sweden and Gotland. Their small number reveals that coins were not yet in general circulation.³²⁹ After the custom of placing coins in graves with the dead diminished significantly with Christianization, the surviving coins are mainly found in churches and hoards, although coins have also been discovered in archaeological excavations of such sites as castles and urban areas. Talvio estimates that of the hundred Finnish churches founded during the medieval period, forty have revealed medieval coins, altogether over a thousand items. They were probably lost or deposited as church offerings. Importantly, coins found in churches give a glimpse of the everyday circulation of coins, and on the basis of such finds, Henrik Klackenberg estimates that the process of monetization progressed at a different pace in different regions of the kingdom. In the Åland Islands coins became established as everyday currency in the earlier part of the 13th century, whereas in continental Southwest Finland this happened a little later during the 14th century, and in the inland in the 15th century or even later.³³⁰

According to Talvio, there are 26 documented hoards known from the period c. 1275–1546. Only one, found in the Åland Islands, dates from the 13th century, while the rest are from the 14th century onwards. The largest of the Finnish medieval hoards was found in 2004 in the churchyard of Ulvila Church near the church wall. The hoard, which was deposited in a Hanseatic jug, consists of 1,474 coins weighing together c. 1.2 kg. Talvio has preliminarily dated the youngest coins in the hoard to the early 1390s.³³¹

In Finland, almost all medieval and early modern coins are of silver, although their actual silver content varied dramatically depending on the rate of inflation. During the worst periods of inflation, coins could contain as little as 1 % silver, and not surprisingly, coins issued during periods of inflation are usually very common. For instance, the value of coins plummeted dramatically in the late 16th century when Sweden was at war with Russia, and this is reflected in the hoards of the time, which contain great numbers of coins. However, the most numerous type of medieval coin found in excavations consists of silver pennies minted from Magnus Eriksson's reign in the early 1360s until the early 16th century.³³²

Notwithstanding the existence of a uniform Swedish monetary system, there were also other currencies that were widely used in Finland. In Koroinen, the Gotlandic coins minted c. 1210–1270 actually predominate in the coin assemblage, although there are also some coins of Livonian origin.³³³ The importance of Gotlandic and Livonian coins continued throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and they remain common in the late-14th- and early 15th-century coin hoards. Gotland and its largest town Visby were important actors in the Baltic trade, and later Visby became a member of the Hanseatic League. The use of Gotlandic money, however, diminished during the 14th century with the decreasing silver content of the coins related to the political and economic circumstances of the island after the Danish invasion in 1361.

³²⁶ Sarvas 1968; 1971; Männistö 1982; Klackenberg 1992; Sarvas 1997; Talvio 2002. For the discussion on the coin assemblage of Koroinen, see Koivunen 1979; Sarvas 1979; Koivunen 1980; Sarvas 1980; Koivunen 2003, 48–49; Talvio 2009.

³²⁷ Malmer 1980; Tesch 1998; 2007a; 2007b.

³²⁸ Talvio 2002, 109–110.

³²⁹ Sarvas 1971, 58; Talvio 2002, 110.

³³⁰ Klackenberg 1992, 179.

³³¹ Talvio 2005.

³³² Sarvas 1990, 48.

³³³ Sarvas 1979, 322; Talvio 2009.

Livonian coinage was minted by the Livonian Order, the Archbishop of Riga and the Bishop of Tartu, and partly even by the largest towns such as Riga and Tallinn. Despite the number of minting authorities, the Riga mark became the common standard for the Baltic currencies by the early 13th century following Gotlandic examples and the later German and especially the Lübeck system. On the basis of coins found in archaeological excavations of churches, Livonian coins made up half of the coins in common circulation, at least in the coastal area of Southwest Finland. Even taxes and payments were partly assessed and paid in Livonian currency. The situation was in total contrast with the rest of the Swedish kingdom, where Livonian coins were not so common. The use of Livonian coins continued in Southwest Finland until the early 15th century, and even longer in Southeast and Northeast Finland, where their use ceased only when Livonia was conquered by the Swedes and Danes in 1561. In contrast with Gotlandic and Livonian currencies, Danish money never became common in Finland, although numerous individual coins have been found in castles and churches. In the western part of the Swedish kingdom, Danish money was much more common, to the extent that the state considered it a problem. The importation of Danish coins was taxed and even banned.³³⁴

Besides currencies imported from neighbouring areas, coins were occasionally also brought from Northern Germany. Even Prussian coins minted by the Livonian Order occur in the Finnish finds along with a few Polish coins from the early 16th century. Moreover, a small number of 15th- and 16th-century Russian coins are known from Karelia. Because the finds are so few, Sarvas argues, these coins were not a part of the ordinary circulation but reflect direct or indirect contacts with North Germany and Russia.³³⁵

In addition to towns such as Västerås and Stockholm, money was also minted in Turku. The motivation for issuing coinage in the town was the popularity of Livonian coins and the subsequent adoption of a local monetary standard. Coins minted in Turku are mentioned for the first time in 1409/1412 during the reign of Eric of Pomerania, but their minting ceased in the 1450s. Among these coins was a special type known as the *abo*. The minting resumed for some brief periods in the early 16th century and for the last time in 1556–1558, but these coins followed the common Swedish monetary standard. The location of the medieval mint is unknown, but there is evidence of the 16th-century mint operating in the outer bailey of Turku Castle and occupying several rooms.³³⁶

Gold coins appear in medieval written sources throughout Europe when currencies are counted and in payments, but usually one of the partners in such transactions is the church, a clergyman, or the governor of a castle or some other member of the high gentry. According to Sarvas, gold coins are mentioned in Finnish written sources from 1385 to 1530 on 61 occasions. The most often mentioned type of gold coin is the English noble.³³⁷ For instance, in 1426, burgher Laurens Vadmal from Turku sold his house including a shop to the church for 200 English nobles or 1,400 g of gold.³³⁸ Five days later, he pawned some of his shops in Turku for 100 nobles.³³⁹ Only five medieval gold coins have been found in Finland, all from the southern parts of the country: Turku Castle, Aurajoki River in Turku, Bishop's Castle in Kuusisto, Viurila Manor in Halikko, and a shipwreck near Utö Island in the archipelago of Southwest Finland.³⁴⁰ Furthermore, a copper disc of 3.26 g was unearthed in Kastelholm Castle. Sarvas interprets the find as a medieval weight for half of a gold noble.³⁴¹

During the 16th century, the issuing of golden luxury coins became popular among the European nobility. These coins were sumptuous gifts and not meant to be used in everyday transactions. Often the large and carefully made gold coins were carried like medals as ornaments. King Eric XIV was the first Swedish monarch to issue such golden luxury coins following the model of the

334 Sarvas 1985; 1997.

335 Sarvas 1985; 1997.

336 Sarvas 1985; 1997.

337 Sarvas 1988, 274.

338 REA 421; FMU 1813.

339 REA 422; FMU 1814.

340 Sarvas 1988, 278.

341 AM 447:45; Sarvas 1988, 278–279; Elfwendahl 1991, 573.

Hungarian gulden, and thus the coins are called *ungersk gyllen* in written sources. Later also John III had luxurious silver and gold coins minted for his personal use.³⁴²

The actual value of currencies and goods in the medieval and Early Modern period is extremely difficult estimate for two reasons. Firstly, the appraisal of services and goods was based on a totally different value system than ours and even depended on the region, and secondly, the actual silver content of coins was in constant change. In the mid-14th century the smallest fine in the law of King Magnus Eriksson was three marks for a bruise, whereas the fine for a blood wound was nine marks. The largest fines were 40 marks for manslaughter or theft unless one was caught red-handed, whereupon the punishment was execution. In 1390 Pável Karpalainen sold his freehold estate in Halikko to Turku Cathedral for 30 marks,³⁴³ and around the same time a cow cost two marks.³⁴⁴ In 1470, the daily wage of a workman in Stockholm was ½ öre or 1 ½ örtugar. Two jugfuls or five litres of beer cost one öre in 1525, while in the early 1540s, the daily wage of a workman in Hämeenlinna Castle was also one öre. A Swedish Bible printed in 1541 cost ten marks. In the mid-16th century, when the amount of silver in a mark was 6.0 g, a barrel of rye cost five marks, and a workman's daily wage was ½ marks. In contrast, the bailiff of Hämeenlinna Castle earned 40 marks and almost five metres of broadcloth yearly in 1552, while a scribe was paid 30 marks and over three metres of broadcloth at the same time.³⁴⁵

6 Goldsmiths in the Archaeological Material

Goldsmithing as a form of craftsmanship

Admittedly, since the primary concern of the study in hand is the consumption of luxuries, it might seem redundant to dwell on the production techniques of gold and silver products in detail. This would indeed be the case if the technology of producing objects were understood merely as a collection of production techniques, series of mechanical events or *chaînes opératoires* in the strictest meaning of the term. In contrast to this view, however, technology can be argued to be a broader process, which brings into play the whole spectrum of imagination.³⁴⁶ Craftsmen are active agents who seek to change and sustain the world through the artefacts they produce with the aid of technology.³⁴⁷ As Ubaldo Vitali, a master goldsmith, conservator, scholar and contemporary artist, writes, goldsmithing as a whole is a complex creative process, which should be described in terms of *techne*, a Greek concept usually placed in opposition with the term *episteme*, 'knowledge'. Despite its familiar translations as 'craft' or 'art', the concept of *techne* is wider in scope. It resembles *episteme* to some extent in its implication of knowledge of principles, though the intent of *techne* is orientated towards doing. When one has *techne* one knows how to do certain activities. Hence, from the perspective of goldsmithing, it refers to the situation which brings together an acquired collection of skills ranging from drawing to sculpture, architecture, alchemy and metallurgy, from mechanics to hydraulics, and draws on the social and material environments as well to make

³⁴² Sarvas 1985.

³⁴³ REA 288; FMU 1092.

³⁴⁴ Lagerqvist & Nathorst-Böös (1984) 2002, 46.

³⁴⁵ Sarvas 1985; Vilkkuna 1998, 185.

³⁴⁶ Romanyshyn 1992.

³⁴⁷ Layton 1991, 200; Gell 1992; Spielmann 2002, 200.

objects of precious metals.³⁴⁸

In his notion of *techne* Vitali follows Platonic metaphysics blended with the modern conception of artists as the central figure in the process of creation. He continues by stating that until the 17th century, *techne* remained constrained within the secret tradition of a workshop, and the tradition was transferred from one generation to another through the guild system. Although offering protection and continuity, the guilds enforced the *status quo* by limiting the transfer of knowledge only to the local workshop and imposing the avoidance of experimental sciences. The technical revolution of the 17th century was a step beyond the traditional workshop secrets. This is evident in the earlier treatises on goldsmithing, Vitali argues. While thorough and informative, they mostly described what was already familiar to goldsmiths. They lacked the secret recipes, more detailed descriptions of techniques, and most importantly, the results of experimental sciences and industry.³⁴⁹

For Martin Heidegger, *techne* means the art of bringing forth being, or revealing objects, which cannot reveal themselves. *Techne* is not something one possesses, or it is not even a process, but rather a gathering where objects unfold into being. As a mode of revealing, technology is a way of unconcealment, the happening of truth, where the hands of the craftsman are pivotal. The fundamental essence of *techne* as revealing governs the four causes which classical philosophy distinguished in the process of producing things. Heidegger takes a communion chalice of silver as an example of these different causes. The first is the material cause, or the matter out of which the chalice is made. The second, formal cause is the shape into which the chalice enters, while the third cause, the final cause, refers to the liturgical acts in relation to which the chalice is determined. The fourth cause, the effective cause, 'brings about the effect that is the finished, actual chalice,' and in this case, it is the agency of the silversmith.³⁵⁰ Crucially Heidegger undermines the last cause, human agency, in the happening of *techne*. *Techne* does not lie in making things and using means, but in the revelation that bringing forth occurs.

Heidegger's view of technology has its shortcomings from the point of view of cultural studies. It tends to value the premodern, 'primitive', technologies over modern and industrial ones, and thus possibly dismisses similar traits appearing in the older technologies. Even more importantly, Heidegger's text does not provide any easy methodological solutions for replacing the older ways of studying technology, which have a tendency to describe technological processes in an abstract and narrow manner. If, as Marica-Anne Dobres argues, '[t]echnology is a process of combined social and material engagements situated within and structured by the interactions of technical agents with each other and their material world in historical contexts of time, space, and culture',³⁵¹ how is such a wide and all-inclusive phenomenon even approachable by scholarly means?

Usually seeing technology as *techne* leads scholars to focus on the social and cultural particularities in which each individual technology occurred and was applied. In a study with the emphasis on Pre- and Early Modern luxuries this would mean an approach which tries to reveal *techne* as a phenomenon structured according to the values and hierarchy of the consumption of luxuries on the basis of traces left by the event of *techne*. In addition to the artefacts themselves and the tools used in their making, this also brings the material and social environments and even the remains of visual culture into the remit of the present study.³⁵²

The key factor in the study of goldsmithing as the production of luxuries is the specialized skills needed to work with gold and silver, which have created the basis for the social specialization of goldsmiths in relation to other craftsmen. An established way of approaching this process of differentiation is to distinguish different modes of production ranging from domestic handicrafts to full market manufacturing and identify them on the basis of subsequent changes in the scale of production and the social status of craftsmen.³⁵³ The classic division of production in relation

348 Vitali 2000, 8–9.

349 Vitali 2000, 8–9.

350 Heidegger (1978) 2002, 311–314.

351 Dobres 2000, 125.

352 Cf. Henderson 2000, xv, 4–6.

353 Henderson 2000, 3–4.

to markets is the economist Karl Bücher's seminal distinction between domestic work, wage-work, handicraft, commission work and factory work, which also form a linear progression towards the modern market economy,³⁵⁴ although the technological development connected with specialization of production has occurred against a background of less specialized technologies.³⁵⁵ This classification has been adopted by many archaeological studies of premodern handicrafts, such as Andreas Oldeberg's work on Viking Age and medieval metal technologies,³⁵⁶ although for instance Herbert Jankuhn has criticized the naive way in which archaeologists have applied Bücher's model without questioning and analysing its intrinsic assumptions.³⁵⁷

The first category in Bücher's model is housework or domestic work (*Hauswerk*) which he divides into two sub-phases. The first one refers to working with the family's own raw materials for its own needs. For instance, the casting of small pewter objects in stone moulds for everyday uses by farmers, men, women, soldiers and even children can be considered to be in the sphere of domestic handicrafts.³⁵⁸ In the second phase of housework, domestic products are bartered or sold on the market, but the actual craftsmanship begins with *Handwerk* or the production of metal objects to satisfy the needs of others to such an extent that one has adopted it as one's main livelihood. This premodern craftsmanship, according to Bücher, has three basic forms.

The first form of production is wage-work (*Lohnwerk*) or working on debt, which means that the craftsman receives raw materials or even semi-finished products from the customer for further processing. The craftsman can be itinerant, circulating from the household of one customer to another, or he can have his own place for production where the raw materials are brought. In the second phase, called handicraft production or price-work (*Preiswerk*), the craftsman works on his own materials, and thus both the raw material as well as the work define the price of the product. When producing articles priced in such a way, the craftsman is to some extent also responsible for marketing his products.³⁵⁹ The third phase is commission work (*Verlag*), where business is organized into a company-like system in which a merchant interacts with the market as a middleman between the heterogeneous group of craftsmen and the consumer. However, in contrast with the last phase – the factory system – commission work has not yet become moulded into a uniform process of production with a homogeneous body of workers.

Rather similar progressive distinctions can be identified in Axel Christophersen's study, published in 1980, which analyses horn and bone working in Lund in the period 1000–1300. Christophersen's stages of the modes of production were revised by Peter Carelli in his dissertation published in 2001. Carelli's version also distinguishes five stages, but they differ somewhat from Bücher's model. First of all, there is the mode of extensive own production in which a domestic unit produces whatever it needs for its private purposes. The second phase is characterized by occasional production for customers who have specifically ordered the goods. This mode is on a more professional basis, and especially important for making luxury products for the consumption of the high elite.³⁶⁰

In the third phase of extensive production for customers, the clientele becomes wider, and non-continuous production is no longer confined to pre-ordered items, although the making of metal artefacts is still mostly conditioned by the demands of the rural as well as urban elites. The fourth phase of intensive production for customers occurs at specifically established sites for long periods. Products are no longer confined to prestigious articles with a narrow consumption basis as earlier, and their distribution may even require some sort of specifically organized system. The last phase, termed market production, refers to stationary, specialized workshops with proto-industrial labour organization. The products included simple, inexpensive articles for everyday use made on a large scale.³⁶¹

354 Bücher (1901) 1967, 154.

355 Henderson 2000, 6.

356 Oldeberg 1966, 11–12.

357 Jankuhn 1983, 8.

358 Manninen 1929, 210–249, 354–355; Moora 1963, 65; Sarkkinen 1998, 143–146, 159.

359 Ranta 1978, 14; Heino 1985, 14–16.

360 Christophersen 1980; Carelli 2001, 148–149.

361 Carelli 2001, 148–149.

The models of Bücher, Christophersen and Carelli are all equally based on the premise of progression from one stage to another. They can easily be criticized for assuming linear temporal change instead of analysing temporality as one of the parameters of production. Cathy Lynne Costin has proposed another approach, where the organization of production is examined through four parameters that do not force their temporal development into certain formal, predefined phases. The first parameter, the *context* of production, describes the nature of control over production and distribution or the degree of elite sponsorship. Evaluating this parameter is pivotal for understanding the organization of goldsmithing. According to Costin, the emergence of elite-attached specialization is conditioned by political processes, whereas more independent specialization develops to meet utilitarian economic needs. Despite her argument's underlying uneasy dichotomy between non-utilitarian and utilitarian needs, Costin's idea serves as a reminder that the professional specialization of goldsmithing is not merely an economic event, but crucially also a social and cultural one, where institutional infrastructures and specifically developed demands play an important part.³⁶²

The second parameter in Costin's typology considers 'the relative regional *concentration* of production facilities' ranging from dispersed to nucleated and characterizes how craftsmen are distributed across the landscape in relation to each other and the consumers. Concentration also involves the means and costs of transportation and its effects on the significance and value of products. The third parameter concentrates on the *scale* of production from small, kin-based units to factories. It reflects the number of individuals working in one production unit. The final, fourth parameter focuses on the *intensity* of production, which can range from part-time activities to full-time labour.³⁶³

In the next chapter, the archaeological evidence of goldsmithing in Finland during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period will be presented in the light of Bücher's and Carelli's phases and Costin's four parameters. The written evidence of goldsmiths in the Diocese of Turku will then be examined further, and finally, the various aspects of production and producers will be brought together for provisional conclusions. After that, the main techniques of producing artefacts of precious metals will be considered along with the ways of copying and distributing visual material among goldsmiths.

First archaeological indications of goldsmithing

The challenge for the study of goldsmithing is to distinguish traces of casual and unprofessional metalworking, whether domestic or practised even on a more routine basis, from specialized production of gold and silver artefacts for luxury consumption, and moreover, professional base metal working from the production of sumptuous objects of precious metals. If Bücher's and Carelli's models are to be followed in relation to goldsmithing, the first task is to find the point in time where goldsmithing became differentiated from other forms of metalworking and was established as *Handwerk*, or to put it more precisely, when goldsmiths became a distinct category of professionals.

Since the first written reference to professional goldsmiths in Finland is from as late as 1371,³⁶⁴ conclusions on earlier phases of goldsmithing must be based on archaeological evidence and the analysis of socio-economic circumstances. The first indications of local blacksmiths, casting moulds, crucibles and iron furnaces, are from the Early Iron Age.³⁶⁵ The Iron Age craftsmen using these tools are considered to have been general smiths working with iron, steel, bronze and pewter. It is argued that the social status of these blacksmiths was high, because they were involved in the significant process of transformation, not only of metals, but also, symbolically, of nature and perhaps even humans, if blacksmiths were involved in the cremation rites. By the Viking Age more specialized smiths appeared, focusing on the production of a more limited set of articles such as personal

³⁶² Costin 1991, 5–8, 11.

³⁶³ Costin 1991, 7–16.

³⁶⁴ Petrus aurifaber de Abo; FMU 6722.

³⁶⁵ Lavento 2001, 124–128. For the Bronze Age dwelling site of Rieskaronmäki in Nakkila, Satakunta, with remains of a structure interpreted as a bronze smith's workshop, see Salo 1981, 73–76.

ornaments.³⁶⁶ Kristina Creutz argues on the basis of spearheads that the emergence of blacksmiths concentrating on the production of weapons can be traced in the Baltic Sea region to the Late Iron Age.³⁶⁷ These specialized smiths could have circulated in large areas and sold their products like the copper smiths of Sastamala during the 16th and 17th centuries, who did not limit their production and markets to the area of one village or parish, but instead had a regional clientele.³⁶⁸

In Finland, evidence for Late Iron Age silversmithing comes from a small group of artefacts found at dwelling sites and in hoards which can be related to the production process. Moreover, silver ingots, typical of the Scandinavian Viking Age, are not known from present-day Finland, but a presumable silver hoard found in a house site at the Tiurinlinna fort in Räsälä in 1890 includes two large metal bars and three smaller pieces of bars of the Novgorodian type. Together they weigh 217.16 g. The rich hoard also revealed headgear and a chain of braided silverware, 11 filigree pearls, a round pendant, a brooch and two Islamic coins.³⁶⁹ The numismatic *terminus post quem* of the coins is 976/977.³⁷⁰ Twenty fragments of clay moulds for casting brooches were found at a Viking Age complex consisting of a dwelling site and small mounds at Hylli in Pälkäne in 1955.³⁷¹ Another Late Iron Age mould of limestone with several patterns for pressing metal plates was discovered in Bertby in Saltvik in the mid-19th century. The mould is dated to the 11th century.³⁷² A few casting ladles of iron have been found in Late Iron Age graves, such as grave number 3 of the Suotniemi cemetery in Käkisalmi.³⁷³ Otherwise material traces of Late Iron Age production have to be deduced from the objects themselves, mainly brooches.³⁷⁴ First localized forms of jewellery and weaponry already appear in the Finnish material in the Early Iron Age, and their relative number grows constantly through the Iron Age. There were probably professional metalworkers specialized in weapons, jewellery *etc.* by the Late Iron Age, but it nevertheless seems certain on the basis of the archaeological material that we cannot speak of specialized goldsmiths even in the Late Iron Age.

Oldeberg argues that despite Iron Age developments in metalworking smithing became a craft in the full, professional sense of the term only in the medieval urban environment when the division of labour and specialization increased further. Following Bücher, he associates medieval professionalism and a higher division of social groups with the establishment of guilds.³⁷⁵ However, in the Swedish kingdom and Finland in particular, the emergence of a professional guild system was much slower than in Continental Europe. Its significance remained rather limited before the 17th century, when corporate guilds were a means for the increasing state control of society and the economy. In fact, it is debatable whether a professional guild of goldsmiths even existed in Finland before the establishment of craft corporations in the 1620s.

If the evidence of Late Iron Age goldsmithing is very scarce, dating the appearance of the first professional goldsmiths in the urban setting is an equally challenging task. In Sweden, the archaeological excavations of the PK Banken site in Lund in 1974–1975 revealed evidence of the early establishment of goldsmiths' workshops. According to Kjell Bergman and Ingmar Billberg, the oldest layers of the site revealed the remains of two workshops dated to the earlier part of the 11th century. The workshops produced articles of blacksmithing but also of finer metalworking, casting and plate pressing. During the latter part of the 11th century, the scale of metalworking decreased and focused mainly on cast items. Bergman and Billberg describe the first phase as the period of 'itinerant craftsmen or "town farmers" with metalworking as a secondary occupation'.³⁷⁶

The first professional goldsmiths in Lund appear around 1100. In the 12th century, three shops functioned along the market street, one of them belonging to a goldsmith who cast Urnes brooches as his main product, but also ferrules for sword scabbards and other ornaments were made. Even

³⁶⁶ Oldeberg 1966, 12; Creutz 2003; Peets 2003.

³⁶⁷ Creutz 2003.

³⁶⁸ Jokipii 1952, 148–152, 156–159; Taavitsainen 1990, 197–198; Sarkkinen 1998, 157.

³⁶⁹ *NM Arch.* 2740:1–20; Kivikoski 1973, 142 fig. 1161; Uino 1997, 297–300, 393; Saksu, Uino & Hiekkänen 2003, 408.

³⁷⁰ Talvio 2002, 214.

³⁷¹ Edgren 1968.

³⁷² Dreijer 1956.

³⁷³ Schvindt 1892, 6–8, 172–173; Leskinen 1939, 79; Kivikoski 1973, fig. 1235; Uino 1997, 390.

³⁷⁴ See especially Tomanterä 1986; 1989; 1991.

³⁷⁵ Bücher (1901) 1967, 171; Oldeberg 1966, 1–17; Tylecote 1987, 12–18.

³⁷⁶ Bergman & Billberg 1976.

a few drops of mercury were found in the area, suggesting fire gilding. Another workshop on the site presents two chronological phases, and during the first, dated from c. 1150 to 1200, a goldsmith worked on the premises, leaving traces of forging, casting, the drawing of wire, chasing and soldering. The workshops were established on a permanent basis in the mid-12th century, and this change was accompanied by qualitative changes in production reflecting the professionalization and specialization of craftsmanship. This transformation occurs at the same time as the first written references to craftsmen, Olaf guldsmed (mentioned in 1135–1165) and David guldsmed (mentioned in 1165–1200), appear in Lund.³⁷⁷

Since Turku, the first town in the new diocese, was founded around the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, any older traces of professional goldsmithing should be sought from Late Iron Age and early medieval trading posts and market sites. The single archaeologically verified Viking Age trading post in Finland is Kyrksundet in Kemiönsaari. Its seasonal character and archaeological traces of small-scale craft production suggest that Kyrksundet was a prehistoric trading site with workshops, but no actual evidence of specialized goldsmithing has been found.³⁷⁸

Another site which could reveal early traces of goldsmithing is Koroinen, the predecessor of Turku about 1.5 kilometres from Turku Cathedral upstream along the Aurajoki River. The Aurajoki River Valley had dense Iron Age settlements, and archaeological excavations in Koroinen and in the surrounding areas have revealed a group of prehistoric artefacts,³⁷⁹ but the exact location of the possible proto-town predating the Bishop's see is still a matter of debate.³⁸⁰ Notwithstanding the lack of published evidence, Koroinen would probably be the most likely site for such traces, since it would have functioned as a central site for a relatively large population. Moreover, the presence of clerics would have provided the most important single consumer groups for prestigious goods in Finland. The archaeological finds from Koroinen include a clay crucible of triangular cross-section,³⁸¹ and a mould of steatite, which has a pattern for a button surrounded by a knotted belt on one side and for a mount shaped like the letter X on the other.³⁸² Even an iron punch has been discovered outside the fortified area.³⁸³ The finds, however, cannot be considered as evidence of goldsmithing in Koroinen, because the crucible, though of medieval type, is too large for casting precious metals, and also the mould was probably used for casting base metals. Hence the definite traces of goldsmithing in Finland are from the 14th century, when the first written references to goldsmiths working in Turku were recorded. Even the oldest specialized tool of a goldsmith is attested from that century.

Goldsmiths' workshops and archaeological finds of goldsmithing in towns

Apart from the finished products themselves, very few artefacts which can be connected with goldsmiths' production processes survive in Finland. The working conditions and practices of goldsmiths mainly have to be deduced with the help of archaeological, visual and written evidence from other Northern European areas. The use of foreign sources in relation to the Finnish situation is justified by the fact that the practices and tools of goldsmiths have remained, in principle, more or less the same for centuries.

An engraving by French master goldsmith Étienne Delaune (c. 1519–1583), who produced many influential ornament designs for European decorative art, depicts the interior of a goldsmith's workshop (Fig. 7). The master is accompanied by three journeymen and an apprentice. The workshop is packed with tools, raw materials, and semifinished and finished products. Indeed, the various working procedures of goldsmithing required a wide range of equipment. A forge, bellows and crucibles were needed for melting and casting. The production and handling of metal sheets, pipes

³⁷⁷ Carelli 2001, 150–152; Salminen & Johansson Hérven 2001; Carelli 2006, 544–545.

³⁷⁸ Edgren 1977; 1979; 1995a; 1995b.

³⁷⁹ Kivikoski 1939, 17–18; 1971, 43, 81; Koivunen 2003, 47 with references.

³⁸⁰ See e.g. Koivunen 2003, 47, 50–52.

³⁸¹ *NM Hist.* 52100:1412.

³⁸² *NM Hist.* 69053:70.

³⁸³ *PMSWF* 20505:171.

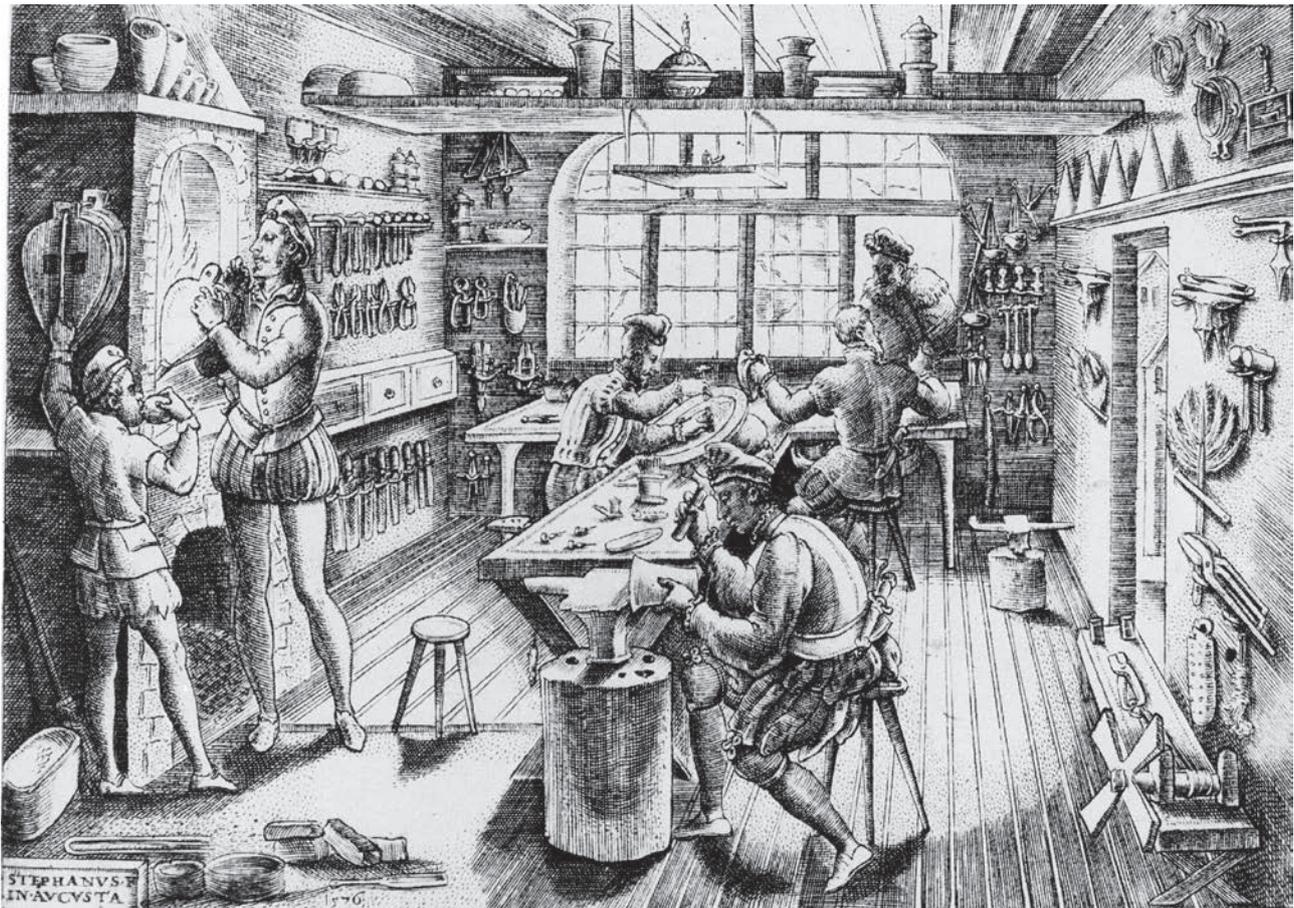


Fig. 7. Engraving by French master goldsmith Étienne Delaune (c. 1519–1583), depicting the interior of a goldsmith's workshop (Brepohl 1999, fig. 2.4).

and threads required a roller, pincers, a drawbench, saws and scissors. Furthermore, forging was done with hammers and anvils, while filing and engraving needed files, chisels, scrapers, drills, compasses and gravers. For making decorations and finishing, a goldsmith used various punching tools, dies, and polishing blades. In the designing stage he would use compasses, scales and possibly model books and single-leaf prints, and the content of artefacts and raw materials was analysed with touchstones and needles.

Costin points out that direct evidence of the presence of specialized craftsmen can be extremely difficult to distinguish in the archaeological record. Valuable tools are often taken care of, reused elsewhere or they can rust away or become unidentifiable because of their small size. Also periodical cleaning of workshops may remove the accumulated debris and other traces of a craftsman's activities.³⁸⁴ These seem especially important points considering the highly valued and usually small-scaled work of goldsmiths.

More often than not it is difficult to attribute an individual tool specifically to a goldsmith or some other smith working on minor metalworking, even on closer examination, but especially when the analysis is based on the catalogues of artefacts deposited to museum collections. Many of the tools used in manufacturing processes were ordinary instruments used in both goldsmithing and minor smithing in general and comprise various moulds, matrixes and tools used in forging, chasing, and casting. The tools used by a goldsmith were valuable, but the only indication of their value in Finnish written sources survives from the 1530s, when Jören guldsmed's tools were estimated to be worth over 100 marks.³⁸⁵ The sum would have been enough to buy a masonry house in a good area of Turku, or four pairs of oxen.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Costin 1991, 19.

³⁸⁵ IF 20–21.

³⁸⁶ Lagerqvist & Nathorst-Böös (1984) 2002, 57.

The identification of goldsmiths' tools is often based on contextual information such as the assumption that metalworking tools found in the central and prestigious areas of a town more likely belonged to a goldsmith than to other craftsmen. There are, however, some archaeological and stray finds that can be linked to goldsmiths with more certainty, such as matrixes made of bronze and some finer moulds of stone. A sheet of metal is pressed or rather beaten against a matrix so that its shapes are copied into the metal, while moulds were used to cast melted metal into artefacts. In addition to moulds, casting also involves the heating of metals, and this has left traces in a form of casting ladles and especially clay crucibles, which are not uncommon finds in urban excavations, but have not been analysed thoroughly in Finland so far.³⁸⁷

In the Nordic countries, the crucibles used in finer metalworking have been divided into the Viking Age and medieval types. The examples of the earlier type are small, 6–7 cm in height and 5–6 cm in diameter. They have circular bottoms, and their bottom parts are somewhat wider than the rim. This pear-like shape was adopted presumably to reduce the amount of oxidation.³⁸⁸ Towards the medieval period the form of crucibles changed. The new type still had a flat bottom, but otherwise its shape was conical and sometimes included a small spout.³⁸⁹ The clay used in crucibles is usually quite heavy and mixed with fine sand or occasionally with graphite. The height of medieval crucibles varies between 4 and 32 cm, and only the smaller ones are thought to have been used in goldsmithing. Crucibles were possibly imported from Germany to Fennoscandia. In 1621 Lauritz Canter describes in court records a merchant of Copenhagen, who has not paid for the delivery of 300 goldsmith's crucibles. Also the Hanseatic customs records of Lübeck in 1368 document a shipment of crucibles from Stralsund.³⁹⁰ Further crucibles are mentioned in Lübeck customs records from 1492–1496.³⁹¹

The remains of a few goldsmiths' workshops have been recovered in Scandinavia, although they remain rather rare. In addition to the above-mentioned PK Banken site in Lund, the town has revealed other remains of goldsmiths' activities. In the Stortorget area, three medieval anvils have been discovered, of which two small ones were possibly used in goldsmithing. A goldsmith might have had use of the compass and callipers found in Lund.³⁹² In the case of chasing hammers, of whatever type, only the smallest ones can be associated with goldsmithing. A small bronze hammer recovered from the Föreningen 5 quarter in Lund might have been such a tool for finer metalworking. Further small chasing hammers are known from Alvastra and Lindaholmen Castle in Svedala, Skåne.³⁹³ Also other finds of metalworking tools in Swedish castles and monasteries have been interpreted as possible indications of goldsmithing.³⁹⁴

Besides actual workshops, a range of individual tools found in archaeological contexts has been interpreted as goldsmiths' implements. These include rectangular, triangular and circular files,³⁹⁵ pincers and chisels, while plate-shears and tongs are very rare finds in the Nordic countries.³⁹⁶ Screws and subsequently screwdrivers, however, seem to have been unknown in the Nordic countries, and even Theophilus does not mention them. A woodcut from 1568 by Jost Amman (1539–1591) of Switzerland nevertheless depicts a knife-smith's workshop, where the craftsman has a pentagram-shaped screwdriver among the tools on the workshop table. This implies that such implements might well have been in use already at that time, perhaps also in Nordic goldsmithing.³⁹⁷

387 E.g. Taavitsainen 1980, 8–9, 22, 24; Heikkinen 1994, 238–239.

388 Oldeberg 1966, 79.

389 Oldeberg 1966, 90–91.

390 irdene Tiegel; Nirrnheim 1930, LVIII; Lechner 1935, 355, 578.

391 Bruns 1908, 397.

392 Blomqvist 1962, 157–159.

393 Oldeberg 1966, 129–130.

394 Oldeberg 1966, 77–78. For other urban traces of medieval goldsmithing in Scandinavia, see e.g. Kielland 1927, 26, 34;

Grieg 1933, 47, 344–345; 1936, 203–208; Bager 1953; Reisnert 2006, 562–563.

395 Theophilus III:17–19; Oldeberg 1966, 131.

396 Oldeberg 1966, 131–132.

397 Oldeberg 1966, 131.



Traces of goldsmithing in Turku

As the capital of the diocese, centre of the regional trade routes and the location most often mentioned in the written sources in connection with goldsmiths, Turku is the most obvious place to look for traces of medieval and early modern production of gold and silver artefacts. Apart from a group of matrixes and moulds, however, the finds are not very numerous. Finland's hitherto only medieval matrix has been discovered near the so-called Vigren field of Tammi farm at Nummenkylä in Kaarina, now part of Turku. The site is located on Vanha Hämeenkatu Street, approximately a kilometre from the medieval town centre (Fig. 8).³⁹⁸ On one side it has an engraved pattern for a rectangular mount and a large, six-lobed brooch, and on the other side (Fig. 9), two patterns for medallions depicting motifs of the Passion – a Golgotha scene and an unfinished scene of Christ's flagellation – and above them, two patterns for a lozenge-shaped mount and shield with a coat of arms.

The two medallions with the Passion motifs show striking resemblance with the medallions attached to the feet of some 14th-century Swedish communion chalices, and the matrix was most likely used for making such ornaments (Fig. 10).³⁹⁹ This similarity also provides a dating for the matrix. The coat of arms has a heraldic arrow or ray in a diagonal position pointing to the heraldic upper right corner. The motif is set on a cross-hatched background. Rinne and also Nordman associated the coat of arms with Bishop Heinrich Bocholt of Lübeck (d. 1340),⁴⁰⁰ but Andersson criticized this identification as rather far-fetched – why should a goldsmith in Turku need the coat of arms of a bishop of Lübeck? A parallel for the coat of arms should rather be sought from the Swedish material.⁴⁰¹ Later Nordman considered his previous association invalid and interpreted the coat of arms as belonging to the town of Stralsund.

The item found in Kaarina is a fragment of a larger matrix, as its one side is clearly sawn off, which broke the pattern for the large brooch. Also one of the four corners has been broken off. Moreover, one of the medallions was left unfinished, which leads Rinne to conclude that the matrix was probably of local production. It was possibly made in Turku, whence the matrix might have been taken with manure and deposited in the fields around the urban area.⁴⁰² Nordman is, however, more cautious than Rinne in his conclusions. Nordman suggests that the matrix might as well have

Fig. 8. 14th-century matrix of bronze discovered near the so-called Vigren field of Tammi farm at Nummenkylä in Kaarina, now part of Turku. The site is located on Vanha Hämeenkatu Street, approximately a kilometre from the medieval town centre (NM Hist. 30055). The matrix is a flat, rectangular slab measuring 9.4 cm x 7.9 cm, with a thickness of 0.9 cm.

Fig. 9. Reverse of the 14th-century bronze matrix found in Turku (NM Hist. 30055).

³⁹⁸ NM Hist. 30055; Rinne J. 1930, 49; Suvanto 1985, 195. All measurements mentioned in the study were made by the author unless stated otherwise.

³⁹⁹ Andersson 1956b, 29–30; 1956a, pl. 54, 56; Oldeberg 1966, 160; Nordman 1980, 11.

⁴⁰⁰ Rinne J. 1930, 54–55; Nordman 1940, 64.

⁴⁰¹ Andersson 1956b, 30 note 1.

⁴⁰² Rinne J. 1930, 1949.



Fig. 10. Medallion with the Passion motif on the 14th-century communion chalice of Östra Ny Church in Norrköping, Östergötland (SHM 5794:1).

been made abroad and imported to Turku with other tools belonging to an immigrant goldsmith. On the basis of its style, the matrix could have also been made in Stockholm or Lübeck.⁴⁰³

In addition to the matrix, two stone moulds have been recovered in archaeological excavations carried out in the centre of Turku. The older one, of steatite, was found in the lower section of the so-called Rettig slope near the Aurajoki River from a plot known in the 17th century as Kåkenhus and later as the Rettig plot.⁴⁰⁴ Its shape is probably best described as a half octagon (Fig. 11). Two holes have been drilled into the figure side of the mould for holding the pegs of the facing mould. Apart from a slight hollowing on its upper edge, the side with patterns does not have any channels for casting. The required channels were probably in the facing piece. The other side of the mould, however, has a casting channel which first divides into two and then again into five very small channels (Fig. 12). The mould has engraved images of a male face, lion, two human figures, perhaps a boy and a girl throwing a ball, and finally a griffin. Niilo Valonen suggests that it was used for casting these small figures for metal mounts. The mould was in a layer that contained a hoard of 117 bracteates minted in 1354–1363.⁴⁰⁵ Hence the find context suggests that the deposition of the mould took place in the latter part of the 14th century.

The second, younger mould of siltstone was found near Turku Cathedral in the excavations of 2005 (Fig. 13). The site of discovery lay by the ancient Kirkkokatu Street inside the remains of a wooden building, which has been preliminarily dated on the basis of ceramics to the 15th

⁴⁰³ Nordman 1940, 10; 1980, 10–12, 130.

⁴⁰⁴ PMSWF 14681:599c; Valonen 1958, 42–46).

⁴⁰⁵ Valonen 1958, 42–46; Voionmaa 1958, 117; Ahola et al. 2004, 207.



Fig. 11. Mould of steatite found in the lower section of the so-called Rettig slope near the Aurajoki River, Turku, from a plot known in the 17th century as Käkenhus and later as the Rettig plot. The width of the object is 8.9 cm, the height 3.9 cm. The thickness of the stone is 1.0–1.3 cm (PMSWF 14681:599c).



Fig. 12. Reverse of the steatite mould found in Turku (PMSWF 14681:599c).



Fig. 13. Mould of siltstone found near Turku Cathedral in the excavations of 2005. The site of discovery lay by the ancient Kirkkokatu Street inside the remains of a wooden building. The size of the mould is 13.0 x 4.9 x 1.3 cm (PMSWF 22367:KI2044:002).

century.⁴⁰⁶ The shape of the mould resembles the shape of the 14th-century mould: a rectangle with two corners cut off. It has two holes for pegs securing its locking into its counterpart. In contrast to the 14th-century mould, the piece has three larger casting channels, which divide into six smaller channels. The piece was most probably attached to another mould piece, which had the actual patterns for the items to be cast.⁴⁰⁷ The building where the mould was found also revealed fragments of a crucible (Fig. 14).⁴⁰⁸ The fragments belong to a flat-bottomed, conical vessel, which reinforces the idea of finer metalworking taking place in the premises. From written sources it is known that the goldsmith Sven (Sven guldsmed) bought a plot in Kirkkokatu Street near the Krooppi rivulet and its small bridge in 1443.⁴⁰⁹ The house (*gaardh*) near the rivulet ‘in front of St. Bartholomew’s altar house (*gaardh*)’ was sold with all that he had ‘masoned and built’ in 1467.⁴¹⁰ One is tempted to link the archaeological finds to this written account. However, on the basis of the written record, Sven guldsmed’s house seems to have been of stone unlike the found remains,

406 PMSWF 22367:KI2044:002; Majantie 2007, 34, 36; Pihlman & Majantie 2007, 12; Ratilainen 2007, 17.

407 Cf. Oldeberg 1966, 92, fig. 234.

408 PMSWF 22367:KE3001:023.

409 REA 515.

410 *alledis som han nw muradh ok vpbygdh ær*; REA 607; on the location of St. Bartholomew’s, see Rinne 1952, 190.



Fig. 14. Bottom fragment of a clay crucible found near Turku Cathedral in the excavations of 2005. Diameter 3.1 cm, height 1.9 cm (PMSWF 22367: KE3001:023).

and furthermore, no further archaeological indications of goldsmithing were discovered in the excavated house. On the other hand, it might be conceivable that no tools were left behind due to their great value, and small-scale metalworking might not necessarily leave readily distinguishable material traces.

Other archaeological signs of metalworking in Turku point to ironworking. Remains of a smithy along with a number of metal objects and slag were recovered in the archaeological supervision of foundation works on a plot situated at 5 Uudenmaankatu Street in 1971. A number of metal objects, like knives, found in a layered soil of mixed clay and gravel suggest that they formed the remains of a smithy floor. The accurate dating of the smithy is impossible due to the state of documentation as well as the lack of further studies on the material, and thus the smithy can only be dated broadly to the 15th–17th centuries.⁴¹¹

Further indications of goldsmithing in the urban area are next to none, or at least indirect. Some procedures of making artefacts of silver and gold were highly polluting. Especially soldering and reducing methods in which impurities were separated from precious metals involved the use of mercury and lead. These materials have burdened the environment close to workshops with heavy metals and air pollution. In principle, it should be possible to detect them by modern scientific analyses. In archaeological excavations carried out in the urban area of Turku, soil samples have been taken and analysed for estimating the level of pollution, or rather, the metal content of the samples. The results have revealed that the metal concentrations in the medieval and Early Modern layers of the Åbo Akademi site quite close to Turku Cathedral are hazardously high, or in other words, the soil is polluted. The high content of copper, lead, zinc, arsenic and cadmium in the samples is considered as an indication of continuous metal use, treatment and processing taking place at the site as similar rates of pollution are mostly known only from the immediate surroundings of ore mines, ore dressing plants and smelting facilities.⁴¹² Janne Harjula and Markus Hiekkänen have, however, pointed out that the results of the scientific analyses are in stark contrast with the small number of metalworking finds from the Åbo Akademi site. In addition to a few cut pieces of copper, smithy slag and unfinished objects such as knives,⁴¹³ they include

⁴¹¹ Koivunen 1973, 176; Turun Kaupungin Historiallinen Museo: Vuosikirja 1972–1973 (1975), 190–191, 205–206; Kuujo 1981, 162; Nikula & Nikula 1987, 371; Harjula & Hiekkänen 2006, 528.

⁴¹² Salonen & Taavitsainen 2003, 398–399.

⁴¹³ Ahola et al. 2004, fig. 47; Kostet et al. 2004, 72; Harjula & Hiekkänen 2006, 529.



Fig. 15. Bottom fragments of three clay crucibles found at the excavations of the Åbo Akademi site in 1998 (PMSWF 21816:KE019:002, KE019:001, KE038:001).



Fig. 16. Mould of sandstone for casting found at the excavations of the Åbo Akademi site in 1998. The size of the mould is c. 8.0 x 9.0 x 2.5 cm (ÅA:Ki 22).

fragments of three or four clay crucibles (Fig. 15) and a mould of sandstone for casting (Fig. 16).⁴¹⁴ The last item is not exactly a mould but rather a flat stone with a small hollow, which seems to have been used as a crucible. These finds point to occasional and domestic metal processing, not professional metalworking.⁴¹⁵

An analysis of the heavy metal content was also performed on the human bones found in the graveyard of the Church of the Holy Spirit, presently the Julin plot facing the Market Square on the other side of the Aurajoki River. The results reveal that the bones of some individuals had a distinctly higher lead content than those of other bodies, and it was concluded that they were probably involved in metal working of some kind.⁴¹⁶ The results, however, cannot be connected with goldsmithing, which leaves the contribution of scientific analyses to the study of goldsmithing in Turku rather marginal.

As there are no archaeologically verified goldsmiths' workshops in Turku, the only way of even approximately locating them is based on the scanty written evidence with very inaccurate information on goldsmiths' property. Goldsmiths formed a wealthy group among the craftsmen; they could acquire the premises for their workshop from relatively advantageous sales areas near market squares and the main churches. In Turku, this would have meant the Convent and Cathedral Quarters, and in fact, as stated earlier, Sven guldsmed's house was located in the Cathedral Quarter. As with other known Nordic goldsmiths' business quarters and workshops, they were probably attached to the domestic household of a master, or at least on the same plot. Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen describes a typical 18th-century goldsmith's workshop in Finland as still being incorporated with his residential quarters.⁴¹⁷

Although a shop opening onto the street was common in more southern areas and is depicted in some Central European woodcuts,⁴¹⁸ the climate probably hindered the use of such an arrangement in Finland. Hence it is more likely that customers had to access the workshop through the backyard surrounded by other domestic buildings. This was the case, at least in the 18th century,⁴¹⁹ when the detailed working procedures and receiving clientele took place in the same room. In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, the workshop probably already functioned also as a shop for customers as is presented in the illustration from Olaus Magnus's work (Fig. 17).⁴²⁰ The actual workshop was probably divided into two parts as in Delaune's woodcuts, or perhaps even into two separate rooms. The first part was for dirtier and heavier work such as smelting and soldering and focused around a forge, while the lighter and more detailed work, such as hammering and finishing, was done in another space. The finishing work centred on a table near a window which provided light.

Traces of finer metalworking in other towns

Compared with Turku, traces of medieval and early modern goldsmithing are even scantier from other towns and consist only of casting moulds. The two stone moulds discovered in Turku were used vertically, as indicated by the casting channels and holes for pegging the counterpart. The stone mould found during the excavations of Mannerheiminkatu Street in Naantali in 2002, in contrast, was probably used as such and horizontally, as it lacks casting channels or holes for the securing pegs. In fact, the object was originally a small whetstone measuring 4 x 6 cm, but it was reused as a mould with a pattern for a 2.4 cm-wide, half-spherical piece of jewellery with a cross-like main ornament. The mould was found in association with house remains dated to the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁴²¹ In addition, the excavations carried out in the medieval urban area

⁴¹⁴ PMSWF 21816:KE 019:002 found in the context M19 in connection with the structure RA 28; KE 019:001 found in the context M19; KE 038:001 found in the context M38; AA:Ki 22; cf. a similar stone for casting from Tartu in Haak 2007, fig. 9.

⁴¹⁵ Pukkila 1999, 38.

⁴¹⁶ Vuorinen et al. 1996.

⁴¹⁷ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 106–108.

⁴¹⁸ E.g. Richter 2006, 15, 17.

⁴¹⁹ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 106–108.

⁴²⁰ Olaus Magnus 6:17.

⁴²¹ Tulkki 2003b, 67, 70; Huhtala & Holm 2003, 78–79.



Fig. 17. Goldsmith's workshop in a woodcut from Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (6:17).

De Aurificibus.

of Ulvila in 1976 revealed a stone mould, possibly of steatite,⁴²² but the object was subsequently misplaced and its current whereabouts are unknown.

The town of Helsinki, founded in 1551, has also revealed traces of early finer metalworking. During the excavations in the area of Vanhakaupunki, the Old Town of Helsinki, in 1989–1993, a two-roomed log cabin was found. It was the largest building on the site and the richest in finds. A stone mould was discovered near the oven of the building. The object had a carved image of St. George with a spear riding a horse, imitating the imagery of early 17th-century Russian coins. Moreover, five bullets cast in lead, one even having the casting stub still intact, and a bottom fragment of a crucible suggest that small-scale metalworking took place at the site. This conclusion is supported by several crucibles and a few iron ladles found about ten metres from the house.⁴²³

The waste pit of Iso Kirkkokatu Street in the centre of Tammisaari, a town founded in 1546, has also preserved traces of early metalworking. The pit was uncovered and excavated in 1998, and it revealed mostly sherds of ceramics and glassware, but also fragments of metal artefacts along with coins from the 17th century. One object among the finds is an artefact resembling a large nail. Kirsi Majantie interprets the item as a possible tool used by a goldsmith or some other metalsmith.⁴²⁴ Moreover, the pit revealed bronze casting waste and crucibles of clay. Gunnel Ehrstedt and Kirsi Majantie conclude that these discoveries can be linked with professional metalworking and possibly even with goldsmith Augustus Wejdeman (master in 1650–1661),⁴²⁵ who according to written sources lived in the area.⁴²⁶ Though very intriguing, the traces of goldsmithing in Tammisaari as well as in Helsinki, postdate the period considered in this study.

Stone moulds found in rural settings

Besides the remnants of bullet casting found in Helsinki, the casting of lead bullets is also known from rural sites. In fact, the oldest traces of small-scale bullet production are from the Bishop's Castle in Kuusisto, which admittedly had a special status distinguishing it from other rural sites. A large forging hammer and casting equipment reveal that minor metalworking was also performed at the castle.⁴²⁷ The tools for casting include three ladles, one of copper with a tubular handle and two

⁴²² *SatM* 18415:8.

⁴²³ Heikkinen 1994, 237–239.

⁴²⁴ Majantie 2000, 34–35; cf. Ehn & Gustaffson 1984, 99.

⁴²⁵ Ehrstedt & Majantie 2000, 36–37.

⁴²⁶ Borg (1935) 1977, 162–163.

⁴²⁷ Taavitsainen 1979, 10, 24, fig. 10b.

with flat, rectangular handles. One of the flat-handled ladles is of copper and the other is of iron.⁴²⁸ Moreover, four crucibles of the flat-bottomed, conical type have been recovered from the site. One of them is made of clay and the rest are of grey steatite.⁴²⁹ Finally, the bipartite vertical mould of steatite for casting three bullets at a time reveals that the traces of metalworking were most likely left sometime during the 15th and early 16th century by soldiers stationed in the castle.⁴³⁰

In contrast to the bronze matrix of Kaarina and the stone moulds of Turku, stone moulds discovered in rural areas are abundant in number. Many museums, even local parish museums, have stone moulds deposited in their collections one after another. Mika Sarkkinen has counted as many as 320 stone moulds in the collections of the National Museum, and he estimates the number of historical stone moulds in the Finnish museum collections to be at least 500. Despite their high number, stone moulds have attracted regrettably little scholarly attention.⁴³¹

Almost all rural moulds are stray finds, which makes their dating a difficult task based on the stylistic analysis of the patterns. Nevertheless, Sarkkinen has studied 172 historical or so-called ethnographic stone moulds from Ostrobothnia and Lapland with 533 casting patterns. Sarkkinen identifies seven moulds dating from the period 800–1200, 22 from 1200–1500, and 31 from the period 1500–1700. The patterns on the moulds dated to 800–1200 are mainly rectangular and circular mounts, but also buttons and crosses occur. New artefact types appearing in the moulds of 1200–1500 are oval brooches, strap mounts and finger rings, though circular, rectangular and other mounts remain dominant. Even buttons and terminal mounts occur. The Early Modern Period of 1500–1700 also has new artefact types such as clasps, heart-shaped brooches, strap brooches, strap dividers, bullets and various ornaments. Even during this period, however, rectangular, circular and other mounts have the main role.⁴³²

While matrixes are usually considered to have been the instruments of goldsmiths, stone moulds from rural areas are typically associated with casual and vernacular metalworking.⁴³³ Based on casting channels and other marks, about 87 % of the moulds studied by Sarkkinen were used for casting.⁴³⁴ Indeed, stone moulds have largely been interpreted as containers used in casting.⁴³⁵ The moulds Sarkkinen examines are usually of locally available stone material, which would easily break up under the high temperatures required for casting precious metals and copper alloys. Hence he concludes that the moulds were utilized in local, small-scale casting of pewter and lead, because both are metals that melt at relatively low temperatures. However, Sarkkinen does not altogether exclude the possibility of copper alloys and precious metals having been cast with the stone moulds, if the patterns remained simple enough and a skilled founder did the casting work. Sarkkinen furthermore points out that it is possible to use moulds also as matrixes, at least when working with thin plates of silver and gold.⁴³⁶

One of the moulds in Sarkkinen's material was found in excavations on the Pöykö farm on Oravaisensaari Island in the Tornio River, which was the home estate of the famous Oravainen family, bailiffs of Lapland. In the excavations of 1980, remains of a building were unearthed with exceptionally abundant artefact material, which included a pair of iron tongs for metalworking, a punching tool of steel and a casting mould of stone. The tongs, however, cannot be associated directly with casting, because they are not designed for holding crucibles.⁴³⁷ The mould has one pattern for a rectangular mount. These metalworking tools are dated to the Middle Ages on the

428 Taavitsainen 1979, figs. 9a–9b; Korhonen 1985, 383.

429 Taavitsainen 1979, fig. 9c.

430 Taavitsainen 1979, fig. 9d; Sarkkinen 1998, 112–113.

431 Leskinen 1928; 1933; 1939; Sarkkinen 1998, but see also Aspelin (1877–1884) 1992, 315 fig. 1711, 302 fig. 1622; Wegelius 1878, 142 fig. 14; Schwindt 1893, 166–173; Tallgren 1918a, 46–47, pl. XI: 6–20; 1922, 15–16, pl. II: 18–20; Itkonen 1948a, 463; Meinander 1948; Taavitsainen 1979; Talvio 1979, 26–38; Koivunen 1981, 147; Huurre 1982, 25–26; Koivunen 1991, 152; Schultz 1992, 85 Taf. 6:3; Heikkinen 1994, 237–239; Koivunen 1997, 41; Tulkki 2003b, 67, 70; Salonen & Väisänen 2006, 55–56.

432 Sarkkinen 1998, 41, 46–47, 115–119.

433 Oldeberg 1966, 155, 157–158.

434 Sarkkinen 1998, 43–46, 115.

435 Drescher 1978, 112.

436 Sarkkinen 1998, 46–47.

437 The identification of tongs for holding crucibles is based on a 15th-century depiction of St. Eligius in his workshop, where such barbed tongs are lying near the hearth (Oldeberg 1966, 91, fig. 273).

basis of other artefacts found in the same context,⁴³⁸ and Sarkkinen dates the pattern on the mould to the period from the 15th to the 17th century. The tools from Oravaisensaari Island again reflect rural craftsmanship, not professional, urban goldsmithing.

Although the tongs of Oravaisensaari Island were not designed for casting, one such tool is known from Finland. In Sweden, specialized tongs with barbed tips are known from the Alvastra monastery.⁴³⁹ Also tongs found in Ullna in Östra Ryd, Uppland,⁴⁴⁰ and Säby in Österåker, Södermanland, were possibly used for the same purpose.⁴⁴¹ The tongs found in the parsonage of Finström in the Åland Islands have similar barbed tips, hoop for fastening in the middle and circular handle, and moreover, the size of the object is relatively small (Fig. 18).⁴⁴² The other artefacts found in the parsonage are not associated with metalworking or goldsmithing. Another object found in the Åland Islands and related to metalworking is a clay crucible 4.2 cm in diameter and 9.5 cm in height. The vessel with a triangular cross-section was discovered as a stray find in Finby, Sund in 1946.⁴⁴³

Finally, there is a small group of vernacular stone moulds which have patterns for casting rectangular belt plaques. In 1948, Carl Fredrik Meinander published a small note on three stone moulds found as stray finds in Hattula⁴⁴⁴ (Fig. 19), Hausjärvi⁴⁴⁵ (Fig. 20) and Janakkala⁴⁴⁶, all in Häme in Southern Central Finland. The patterns on the moulds are highly stylized and transformed versions of the Late Renaissance motifs used on rectangular belt plates of precious metals. The stylization has gone to such lengths that the first scholars examining them considered even the possibility that the objects date from the prehistoric era.

One of the two Finnish silver belts dated to the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Kaitainen belt (Cat. 17:1), bears a remarkable resemblance to the patterns on the stone moulds. Both the patterns and the silver gilt plates depict a tall person standing at one end of the composition, while a human figure or face is depicted in the middle. There are, however, also significant differences between the Kaitainen belt and the moulds, since in the moulds, the tall figure at the end seems to be a skeleton or an angel as Meinander suggests, instead of the Virgin Mary with the Child as in the belt. The features around the central figure also seem to be something other than putti as in the Kaitainen belt.

Meinander concludes that due to the geographically confined distribution of the three moulds and their similarities, it is very likely that they have a common model, perhaps a silver belt that belonged to a noble lady or a burgher wife in the region.⁴⁴⁷ After Meinander's article, a pewter belt plate cast in a similar mould, although not in any of the surviving ones, was discovered in the excavations of Tyrvää Church in 1964–1965 (Cat. 17:4). The find seems to lend support to Meinander's conclusions, since Tyrvää is not very far from the sites where the three stone moulds were found. However, another stone mould of steatite found in the village of Vappari, Parainen, in the southwestern archipelago was acquired by the National Museum in 1967 (Fig. 21). The mould has several patterns for rectangular belt plates.⁴⁴⁸ Its southern provenance undermines the idea that vernacular belt plates were confined to Southern Häme, although it is conceivable that the stone has been part of a ship's ballast and has just been dumped on the shore. Nevertheless, the excavations of the Franciscan Convent of Kökar in the southern archipelago have revealed a fragment of a copper mount from a belt (Cat. 17:3). The mount has a pressed ornament depicting a putto surrounded by curling geometrical motifs. Vernacular and base metal versions of luxurious silver belts thus appear to have had a wider geographical distribution.

With some exceptions from Turku, Ulvila, and Naantali, the distribution of moulds is concentrated in the rural landscape. They seem to reflect local domestic handicrafts, not organized

438 Koivunen 1981, 145–148.

439 SHM 17033:720.

440 SHM 25848:95.

441 Oldeberg 1966, 91.

442 ÅM 199:6.

443 ÅM 398.

444 NM Ethn. 8637.

445 NM Ethn. 8064.

446 The mould of Janakkala was in a private collection when Meinander published it in 1948.

447 Meinander 1948, 87.

448 NM Hist. 67011.



Fig. 18. Tongs with barbed tips found in the parsonage of Finström. The object is 19.3 cm in length and 1.2 cm in height (ÅM 199:6).



Fig. 19. Stone mould found as a stray find in Hattula. The mould is 11.9 cm long, 5.5 cm wide and 0.9 cm thick. The size of the pattern is 6.2 x 2.2 cm (NM Ethn. 8637).



Fig. 20. Stone mould found as a stray find in Hausjärvi. The mould is 6.4 cm long, 4.1 cm wide and 1.3 cm thick. The size of the pattern is 6.4 x 4.1 cm (NM Ethn. 8064).



or specialized production, although the equipment used by rural craftsmen as such is impossible to distinguish from tools used in domestic metalworking. The rural stone moulds thus constitute a group of objects used in casual, local production of pewter and lead objects, which for instance soldiers, farmers, women and children made as part of their daily or weekly routines.⁴⁴⁹

The stone moulds for casting belt plates are a clear example of the differences between the work of goldsmiths and vernacular production. The Renaissance motifs, recognizable to a connoisseur of European art and fashion, which appeared on silver belts were copied in an amended and stylized form in versions cast from base metals with stone moulds. Generally figurative motifs on rural stone moulds are extremely rare in contrast to geometric shapes,⁴⁵⁰ a feature which sets the stone mould found on the Rettig plot in Turku apart from its rural counterparts. Also the mould found in Kirkkokatu Street in Turku, though without patterns, can be interpreted by its material, siltstone, and refined shape, to be a remnant of specialized metalworking. However, in spite of these clear differences between the two moulds found in Turku and the rural moulds, it is impossible to link even the urban ones firmly to goldsmiths, since the moulds might well have been used for casting pewter and lead artefacts. In summary, the Kaarina matrix remains the most likely candidate for direct evidence of goldsmithing in Finland.

Fig. 21. Stone mould of steatite found in the village of Vappari, Parainen, in the southwestern archipelago. The mould has a rather irregular shape, but is approximately 6.3 x 4.7 x 3.8 cm in size. It has several patterns for rectangular belt plates (NM Hist. 67011).

⁴⁴⁹ Rydbeck 1947, fig. 1–2; Oldeberg 1966, fig. 206–211; Sarkkinen 1998, 143.

⁴⁵⁰ Sarkkinen 1998, 31.

7 Goldsmiths, their Social Status and Customer Relations According to Written Sources

Goldsmiths in the Finnish towns

When considering the Finnish goldsmiths from the point of view of luxury consumption, the first challenge is to identify masters, the second to plot their chronological and geographical distribution and the third to analyse the organization of their craft and regulations imposed by the crown. These are classical issues in the study of medieval crafts in Finland. Finally the analysis must shift its focus from craftsmen to consumers and how they could obtain artefacts of precious metals, whether imported from abroad or made locally.

The oldest written reference to a goldsmith in Finland is from the year 1371. The line *Petrus aurifaber de Abo* was recorded in a list of persons given a promise of protection when travelling to Tallinn. Besides the date, no further details are given.⁴⁵¹ The profession of Petrus as a goldsmith is deduced from his epithet *aurifaber*. The record referring to Petrus aurifaber is typical of medieval and Early Modern written evidence of goldsmiths and craftsmen in general. The surviving documents tell extremely little of goldsmiths as representatives of their craft. Usually the name of a goldsmith is mentioned in connection with various juridical and financial actions as a person concerned or a witness. In such cases, he can be recognized as a goldsmith only on the basis of his epithet, for instance, if his name is 'Kristoffer guldsmed'. The identification of profession in such a way is not entirely secure. The epithet might be inherited or the person may no longer have worked as a goldsmith, for example. Furthermore, all goldsmiths did not necessarily have an epithet indicating their profession. Folke Lindberg estimates on the basis of taxation records from Kalmar for the year 1593, which include a list of craftsmen, that 85 % of all craftsmen had epithets referring to their craft,⁴⁵² but Heli Himanen is more pessimistic about Finnish sources and estimates that only half of all craftsmen had an epithet revealing their profession.⁴⁵³ Although there are thus several factors speaking against using names and their epithets as the basis for identification, they still remain the only way of presenting any information on goldsmiths in written sources.

In Turku, the largest medieval town in Finland, the number of craftsmen in the urban population seems to have been relatively low, at least if written sources are to be trusted. Turku is thus usually considered more as a trading town than one that specialized in crafts. However, it is impossible to deduce the exact or even relative population size and proportion of craftsmen in Finnish medieval towns, since so few written records remain concerning craftsmen or urban populations as a whole. Nevertheless, taxation records from 1571 reveal that 16 % of all burghers in Turku worked as craftsmen, whereas in Stockholm the ratio was one third in the 16th century, and in Hanseatic towns craftsmen could even constitute a majority of the whole population.⁴⁵⁴

In Turku, Mika Kallioinen has counted 162 craftsmen engaged in 32 kinds of crafts until 1570. The most often mentioned craftsmen are tailors, with 22 names. They are followed by goldsmiths with 20 names and shoemakers with 19 names.⁴⁵⁵ In spite of the high number of goldsmiths, their proportion of the whole population of craftsmen was probably lower. In fact, based on taxation records from 1571, the percentage of goldsmiths among the craftsmen was only 6.9 % after shoemakers (25.5 %), tailors (14.7 %) and blacksmiths (9.8 %).⁴⁵⁶

451 FMU 807; 6722.

452 Lindberg (1947) 1989, 47–48.

453 Himanen 1971, 12–16.

454 Kallioinen 2000, 219–221.

455 Kallioinen 2000, 215–216.

456 Himanen 1971, 50.

The number of goldsmiths in Turku was relatively large during the 15th and 16th centuries, although still rather modest when compared with other Baltic towns such as Stockholm and Tallinn and Hanseatic towns in Poland. The overemphasized presence of goldsmiths in written sources could be related to their high status in contemporary society. In general, the social status of craftsmen was not as high as that of merchant burghers, and they thus had less interaction with the elite which produced the written sources. Goldsmiths were, however, the most appreciated group of craftsmen and they dealt primarily with items of luxury and ceremony. They also performed more significant financial transactions and had a high-status clientele, which caused them to leave relatively more traces in the written accounts than the other craftsmen. Furthermore, and what Kallioinen considers to be the most likely explanation, the status of Turku as the site of the bishop's see offered more professional opportunities for goldsmiths than in other towns.⁴⁵⁷

The overrepresentation of goldsmiths in written sources implies that a fuller picture can be reconstructed of them. By counting their names it is possible to estimate the number of goldsmiths and their social position. The total number of goldsmiths mentioned in the Finnish written sources between 1371 and 1600 is 66.⁴⁵⁸ This number includes three cases in which it is possible that the same goldsmith was active in two different time periods. In 1558–1586, Casper guldsmed is mentioned in Turku, but in 1562–1564 there are records of a court case concerning a burgher who had hit Casper guldsmed's maid in Rauma.⁴⁵⁹ The person in question was probably the same goldsmith, although this cannot be verified. Similarly in 1560–1565 there are records of a Knut guldsmed in Rauma, while a goldsmith called Knut Mattsson appears in Turku in 1572–1574. They might be the same person. Yet another case is Morthen guldsmed, who was recorded as working in Viipuri during the years 1558–1564, but a person with the same name appears in Helsinki in 1586. In two cases it is known that a goldsmith changed his residence between the Finnish towns. Marcus guldsmed is mentioned in Turku in 1579, but he moved to Helsinki and worked there in 1585–1619. Similarly Baltzar Wulff, who worked in Viipuri in 1581–1586, changed his residence to Tammisaari, where there are records of him in 1590–1619.

The majority of goldsmiths mentioned in the written sources, 39 altogether, worked in Turku (Fig. 22). In Viipuri, a goldsmith is mentioned 15 times, in Helsinki, Rauma and Pori three times, and finally one goldsmith is mentioned in both Porvoo and Tammisaari. On the basis of the numbers of goldsmiths, Turku was clearly the centre of goldsmithing in the diocese. The importance of Turku in luxury production is even more emphasized when the distribution of goldsmiths among towns is considered chronologically. Before the 1550s, all goldsmiths mentioned in written sources are from Turku except for three men, Peter guldsmed (mentioned in 1467) and Anders guldsmed (1485), who are known from Viipuri. The third man is Henrik guldsmed who was paid in money or grain from Nyytäinen Manor in 1506. He might have worked in Turku, but this remains unknown.⁴⁶⁰

In addition to the goldsmiths in towns, there are also a few indications of goldsmiths working in the countryside. In 1550, Ablunia Hopiasseppälä ('Silversmith') was acquitted of a murder charge in Loimaa,⁴⁶¹ while in court minutes of 1588, Classe guldsmed is mentioned in Kumlinge.⁴⁶² Moreover, according to Himanen, a goldsmith is mentioned in Ulvila in 1614–1615. The master even had one hired man.⁴⁶³ The number of goldsmiths pursuing their craft in the rural area was probably much higher than the two references in court documents suggest, but rural people, apart from the nobility, were to a large extent beyond the literary cultures of the church, higher social classes and town administration.

Turku	39
Viipuri	13
Helsinki	3
Pori	3
Rauma	3
Porvoo	1
Tammisaari	1
Other	3
	66

Fig. 22. Locations where goldsmiths mentioned in the Finnish written sources operated.

⁴⁵⁷ Kallioinen 2000, 218–219.

⁴⁵⁸ Borg (1935) 1977; Kallioinen 2000; e-mail from Georg Haggren to the author 18 December 2008.

⁴⁵⁹ Diarium 45, 52; Borg (1935) 1977, 326.

⁴⁶⁰ I thank Georg Haggren for bringing Henrik guldsmed into my attention. Riksarkivet, Stockholm, C51; e-mail from Georg Haggren to the author 18 December 2008.

⁴⁶¹ AST 20.

⁴⁶² BFH 2, 251.

⁴⁶³ Himanen 1971, 114, 124. Apparently Himanen (1971, 111, 117) interprets also Oloff beghermestare mentioned in Uusikirkko/Kalanti in 1491 (FMU 4347) and Jusse begarmester referred to in Mäskälä/Vanaja in 1448 (FMU 2771, 2772) as goldsmiths, though in fact they produced wooden vessels (Nordman 1980, 9).

-1400	3
1401-1425	2
1426-1450	2
1451-1475	3
1476-1500	2
1501-1525	1
1526-1550	6
1551-1575	30
1576-1600	17
	66

Fig. 23. Chronological distribution of goldsmiths mentioned in the Finnish written sources. The diagram charts the first occurrence of the goldsmith in question.

1-10	33
11-20	12
21-30	11
31-40	5
41-50	5
	66

Fig. 24. Length (in years) of the minimum working careers of master goldsmiths based on their occurrences in the written sources.

Chronologically the latter part of the 16th century is crowded with goldsmiths' names (Fig. 23). Prior to 1500, only 12 goldsmiths (18 % of the total number) are mentioned in written sources. The chronological distribution of goldsmiths seems rather even during the late 14th century and 15th century. However, despite the small number, goldsmiths Laureus Ragvaldsson (1422–1441), Jönis (Johan) guldsmed (1424–1425) and Kristoffer guldsmed (1427) all worked in Turku in the 1420s.⁴⁶⁴ During the first quarter of the 16th century, in contrast, the number of goldsmiths plummeted, and only Hans (Johannes) Mandrow of Turku, who is mentioned in 1480–1504, and Henrik guldsmed, mentioned in 1506, seem to have practised their profession at the time.⁴⁶⁵ The number of goldsmiths grew dramatically in the latter half of the 16th century. Especially the period 1550–1574 has a high rate of occurrences, 30 altogether. During the 1570s, there are only 13 first occurrences of goldsmiths. The sharp increase might be a consequence of the larger number of written sources now available, but another factor is Duke John's court and its demand for luxuries. There seems to have been special demand for items of silver and gold in the administrative centre of Finland in the third

quarter of the 16th century.

One can estimate the length of the minimum working careers of master goldsmiths, if it is assumed that a goldsmith actively worked throughout the period between his first and last occurrence in the written sources (Fig. 24). Most goldsmiths are mentioned in only one year's sources or in two successive years, which is most likely merely a symptom of the fragmentary nature of the written sources. Otherwise working periods stretch up to 50 years. Working periods lasting several decades are more common in the 16th century, but there are long periods known before that as well. Tideka guldsmed is mentioned for the first time in 1373 and for the last time in 1384, thus giving him a period of 12 years. During the 15th century, Laureus Ragvaldsson, Laurens guldsmed, Sven guldsmed, and Anders guldsmed each have professionally active periods of over a decade.

If not stated directly in the written records, the origins of goldsmiths can be deduced, at least tentatively, from their names (Fig. 25). Three or rather two different origins can be assumed: Swedish and Finnish or German. Along with the spread of the Hanseatic network also German merchants migrated to towns of the Baltic littoral, and this affected the constitution of the burgher community in the Finnish towns. Of the three goldsmiths known from the 14th century, Tideka (1373–1384) and Widhenaer (1396) were of German origin. During the 15th century, however, goldsmiths with German names become rare among the Swedish and Finnish names. Only Hans Mandrow might be identified as a German on the grounds of his name.⁴⁶⁶ Nordman suggests that two of Hans Mandrow's forefathers worked as goldsmiths in Tallinn in the 14th century.⁴⁶⁷ In the 16th century, German names seem to re-establish themselves and after 1580 they become common. Baltzar Wulff (Viipuri 1581–1586, Tammissaari 1590–1619) was of German birth.⁴⁶⁸ Jacob Heffner (Porvoo 1599–1612) moved to Porvoo from Germany in 1599. Also Samuel Lidskou (Turku 1589–1626) and Hans Lidskou (Turku 1593–1596) were immigrants.⁴⁶⁹

It is difficult to distinguish Swedish goldsmiths from Finnish ones, but in some cases the origin of the master is indicated in the sources. The Swedish-named Laurens Ragvaldsson (1422–1441) owned a plot in Stockholm, but he seems to have worked in Turku.⁴⁷⁰ Lars guldsmed worked in Turku around 1558–1590, but he probably had started in 1551–1552 in Stockholm, where he had just arrived and worked cheaper than other goldsmiths in the town.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, another indication of a goldsmith's origins being in the western parts of the kingdom might be the use of a Swedish patronymic, but this is a highly unreliable method of identification. Goldsmiths with such a name are Clas Thomasson (Rauma 1560–1567), Morthen Andersson (Pori 1562–1564), Knut Mattsson (Turku 1572–1574), Olof

⁴⁶⁴ Laurens guldsmed: REA 394, 477; FMU 1490, 1799, 1967, 2388; Ruuth 1916, 56, 82; Kallioinen 2000, 297. Jönis guldsmed: REA 415; FMU 1783; Ruuth 1916, 54, 82; Kallioinen 2000, 294. Kristoffer guldsmed: REA 425; Ruuth 1916, 60, 82; Kallioinen 2000, 297, 306.

⁴⁶⁵ REA 677, 688, 693; FMU 4016; Ruuth 1916, 121; Kallioinen 2000, 292; e-mail from Georg Haggrén to the author 18 December 2008.

⁴⁶⁶ REA 688, 693; FMU 4170, 5043; Borg (1935) 1977, 32–33.

⁴⁶⁷ Nordman 1940, 30; cf. Friedenthal 1931, 59.

⁴⁶⁸ Ruuth 1906, 217, 239; Borg (1935) 1977, 437.

⁴⁶⁹ Borg (1935) 1977, 38–39, 131.

⁴⁷⁰ REA 394, 477; FMU 1691, 2282; Arwidsson 7:1, 5; Borg (1935) 1977, 31.

⁴⁷¹ Borg (1935) 1977, 35; Andrén et al. 2000, 46.

Larsson (Turku, 1572–1574), Nils Bertelsson (Turku 1572–1599), Mårten Andersson (Turku 1573–1587) and Jakob Andersson (Turku 1573–1613).

As craftsmen, goldsmiths were a part of the urban burgher community. Due to the demanding nature of their work and the special character of their raw material, goldsmiths constituted the most esteemed and wealthiest group among craftsmen.⁴⁷² They had the longest apprenticeship of all crafts,⁴⁷³ and a goldsmith had to have a wide range of skills. In the 1622 order of the Stockholm goldsmith corporation, a candidate for the profession is required to be competent in handling both silver and gold.⁴⁷⁴ Goldsmiths also had to be able to cast bronze and engrave signets, and minters had a goldsmith's training. Moreover, the acquisition of goldsmiths' tools and raw materials demanded capital,⁴⁷⁵ and often goldsmiths even acted as bankers.⁴⁷⁶ It is not surprising that goldsmiths were clearly the wealthiest group among the craftsmen of Turku, although their property was left far behind by the average property of burghers. The 1571 silver tax list mentions four goldsmiths in Turku. When the average property of craftsmen was 58 marks, their average property amounted to 115 marks, while the average property of a burgher was 228 marks.⁴⁷⁷ Some goldsmiths had positions of trust in the urban administration. Cristofer gulsmédh is mentioned as a member of the town council of Turku in 1427. Anders gulsméd is mentioned as the burgomaster of Viipuri in 1485,⁴⁷⁸ and in 1532 another Anders gulsméd acted as burgomaster of Turku.⁴⁷⁹

The most often mentioned goldsmith in Finnish medieval sources is Sven gulsméd, whose life is covered in documents from 1443 to 1480. References to him are connected with landholdings and property ownership. In 1443 Sven bought a plot in Kirkkokatu Street in Turku from the Dominican friar Henrik Jordansson for 100 Abo marks,⁴⁸⁰ and in 1449 Sven bought a plot next to his owned by Katarina Olofsdotter for 100 Abo marks.⁴⁸¹ In 1455 he pawned his house to the Cathedral for 20 silver marks or 200 Abo marks. In connection with this, Sven's other creditors are listed, and among them are Turku Cathedral and seven parishes in Southwest Finland, Häme and Ostrobothnia: Hauho, Paimio, Pedersöre, Perniö, Piikkiö, Tyrvää and Uskela.⁴⁸² The parishes may have placed an order for Sven to make communion vessels or other ecclesiastical paraphernalia.⁴⁸³ Slightly later, in 1467, Sven with the permission of his wife Birgitta Eskildsdotter and daughter Thola, sold their house to Turku Cathedral.⁴⁸⁴

These records reveal that Sven was a wealthy man with a wide financial network within the diocese. Although the social networks of Finnish goldsmiths usually cannot be deduced from written accounts, it is nevertheless known that goldsmith Hans Mandrow, mentioned in 1480–1504, was married to Knut gulsméd's (mentioned only once in 1472)⁴⁸⁵ widow and had a stepdaughter, Karin Knutsdotter, who received from Thola, the daughter of Sven, a house as a bequest.⁴⁸⁶

In addition to engaging in their craft, many goldsmiths appear to have taken part in trading activities. Matts gulsméd the Elder, attested in 1530–1556, sold salt and goldsmith's tools for 10 marks in 1549; besides importing salt, he also exported butter, goatskins, calfskins and a horse to Lübeck. He even received from King Gustavus Vasa the right to pursue the profession of a goldsmith as well as foreign trade.⁴⁸⁷ Also Bertil gulsméd (mentioned in 1554–1575) acted as a merchant. He had contacts with Danzig, Lübeck, Stockholm, Tallinn and Öregrund and imported salt, grain and

German	8
Swedish	2
Swedish/Finnish	56
	66

Fig. 25. Origins of goldsmiths deduced from their names.

⁴⁷² Voionmaa 1933, 471–473; Lindberg (1947) 1989, 49–50; Nordman 1960, 582; Röriq 1967, 148.

⁴⁷³ Lindberg (1947) 1989, 78.

⁴⁷⁴ Vainio-Korhonen 1994, 40.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. IF 20–21.

⁴⁷⁶ Voionmaa 1933, 471–473; Ahnlund 1953, 304.

⁴⁷⁷ Lindström 1988, 187–188; Kallioinen 2000, 216.

⁴⁷⁸ FMU 4037.

⁴⁷⁹ REA 425; FMU 1846; BFH 3:15.

⁴⁸⁰ REA 515; FMU 2507.

⁴⁸¹ REA 547, 551; FMU 2802, 2816.

⁴⁸² REA 571; FMU 2967.

⁴⁸³ Riska 1964, 109, 141; 1968, 50; 1981, 51.

⁴⁸⁴ REA 607; FMU 3334; see also REA 677; FMU 3851.

⁴⁸⁵ REA 634; FMU 3511.

⁴⁸⁶ REA 677; FMU 3851.

⁴⁸⁷ KGR 18, 495.

silver coins and shipped out hides, butter and horses.⁴⁸⁸ Moreover, Matts guldsmed the Younger (mentioned in 1556–1574) was heavily involved in trade. He exported large quantities of butter, tar, hides, salmon and horses, and among the things he brought to Turku were goldsmith's tools.⁴⁸⁹ Lastly, Samuel Lidskou (mentioned in 1589–1626) imported free of duty from Danzig and Lübeck and exported butter, salmon, hides and horses. He was married to Margaretha Krus, the widow of Casper guldsmed mentioned in written sources in 1558–1586.⁴⁹⁰

The organization of the goldsmiths' craft

The picture of craft organization in Finland during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period is based more on what is missing from the written sources than what is present. For instance, there are no written references to craft guilds or corporations in the Finnish sources before the 1620s.⁴⁹¹ During the course of the Middle Ages, craftsmen formed professional corporations, which often followed the structure of guild associations, to promote their interests and secure their income. Craft corporations began to emerge in Central Europe already in the 12th century, in the towns of Northern Germany and the Baltic countries in the 14th century. In Tallinn, about 20 craftsmen's guilds were founded during the Middle Ages, one of them for goldsmiths.⁴⁹² Despite the establishment of craft corporations in more southern areas of Europe, their absence seems to characterize the whole of the Swedish kingdom. The only exceptions were Stockholm, Kalmar and Västerås, and even in the capital, the first craft guild is not mentioned until 1356, with other references dating from the 15th century. Altogether, thirteen or fourteen corporations were founded in Stockholm.⁴⁹³ According to Lindberg, the craft guild institution was rather poorly developed in the Nordic countries because the number of craftsmen remained low in the majority of towns and thus there were neither the prerequisites nor the need for organizing the professional craftsmen into guilds or corporations.⁴⁹⁴

Considering the small number of goldsmiths working at the same time in Turku or in any other town in Finland it is more likely that they did not need to form a corporation. However, it is also conceivable that craftsmen's associations were too small and poor to be mentioned in surviving written sources. Johan Wilhelm Ruuth argues that some sort of guild corporations emerged already in the Middle Ages,⁴⁹⁵ while Oscar Nikula and Sigrid Nikula want to place the foundation of the first craft guilds in Turku in the 16th century, since the number of craftsmen in that century was so high.⁴⁹⁶ In a similar vein, also Raimo Ranta considers it likely that goldsmiths had a corporation in Turku in the 16th century,⁴⁹⁷ but as Himanen and Kallioinen have pointed out, the lack of craft corporations in Finland is in line with the general situation in the kingdom and there is thus no need to envision the existence of such organizations in the Finnish towns.⁴⁹⁸ Despite the lack of craftsmen's organizations in medieval and Early Modern Finland, several guilds are mentioned in the early written sources. In addition to seven or eight rural guilds, six guilds are known to have operated in Turku, three in Ulvila and one in Viipuri.⁴⁹⁹ These guilds were not corporations for craftsmen, however, but instead associations for members of higher social rank, merchant burghers and nobles.

An assumption shared by historians is that in principle the goldsmiths in Finnish towns were subjected to the goldsmiths' guild of Stockholm.⁵⁰⁰ The guild is mentioned for the first time in 1473, and the guild order was drawn around 1501.⁵⁰¹ One of its articles states that the brotherhood 'is

488 Borg (1935) 1977, 34.

489 Ruuth 1916, 165.

490 Borg (1935) 1977, 38.

491 Gardberg 1981, 28; Kuujo 1981, 165; Ranta 1981, 64.

492 Kaplinski 1995, 249.

493 Lindberg (1947) 1989, 69; Kaplinski 1974, 34; Lindström 1988, 182; 1991, 71–75; Lamberg 2001.

494 Lindberg (1947) 1989, 69–70.

495 Ruuth 1916, 38, 42.

496 Nikula & Nikula 1987b, 355.

497 Ranta 1975, 448–453.

498 Himanen 1971, 84–85; Kallioinen 2000, 221.

499 Koskinen 1874, 170–171; Voionmaa 1933, 470–471; Piippo 2002.

500 Saukkonen 1959, 268; Nordman 1960, 582; Kuujo 1981, 161, 165; Lindström 1991, 172; Kallioinen 2000, 221.

501 Kroon 1959, 135–138.

the main agency of goldsmiths in the kingdom',⁵⁰² which suggests that the order was also applied to Finnish goldsmiths and their work. However, craft corporations shared by several towns were unknown in Sweden in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, and there was even a tendency to close ranks in craft guilds in the medieval period and again in the late 16th century.⁵⁰³ Hence it would seem that the Stockholm guild as an association of craftsmen was confined to the capital and only some of its tasks in securing the control of the metal content in goldsmiths' products covered the whole country. These tasks, in fact, were imposed on the guild by the crown administration for the first time in 1473.

The 1501 Stockholm order was expressly created for the needs of craftsmen, although it had its background in the late-15th-century orders given by the crown. Its articles can be divided into three groups. Firstly, there are rules concerning the conduct of goldsmiths as representatives of their profession. They are, for instance, forbidden to gamble in taverns, and festivities are decreed for the patron saint of goldsmiths, St. Eloi or Eligius (Fig. 26). Secondly, there are rules that controlled the functioning of the guild as a community. In addition to the rules for admission to master rank, the articles lay down the duties and rights of apprentices, journeymen and masters. Finally, there are rules controlling the exercise of goldsmithing itself. For instance, it is forbidden to cover silver with pigments resembling gilding.

During the Middle Ages craftsmen often controlled their numbers and skills through a three-staged system of apprentices, journeymen and masters. In Sweden, the adoption of the system remained rather embryonic. In Stockholm, masters had one or two apprentices, while in Finland there are no records of any apprentices or journeymen before the 16th century. In 1512 there is a reference to Benedict Laurensen, who worked as apprentice or servant boy for goldsmith Christoffer in Stockholm.⁵⁰⁴ Furthermore, Mårten guldsmed the Younger, mentioned in 1590–1629, had an apprentice named Hans in 1598 and another named Philipus in 1600.⁵⁰⁵ In spite of these few references, it is more likely that Finnish goldsmiths usually worked on their own with the help of members of their family.

Of all craftsmen, goldsmiths had the longest apprenticeship period. In the Stockholm regulations of 1501, a goldsmith candidate had to work as an apprentice for six years. For shoemakers the apprenticeship was three years, and for bakers only one. An apprentice lived in his master's household and worked as his assistant. After being an apprentice for a certain period of time, the candidate became a journeyman, who still lived in the same household as the master, but received wages or other payment for his work. A journeyman could become a master after a certain period of time during which he had to acquire the appropriate wealth for becoming a master. He had to pay a certain amount for his master's rights, and make his masterpiece for admission to master rank. The Stockholm guild regulation stipulated four artefacts which the apprentice goldsmith had to produce before gaining his mastership: a gold ring set with a stone, a brooch and two ferrules for a knife.⁵⁰⁶



Fig. 26. St. Eloi or Eligius as depicted in the 1501 Stockholm order.

⁵⁰² *the är hoffwedh embetet i Rikit offuer guldhsmeneder; Skrå-ordningar* 78.

⁵⁰³ Lindberg (1947) 1989, 99–105; Himanen 1971, 86.

⁵⁰⁴ FMU 5586.

⁵⁰⁵ Borg (1935) 1977, 39.

⁵⁰⁶ *Skrå-ordningar* 27–28; Kroon 1959, 140; Oldeberg 1966, 136.

State control over goldsmithing

Craft guilds formed as craftsmen needed to control their numbers and the quality of their work. Moreover, as the tasks given to the goldsmiths' guild of Stockholm show, the king and his administration expressed intentions to govern their work. From the Late Middle Ages onward, the orders given by the crown sought to enhance three aspects of goldsmithing. Firstly, the crown wanted goldsmiths to move into towns. Secondly, it tried to control the silver content of artefacts by setting minimum levels and decreeing the use of hallmarks. Thirdly, the organization of goldsmiths into guild corporations was furthered. All three policies increased the grip of the crown and the state on goldsmiths and their work, culminating in the early decades of the 17th century with the creation of a nationwide system of craft corporations. Before the 16th century, the orders issued by the crown seem to have remained at the level of ideals and instructions rather than implemented laws. They did not have any marked effect on the work of goldsmiths, at least from the perspective of the surviving artefacts and written evidence. Moreover, many of the orders were contradictory.

There were no medieval laws covering the whole kingdom to prohibit the work of craftsmen in rural areas.⁵⁰⁷ Freedom of trade for rural craftsmen was enforced in King Kristoffer's land law drawn up in 1442, which did not contain detailed orders on craftsmanship, and craftsmen were allowed to practise their profession and to buy and sell products in the countryside without a special tax being imposed.⁵⁰⁸ In the town law of Magnus Eriksson from the mid-14th century only townspeople were given the right to engage in trade. These general land and town laws were severely contradicted by local orders, which from 1315 onwards tried to force craftsmen to move into towns.⁵⁰⁹ Only one such order given in 1473 was made to cover the whole kingdom.⁵¹⁰ It instructed goldsmiths to live and trade in urban communities. This requirement was quite impossible to follow in a country where the scale of urbanization was low and towns rare. There are many indications in written sources of goldsmiths exercising their profession in rural areas from the medieval period well into the 17th century.

In 1485 Sten Sture and the council of state gave the first nationwide order to regulate the work of goldsmiths.⁵¹¹ It stated that goldsmiths were to mark their products with their initials or a maker's mark, but based on the surviving artefacts, hallmarking remained uncommon. Also the minimum silver content was defined as 14 ½ *lods* per goldsmith's mark, which is to say that the silver content of an alloy was a little over 90 %. After this first order, the minimum standards were redefined several times in the course of the 16th century.

State control of goldsmiths' work tightened during the 16th century, when decreasing the number and rights of rural craftsmen became an interest of the state. Attempts to limit rural craftsmanship and to impose the incorporation of crafts were especially typical of the early Vasa Era. The Uppsala regulations issued in 1546 stated that all crafts and trade were to be exercised in towns, and craftsmen had to move into towns if they wanted to continue their profession, with the exception of craftsmen who were crucial for people living in the countryside.⁵¹² There were, however, special privileges that were granted to various craftsmen, e.g. to five coppersmiths in Sastamala, which allowed them to practice their profession in the rural areas.⁵¹³

After the reign of Gustavus Vasa, John III imposed the threat of being conscripted into the army and a special tax on goldsmiths who worked in the countryside.⁵¹⁴ The only way to avoid conscription was to seek the protection of the nobility,⁵¹⁵ but in 1590 John III forbade the nobility to keep goldsmiths in their employ.⁵¹⁶ Also hallmarking was developed, when according to a 1596 statute, the hallmark was to be accompanied by a town mark.⁵¹⁷ These hallmarking orders, however, do not seem to have had any significant effect, since before the early 17th century hallmarks on

⁵⁰⁷ Oldeberg 1966, 13–17; Heino 1985, 67–68.

⁵⁰⁸ *Talopoikain laki*, 125–128.

⁵⁰⁹ *Yrwing* 1966b, cols. 605–606.

⁵¹⁰ *PRF I:176* § 49.

⁵¹¹ *PRF I:192*; Lindberg (1947) 1989, 19–20.

⁵¹² *Stiernman I:I*, 73, 25.2.1546; Lindberg (1947) 1989, 98.

⁵¹³ *Jokipii* 1952, 135–138.

⁵¹⁴ *Stiernman I:I*, 267, 4.1.1577; Lindberg (1947) 1989, 24.

⁵¹⁵ Lindberg (1947) 1989, 29–30.

⁵¹⁶ *Stiernman I:I*, 358 § 27–28.

⁵¹⁷ Oldeberg 1966, 64–65.

artefacts of precious metal were exceptional. In sum, despite the more severe attitude of the crown, it was not until the 1620s that control over goldsmiths was accomplished with the establishment of the general corporation system.⁵¹⁸

Control of the silver content of products

In 1489 goldsmiths in Stockholm complained that their colleagues fortified silver spoons by adding copper to their alloys and spread them throughout the country,⁵¹⁹ while the first clause in the regulations of the Stockholm goldsmiths' guild states 'that every goldsmith shall work with good, genuine silver'.⁵²⁰ This instruction seems to have been necessary, since, for instance, Morthen Andersson, goldsmith in Pori in 1562–1572, was sentenced to a fine of 40 marks for having forged silver and acted deceitfully in his craft in 1565.⁵²¹ Antonius guldsmed is mentioned only once in 1573, when he was sentenced to a fine of 20 marks for counterfeiting silver,⁵²² and in 1579 goldsmith Jakob Jakobsson (1573–1615) was imprisoned in Turku Castle, along with two journeymen. Johan Wilhem Ruuth suggests that counterfeit products were the reason for their captivity. Lastly, in 1583 the king received complaints that 'most of the goldsmiths living in Finnish towns make false and deceitful products without any fear or respect.' Apparently Olof Jönsson, controller and tester of silver products, was sent to Finland to settle the matter.⁵²³

The gravity of the offences is explained by the role of precious metals in society. Gold and silver artefacts were not only made as utility articles and decorations, but also to be used as pawns, deposits of value and mediums of exchange. Artefacts of gold and silver were popular among those who could afford to obtain them, since their metal value was lasting and stable. This value, however, depended on the silver content, which for laymen was – and still is – difficult to estimate.

An experienced eye can determine approximately the silver and gold content of a piece by its colour and lustre, but even these features can be only superficial and thus deceptive. Discussing the estimates given by Finnish archaeologists on the metal contents of ancient metal products, Leena Tomanterä points out that there are several factors contributing to the appearance of a metal object: the alloys used, production techniques especially related to surface treatment, environmental conditions affecting the object before and after deposition, effects of corrosion on the weight of the object, and even the history and methods of cleaning and conservation to which the object has been exposed.⁵²⁴

Tomanterä has examined a group of Late Iron Age round brooches and tried to find forgeries among them. Ancient fakes often imitate artefacts typically made of silver, but are mainly of copper or bronze with only a silvery coating on the surface. Such forgeries can even have punched ornamentation, which does not break the surface. However, Tomanterä notes that upon closer examination the idea of falsified artefacts becomes too simplified: although some of the surviving artefacts indeed have a core of base metals coated with silver and decorated with ornaments typical of objects of precious metals, one has to take into account the effects of time on metals, and the fact that the coating of jewellery with silver or tin with the appearance of silver required a highly skilled craftsman. The buyers and owners of such artefacts might well have known the actual silver content of their possessions, but only wanted to put them into graves or other similar uses.⁵²⁵ Furthermore, none of the eight round brooches analysed by Tomanterä were made of the most typical metal used for deception, silvered bronze.⁵²⁶

Because of the limitations of visual estimates, there had to be other means of testing the silver content of objects. One of the ancient ways to assess the metal content of coins is to bite them and

⁵¹⁸ Kallio 1945, 36–39.

⁵¹⁹ PRF I:198.

⁵²⁰ *Ath hwar een gultsmyt schal arbeyde goth lödict sölffuer; Skrå-ordningar 4.*

⁵²¹ Ruuth 1897, 53.

⁵²² Borg (1935) 1977, 37.

⁵²³ Ruuth 1916, 258.

⁵²⁴ Tomanterä 1989, 65–67.

⁵²⁵ Tomanterä 1989, 70–78.

⁵²⁶ Tomanterä 1989, 85.

see whether the bite leaves a mark. The softer the coin, the more likely it is to contain silver or gold, both being soft metals. Bite marks left by such a procedure are visible, for instance, in medieval Nordic coins. More accurate and reliable estimations require professional, specialized tools such as touchstones and priming pencils. First the examined object is rubbed against the touchstone to leave a small visible coloration on its surface. This stripe is then compared with the marks left by priming pencils made of an alloy with known silver composition. Such probing tools are known from medieval archaeological contexts, but none have been found in Finland. Nevertheless, even with such tools deception and forgery always remained a possibility.

The threat of forgeries and lowering the silver content of products was even more acute, when artefacts were obtained or commissioned. Goldsmiths probably had to have some reserves of metals in their workshops, but it was usually the customer who provided the silver and gold needed for his or her order. Very often customers were concerned that a goldsmith could deceive them and weaken the silver content of the produced item more than agreed, thus increasing his own profits. For instance, it was possible to make the handle of a spoon hollow and lessen the amount of material used. Probably this concern partly contributed to the orders given by the crown on hallmarking.

Interaction between goldsmiths and customers on the basis of written sources

The making of artefacts can be understood as materializing the relations between the agents involved in production and consumption.⁵²⁷ Hence understanding the interactions which took place between goldsmiths and customers – the establishment of a customer-craftsman relationship, the role of middlemen and distributors as well as the information and materials exchanged in the relationship – is pivotal for understanding the products themselves, but greatly hampered by the lack of documents describing these interactions. In fact, it seems that written accounts were drawn only on exchange of payments and property, not on the contents of orders or the visual and textual programmes of the products, which were agreed orally. Nonetheless, the meagre evidence is presented here ordered according to the social status of the customer – these various clienteles can be considered as different contexts of ordering and customer-craftsman interaction.

Fundamentally, the customers of goldsmiths had to possess the means to buy the products and services, but it is difficult to say where exactly this boundary of minimum wealth lay. Affluence not only affected the size of the artefacts acquired, but also the form of the procurement: the product could be ordered and bought from a local producer, imported as a finished object, ordered from a craftsman working somewhere else, or commissioned in another town or country while the customer was travelling there.

The church as an institution and its officials formed the most important customer group for goldsmiths in Finland until the Reformation and Gustavus Vasa's confiscations. The liturgy and other ecclesiastical functions required a variety of objects of precious metals. These artefacts could either be bought for the church with funds provided by the parish or donated by individual churchmen and the laity. Donations of the former type are difficult to identify on the basis of surviving artefacts and written sources, but at least figures of fish and corn made of silver and donated to the local parish church as ornaments have been considered communal gifts. For instance, the ethnologist Ilmar Talve argues that the motivation for donating fish figures of silver springs from the general interest of communities living from fishing in the sea. Communal donations were made in order to increase the catch or to improve the harvest.⁵²⁸ In practice, regardless of whether the decision to make such objects was made communally or not, its execution was probably given to some representatives, who possibly in collaboration with the churchmen ordered the item from a local goldsmith.

In terms of the source material, a much more visible way of obtaining objects needed in the church were individual, personalized donations. Some of the inscriptions on communion vessels

⁵²⁷ Strathern 1988; Gell 1998; Chapman 2000, 27–37.

⁵²⁸ Talve 1951, 4–6, 27–30, 46–49.

reveal their donors and commissioners to have been churchmen. In 1346, Laurencius Arnberni, canon of Turku, had a chalice and paten made for his parish in Saltvik (Cat. 2:1). Such donations were motivated by the wish to save one's soul by doing good deeds and dedicating liturgical equipment to the glory of God and His saints. In 1366, Torsten, a priest in Viipuri, composed his will ordering Sune Haquonson, the executor, to see that a silver cross be made from a bowl. The cross was to be carried in front of Torsten's funeral procession, and afterwards donated to the altar of the Virgin Mary in thanks to and honour of Our Lady and for the salvation of his soul.⁵²⁹ Master Gregorius Monch, in turn, bequeathed a chalice and probably also a subsequently lost paten to the altar of St. John the Baptist in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 2:8). He died in 1429 and is not mentioned in other written sources, but it is likely that he was the first to hold the prebendary of the altar of St. John the Baptist in Turku Cathedral. Furthermore, the early-16th-century chalice of Hauho Church is inscribed with a text contradicting the actual date of production of the piece: 'In the year of Our Lord 1416, Master Lares Magi (Magnusson) let this chalice be made for the grace of God.'

Another significant theme in donations to the church was to ask for remembrance and prayers from contemporaries and generations to come through objects and their inscriptions. Around the mid-1440s, a priest of Kemi Church donated a chalice and paten to his parish and had the following inscription engraved on the paten (Cat. 2:11): 'Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, and all friends of God pray for Laurencio Fris.' The idea of remembrance presented in Laurencio Fris's donation can also be extended to social and secular intentions to enhance one's and one's family's status and position in the community.⁵³⁰ In fact, the sacral and profane motives are intertwined in a complex way in the medieval donation practice.⁵³¹

After the mid-15th century, the Birgittine monk Jöns Budde had a chalice and an accompanying paten made in Stockholm as is stated on the inscription on the plate (Cat. 2:16). The plate bears an engraved image of a standing Birgittine monk; perhaps it is Jöns Budde himself. However, the engraving and the declaration of the place of production, namely Stockholm, are not the only interesting aspects of the donation. Although the foot of the chalice has subsequently been lost, in 1670–1671 the antiquarian Elias Brenner luckily made a drawing of the inscription, which is similar to the one on the paten, and of two coats of arms on the foot. The identification of the coats of arms is somewhat problematic, but they nevertheless belonged to members of the lay nobility, not Jöns Budde. Tuija Tuhkanen argues that Jöns Budde was the executor of the donation; he had it made as the paten states, but the actual donors were laymen indicated by the coats of arms. In general, a distinction should be made between donors as such and those who took care of the details of the donation.⁵³²

Some of the donors of the communion vessels are of the regional ecclesiastical elite. Based on the coats of arms on the chalice's foot, the Ejby communion set of Turku Cathedral had a powerful group of donors (Cat. 2:17): unidentified members of the Bitz, Stiernkors and Tavast families, Magnus Nicolai (c. 1435–1500), the Bishop of Turku in 1489–1500, and possibly Claus Henrici Bitz (c. 1458–1506), who was a member of the Privy Council and *lagman* of Northern Finland. Magnus Nicolai was not yet bishop at the time when the Ejby set was made in the 1470s or 1480s, unlike Lars Suurpää, who was the Bishop of Turku in 1500–1506, when he donated a chalice to Rusko Church (Cat. 2:23). The chalice has an inscription revealing the donor and even an engraved portrait of the bishop with his mitre and staff on its foot.

According to Paval Juusten's chronicle of the bishops of Turku, Bishop Magnus Tavast (in office 1412–1450) visited Venice around 1420 as part of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In the city he had valuable altar textiles made for Turku Cathedral, and he may also have acquired a chalice, paten, and chain necklace of gold as well as a valuable silver crucifix, which he brought to Finland. He also ordered Gospel and Epistle books ornamented with silver, and acquired head and arm reliquaries

⁵²⁹ REA 198; FMU 745.

⁵³⁰ Duffy (1992) 2005, 329–332.

⁵³¹ Heller 1976, 4–26, 38–47.

⁵³² Tuhkanen 2005, 52, 101.

of silver for the relics of St. Henry.⁵³³ Juusten describes the treasures Magnus Tavast acquired and donated during his journey to such extent that their distant origins seem to raise their appreciation to another level. In this light, the inscription on the paten which Jöns Budde donated to the church of Naantali Nunnery appears understandable, though it is much more modest in articulating the place of production of the communion set.

Although all the examples so far have involved churchmen, there are also donations of communion vessels which do not mention any ecclesiastical officials. According to the inscription on a chalice dated to around the 1420s, Heyne Watmal, a burgher of Turku, donated the piece to St. Henry's altar in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 2:7). A few decades later St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku received a communion set from a group of burgers in the town (Cat. 2:10). The names of the donors engraved on the foot of the chalice have been interpreted as Laureus Hannesson, Cristin Laurensdotter, Thomas Korro, and Walborg, the wife of Thomas Korro.

The tradition of donating liturgical vessels to the church did not end with the Reformation, but continued well into the 18th century,⁵³⁴ and all the medieval chalices and patens brought to Finland after 1600 can be placed in this continuum (Cat. 3:1–6). One of the post-Reformation communion sets in the material, the chalice and paten of Untamala Church (Cat. 2:29), has an inscription revealing the date of its making, the year 1597, and its layman donors: Henrik Storm and his wife Elin, and Skova and his bride Hartta Bergia.

The laymen who acted as donors raise the question of the actual interactions that took place between them and goldsmiths. In the case of churchmen who donated liturgical equipment it is easy to conceive that they also instructed the goldsmith about the ornamentation, inscriptions and overall pictorial programme of the donated artefacts. The laity did not necessarily possess the competence needed in such theological and visual matters. How was the commissioning organized? Many medieval wills, which bequeath communion vessels and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia to the church, provide hints for an answer. The earliest reference to ecclesiastical donation is in King Magnus Ladulås's (reigned in 1275–1290) will, dated 1285, in which he leaves four gold marks to the Finnish church for making a chalice for the main altar of the cathedral in Koroinen or Turku together with a pyx.⁵³⁵ This formula of the donor leaving funds or materials for making the bequeathed article reoccurs constantly in wills. For instance, in the third will of Lucia Olofsdotter composed in 1455, she leaves a silver belt to Turku Cathedral, one half of it to the Three Kings' altar and the other to the altar of the Virgin Mary in the Clerics' Choir. Both halves were to be made into a chalice.⁵³⁶ Similarly in the 1480s Master Håkan, a man of the church, left eight silver spoons to St. Catherine's altar in the cathedral for making a chalice.⁵³⁷ Based on these and other identical formulations, donations included the material or other means needed to fulfil it and orders on what they were to be made into. The execution was left to the church and its representatives, who were in contact with goldsmiths and negotiated over details of production. Howard Creel Collinson argues that only a portion of donations mentioned in wills were used in the production of the actual artefact, while the rest was reserved for financing memorial masses, prayers and alms. He concludes that the donated artefact was in fact merely a physical shell of the immaterial Mass.⁵³⁸

If the focus of the consumer-producer relationship is shifted to the profane context, the nobility was definitely the foremost social group associated with the consumption of gold and silver. Despite

533 Juusten 17:91–96. The Latin term *monile* used by Juusten and here translated as 'necklace' has bewildered Finnish scholars. Rinne (1948, 157) interprets it as an *aquamanile*, Jaakkola (1950, 316) as a necklace and Heininen (1988, 47) as a cope brooch for a *pluviale*. Palola (1997, 198–199) is correct in pointing out that the standard translation is in fact 'necklace'. Perhaps scholars have considered a mere necklace to be too low in value to be mentioned among the other precious objects, but the *monile* might well have been a handsomely made necklace with a pendant. The Kulturhistorische Museum in Vienna has a lozenge-shaped pendant of gold mounted with precious stones, an antique onyx cameo and a rock crystal under which a relic from Christ's cross, *de lingō d[omi]ni*, has been placed. Moreover, the 14th-century piece has an inscription claiming that it belonged to Charlemagne: *monile magni karoli imperatoris veraciter de lingō s[an]c[t]e crvcis continens* (Kirchweger 2007). A similar lozenge-shaped pendant found in Middleham, England, has been dated to the 15th century (Cherry 1994). One lozenge-shaped reliquary pendant is known also from Sweden. The early-16th-century artefact of silver was discovered as part of a hoard in Landshövdingens boställsjord, Långbro in Närke (SHM 3017:9; Hildebrand 1898–1903, 647 fig. 535; af Ugglas 1944, 31).

534 Tuhkanen 2005, 11.

535 *Jtem ecclesie Finlandie iiii.or marchas puri pro calice ad maius altare et pixide pro sacra eucharista conseruanda; SD I 802; FMU 183.*

536 FMU 2970.

537 REA 618; FMU 3984.

538 Collinson 1986, 86–95.

their importance as a group, noblemen and -women did not form any homogenous class with equal access to wealth and subsequently the products of goldsmiths, but due to the restrictions of the source material these differences cannot be represented statistically. In Finland, nevertheless, the best-documented lay consumers of medieval and early modern silver were of the highest nobility, who lived in castles and manors and could have foreign luxuries imported through their trade contacts. Josef Pedersson (1481–1528), the bailiff of Turku Castle, wrote a letter to the regent of Sweden Svante Nilsson (1460–1512) in 1505. The letter was accompanied by a loose slip, in which Josef Pedersson states his wish to have a gold chain made for Svante Nilsson's son, Sten Sture the Younger, but because he is unable to fulfil his promise, he is sending a small casket containing 100 *örtugar*. With the money, Sten Sture can buy a gold chain himself in Stockholm.⁵³⁹ In 1541, Erik Håkansson, the master of Suitia Manor, wrote a letter to burgher Alert Dreikop in Tallinn asking him to pay a goldsmith who had made a pair of knife ferrules for him from c. 90 g of silver.⁵⁴⁰

The two very casual and brief notes give a glimpse of contemporary social interaction, where relationships are created and maintained with the means of objects of precious metals, and *vice versa* how gold and silver articles were acquired through such established networks based on mutual trust. Payments for orders and final products could take a long time to travel. Moreover, international transportation and communication involved risks, such as shipwrecks and piracy.⁵⁴¹ According to Riitta Pyökkänen, the most valuable products were transported in small quantities to minimize the risk of losing treasures imported and exported internationally. However, there always lurked the threat of losing objects of precious metals when ordering from abroad as well as being deceived with lower silver content than agreed upon.

Vilho Niitemaa estimates that importing metal goods to Finland must have been a very significant business, although trade in Northern Europe focused on foodstuffs and raw materials, bulky essentials. Importation was conducted through local and foreign merchants, peddlers and farmers pursuing international or regional trade. The Finnish shippers transporting goods between Stockholm and Tallinn or Narva occasionally also traded with Finnish customers.⁵⁴² Imports from Sweden were mainly raw materials and less frequently such finished products as kettles and anchors, whereas imports from the Hanseatic towns, in contrast, were in the form of finished products. Tankards, bowls, jugs, silverware and knives were transported from such Hanseatic towns as Danzig and Tallinn and pewter jugs especially from Nuremberg.⁵⁴³

In addition to specific pre-ordered articles, these imports included semi-fabricated and finished products. Moreover, every goldsmith probably had a small range of finished products in their workshop from which consumers could choose without pre-ordering items. It would seem plausible that such items were especially important in remote areas, where goldsmiths were not constantly available, but the distribution of finished items was also connected with the expanding consumption of luxury products in the late medieval and Early Modern Period. Profane artefacts such as finger rings, buttons, spoons and silverware were mass-produced in Central Europe and Hanseatic towns and imported around the Baltic Sea area,⁵⁴⁴ but also ecclesiastical objects such as Limoges crosses, altar crosses and small crucifixes attached to the feet of chalices had their own specialized workshops.⁵⁴⁵ From the perspective of the goldsmith-consumer relationship, finished products mean that the need to make contact with the producer disappears. It was possible to acquire such articles through merchants or other middlemen and distributors.

Artefacts of gold and silver could also be obtained from local silversmiths operating in towns and rural areas. Accounts of local transactions are totally lacking from the medieval period, but some written traces of ordering from local goldsmiths survive from the 16th century. They mainly concentrate around the courtly consumption of Duke John in Turku Castle. Jacob guldsmed the

⁵³⁹ FMU 5116.

⁵⁴⁰ BFH 3:162.

⁵⁴¹ Pyökkänen 1956, 64–65; Kallioinen 2000, 233–235.

⁵⁴² FMU 5558; Niitemaa 1952, 338; 1955, 342–346; Kerkkonen 1959, 47; 1977; *Postan* 1987, 168–169.

⁵⁴³ Niitemaa 1966b.

⁵⁴⁴ Pyökkänen 1955, 165; Backman 1963, 67–69; Oldeberg 1966, 115.

⁵⁴⁵ *Taburet-Delahaye* 1996, 33–35.

Elder (master in 1556–1568) produced eight silver jugs for the duke in 1557 and received a work loan of 143 marks and 3 öre. The term work loan refers to a sum of money given to a craftsman to cover the raw materials as well as payment for the work and was paid back in the form of a finished product. Jacob guldsmed the Elder received commissions from the duke again in 1562 and 1563.⁵⁴⁶

Jost guldsmed worked for the duke in 1557, when he prepared a gold spoon, a gold bracelet and silver jugs, plates and salt pots. He received 100 marks in payment,⁵⁴⁷ while Casper guldsmed (master in 1558–1586) was paid 200 marks *örtugar*.⁵⁴⁸ Jesper guldsmed (master in 1559–1561), in turn, was given an order of 200 marks *örtugar* in 1559, and two years later in 1561, Duke John ordered him to be sent to Sweden.⁵⁴⁹ Also Roland guldsmed (master in 1561–1565) was among the duke's purveyors, when in 1561 he made items of silver and gold for the duke and was paid with rye, malt, butter, cod, one ox and one pig.⁵⁵⁰

Nothing in the eastern province parallels the orders of Duke John. In Helsinki, Måns Henriksson Spåre (1572–1590) gave Knut guldsmed (master in 1557–1586) c. 1 kg of silver and some gold for gilding which he made into a bowl, mounts for a law book, mounts for knives, a belt and a jug weighing 460 g. The goldsmith kept 7 *dalar* and 17 ½ öre as payment, but also received food products.⁵⁵¹ Måns Henriksson Spåre also ordered silverware from Marcus guldsmed (master in 1585–1619) in 1585 and 1586.⁵⁵² In Viipuri, Baltazar Wulff (master in 1581–1586) prepared a silver beaker weighing almost 1.5 kg for the town. For producing the piece, he received a work loan of 20 *dalar* and 29 öre.⁵⁵³

Two other social groups which had means to purchase silver and gold were burghers and farmers, but nothing is known of their transactions with goldsmiths. The two social classes ordered cutlery, i.e. spoons and knives, jugs, bowls and other vessels needed in banquets. Also jewellery, chains, buttons, hooks and other dress ornaments were among the things commissioned from goldsmiths, along with small figurines, reliquaries and crosses which were part of private devotion. The wealthiest farmers were able to collect and save capital in the form of silver products, which as family heirlooms were passed on with the farm. The consumption of farmers is very poorly present in the written sources, but treasure hoards provide a glimpse of it.

The interaction between lay consumers and goldsmiths seems, in the light of the written sources, to have been concerned with the exchange of materials, finished products and payments for work. A rare and rather uncertain glimpse of the raw materials that the commissioners might have possessed is provided by a document from 1532, when Knut Eriksson Kurck gave his nephew Klas Arvisson 'a small *skena*'.⁵⁵⁴ It is very difficult to ascertain what the nephew actually received, but the term *skena* appears to refer to a long, narrow bar of metal.⁵⁵⁵ Because the item is listed among objects of silver, one cannot help wondering whether it was a silver bar which could be handed over to a goldsmith when commissioning silver products. Whatever the case, goldsmiths, broadly speaking, received their orders together with a work loan which included the raw materials, and were probably also given further instructions on the form and appearance of the finished products. The goldsmith made the objects and delivered them to the consumer. The payment was included in the work loan, but the goldsmith might also receive various foodstuffs and livestock as supplementary compensation for his efforts.

546 BFH 3, 388; Ruuth 1916, 195.

547 Ruuth 1916, 195.

548 BFH 3, 388; Ruuth 1916, 194.

549 Diarium, 45, 52; Ruuth 1916, 195.

550 Ruuth 1916, 195.

551 Borg (1935) 1977, 199.

552 Borg (1935) 1977, 200.

553 Ruuth 1906, 217, 239; Borg (1935) 1977, 437.

554 *en liten skena*; BFH 3:595.

555 SAOB, s. v. *skena*.

8 Production Techniques Used in Medieval and Early Modern Goldsmithing

As shown above, the evidence that goldsmiths' tools can provide concerning production techniques remains rather limited due to the rarity of such finds. However, there are other means of approaching the techniques used in goldsmithing. One important body of source material consists of medieval and early modern treatises on techniques used in goldsmithing as well as treatises on geometrical applications. A survey of these will begin the present chapter on production techniques. Not only the material techniques of making artefacts – classical issues in technological studies – will be examined here, but also the use and distribution of visual sources, conceived here as part of the production process. This brings also model-books, single-leaf prints and the visual technique of miniaturization into play, and they will consequently be discussed as initial stages of production.

Another possibility to approach techniques of production is the visual analysis of surviving products and their elements to deduce the processes which goldsmiths followed to accomplish the results. Such analysis is largely based on the assumption that techniques used in more recent goldsmithing that have been documented in greater detail were not dramatically different in the past especially since modern and past tools have the same appearance.

In spite of the constancy of production techniques, their scholarly grouping or categorization has not become an established matter. Anders Oldeberg divides metalworking techniques into two classes, rough and finer techniques respectively. The former comprise forging and rough chasing. Forging denotes working with heated metal by striking or pressing it, either freely only with a hammer or also with the help of a matrix or mould, while chasing refers to embossing a sheet of metal in relief with a chasing-hammer. The more gentle techniques are finer chasing methods of pressing and chiselling metal. Oldeberg further divides chiselling into chasing with a chisel and engraving with a graver.⁵⁵⁶

Although Ronald F. Tylecote also divides metalworking into two categories, in contrast to Oldeberg's grouping, they are, on the one hand, casting techniques and, on the other, mechanical working techniques, which comprise forging and chasing. He further divides forging and chasing into the rougher techniques of forging, pressing, drawing and punching, and finer ones for surface treatment and ornamentation with a range of tools. The production process ends with chiselling.⁵⁵⁷ Tylecote's grouping is more concerned with the temporal sequence of production from a lump of raw material into the finished, polished artefact. It is thus more relevant for the purposes of the present study, and has been adopted as the backbone of the description of production techniques of various objects.

Treatises on goldsmithing

The most famous medieval treatise on goldsmithing was compiled in an ecclesiastical context. Theophilus Presbyter (c. 1070–1125) was a Benedictine monk and the author of *De diversibus artibus* (On divers arts), written between 1100 and 1120. This work is divided into three volumes. The production and use of painting and drawing materials are described in the first volume, while the second deals with stained glass and glass painting. The third volume mainly describes various techniques of goldsmithing, although it also includes a brief discussion of the construction

⁵⁵⁶ Oldeberg 1963, 167–175.

⁵⁵⁷ Tylecote 1987, 179–290.

of organs. Theophilus' background in monastic life was crucial for the creation of the treatise – similar literary culture and the need to write down instructions for production did not emerge among the goldsmiths working in a non-ecclesiastical environment until the late medieval and Early Modern Period. Moreover, the authors of these later treatises were still few in number and usually of a higher social status.

Another famous but much later treatise on goldsmithing is *Trattati della oreficeria e della scultura* (Treatises on goldsmithing and sculpture). Its author, the Italian goldsmith, sculptor, painter and musician Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) composed the work in 1565–1567. Cellini's treatise was already compiled in a totally different social environment, where the modern conception of the artist-craftsman was emerging and the monastic institution had lost its previous importance for artistic production.

Besides the treatises explicitly addressing goldsmithing, works on mining and metallurgy are of relevance for an understanding of the craft.⁵⁵⁸ In his treatise finished in 1202, *Liber abaci*, Leonardo of Pisa (c. 1170–c. 1250), better known as Fibonacci, treats problems related to metal alloying for coinage in the chapter entitled *De consolamine monete* (On the alloying of coins).⁵⁵⁹ Although the context may now seem surprising, it was common to discuss alloying and minting of coins in medieval and Early Modern treatises on arithmetic. The assaying of coinage also made its way into manuals aimed at mercantile and commercial use, where it was important to have a basic mastery of goldsmithing and the know-how to test the silver content of coins, silver and gold bars and even other objects of precious metals.

An anonymous German author published the first printed book on assaying coinage with the title *Probierbüchlein* (Booklet on assaying) in 1500. Among the procedures for alloying and minting coins, it describes how to make furnaces, crucibles, cupelas and weights and how to separate precious metals from scrap. *Probierbüchlein* was the predecessor of a number of important manuals on metallurgy compiled in the 16th century. Peder Månsson wrote a small treatise on mining, *Bergsmanskonst* (The craft of mining) in the early 16th century, but it was the Sieneese Vannoccio Biringuccio (1480–1539) who published in 1540 the first comprehensive European work on metallurgy covering all the metallurgical fields, *De la pirotechnia* (On pyrotechnics). Another authoritative work on metallurgy, with the title *De re metallica* (On the nature of metals), was published in 1556. It was written by the German Georg Bauer, also known as Georgius Agricola (1494–1555).

Although the early treatises on mining and metallurgy are important for the larger context of gold and silver artefacts, their relevance for the Finnish silverwork can be argued to be marginal. Another type of manual, treatises on practical geometry, is more directly involved with the practices of goldsmithing. The forms and ornamentation of their work, which were in large part adopted from ecclesiastical architecture, can explain goldsmiths' interest in geometry and architecture. They utilized miniature architectural forms in their creation of metal shrines, monstrances, reliquaries and censers as well as profane silver. This is clearly visible in the celebrated Goldsmith Drawings of Basel created in the 15th and 16th centuries,⁵⁶⁰ and even in Finnish censers and ciboria. Their forms are based on the geometrical technique of deriving an elevation from a ground plan, a technique applied to all kinds of architectural elements.

Goldsmiths had to be as well acquainted with applications of geometry as master masons. An example of this is *Fialenbüchlein* (Booklet on turrets), composed by Hanns Schmuttermayer of Nuremberg, who lived in the town in the latter part of the 15th and the first decades of the 16th century. The book, published around the late 1480s, describes how to design turrets and gables. It was intended for 'the instruction of our fellow men and all masters'. Earlier scholars have assumed that the author was a master mason talking to other masons, but Lon R. Shelby shows that he was actually a goldsmith.⁵⁶¹ Like Schmuttermayer, Albrecht Dürer dedicated his work *Underweysung der messung* (Treatise on measurement) (1525), 'not only to painters, but also to goldsmiths,

⁵⁵⁸ For an overview of metallurgical and assaying manuals, see Connolly 2005a; 2005b; Córdoba de la Llave 2005, 330–335.

⁵⁵⁹ Sigler 2003, 227–257.

⁵⁶⁰ See e.g. Ueberwasser 1931; Mager 1963.

⁵⁶¹ Shelby 1977, 28–31.

sculptors, stonemasons, joiners and all those who use measure'.⁵⁶²

Early treatises on geometry are characterized by directness, brevity and total lack of the philosophical discourse so typical of medieval and Early Modern geometrical texts in general. They were committed to prescribing methods and practices with the help of non-mathematical geometry, or rather constructive geometry. Basically, they give step-by-step instructions on how to manipulate a compass and straightedge to inscribe geometrical forms. Shelby points out that these lists of instructions were meant to be memorized and repeated with appropriate variations in ratios and numbers. The intention was not to educate readers in the logical or mathematical reasoning behind the procedure. Comparing Schmuttermayer's works with master mason Mathes Rorizer's *Büchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit* (Booklet concerning pinnacle correctness) (1486), Shelby concludes that no significance or philosophical underpinnings appear to be given to the numbers themselves. Both works lack suggestions for some absolute, correct height-to-width ratio for pinnacles.⁵⁶³

Model-books and single-leaf prints as visual sources

The term model-book refers to a collection of sketches drawn on sheets of parchment or paper. Although they are called books, the leaves in a collection need not be bound together, and some model-books comprise only separate sheets.⁵⁶⁴ Model-books and single-leaf prints were meant to help goldsmiths in reproducing various religious and secular pictorial motifs. Although model-books were relatively easy to compile, single-leaf prints required even less efforts in distribution. Such drawings could be used throughout the production process from its initial stages to the final decorations.

Only one medieval model-book is known from the Nordic countries, the Icelandic sketchbook which Henry Fett dates to the first half of the 15th century.⁵⁶⁵ The motifs presented in the 42-page book, though, are of a much earlier date. The oldest ones, which may have been drawn in the 13th and the earlier half of the 14th century, comprise ornaments executed in a Late Romanesque or Early Gothic style. They also depict scenes from life of the Virgin Mary, the childhood of Christ and the Passion executed in High Gothic style. The motifs of the Late Gothic style include depictions of St. Catherine, St. Christopher and St. Olof as well as the Virgin Mary. Because some images in the book bear a striking resemblance to several Icelandic miniatures, Fett argues that the work is a compilation based on an older work of some monastic library in Iceland or Norway, but differing opinions have also been presented.⁵⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it is obvious that motifs for the book were collected over a long period of time. This was typical of model-books for which a workshop could find use for decades.

Fett points out that motifs such as vine ornaments or a scene with the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child surrounded by a floral border could have had direct applications in goldsmithing.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, Henrik Grevenor points out the similarity between one of the leaves in the book and an engraved relief in the National Museum of Norway,⁵⁶⁸ and Thor Kielland suggests that there exists a link between the drawing of a reliquary in the book and a Norwegian piece as well as between a sketch of Christ's face surrounded with a cross nimbus and a similarly depicted face of Christ on a 14th-century finger ring from Stavanger.⁵⁶⁹

The nature of model-books is crystallized in one of the drawings of the Icelandic compilation. A depiction of a seated king shows him enthroned beneath a baldachin holding an orb in one hand. The king has clenched his other hand to grasp a missing attribute. The picture is supplied

⁵⁶² Dürer 270.

⁵⁶³ Shelby 1977, 70.

⁵⁶⁴ Scheller (1995, 4) suggests that most medieval sketches were not made on parchment or even paper, but drawn on wax tablets, although no such tablets with drawings have been discovered so far. Alexander Nequam (1157–1217) writes in his *De nominibus utensilium* that wax tablets were used in the education of goldsmiths' apprentices (Hunt 1984, 32–34).

⁵⁶⁵ Fett 1910. Besides the surviving model-book, af Uggias (1915, 433–435) suggests that there existed another now-lost model-book that was used as a source for 13th-century church sculptures in Gotland.

⁵⁶⁶ Scheller 1995, 241–249.

⁵⁶⁷ Fett 1910, 12–27, pls. 20, 28.

⁵⁶⁸ Grevenor 1926.

⁵⁶⁹ Kielland 1927, 150–151, 156–158; see also Fritz 1966, 410–439.



Fig. 27. Two engraved panels depicting SS. Paul and Andrew around the ciborium of Lammi Church. The ciborium of gilt copper was made in the late 15th–early 16th century (Cat. 4:6).

with an advisory text: ‘Call him what you will, and put in his hand that with which he will defend himself.’⁵⁷⁰ The image is thus a preform, which can be utilized to depict any king required by giving him a certain weapon or adding other necessary attributes. This utter visual practicality is shared by model-books and geometrical treatises. Images in model-books usually lack thematic clarity, because they are not organized into pictorial programmes. Instead, the individual motifs were meant to be generic and adaptable to different purposes, and thus model-books tend to concentrate on excerpting rudimentary elements – humans, animals and their poses, actions and interactions – from larger compositions.⁵⁷¹

Images in model-books were collected from woodcuts, copper engravings and other visual material. Hence it is no surprise, keeping in mind the repeatability of images in model-books, that the development of printing technology in the 16th century revolutionized and standardized their production. Probably a more suitable term for these printed compilations is a pattern-book. Like model-books, pattern-books may have been in use for long periods of time, but their relatively easy production and distribution guaranteed a more rapid adoption of new fashions and styles compared with the model-books made and copied by hand.

The number of surviving medieval model-books is small throughout Europe. In his survey, Robert W. Scheller, the leading expert on model-books, lists 36 items dating from the second century BC to c. 1475. Fourteen of them are from the 9th to 13th centuries and twenty from the 14th to 16th centuries, while seven model-books in the younger group were made north of the Alps.⁵⁷² Scheller explains their paucity by the low value attached to such books. They were tools among other tools, and little artistic value, if any, was attached to them during the Middle Ages or in the following centuries.⁵⁷³ In other words, the scarcity of model-books is a consequence, in addition to their constant use and subsequent wear, of their becoming stylistically obsolete and thus abandoned as tastes changed. However, as the

⁵⁷⁰ *kalla hann huat u villt ok fa honum at j haundena sem hann skal veria sig med*; Scheller 1995, 248–249.

⁵⁷¹ *Sinding-Larsen 1967, col. 187*; Scheller 1995, 6, 45.

⁵⁷² Scheller 1963; 1995.

⁵⁷³ Scheller 1995, 22, 41.

images made in several styles in the Icelandic sketchbook show, stylistic obsolescence cannot entirely explain the low survival rate. Also the social background of goldsmithing must be taken into account: unlike like ecclesiastical or administrative institutions, goldsmiths, and craftsmen in general, did not have any established archiving practices. Another factor contributing to the disappearance of model-books were probably the developments in the education and social networks of goldsmiths. Although the formal, institutionalized teaching of goldsmithing is a modern phenomenon, the change from a guild system to a state-controlled corporation system in the early 17th century as well as the rapid expansion of printed designs since the early 16th century made the compiling and use of hand-made, workshop-related model-books obsolete.

The use of model-books, single-leaf prints or pattern-books is very difficult to discern in the Finnish material as no such book survives, and the artefacts are perhaps too few in number to detect repetition of motifs similar in appearance. However, one rare example is the ciborium of Lammi Church made of gilt copper in the late 15th–early 16th century (Cat. 4:6). Each of the ciborium's hexagonal container's six facets has an engraved panel. Three of the panels depict the Apostles St. Andrew, St. Paul and St. Peter. All three rectangular panels have a similar general form: a bearded man standing on the panel's heraldic left in three-quarter profile; the background is crosshatched. Especially the panels of SS. Paul and Andrew are identical in general form (Fig. 27). Both plump male figures have forked beards and curling locks of hair on the back of their necks. Round halos with rays adorn their heads. Both even have similar folds and tucks in their capes. The panels are not, however, identical in their proportions, and, for instance, the figures' arms and foreheads are distinctly different in size. The similarities and differences suggest that both panels were adapted from a common model on paper or parchment.

Miniaturization as a visual technique

Model-books are closely related to a technique which can be called miniaturization. This refers to the reduction of the scale of large, public and usually ecclesiastical motifs and their transfer to artefacts used in the private or profane sphere. The clearest examples of this are carved wooden altarpieces and statuary placed in churches, and similar objects, only smaller in scale, produced for private devotion. These devotional figurines moulded of pipe clay or made into metal plaquettes seem to have been a popular form of miniaturization.

Such figurines were mass-produced around Cologne, a region with geological outcrops of fine clay. In excavations in the Breslauer Platz in the centre of Cologne in 1978, remains of a kiln of local *Bilderbäcker*, 'image bakers', were found. They revealed 675 wasters of devotional and profane figurines, the devotional statuettes of the Virgin, the Christ Child and martyr saints outnumbering profane figurines. The production waste was dated to the last decades of the 15th century.⁵⁷⁴ David Gaimster points out that the ceramic moulds from these late 15th-century workshops were probably used in the production of devotional Madonna and Child figurines similar to the one found in Saltmätagatan Street in Stockholm in 1892. The object, perhaps a reliquary, is 5.2 cm in height and made of thin, pressed gold plate with some remains of red and green enamel, and presents the figures standing on a profiled pedestal.⁵⁷⁵ Because the figurine, dated to around 1500, has a small ring attached to the crown of the Virgin Mary, it was probably hung from a chain of some sort. The find is rare even in the European context, but nevertheless reveals that the pipeclay figurines represent a demand for devotional statuary also at the lower end of the social spectrum.⁵⁷⁶ Ultimately all these small figurines represent the miniaturization of large ecclesiastical statues into another social sphere.

If the Madonna and Child figurine of gold remains exceptional, finger rings are abundantly found examples of downscaling. Like the pipeclay figures, among which the most common motifs are those of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, martyr saints and Crucifixion, also the imagery

⁵⁷⁴ Neu-Kock 1988; 1993.

⁵⁷⁵ SHM 9066; Dahlbäck 1988, 138; Gaimster 2003, 127.

⁵⁷⁶ af Ugglas 1933, 39, fig. 48; Gaimster 2003, 127.

Fig. 28. Late-medieval silver ring with a Calvary scene with the Virgin Mary and St. John standing beside the crucified Christ in the Karl Hedman collection at the Museum of Ostrobothnia (Cat. 23:28).



Fig. 29. Calvary scene on the bottom of a Hanseatic jug discovered near Raasepori Castle (NM Hist. 65079:1).



used in the medieval and early modern finger rings seems to correlate with the high position of the Marian cult and the Passion History in popular religion.⁵⁷⁷ As with the fine clay figurines, the scenes on finger rings can be considered miniaturized versions of imagery used in the ecclesiastical context. In fact, visual chains can be constructed from one artefact type and sphere of devotion to another through these reappearing motifs reproduced in different scales.

The Karl Hedman collection at the Museum of Ostrobothnia includes a late-medieval silver ring with a Calvary scene with

the Virgin Mary and St. John standing beside the crucified Christ (Cat. 23:28). The scene is made in openwork, placed inside a circular frame and attached to the body of the ring (Fig. 28). The same motif appears in some of the Hanseatic jugs that have been found in Finland, or to be more precise, the motif was used on the discs placed on the bottoms and lids of the jugs.⁵⁷⁸ When such pewter jugs were cast, an iron spindle was used to hold the clay in place when preparing the wax model.⁵⁷⁹ The spindle left a hole in the bottom of the vessel, which was hidden with a plaque. The disc was often a coin, pilgrim's badge or a reproduction of them.⁵⁸⁰ A Hanseatic jug of this type was found while digging the foundation for a new gate construction in the village of Punta in Mietoinen. The vessel is badly damaged and only fragments survive, but the disc on the bottom still

⁵⁷⁷ Gaimster 2003, 127.

⁵⁷⁸ E.g. Nervander 1900.

⁵⁷⁹ Theophilus III:88; Anttila 2002, 81–84, 85–87.

⁵⁸⁰ Oldeberg 1966, 104; cf. Andersson 1956b, 29 fig. 10; Hansson 1960, 62.



Fig. 30. Hanseatic jug found in the remains of a log-constructed well 200 metres north of Raasepori Castle. The 15th-century jug has two hallmarks, which reveal that it was produced in Danzig. The object is 22.7 cm in height whereof the lid is 3.3 cm. The outer diameter of its rim is 9.3 cm, the inner diameter 8.1 cm, and the diameter of the bottom 13.7 cm. The jug weighs 1,540.6 g (NM Hist. 65079:1).

clearly represents the Calvary scene with two stars above.⁵⁸¹ Another Hanseatic jug with a Calvary scene on its bottom was discovered in the remains of a log-constructed well 200 metres north of Raasepori Castle (Fig. 29). The jug, dated to the 15th century, has two hallmarks, which reveal that it was produced in Danzig (Fig. 30).⁵⁸²

Rings and jugs are not the only occurrences of Calvary scenes set in circular frames. Even some pilgrim badges repeat the motif,⁵⁸³ although no such item has been found in Finland. However, a badge depicting Christ on the cross was discovered in the excavations of the Old Market Square in Turku and dated on the basis of its find context to the first quarter of the 14th century.⁵⁸⁴ Moreover,

⁵⁸¹ The diameter of the foot is 65 mm and the weight of the fragments 246 g (NM Hist. 3699:10). Also the disc on the lid depicts the Crucifixion (Nordman 1980, 34; Anttila 2002, 82).

⁵⁸² NM Hist. 65079:1; Mårtensson 1967, 53; Suvanto 1985, 191; Drake 1991, 122–124.

⁵⁸³ E.g. van Beuningen, Koldewey & Kicken 2001, 357 Afb. 1500.

⁵⁸⁴ The size of the badge is 38 x 37 mm (PMSWF 20315:972; Taavitsainen 2003, 309–310).



Fig. 31. Foot of the 14th-century communion chalice of Östra Ny Church in Norrköping, Östergötland (SHM 5794:1).

the seal of Häme Province from the year 1326 depicts Christ on the cross.⁵⁸⁵ All these objects can be considered to reflect the profane or private sphere, or at least a sphere different from the church, but the bronze matrix found in Turku and dated to the earlier part of the 14th century takes the chain of similar motifs straight into the ecclesiastical context. One of the matrix's two circular moulds is intended for producing Calvary scenes with the Virgin Mary and St. John, which were used, for instance, as medallions attached to the feet of contemporary chalices (Fig. 31).⁵⁸⁶

The silver medallions on chalices might, furthermore, visually refer to the oblates consumed at the Eucharist.⁵⁸⁷ The 14th-century wafer iron deposited to the Uppsala University Coin Cabinet has four patterns, each c. 3 cm in diameter. They have depictions of the Agnus Dei, the monogram IHC with the letters alpha and omega, Christ rising from his tomb and the crucified Christ with the letters IHC.⁵⁸⁸ Another medieval wafer iron from an unknown church in Östergötland has six circular patterns, each surrounded by a band of pearls (Fig. 32).⁵⁸⁹ Although none of them is an exact parallel of the Calvary group motif or other medallion motifs appearing on chalices, it seems evident, as Andersson suggests, that the medallions associated the chalice with the Eucharist.⁵⁹⁰

The chain of Calvary groups from finger rings to oblates is not a great leap in terms of scale. The diameter of oblates is 3 cm and that of discs soldered on rings is 1 cm. The change of scale is, however, more dramatic when examining the scaling of such motifs as St. George and the Apocalyptic Madonna with the Child. The latter appears to be particularly popular in late medieval finger rings, the most impressive example being a gold ring found in front of Turku Castle in the Aurajoki River

⁵⁸⁵ FMS 289.

⁵⁸⁶ Andersson 1956a, nos. 3, 8, 32, 101; cf. Bock 2008; Fuhrmann 2008.

⁵⁸⁷ Andersson 1956b, 234–236.

⁵⁸⁸ Witte 1913, 73; Andersson 1956b, 235.

⁵⁸⁹ SHM 551:1; Hildebrand 1898–1903, 695–696 figs. 575–577. The oldest non-liturgical wafer irons in Finland date from the 16th century (Fredrikson 1986, 13).

⁵⁹⁰ Witte 1913, 73; Andersson 1956b, 234–236.



(Cat. 22:33). Again the same motif appears on Hanseatic jugs.⁵⁹¹ In fact, the Apocalyptic Madonna with the Child is the motif applied most often, apart from the Calvary scene, on the discs of Hanseatic jugs known from Sweden.⁵⁹² Even some central European wafer irons have patterns for producing hosts with the image of the Virgin Mary and the Child,⁵⁹³ but more interesting from the point of view of scaling are paintings and wooden sculptures with the same theme.⁵⁹⁴

The Apocalyptic Madonna with the Child is known as a wooden sculpture from six Finnish churches in Karjalohja, Kisko, Lohja, Pedersöre, Pälkäne and Uusikaupunki. Except for the statue in Uusikaupunki, which Nordman dates to the 1430s, the other items are from the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁵⁹⁵ Anu Vuorela divides them into two groups, the first one comprising the Madonnas of Uusikaupunki, Pälkäne and Lohja churches. They all are less than one metre in height and supplemented with solar rays, whereas the sculptures of Pedersöre, Kisko and Karjalohja are rather tall, even the smallest being 147 cm high, and they do not have rays of light, which were probably painted on the altar screen behind them.⁵⁹⁶ In addition to the sculptures, the wooden altar screen of Somero, made around 1510 in Stralsund or its vicinity, depicts the Apocalyptic Madonna.⁵⁹⁷

Fig. 32. Medieval wafer iron from an unknown church in Östergötland with six circular patterns, each surrounded by a band of pearls: Christ bearing the cross, Christ with a crown of thorns and raised arms, Christ carrying a cross banner, Christ on the cross, Christ rising from the tomb and finally the Agnus Dei (SHM 551:1).

⁵⁹¹ Two Hanseatic jugs were found in a swamp during ditch digging on Löparö Island in Sipoo in 1861. One of them is 200 mm in height, while the diameter of the mouth is 93 mm and the diameter of the foot is 152 mm. The medallion attached to its bottom depicts the Virgin Mary with the Child (NM Hist. 496b).

⁵⁹² Rydbeck 1945, 353–354.

⁵⁹³ Andersson 1956a, 235.

⁵⁹⁴ The Apocalyptic Madonna is also a motif used in pilgrim badges (e.g. van Beuningen, Koldewey & Kicken 2001, 353 Afb. 1478). Occasionally pilgrim badges were used as motifs on church bells. A medieval bell in the church of Karjaa has a pilgrim badge of St. Olaf along with reliefs of the Virgin Mary and the Child, St. Margaret, and the Face of Christ (Salminen 1999; Hiekkänen 2007, 438). Furthermore, the same motif is also represented on the seal of Turku Chapter in 1507 (FMS 32) and the private seal of the archdeacon Niklis Mülle in 1457 (FMS 40).

⁵⁹⁵ Nordman 1965, 262–264, 460, 534–536, 607–609.

⁵⁹⁶ Vuorela 2002.

⁵⁹⁷ Nordman 1965, 461, 490–494, 497; Hiekkänen 1999, 35–37, 47–53; 2007, 329.



Fig. 33. 16th-century finger ring found in Kiikoinen, which depicts the armoured St. George standing with a lance in his hand and trampling on a dragon (Cat. 23:39).

Fig. 34. Sámi brooch of silver obtained from Utsjoki. The age of the brooch is unknown. The width of the part on the right with the figure of St. George is 4.7 cm and the height 3.9 cm. The height of the figure is 2.7 cm. The part weighs 30.036 g. The left part is 3.9 cm in width. It weighs 18.194 g (NM Ethn. 4935:a, b).

Although the wooden sculptures constitute a clear reference point for the Apocalyptic Madonna motif depicted on finger rings, the greatest visual resemblance to the motif appearing on the rings is in fact shown by a wall painting. In a wall painting of Finström Church, the crowned Virgin Mary sits on a crescent moon with the Child in her lap. They are surrounded by rays of light, and two concentric circles frame the scene.⁵⁹⁸ The painting is situated on the northern wall of the second vault near the now-removed medieval altar of the Virgin. A kneeling man is depicted below the main figures handing over a church building to the Virgin. Since the coat of arms in front of him has worn off, the man cannot be identified, but he is probably a local nobleman who donated funds for the construction of the church or for the painting. The painting dates from between 1450 and 1480.⁵⁹⁹

Vuorela is perplexed by the two concentric circles framing the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, since they are exceptional among the surviving paintings. She interprets them as signifying a heavenly vision, an opening to the otherworldly sphere, as in a wall painting in Lohja Church, in which God accompanied by two angels is surrounded by a number of concentric, multicoloured circles above a paradise scene. The setting of the central motif inside a circular frame is common in medieval pilgrim badges and finger rings in particular. Consequently, should the idea of the opening to the otherworldly, or more concretely, a break in the clouds, especially if the main motif is religious, also be applied in interpretations of these smaller objects?

A third example of chains of miniaturization are the representations of St. George. They are rather common in Finnish churches in the form of medieval sculptures and wall paintings. However, in the Nordic finger rings, in contrast to imagery of the Marian cult or the Passion of Christ, depictions of St. George or martyr saints in general are rare.⁶⁰⁰ There are nevertheless four 16th-century finger rings in the Finnish material (Cat. 23:39–42). It will later be argued that they most likely represent the armoured St. George standing with a lance in his hand and trampling on a dragon as their main motif (Fig. 33). Furthermore, one small figure of the same male saint is attached to a Sámi brooch of silver obtained from Utsjoki (Fig. 34). The age of this particular brooch is very difficult to estimate, but Phebe Fjellström dates the earliest examples of the type to the 15th and 16th centuries.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Vuorela 2002, 8–9.

⁵⁹⁹ Wennervirta 1930, 56–62; Riska 1987b, 134; Ringbom 1995; Vuorela 2002, 8–9; Tuhkanen 2005, 83–84; Hiekkänen 2007, 369.

⁶⁰⁰ Backman 1963, 67–69.

⁶⁰¹ Fjellström 1962a, 93–94. For Swedish parallels, see the item of unknown provenance in Gotland (SHM 2976) and the brooch originating from Burs, Gotland (SHM 8191:23).

Further examples of miniaturization are easy to point out with such motifs as the Agnus Dei, vernicle and Crucifixion.⁶⁰² The bond linking the use of these motifs, however, should not be conceived in a concrete fashion as the straightforward copying and transfer of images. They should instead be approached on a level that emphasizes the adoption of circular, medallion-like forms in a variety of media as an act of signification with devotional and social underpinnings.⁶⁰³ Hence miniaturization has fundamental implications for the use of gold and silver artefacts as a register of luxury consumption. Nevertheless, visual techniques constitute only a small section in the spectrum of procedures needed in the production of finished pieces.

Casting and production of small artefacts such as finger rings

Casting (Fi. *valaminen*), or heating metal and pouring it in a mould of stone, wood, sand, clay or some other metal is a fundamental technique especially in the initial stages of production, when the preform for further processing is made. In the lost-wax casting process, the original piece is made in wax after which the actual mould is made by covering the wax piece with sand, and finally molten metal is poured into the cavity left in the sand by the wax. Moulds can be used only once, especially when of sand or clay, or they may be reusable if made of harder materials. Reusable moulds permit serial production.

The choice of the mould material affects the outcome of casting, because the lost-wax technique ensures sharp contours for the cast figures, whereas moulds of clay, especially if shaped with a wooden model, leave the contours of the resulting piece somewhat fuzzy, requiring further processing to bring forth the relief. If fastening loops were needed in a pendant or other piece of jewellery, they were made during the casting process by inserting a piece of metal wire or a bar inside the mould at the place of the loop. After the preform was cast, it was cooled and taken off the mould, and finally any remaining casting seams were removed.⁶⁰⁴

According to Theodor Schvindt, writing in 1892, the main part of the Finnish silver and copper jewellery and other objects of the Crusade Period were forged, while bronze objects were both forged and cast. Although pewter was mainly used as an alloy and for soldering, it could also be used for casting small objects.⁶⁰⁵ The moulds used in the Late Iron Age were mainly of clay and made with the lost-wax method.⁶⁰⁶ The actual remains of such moulds are rare from the period but they do occur,⁶⁰⁷ whereas traces of sand moulds are nonexistent, although Schvindt considers their use probable.⁶⁰⁸ Late Iron Age moulds are also known from neighbouring regions. Deep, bowl-like clay crucibles for casting bronze and silver have been recovered in West Russia and the Baltic countries.⁶⁰⁹ Several crucibles and moulds have been discovered, for instance, in Staraya Ladoga.⁶¹⁰

Most medieval jewellery was cast. Small pendants and ornaments were probably produced in bipartite moulds or old ornaments were utilized when making wax models. When a finger ring was made, the procedure began with casting a preform. In Scandinavia, moulds for casting straight, rectangular bands with ornaments have survived in medieval contexts. The band of metal was

602 Though not used in surviving Finnish finger rings, the Agnus Dei appears in Scandinavian rings, Agnus Dei capsules, Continental pilgrim badges and in Finnish communion vessels (SHM 1452:50, 6812, 8289, 23256A–D; Hildebrand 1884–1898, 407–408 fig. 331; van Beuningen, Koldewey & Kicken 2001, 360 Afb. 1513, 1518–1524). The motif is also depicted on a medallion of a Hanseatic jug found in the late 19th century at the hillfort of Hunttila in Pälkäne. The jug is 210 mm in height and the diameter of its mouth is 85 mm and that of the bottom is 119 mm. The town mark punched on the jug shows that it was made in Danzig (NM Hist.2201:692). Agnus Dei medallions are rather common in the Hanseatic jugs found in Scandinavia (Rydbeck 1947, 212–213; for the vernicle, see Immonen 2004; 2005b). The Crucifixion scene is particularly common in medieval and Early Modern material culture, forming a chain from large, wooden so-called triumphal crucifixes through smaller ecclesiastical items such as altar and processional crosses to small crucifixes attached to chalices as signacula and further to cross pendants, finger rings, etc.

603 Cf. Immonen 2004.

604 Oldeberg 1966, 97.

605 Schvindt 1892, 166–173.

606 Edgren 1968, 43–51; Tomanterä 1991; Schulz 1994, 124–138.

607 Edgren 1968, 37–38, 49;

608 Schvindt 1892, 166–173; Tallgren 1931, 80; Korosuo 1947, 28.

609 Moora 1963, 362–363.

610 Davidan 1982, 174–177.



Fig. 35. 16th-century finger ring found in a hoard in Laihia. The central motif depicts a red deer (Cat. 23:44).



Fig. 36. Profile of the 16th-century finger ring found in a hoard in Laihia. The ring has several layers attached on top of each other (Cat. 23:44).

then heated and bent until it formed a complete circle. Finally, the edges were soldered or welded together. In addition to casting rectangular bands and bending them, preforms were also cast in circular form in a special mould, which could have several such preforms filled at the same time through casting channels.⁶¹¹

If the finger ring was a combination of several elements, each of them was cast separately and soldered together, which is the case with the late-medieval iconographic rings. Bengt Bengtsson has described their form as standardized,⁶¹² and indeed they display uniformity in their basic form. The hoop is narrow at the back of the ring, but widens steeply towards the lozenge-shaped bezel. The body of the bezel is usually cast with openwork ornaments, and the main figure is soldered on that body (Fig. 35). Hence, when

seen in profile, iconographic ring has several layers on top of each other (Fig. 36). Within the limits set by the chosen main figure, various other decorative elements could be added to the body quite freely. This leads Hildebrand to suggest that medieval goldsmiths had a particular opportunity to present their skills and tastes when making iconographic rings.⁶¹³

Because iconographic rings were produced by combining individual elements, their construction was not as durable as that of rings produced in one piece. Hence the central figure of an iconographic ring could easily break off. The iconographic ring found in Pyömi, Lappi in Southwest Finland (Cat. 23:38) depicts a human bust as its main motif, but at the time when the ring was discovered, the disc with the motif had broken off. Pierre Backman argues that goldsmiths made the bodies of iconographic rings beforehand and only later soldered the central motif chosen by the customer.⁶¹⁴ Similarly the body of signet rings could be cast and chiselled first and the actual signet image engraved later.

The process of casting smaller elements and soldering them into a final product was also followed in making other artefacts such as buttons. The 14th-century silver button discovered in excavations at Vanhakartano Manor in Perniö is a case in point (Cat. 20:1). Despite its small size, the button comprises as many as six elements produced individually and soldered together (Fig. 37).⁶¹⁵ During the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, other cast items included such small articles as brooches, crucifixes, belt plates and buckles.⁶¹⁶

Of liturgical equipment, censers were mainly cast using the lost-wax method.⁶¹⁷ They were produced so alike in form and had such a wide distribution that local products cannot be distinguished from imported ones.⁶¹⁸ Theophilus describes the casting process, in which a clay core was divided into two parts, one for the upper part of the censer and the other for the lower part. The outer surface of the two cores was moulded in the way in which the censer's inside surface was to appear. After moulding, the clay was left to dry and then fired. The actual censer part was modelled separately from wax around both clay cores after the firing. The wax was rolled in thick, heated layers, cut in strips and laid on the cores. Finally, ornaments were cut straight into

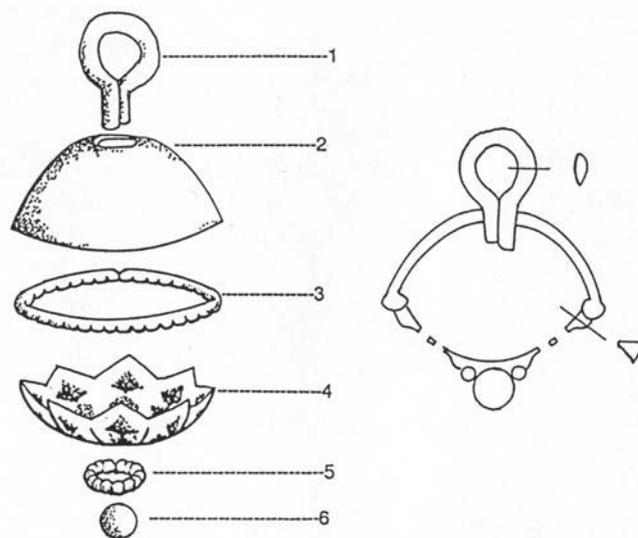


Fig. 37. Elements of the 14th-century silver button discovered in excavations at Vanhakartano Manor in Perniö (Halonen 1996).

⁶¹¹ Oldeberg 1966, 92, 99–100.

⁶¹² Bengtsson 1974, 59.

⁶¹³ Hildebrand 1898, 410.

⁶¹⁴ Backman 1963, 67–69; Sjölund 1980, 168.

⁶¹⁵ Mökkönen 1997, 79–80.

⁶¹⁶ Brenner 1904, 39; Rasmusson 1950, 20; Oldeberg 1966, 100.

⁶¹⁷ Oldeberg 1966, 113.

⁶¹⁸ Hildebrand 1897–1903, 726–733; Kielland 1927, 73; af Ugglas 1943, 106 note 6; Zetterberg 1958, 145.

the wax with a heated knife.⁶¹⁹ In some of the censers there are still distinct cut-marks left by a knife in the wax.

Apart from censers, casting played a part only in the initial stages of the production of other liturgical vessels, with the exception of funerary chalices and patens, which were cast in base metals. Although most communion chalices, patens, ciboria, monstrances and altar crosses were usually chased, individual ornaments soldered on them were usually cast separately, chiselled and soldered on the main body. Since many of the small crucifixes attached on the feet of medieval chalices are so similar, Andres Oldeberg suggests, like many other scholars, that such crucifixes were not specifically made for the chalice in question or perhaps not even cast by the workshop that produced the actual chalice.⁶²⁰ It was possible to produce crucifixes and all other smaller ornaments serially, almost in an industrial manner, and some of the silver and gold workshops might have specialized in producing such mass products for other goldsmiths. Furthermore, a workshop could rely on the same crucifix mould for a long period of time. The altar cross of Lempää Church, for example, has a cast and soldered figure of Christ, which is stylistically from the late 14th century, although the rest of the cross dates from the second quarter of the 15th century (Cat. 9:1).

Chasing and the production of communion vessels

Chasing (Fi. *pakotus*) is a technique for creating decorative surfaces on metal by hammering it on the outer surface. If hammering is performed on the inner surface of the object to raise the surface, the technique is called *repoussé*. In the production of Late Iron Age objects chasing occurs rarely, but the technique was highly common for medieval goldsmithing.⁶²¹ Chasing is especially well represented in communion vessels, the production of which followed a more or less routine schema described in Theophilus' work.⁶²² In the following, his procedure is described first, but as such it is applicable only to communion vessels of the 10th and 11th centuries, and must be slightly modified when younger chalices are discussed.

Theophilus begins with a round piece of silver, which will be chased into a cup. The goldsmith should, with the help of a compass, draw a series of concentric circles as guidelines for chasing on both sides of the disc. The chasing begins with a round-headed hammer on the inner side of the bowl. The hammering is done in order to give depth to the bowl, and it follows the lines of the concentric circles. When the needed depth is reached, the large hammer is changed for a middle-sized one, and hammering is continued on the outside of the bowl against a rounded anvil. The aim is now to give the bowl its height and a good bearing. After the cup has been chased into shape, its surface is filed and smoothed.

A small support, a tube rectangular on the inside, is prepared and soldered on the outer surface of the cup's bottom. Then the foot and the node, a circular expansion to permit a firmer grip when the object is carried, are made from the same sheet of metal and hammered into shape in a similar way as the cup. Theophilus warns not to hammer any place too long, as this will make the node asymmetrical. When ready, the foot and the node are filled with wax and all needed ornaments are punched on their outer surface. The foot is annealed, cleaned and polished, while a rectangular opening is made on the upper surface of the node with the same dimensions as on the support attached to the bowl. A wide strip of silver chased with ornaments is prepared. It is placed between the bowl and the node. After that the bottom side of the support of the cup is filed to form four folding strips that will be used to secure the attachment of the node to the bowl. All the parts are put on top of each other so that part of the support slides inside the node. The four strips are hammered against the inner surface of the node. Finally, a supporting disc is placed between them.⁶²³

The Romanesque chalice described by Theophilus is relatively small; its ornaments seem to be limited to punched and engraved ones, and its node remains quite spherical in shape. These

⁶¹⁹ Theophilus III:60.

⁶²⁰ Oldeberg 1966, 115.

⁶²¹ Oldeberg 1966, 132.

⁶²² Theophilus III:26.

⁶²³ Oldeberg 1966, 145–146.

characteristics are the most important ones distinguishing Romanesque vessels from Gothic chalices. Gothic chalices had to be made in a slightly different way.

The goldsmith would begin the task of making a Gothic communion set by dividing the raw material he needed into two, for the paten and for all the elements of the chalice. The making of the chalice was a much more complex process, because the object consists of several elements made separately and soldered or otherwise attached to each other. The conical cup could be chased following Theophilus' text, but the cone-shaped or lobed foot had to be made from a different piece of metal than the node.

Lobes were probably hammered against a form to ensure their similarity with each other. In addition to the foot proper, the edge or the vertical outer rim of the chalice foot, and the flange, or horizontal outer rim, had to be prepared. The flange could be cut from a sheet of metal, whereas the edge was produced from a band of metal bent in a similar fashion as in finger rings. The edge was often decorated with a row of punched quatrefoils or an openwork frieze. When all three elements of the foot were ready, the goldsmith soldered them together. Furthermore, a small silver crucifix and other ornaments had to be prepared for the foot. The figure of Christ was cast and then either soldered to the foot or attached with rivets or strips of metal put through holes in the foot and bent underneath.

The stem connecting the bowl and the foot consists of a hollow inner tube onto which the node and usually also the so-called diapers or sleeves hiding the tube were attached. The top of the tube was soldered on the bottom of the cup, which is easily visible in the remains of soldering mass in the broken cup of Kökar Church (Fig. 38) (Cat. 2:4). In these 14th-century chalices, the bottom of the tube seems to have been attached in the way Theophilus describes: the end of the tube is filed into strips which are slid through a circular whole in the foot and then bent against its bottom surface. In later chalices the attachment is done with a winged nut. Some of the nuts have the form of a quatrefoil or they are otherwise carefully made, whereas others are rather crude, perhaps added in later modern restorations.

The symmetrical Gothic node with its six lozenge or circular bosses and embossings between them needed more planning than the spherical node of the Romanesque chalices. It was produced by casting the upper and lower halves of the whole and then soldering them together. In some of the carelessly made nodes, the soldering seam has not been filed away, and it circles the piece.

In addition to the node, the goldsmith produced two cylindrical or hexagonal diapers to cover the central tube above and below the node. Most of the Gothic chalices have pairs of holes drilled through the diapers for securing the attachment of the sleeves to the central tube. Some of the holes and nails must have been fairly late additions, because they have damaged the ornamentation and visual harmony of the vessel, but some of them are original. Oldeberg suggests that nails of silver are probably original, while iron and copper nails, especially if not discreetly placed, were added later.⁶²⁴

The paten was much easier to make than the chalice. The goldsmith melted the raw material needed for the item and with the help of a simple mould cast it into a thick disc. He made a tiny



Fig. 38. Cup of the 14th-century communion chalice of Kökar Church. The broken cup and the remains of soldering mass on its bottom show how the stem was soldered on the bottom of the cup (Cat. 2:4).

⁶²⁴ Oldeberg 1966, 146–147.

dot-like depression in the centre of the plate, in some cases on both sides. The dot helped in placing the compass in the same spot and enabled the goldsmith to straighten the edges of the plate. With the help of a compass he would draw concentric circles and begin to hammer the disc into a thinner and wider plate. The challenge of this procedure was to maintain equal thickness from the centre of the plate to the edges and to keep its surface smooth. A typical medieval and Early Modern paten had a more or less convex centre and flat rim. The central area was slightly smaller in diameter than the bowl of the chalice with which the paten formed a pair. When they were not in use, the plate was placed on top of the chalice as a lid.

When the goldsmith was satisfied with the width and thickness of the paten, he would begin to engrave decorations. At the minimum, the plate had an equal-armed cross within a circular frame placed on the rim. If the central area of the paten was also to be decorated, the goldsmith could use the compass mark which he had already made in the centre of the piece as an aid for drawing the motif. After the goldsmith had completed the engravings, he finally polished the surfaces.

Also profane vessels such as plates, bowls, and jugs were chased, and almost all spoons made of precious metals were chased objects as well. Spoons of bronze, brass, and pewter, in contrast, were cast.⁶²⁵ The making of a silver spoon, according to Oldeberg, began with a rectangular sheet of silver. The stem of the spoon was worked with a middle-sized hammer on all sides, while the bowl was chased with a smaller hammer. The bowl was given its depth with a hammer or a stamp pressed against a convex surface. The knob and the possible ornament soldered on the spoon's conjunction, the point where the stem and the bowl meet, were cast separately and attached to the main body.⁶²⁶

Filigree, granulation and the drawing of wire

The drawing of silver and gold wire (Fi. *langanveto*) is a technique very poorly in evidence in the Finnish medieval and early modern material just like the techniques of filigree and granulation. Although there were already specialized wire drawers in medieval Sweden,⁶²⁷ it is likely that goldsmiths produced the wire they needed by themselves. Drawing was done with a specialized tool, a drawing iron, which was basically a bar of iron with holes of different size. The iron was held with one's feet on the floor or hammered onto a wooden log. A bar of metal was pulled through its holes, beginning with the largest one and gradually drawing the same wire through smaller holes. In 1888, Theodor Schvindt excavated the Tontinmäki site in Räisälä, Karelia which revealed remains of a Late Iron Age base-metal smithy. Among the tools found at the site were a rectangular plaque of iron with 15 holes and fragments of tongs for drawing wire.⁶²⁸ A few similar irons dated to the Viking Age are known from Sweden, but not a single one survives from the Middle Ages in either country. In the 15th century, a drawing bench was introduced in Central Europe, and finally the drawing iron was combined with a wheel, both being placed on a bench-like structure. The wheel made the drawing easier and kept the pulling force constant. There are no signs of using such benches in Scandinavia until the mid-16th century.⁶²⁹

Gold and silver wire had many applications. They were used as fabrics in luxury textiles, but wire could also be utilized in the making of filigree.⁶³⁰ Jewellery could also be braided from wire, although the use of twisted wire in bracelets and necklaces was more popular during the Viking Age and Crusade Period than in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, there was jewellery made of wire and used as dress accessories, but their survival to the present is rather poor. One such ornament was found in the excavations of the Aboa Vetus Museum. It is made of brass wires into a chain called the braided foxtail pattern (*Fuchsschwanz* in German), in which a hoop is twisted into the form of the number 8 and threaded through another hoop and bent into the shape of the letter U.⁶³¹

⁶²⁵ Oldeberg 1966, 106.

⁶²⁶ Oldeberg 1966, 138.

⁶²⁷ Noreen & Wennström 1935–1937, 134, 141.

⁶²⁸ Schvindt 1892, 70–71; Leppäaho 1949, 52–55; Uino 1997, 390; Saksa 1998, 98–101, 103–105; Saksa, Uino & Hiekkanen 2003, 402–404.

⁶²⁹ Oldeberg 1966, 177.

⁶³⁰ Oldeberg 1966, 175–176.

⁶³¹ Untracht 1982, 210–212; Leena Tomanterä pers. comm. 6.9.2005.

Filigree (Fi. *filigraani*) is another technique that was common during the Viking Age and Crusade Period,⁶³² but it lost its popularity by the 14th century. It is a delicate method of decorating surfaces of both silver and gold objects with twisted wires, although the technique is more appropriate for silver than gold artefacts. In filigree, fine pliable threads of metal are curled, twisted and plaited after which they are united at their points of contact with each other and the ground. The backbone of the ornament is a flat metal wire onto which two similar wires could be twisted either to the left or right to create a thread. They are secured in place with powdered gold or silver. The pulverized substance is soldered with ammonium chloride or salmiac using a blowpipe. In medieval filigree work, when it occurs, the supporting foundation has been left out and the threads are soldered as such.⁶³³

Granulation (Fi. *granulointi*) was an even less popular technique than filigree in the Middle Ages, although it is very common in Viking Age and Crusade Period objects.⁶³⁴ Granulation is a way of ornamenting with miniscule grain globules of metal on a supporting foundation. In contrast to filigree, granulation is much more suitable for gold working, which probably also explains its rarity. As with filigree, there are no proper examples of this technique in the Finnish material. In a number of the 14th to 16th-century finger rings the bezel is adorned with four small globules, but they are not granules in the exact meaning of the term, being instead rougher lumps of metal.

Soldering, gilding and niello

Soldering (Fi. *juottaminen*), gilding (Fi. *kultaus*) and niello (Fi. *niello*) as well as enamelling are techniques in which chemical knowledge rather than mechanical work plays an important role. In soldering, two silver surfaces are joined together by inserting another metal with a lower melting point between the surfaces and heating the preform so that the soldering substance melts and fixes the two surfaces together. The metal used for soldering silver artefacts can be tin or copper, but most often it is lead, because it has a very low melting point. Hence the heating of lead for soldering affects the two silver surfaces as little as possible. Remains of soldering are visible in many of the artefacts in the studied material, but most clearly in items where the technique has been executed roughly. Such is the case, for instance, with the processional cross of Masku Church (Cat. 9:2), from which the soldered figure of Christ is missing, but a thick layer of lead remains. Also the altar cross of Lempäälä Church has unnecessary amounts of lead in the solderings of its rock crystal mounts (Cat. 9:1).

Gilding is a technique of covering surfaces of silver, copper, pewter or other metal with gold. There are two main techniques of applying gold, which are called hammered gilding and fire gilding. The former one is a mechanical form of gilding, where sheets of gold are applied on a surface and hammered into place. The preform is then heated, which fixes the two metals together. Another way of attaching the metals is to apply some kind of glue between them. An example of the use of glue is a gilt silver button found in the excavations of Vanhakartano Manor in Perniö (Cat. 20:1). The gold on its surface was applied as thick leaves, which were then glued on with some organic substance.⁶³⁵

The other form of gilding, fire gilding, is based on the use of a mercury amalgam. It is among the few techniques abandoned by present-day goldsmiths, who instead use techniques based on galvanization. These electro-chemical processes are significantly less polluting and dangerous than the ancient ones. Theophilus instructs that when carrying out fire gilding, the goldsmith should melt a certain amount of gold in a crucible and add eight times more quicksilver. The amalgam is mixed constantly while heated, and finally the mixture is poured into cold water and cooled rapidly. The resulting mass is kneaded until all superfluous mercury is expelled. At this point,

⁶³² Bergström 1973; Lehtosalo 1973; Tomanterä 1973; Duczko 1985. See Tomanterä 1991 for the Permian bronze artefacts of the Late Iron Age made in wax filigree technique. They were imported to Finland, where the technique was adopted and utilized for making Karelian chain-bearers, the wax models of which were copied from ready-made objects.

⁶³³ Oldeberg 1966, 179–183

⁶³⁴ Oldeberg 1966, 183–185. See Hiekkänen 1986, 95–99 on a round rock crystal mounted in a silver frame with granulated decoration found in Lempäälä Church and dated to the latter half of the 11th century.

⁶³⁵ Halonen 1996; Mökkönen 1997, 79.

the amalgam should have a dough-like consistency. The surface to be gilt is carefully cleaned and the amalgam is pasted on it. The preform is then heated. The rise in the temperature causes the mercury to evaporate, leaving the gold attached to the surface.⁶³⁶ An alternative to mercury could be lead, which also has relatively low melting and evaporation points, but no information survives on the use of such a gilding mixture in the Nordic countries. Lead gilding is less durable, but also less expensive. Oldeberg suggests that perhaps also resin or other similar substances could have been utilized in gilding.⁶³⁷

Gilding is a very common technique in medieval and early modern artefacts of precious metals, especially when ecclesiastical equipment is considered. In 1414 goldsmith Lambrecht received 56 gold nobles for gilding the reliquary casket of St. Eric deposited in Uppsala Cathedral. The gold content of nobles in the early 15th century was 7.9 g, which gives the total amount of 442 g of gold used for gilding.⁶³⁸ Besides reliquaries, the chalice and paten had to be gilt, at least partly, since the body and blood of Christ were not to touch any less precious metal. At the minimum, the upper surface of the paten was gilt along with the inner surface of the bowl of the chalice. In the Finnish chalices in which the medieval cup survives, however, it is common for the whole bowl to be gilt. If some surface is left without gilding, it is usually the bottom of the foot of the chalice. In fact, only the chalices of Kemi Church (Cat. 2:11), Turku Cathedral (Cat. 2:17) and Hollola Church (Cat. 2:18) also have the bottom of the foot gilt. However, it is impossible to be certain to what extent gilding on chalices and patens is original and to what extent it was made during more recent renovations.

The gilding of larger surfaces was probably done after all elements were soldered together, as soldering seams in chalices are usually covered with gilt. However, the remains of a chalice in Kökar Church (Cat. 2:4) reveal that the surface of the bottom of the bowl, which has hidden under the stem, was also gilt. Moreover, some elements made separately and attached to the chalice body, especially crucifixes but also, for instance, coats of arms and vegetative ornaments on the chalice of Hauho Church (Cat. 2:25), were probably gilt separately. Not only would that have been easier but such small ornaments might have been made by other craftsmen in the workshop or they could have even been bought from a source outside the workshop.

Gilding is also a common technique in such profane items as tankards, beakers, spoons and finger rings. In the surviving examples, gilding is often applied only to those parts of the object that have special engravings or soldered ornaments. In such cases gilding clearly has an accentuating function. In contrast to gilding, the silvering of artefacts was very uncommon in the medieval period,⁶³⁹ and none of the artefacts present in the material display the use of this technique.

Another technique, which has been used only once in the surviving body of artefacts, is niello. Niello or *opus nigellum* refers to black colouring matter, which is applied on punched or engraved ornaments. The dark composition of niello creates a visual contrast against the lighter background, which is usually silver. The substance used for niello is usually an alloy of sulphur, copper, silver and lead, and for instance Theophilus's instructions for niello mentions them all. His description of the process of making niello resembles those in the 12th-century manuscript *De coloribus et artibus romanorum* (On the colours and arts of the Romans), attributed to Heraclius or Eraclius, as well as in the works of Biringuccio and Cellini.⁶⁴⁰ Niello was stored in a pulverized state, but when used it was dissolved in borax and water. This porridge-like mixture was applied on the grooves of the ornament. The surface was heated with fire and then cooled and polished. Although the niello technique was used in objects made during the Viking Age and Crusade Period,⁶⁴¹ its utilization seems to have come to a halt in the Early Middle Ages, although knowledge of it survived. In 1496, an enamelled and nielloed brooch is mentioned among the masterpieces of the goldsmiths' guild of

⁶³⁶ Theophilus, III:35–38; Cellini XXVII.

⁶³⁷ Theophilus, III:35–38; Oldeberg 1966, 186–189.

⁶³⁸ SD 1989.

⁶³⁹ Oldeberg 1966, 189–190.

⁶⁴⁰ Biringuccio 365–366; Cellini I; Heraclius III:XLVIII; Theophilus III:28–29, 32, 41.

⁶⁴¹ E.g. the reliquary cross found in the Kevola burial ground in Hattula. The 12th-century cross is made of silver with niello decorations (NM Arch. 3146:1; Häkli 1988, 169).

Flensburg.⁶⁴² The only artefact in the material with niello ornamentation is a silver brooch found in grave no. 1 in Kaukola, Kekomäki (Cat. 19:64). Niello was used to accentuate the Ave Maria inscription on the item.

Enamelling

Enamelling (Fi. *emalointi*) is a technique in which a special form of glass is melted and applied to decorate metal surfaces. According to Theophilus, the most important elements in enamel are fine sand, wood ashes and ashes from ferns. To obtain different colours for the glass paste, the molten mass is boiled for different periods of time or different metal combinations are mixed with the glass.⁶⁴³ Copper and iron oxides as well as cobalt were used for blue colour. Violet was obtained with manganese oxide and copper oxide, red with lead oxide or protoxide of copper, and yellow most likely with iron oxide. After the correct mixture of glass and additives had been selected, they were melted into an enamel paste in a crucible. The paste was re-chilled and crushed into fine powder and washed after which it was ready for use.⁶⁴⁴ When enamel is applied to an object, the substance is placed on the object's surface and heated until the paste melts and attaches to the metal. The challenge in melting enamel is to reach the high temperature required, approximately + 600–800 C°, without overheating the metal.⁶⁴⁵

There are basically three main types on enamel. The first is colourless foundation enamel, the second transparent enamel and the third opaque enamel. All enamel substances are transparent unless insoluble tin oxide is added into the mixture, or the enamel is melted at a temperature that is slightly too low, which causes air bubbles to appear in the paste. Bubbles obstruct light and make the glass opaque.

There are two main ways of applying enamel on metal. In the first one, a cell pattern is built up on the metal with wire or lamellae. This technique is called *émail cloisonné*. The other technique, *émail champlevé*, is based on grooves engraved in the metal. The engraving of larger areas with differing depths allows to create a range of colour nuances with transparent enamel. This kind of low-relief enamel work is termed *émail translucide sur relief*, or *basse-taille*, while enamel applied on a surface, which is chased from the back or cast, is called enamel in high relief, *émail de ronde bosse*.

Although enamelling was already known during the Iron Age, the actual heyday of Nordic enamelling came only as late as the 14th century. Enamel was usually applied on locally produced ecclesiastical artefacts using the champlevé technique. Enamelled imports from Western Europe were also produced in this way, like the two 13th-century Limoges copper artefacts that have been found in Finland (Cat. 8:1–2), whereas cloisonné appears only in artefacts imported from Byzantium or Russia. During the late medieval period enamelling lost its dominant position in liturgical vessels, but was still applied to smaller artefacts such as buttons, coats of arms and so on. At the same time, the variety of colours increased from red used for framing and in details and blue used for background. Also white opaque enamels were used, while green remained a rather rare colour.

Besides the two Limoges artefacts, enamel in the Finnish liturgical material is limited to the bosses of the Kemi and Hauho chalices (Cat. 2:11, 25), shields attached to the foot of the Hauho chalice, and a medallion on the Vehkalahti chalice (Cat. 2:24). Also the bosses of the chalice in Masku Church (Cat. 2:3) were probably adorned with enamel, which, however, has peeled off. The colour of enamel in the chalices is blue, brown, green and red. Moreover, the technique was very likely used in some of the finger rings depicting the face of Christ (Cat. 23:19–25). The nimbus of Christ in such item was probably ornamented with enamel as in some similar Scandinavian rings.⁶⁴⁶ Nowadays the glass substance has flaked off and only metal surfaces with rather deep engravings are left. Oldeberg suggests that the reason for this rather common phenomenon of lost enamel

⁶⁴² Solver 1929, 29; Oldeberg 1966, 200–203.

⁶⁴³ Theophilus III:53–55.

⁶⁴⁴ Theophilus III:54.

⁶⁴⁵ Oldeberg 1966, 203–210.

⁶⁴⁶ E.g. Lindahl 2003, 115–118 nos. 160–162, 169, 172–173.

in the Nordic products is that the surfaces on which the enamel was pasted were not clean.⁶⁴⁷ However, a medieval finger ring of gold from Turku (Cat. 23:11) and Renaissance gold rings from Hämeenlinna (Cat. 23:78) and Turku (Cat. 23:79) have retained their enamelled decorations. Also the Renaissance scent locket, discovered in Liuksiala Manor, Kangasala (Cat. 22:1), has white grey enamel on the outside and black enamel in its inscriptions. Lastly, the silver ferrule of a medieval knife found in Kemiönsaari (Cat. 16:1) has green enamel on the butt.

Chiselling, punching, engraving and other techniques

Chiselling is a term referring to the finalizing technique where the significant contours of a cast preform are emphasized while casting seams are filed away. The Swedish and Finnish equivalents for the term are *ciselering* and *siselöinti*, but they are often used in a somewhat broader sense for all stages of finishing work on cast preforms using punches, files and fluting tools, but importantly also small-scale working on metal sheets with punching, chasing, and engraving techniques. Here the term is understood in this broader meaning to cover a range of finishing procedures in artefact production. Artefacts of precious metals usually have complex biographies, which are also visible in their surface decorations. Their ornamentation should therefore be divided, on the one hand, into cast and engraved ornamentation made by the hand of the goldsmith or workshop which originally produced the object as a whole, and, on the other hand, into ornamentation that was added later. Usually these more recent additions are engravings and even incisions of initials and identification marks on the artefact's surface.⁶⁴⁸

The most important chisel used by ancient goldsmiths was furnished, according to Oldeberg, with a blade similar to that of present-day screwdrivers for slotted screws. An iron chisel of this kind, 6.6 cm in length, has been found in the Handelsmannen Quarter in Sigtuna. Another one, 11 cm in length, is known from Falkenbergshus in Halland. A third chisel discovered in the ruins of Edsholm Castle in Grums, Värmland is 11.5 cm long, and its blade is rectangular and 0.5 x 0.5 cm in size.⁶⁴⁹

The matrix found in Kaarina is the most detailed piece of evidence of pressing technique used in goldsmithing in the material. Unfortunately, the Finnish material does not include any medallions or other plates, nothing even closely similar, produced with such a matrix, but they might have been used on the feet of chalices or other liturgical vessels or as mounts fitted on caskets or other small containers. Even ecclesiastical and secular garments could have been adorned with such pressed plates. Many of the North European hoards and, for instance, urban finds from Ulvila include mounts and spangles of both base and precious metals with pressed motifs, whether made with a matrix or a punch, supporting the idea that they were rather common artefacts in the Middle Ages. The most famous single Nordic object covered with such sheets is probably the reliquary of St. Birgitta deposited in the church of Vadstena.⁶⁵⁰

Engraving was a technique already known in the prehistoric period, but it grew in popularity throughout the Middle Ages. In fact, engraving replaced punching, common in Late Iron Age metalworking, as the most utilized technique of decorating surfaces. Of particular importance for this development was the growing size of communion vessels, and the subsequent availability of empty surfaces for engraving. Also the expanding distribution of woodcuts and other visual sources made engraving a highly popular method of decorating objects. Engraving was performed with special, chisel-like tools, which in modern goldsmithing are approximately 8 cm long and 0.2–0.6 cm in diameter. Similar tools are very rare in the medieval material, probably because of their small size and easy exposure to corrosion, which makes it hard to identify them.⁶⁵¹

Medieval engravings are usually made with simple, smooth-edged grooves, although cracked-line engravings also occur. Typical late medieval engraving emphasizes the contours of the main figures and leaves the inside of the figures unworked, while the background of the figures is marked

⁶⁴⁷ Oldeberg 1966, 208.

⁶⁴⁸ Hernmarck 1941, 216.

⁶⁴⁹ Oldeberg 1966, 167–169.

⁶⁵⁰ Oldeberg 1966, 159.

⁶⁵¹ Oldeberg 1966, 169, 172.



Fig. 39. The late-15th-century communion paten of Hollola Church (Cat. 2:18).

with cross-hatched lines emphasizing the shinier areas. Besides the gold and silver artefacts as well as other ecclesiastical objects, an important artefact group produced with engraving techniques are seal stamps.

The popularity of engraving grew simultaneously with the rise of techniques related to copying and distributing visual material. Telling examples are the Ejby paten in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 2:17) and the paten in Hollola Church (Cat. 2:18) produced in the 1470s or the 1480s. According to Nordman, the scene engraved on the Ejby paten has been copied or rather transferred onto the paten of Hollola with wax.⁶⁵² Hence the engraving on the Hollola paten is a mirror image of the scene on the paten of Turku Cathedral, but it is also somewhat more roughly executed and lacks some of the details present in the Ejby paten. Both plates, nevertheless, depict Christ as the Man of Sorrows in front of the Cross surrounded by four angels, who collect the blood spurting from his wounds in chalices – a reference to transubstantiation at the Eucharist. Nordman’s argument, however, bypasses some details on the Hollola paten which prove that the engraving is not a direct copy. The angel in the upper left corner of the scene as well as two angels on the right have patches of crosshatching behind their backs (Fig. 39), a detail lacking in the Ejby piece.⁶⁵³ The patches are probably an interpretation of shadows made with cross-hatching, a typical visual device of woodcuts and copper engravings. Apparently the scene on both patens has been reproduced from the same source, or at least the user of the wax copy has also consulted the original source when engraving the decoration on the Hollola paten. This brings us back to the techniques for distributing and adapting visual material from other media to gold and silver artefacts.

⁶⁵² Nordman 1980, 20.

⁶⁵³ Immonen 2008a.

Conclusions regarding goldsmiths and the organization of their work in medieval and Early Modern Finland

Returning to the concepts of Karl Bücher's model, metalworking in Finland reached the level of *Handwerk*, or production to satisfy the needs of others as one's main livelihood, already in the prehistoric period, although it is likely that blacksmiths and perhaps finer metalworkers also worked to some extent as farmers and merchants. Goldsmithing, however, does not appear to have become a profession of its own before the historical period, when the first written indications of professional craftsmen specializing in precious metals appear along with tools of their trade. The change can be dated on the basis of written accounts and a few found tools to the 13th and 14th centuries, when a revealing contrast can be pointed out in the archaeological material between Koroinen and Turku. The 13th-century material of Koroinen includes some traces of finer metalworking – a mould and a crucible – but no actual evidence of goldsmithing, whereas in Turku, the bronze matrix is certainly a specialized tool of a professional goldsmith along other signs of specialist workmanship.

The moulds and other tools used in finer metalworking reveal that casting of small articles was quite common and widespread in premodern and Early Modern society, and thus the possible weak signs of professional goldsmithing are easily obscured by the traces of casual metalworking. Moreover, written evidence and perhaps also archaeological finds indicate that some goldsmiths practised their craft in the countryside, although the majority of surviving documents are related to burghers and urban areas.

Wherever goldsmiths had their workshops, their pursuits required special skills and training in techniques of production and visual design, not to mention capital for acquiring the wide range of tools and materials needed in goldsmithing. Owing to these factors as well as the general appreciation of precious metals, goldsmiths were the most highly esteemed group of craftsmen. There are, however, only occasional and rather late signs of the apprentice–journeyman–master system in operation, which is probably a symptom of the low-scale of the market in the north. Moreover, goldsmiths did not form craft associations or guilds to secure their interests and oversee cultic activities. From the late 15th century onwards, goldsmiths working in Finland were in principle subjected to the product control of which the goldsmiths' guild in Stockholm was in charge, but they were nevertheless not members of that community. The control duty imposed on the guild by crown administration as well as other instructions and orders given by the state over goldsmithing lacked executive power and did not have real effects until the early 17th century. At that time tightening state control also provided a background for the establishment of the nation-wide craft corporation system.

Bücher further divides craftsmanship into wage-work, price-work and commissioned work. The first form of production, wage-work (*Lohnwerk*) or working on debt, was realized in goldsmithing already during the Middle Ages. The silver and gold, which the customer provided, were at the same time a loan and raw material from which the finished products were made. The second phase in Bücher's scheme, price-work (*Preiswerk*), in which the craftsman works on his own materials, was probably also achieved, at least with small artefacts such as finger rings and spoons. The third phase, commissioned work (*Verlag*), in contrast, seems unlikely in the Finnish context, although in Central Europe and the Hanseatic towns there were workshops which manufactured ecclesiastical and profane articles for larger markets. The small number of potential customers was not favourable for such semi-industrial production here, although products from highly specialized workshops were imported. To use Carelli's terminology, production reached the stage of extensive, continuous production for a wider, but still elite, clientele. Nevertheless, urban goldsmiths in Finland were also active in trade and probably in other businesses as well, which suggests that they did not necessarily earn their living solely by working with metals.

The dating of the emergence of professional goldsmiths in Finland to the 13th and 14th centuries should, however, be considered provisional, because a sharper image will be reconstructed by analysing the earliest goldsmiths' products found in the country. Artefact analysis will also provide the basis for distinguishing chronologically in ancient silversmithing in Finland the phases suggested by Bücher and Carelli.

Analysis of the Artefact Material

The artefact material of the current study is organized into three entities – artefacts of the church, of dining and of dressing and identifying oneself. The division should not, however, be considered a categorical, typological grouping but rather as a heuristic device, which opens different kinds of fields of significance for the objects placed in one of the three entities. In other words, the interpretation of artefacts in one entity is based on the assumption that their consumption should be approached in the cultural framework or context of the entity in question. For instance, chalices and patens are basically tableware and related to dining, and episcopal garments and their accessories have to do with dress, but from the perspective of consumption, consumers and ways in which the artefacts were put into use they are part of acts and ceremonies related to church and liturgical life. Similarly profane vessels and cutlery are objects of luxury consumption orientated towards the social acts of banqueting and dining, which have their own set of cultural references, social requirements and material points of importance.

9 In Church

Outlines of the late medieval liturgy and its equipment

The consumption of the items in the first entity, the church, is viewed from the perspective of the liturgy, which conditioned the use of the church space and liturgical equipment and brought along certain kinds of social divisions and religious points of interest, which the objects of precious metals were meant to underscore. Hence, the presentation of this entity begins with a sketch of the medieval liturgy with emphasis on the use of liturgical equipment.⁶⁵⁴

All the objects had a meaning in the liturgy, and the acquisition and disposal of ecclesiastical artefacts had a connection with the religious, political and economic circumstances of the parish in question. Timothy Husband compares medieval church treasuries to living organisms as each of their items had a purpose in the maintenance of the spiritual life as a whole. Liturgical artefacts had a central place in ordering and framing the ecclesiastical calendar and the spiritual heartbeat of a church.⁶⁵⁵ The church and its treasury, relics most importantly, had the role of preserving material traces of the collective memory and maintaining the distinctive identity of the church or even the surrounding community.⁶⁵⁶ Liturgical artefacts were often donated by members of the elite, which was marked on the surfaces of the actual objects. Especially chalices and patens, central in performing the Mass, bear the names and arms of their donors. They were objects intended to be shown and seen, contemplated and venerated, although the aesthetic value of liturgical artefacts could be considered less important than their spiritual function in approaching God.

The very core of the medieval ecclesiastical services is set in the Bible, where St. Paul writes to the Corinthians and instructs them on how to celebrate communion:

[T]he Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: / And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. / After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁴ The liturgical equipment of the Eastern Orthodox Church will not be discussed here, but for communion vessels see Kiuasmaa 1985b; Sturm, Säppi & Thomenius 1990, 20 no. 43, 42, and for a thurible see Sturm, Säppi & Thomenius 1990, 22 no. 53, 44.

⁶⁵⁵ Husband 2001, 32; see also Chapuis 2001, 13, 17–19.

⁶⁵⁶ Pearce 1995, 102–108; Netzer 2000, 19.

⁶⁵⁷ 1 Cor. 11:23–25.

The Eucharist is the fundamental ritual of the church, celebrating and re-enacting Christ's sacrifice, but its actual significance changed between Late Antiquity and the Late Middle Ages. The Eucharist had been interpreted as a commemoration of the Last Supper as stated in the first letter to the Corinthians or in the Gospels.⁶⁵⁸ By the eleventh century, this conception was replaced by an understanding of the Eucharist bread and wine as Christ's real, suffering body and blood on the Cross. Finally the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 proclaimed the doctrine of transubstantiation or the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which means that Christ is present in the sacrament with his flesh and blood, humanity and divinity. Hence at the moment when a priest utters the words of Institution, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the substance of wine and bread change into the body and blood of Christ, although their perceptible appearances, accidents, remain the same.⁶⁵⁹

The medieval interest in the Eucharist structured the liturgy and the hierarchy of the liturgical artefacts, which were divided into two main categories. The items which were in touch with the body and blood of Christ were *vasa sacra* or sacred vessels, and they comprised the chalice and paten, ciborium, pyx and Eucharistic dove for preserving the host, the Eucharistic reed (*fistula*) for drinking the wine and lastly the monstrance for displaying the host in a transparent container to the congregation. These holy vessels had to be made of precious metals or at least, if made of base metals or other materials, the surface in contact with the consecrated bread and wine had to be gilt. The rest of the liturgical objects, which never touched the Eucharistic elements, are termed *vasa non sacra*. They include, for instance, ampoules or ewers for carrying wine and water before the Eucharist as well as *aquamanilia* and *lavatoria* or vessels for washing hands, *chrismatoria* or three bottles for sacred oils, censers, the *situla* or bucket for holy water, and the sprinkler, *aspergillum* or *aspersorium*. Also spoons, ladles and strainers had various uses such as removing hosts, transferring incense and so on. The altar was also furnished with a cross and candlesticks, and the church might even own a processional cross, *flabellum* or liturgical fan, *navicula* or incense-boat, a casket for blessed salt as well as a *pax tecum* or tablet for delivering the Kiss of Peace from the celebrant to the congregation.⁶⁶⁰

Estimates of the numbers of liturgical equipment in Turku Diocese in the late medieval period before the confiscations are difficult to present, but can be based on the number of parishes and churches in Finland. Every altar needed at least one chalice, paten and other liturgical equipment, and each church had three altars. Since the estimates of the number of parishes and chapels in the diocese range between 130 and 155, the absolute minimum number of communion sets is 130 during the Late Middle Ages. This estimate is very cautious since medieval churches had two or more side altars and consequently more than one set of communion vessels, and more likely the correct figure is closer to 300. However, the number of side altars cannot even be estimated on the basis of current research. In Turku Cathedral, where the number of side altars must have been the highest, it was at least 30 but perhaps over 40, although these figures include all references to side altars regardless of temporal fluctuations.⁶⁶¹ In any case, these estimates reveal that the corpus of surviving artefacts constitutes only a fraction of the total number. In present-day Sweden, the survival rate of medieval communion vessels and patens is exceptional in the European perspective. There are approximately up to 250 chalices and patens,⁶⁶² which is in stark contrast with the Finnish figures: 29 chalices and 19 patens dated to the Middle Ages and Early Modern period. However, in relative numbers the difference is not so marked. At the end of the Middle Ages, there were c. 1,450 parishes in Sweden, which is roughly ten times the number of parishes in the Diocese of Turku.⁶⁶³ From this perspective, the survival rate of communion vessels is more or less the same in both countries.

Another perspective on the numbers of liturgical equipment is provided by the statistics on the artefacts confiscated by Gustavus Vasa's administration (Fig. 40).⁶⁶⁴ The numbers of chalices (42)

⁶⁵⁸ E.g. Matt. 26:26–28.

⁶⁵⁹ Oakley 1979, 88, 119, 122–124.

⁶⁶⁰ See e.g. McLachlan 2005.

⁶⁶¹ Rinne 1948, 2–3; Hiekkänen 2003a, 91; 2007, 206.

⁶⁶² Andersson 1956b, 9–11; Pegelow 1998, 185.

⁶⁶³ Hiekkänen 2003a, 15.

⁶⁶⁴ The diagram presented here differs slightly from the statistics of Källström (1940, 211), but it is based on numbers given in Källström 1939, 313–325.

and patens (40) seem small even bearing in mind, firstly, that one communion set had to be left in each church and, secondly, that the statistics are based on information from only 87 parishes. If the figures are scaled to the number of chapels and parishes in the diocese, c. 155, and it is assumed that those parishes which are documented were left with one chalice and paten each, the estimate would still give approximately 160 sets of communion vessels in the diocese. In addition to statistics, the confiscation documents also reveal that besides chalices and patens, churches also possessed monstrances, ciboria, pyxes, reliquaries, ampoules, images or figures made of precious metals, wreaths and crowns as well as crosses of different sizes and even a number of spoons, brooches, finger rings and pins, which would seem to belong to the profane rather than the ecclesiastical context.⁶⁶⁵

The dogma of transubstantiation also marked a change in receiving the host. If the dogma of the Church was followed carefully, parishioners were required to receive the Eucharist at least once a year at Easter. Despite this ideal, it seems that receiving the Eucharist was rare and considered to be a thing of the churchmen. In the Late Middle Ages, only the priest received Eucharist at each and every Mass, although there was a late medieval movement propagating the importance of the Eucharist for parishioners. The liturgy transformed more and more into a performance to which the laity were spectators. Consequently, the actual, material reception of the Host became less significant for them. In fact, their participation with the host now shifted to two moments in the ritual of the Eucharist, the uttering of the words of Institution and the elevation of the host. The attention of the congregation was channelled to both rites by ringing a bell. Hence, both visual and auditory signs maintained the contact of laypersons with the host.⁶⁶⁶

The elevation of the host refers to the rite of raising the consecrated elements of bread and wine. Its introduction in the 13th and 14th centuries coincided with the doctrine of transubstantiation and emphasized the miracle of the Eucharist and its visual enjoyment in lay piety. Because of the precious nature of the Eucharist wine and the danger of spilling it, a practice formed whereby parishioners received only the holy bread. The practice could be theologically justified by the dogma of the totality of the real presence of Christ, which stated that under the appearance of bread alone parishioners receive Christ whole and entire.⁶⁶⁷

The textual content of Finnish medieval Masses is well known, because of the survival of numerous missals and other written documents related to Masses, but the practices, gestures and acts taking place in the church space are much more vaguely understood due to the lack of appropriate material and studies.⁶⁶⁸ For the present study, however, it is enough to discuss the practices related to the use of liturgical equipment, not the entire performance of the Mass. Here the point of departure is the Eucharist bread and wine, the central elements in the Mass, and their movements during the liturgy. The actual handling of the wafers in Finnish medieval ceremonies is a largely unstudied subject, but some outlines can be sketched on the basis of Markus Hiekkänen's work.⁶⁶⁹ Wine had to be procured, probably through international trade contacts from Germany and transported to the parish and stored perhaps in the parsonage. The incense needed during the liturgy was also imported from abroad, whereas wafers were made before the main Mass on Sunday. Probably the wife of the parish clerk baked them, since according to the order on parish clerks ratified in 1475, her duties included baking bread for the priest.⁶⁷⁰ When preparations for the Mass began, the wine was carried in jugs or ewers to the sacristy, while the wafers were transported

Chalices	42
Patens	40
Monstrances	72
Ciboria	11
Pyxes	10
Images	6
Crowns	14
Wreaths	1
Bottles for oil	33
Altar crosses	50
Small crosses	6
Brooches	30
Clypeus pendants	3
Crosiers	1
Buttons	2
Spoons	8
Pins	8
Corn ears	2
Finger rings	7
Fish	6
Ampoules	1
Viatica	3
Reliquaries	5
Censers	1

Fig. 40. Statistics on the artefacts confiscated by Gustavus Vasa's administration from the Diocese of Turku based on numbers given by Olle Källström (1939).

⁶⁶⁵ Källström 1940, 212–213.

⁶⁶⁶ Dix 1947, 599; Macy 1988, 84; Snoek 1995, 284; Atwood 2001, 9.

⁶⁶⁷ Oakley 1979, 88, 119, 122–124; Morgan 1998, 61.

⁶⁶⁸ Knuutila 1984; Äikää 1995; Taitto 1998; 2001; Hiekkänen 2003a, 145–146.

⁶⁶⁹ Hiekkänen 2003a, 148–159.

⁶⁷⁰ *Jtem böör klockarens hustru giöra deegh och baaka brödh åth presten (sal. om så widertarfwes) och derföre bära så bulla af garde; FMU 3633.*

in another container, or wrapped in a cloth. It is possible, although not certain, that churches had a special vessel for these wafers that were not yet consecrated.⁶⁷¹

Before the Mass, the parish clerk prepared the altar by putting candles in candlesticks and lighting them. The altar also had a cross. The clerk had to arrange water for the holy water bucket and also get water in a ewer to be mixed with the wine. Before the beginning of the Mass, the priest arrived at the church and dressed in the liturgical garment in the sacristy, consecrated the water in the holy water bucket and sprinkled the altar, himself and the choirboy as well as the congregation. This purification was followed by the introit during which the priest went to the altar and placed the chalice and paten on top of it on the corporal or communion cloth, which he also folded on the vessels. The priest and congregation confessed their sins (*confiteor*).

Coals in the thurible were lit and the item was brought to the altar, where the celebrant added grains of incense to it, after which he proceeded to incense the altar cross and the altar. After the gradual and halleluia, the missal was incensed and the celebrant read the gospel, which was followed by the credo and the sermon. Then the offertory began and the celebrant uncovered the chalice and paten from underneath the corporal. Wine was first poured into the chalice, followed by water. Both the chalice and paten were again covered with the corporal, and the celebrant incensed them along with the altar cross and altar after which he gave the thurible to the clerk. He, in turn, incensed the congregation. The celebrant washed his hands using the water poured from the ewer and collected into a bowl. The used water was transferred into a *piscina* near the altar. Finally everything was ready for the words of Institution and the elevation of the host.

After the miracle of transubstantiation, the Eucharist was completed. The celebrant kissed the missal and paten and uttered the *pax tecum* to the clerk and embraced him. The so-called *signaculum* or circular medallion with the cross or *Agnus Dei* engraved on the rim of the paten marked the place where the priest kissed it. The *signaculum* also gave the orientation for the rest of the decoration: the cross was placed at the top part of the plate. Similarly the chalice had a *signaculum*, usually a crucifix, which marked the side which was supposed to face the priest when he handled the vessel. Moreover, the *signaculum*, whether an elaborate Golgotha scene or a simple, engraved equal-armed cross framed by a circle, also denoted that the object was a *vas sacram*. Hence even ciboria and monstrances have *signacula* on their feet.

Many of the medieval patens are plain, flat discs with a profiled rim, but some have centres embossed as a quatrefoil or octofoil. Alphons A. Barb suggests that hosts were placed on the paten in a certain order following the embossed, apse-like shapes.⁶⁷² He points out that a 9th-century Spanish bishop describes how the hosts should be arranged and how many there should be according to the season and feast, but both Joseph Braun and Ingalill Pegelow turn down Barb's suggestion as too far-fetched.⁶⁷³ Although one cannot share Barb's views as such, the idea of the paten as an architectural, supporting element is not insignificant on another level. The paten, which carries the oblates or the body of Christ, is a symbol of Mary who carried him in her womb.⁶⁷⁴

The communion of the priest was followed by the communion of the faithful, when the bread and wine were distributed to other parishioners. One of the hosts may have been larger than the others, and this was reserved for the priest. Another host might have been placed into a lunette, which was used for holding the host in an upright position when exposed in the monstrance, and the rest of the wafers in a ciborium. From there, the hosts could be distributed to the parishioners during the Mass.

The communion was followed by the cleaning of the chalice and paten (*ablutio*), which began with the assistant pouring a small amount of wine into the chalice. The celebrant drank it and more water was poured into the cup after which he cleaned the paten above the chalice. He drank the water in the chalice, dried it, set it on the altar and covered it with the corporal. The Mass ended with the postcommunion, final prayer and dismissal. Finally the celebrant took the paten and used it to bless the parishioners, took the communion vessels and moved to the sacristy.

⁶⁷¹ Källström 1939, 102–103.

⁶⁷² Barb 1956.

⁶⁷³ Braun 1932, 210–214; Pegelow 1998, 193 note 14.

⁶⁷⁴ Hirn (1909) 1987, 439; Nordman 1929, 66.

Consecrated bread left over from the Eucharist was put into a ciborium. The reserve of hosts was needed in the course of the week. According to the ecclesiastical section of the Uppsala Law, the priest had an obligation to visit the sick and the poor and give them Eucharist and extreme unction if necessary. The penalty for breaking the obligation was set at 3 marks.⁶⁷⁵ The law also stated that every farmer had an obligation to inform the priest if someone in his household was ill. There are no written sources or studies concerning the visits of priests to their parishioners in the Middle Ages in Finland, but some suggestions may be gleaned from Swedish studies. When the priest set out to visit a parishioner, he needed to have liturgical attire, a *manuale* and communion vessels with him. Some of the consecrated hosts from the Sunday Mass were reserved for the sick and as Mass offerings.⁶⁷⁶ The bread was possibly taken from the ciborium, but perhaps more likely placed into another container intended for travel use. This vessel could be referred to as a *viaticum*.⁶⁷⁷ The priest was probably aided by a parish clerk. If the place to be visited was close, a procession may have taken place.⁶⁷⁸ In the procession, the central place was given to the vessel containing the consecrated hosts, the ciborium. It is not known what was done to the rest of the hosts after the week had passed and a new Mass was approaching, but Bishop Hemmingus of Finland (in office 1338–1366) ordered in 1352 that consecrated hosts should not be held in a pyx for more than two weeks.⁶⁷⁹

The Fourth Lateran Council and many provincial synods required that the host should be kept in a secure, well-fastened receptacle. In addition to Hemmingus's order, the statute collection of Nicolaus Ragvaldi, Archbishop of Uppsala (in office 1438–1448) states that the host should be preserved in a clean linen or silk cloth placed in a pyx of ivory, silver or copper. The vessels should be kept in a secure, locked place and the priest should have the key.⁶⁸⁰ In accordance with these requirements, liturgical vessels were stored in a cabinet in the sacristy or in a cupboard in the wall of the choir. These cupboards were distinguishable from other cabinets by their richer decorations.⁶⁸¹ According to Hiekkänen, approximately 270 niches for various purposes have survived in Finnish medieval churches whereas separate cupboards made of wood are rarer and known only from three churches.⁶⁸²

Two interrelated aspects are particularly important in the liturgy from the perspective of objects: firstly, the practical and spatial division between actors and spectators, and secondly, visibility. The use of church space emphasized the different roles which various persons had in relation to liturgical objects and the ways in which they were seen and experienced. Hiekkänen observes that the typical Finnish stone church of a rural parish was quite simple as an architectural space.⁶⁸³ The church building was usually rectangular in form without a chancel projecting from the nave. The chancel, however, was separated from the main space for the congregation with a railing. The main altar was naturally near the east wall, and in addition, a medieval church had to have at least two side altars, one by the north wall (or pillar if the church had three naves) dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the other by the southern wall. The small sacristy was situated on the north wall with access to the chancel, while in the western part of the southern wall there was the porch serving as the main entrance.

The congregation on the west side of the chancel railing was organized probably according to social status and gender.⁶⁸⁴ The liturgical practice, in contrast, focused on the chancel, because the Mass, the main parts of the bridal Mass and probably even confirmation and confession took place there.⁶⁸⁵ Only the place for baptism with the baptismal font was in the middle of the nave

⁶⁷⁵ Ferm 1986, 233.

⁶⁷⁶ Sundmark 2004, 42–43.

⁶⁷⁷ Immonen 2007b, 78.

⁶⁷⁸ Hårdelin 2005, 148–158; Sundmark 2008.

⁶⁷⁹ FMU 624; Klockars 1960.

⁶⁸⁰ von Celse 151–152.

⁶⁸¹ Lindgren 1987, 95; 1998, 169.

⁶⁸² Hiekkänen 1994, 69–81, 369–371; 2003, 94–95, 113. *The difference between cabinets for hosts and their containers (sacramentarium) and tabernacles or cabinets for displaying monstrances should be noted.*

⁶⁸³ Hiekkänen 1994, 29; 2005.

⁶⁸⁴ Hiekkänen 2003a, 145–148.

⁶⁸⁵ Hiekkänen 2005, 12.

in front of the main entrance.⁶⁸⁶ Moreover, the movement of the priest was mainly confined to the chancel, although he had to step to the western side of the railing when he sprinkled the congregation with holy water and when he made the cross procession at the beginning and end of the Mass. The chalice and paten were used at the altar, and were hardly ever brought amongst the congregation.⁶⁸⁷ It appears that only the processional cross, the censer, vessels for carrying unconsecrated wine and water, and the ciborium or viaticum for hosts were carried routinely from the chancel among the parishioners in connection with religious processions. Visual proximity or distance was an important dimension in the organization of liturgical equipment as elements of the liturgy. The east part of the church was even further emphasized with the lighting of the space, a central element in Gothic architecture. This was accomplished with window openings and probably even by placing artificial lights in the chancel,⁶⁸⁸ which undoubtedly also increased the visibility of the glimmering liturgical equipment.⁶⁸⁹

Funerary chalices and patens

Although medieval patens and chalices might evoke images of luxurious gold and silver, the earliest examples from Finland were made of pewter. Both the chalice and the paten have their historical and etymological roots in the classical cultures, where the Roman *calix*, traced to the Greek word *kalyx*, ‘pod, husk’, was a bowl-shaped drinking vessel with a foot and commonly used at banquets, while the paten comes from the Latin word *patina* or *patena* and the Greek equivalent term *patane* denoting a flat open vessel. They were ordinary vessels adopted by the early church for serving communion.⁶⁹⁰

The early history of the Christian chalice and paten is largely unknown due to the survival of so few specimens, which do not allow broad generalizations to be drawn except perhaps that the basic form of the chalice consisting of a foot, stem and bowl was in since Early Christianity, not to mention the paten with its simple disc shape. However, it seems that gold and silver were not established as self-evident materials for producing the communion set. Chalices and patens were also made of base metals and even of wood. According to a remark attributed to St. Boniface of Germany, martyred in 755 (754), in the early days of the Church the priests were of gold and the chalices of wood, but by his own time the chalices were of gold and the priests of wood.⁶⁹¹ Charles Oman suggests that it was unlikely that parish churches in the British Isles had vessels of silver and gold before the late 11th century. The use of silver increased by the 12th century, and by 1300 most churches had silver chalices, though a few continued to use pewter ones.⁶⁹²

The oldest chalices known from medieval Finland, as in Scandinavia, are so-called funerary chalices or *calices funerales*. Tertullian (c. 155–230) mentions such a chalice in his *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis*.⁶⁹³ During the Middle Ages, it was customary to place a set of communion vessels in the grave of an ordained person. The set was either specially made for this purpose or it was an old set used, for instance, by the deceased person as his *calix viaticus*. Usually funerary chalices were small and made of non-precious materials such as pewter, bronze or wax, which in the late medieval period, when chalices and patens had to be partly gilt, emphasized that they were not even intended to be used as real communion vessels.

The earliest funerary chalice known in Scandinavia is a small Danish silver cup found in one of the two great royal grave mounds at Jellinge in Jutland.⁶⁹⁴ In Sweden, the two oldest known funerary chalices are from Skara Cathedral. One is from the grave of Bishop Adalvard the Elder (in

686 Hiekkänen 2005, 12–14.

687 Hiekkänen 2005, 16–18.

688 Hiekkänen 2005, 14–16.

689 According to Glanville (2002, 11), ‘silver is killed by electric light, which reflects its brightness perfectly and obliterates its subtleties [...]’.

690 Thurston 1913.

691 Thurston 1913, 562.

692 Oman 1971.

693 Tertullianus, *Apologeticus*, XIII:7.

694 Brøndsted 1924, 270–271; 1960, 378.



Fig. 41. 13th-century funerary chalice of pewter found in the churchyard of Ilsbo Church, Hälsingland (SHM 14375:1).

office 1060–1064). It is made of pewter mixed with silver and inscribed with the words *Adalwardus peccator*, ‘Adalwardus the sinner’. The other was discovered in an anonymous grave. Further early funerary chalices are known from the cathedrals of Sorø, Roskilde, Trondheim and other churches (Fig. 41).⁶⁹⁵

In Finland, the two oldest examples of such funerary chalices and patens were found in the excavations at Koroinen in Turku in 1898–1902. The chalices survive only in fragments. One was accompanied by a paten, both having been made of pewter (Fig. 42) (Cat. 1:1), the other chalice was of wax (Cat. 1:2). The wax chalice was discovered in a grave within the main body of the church ruins in Koroinen. The object is now in several pieces, but the stem and some circular pieces, probably from the bowl, are still recognizable. They are, however, unhelpful for dating, and probably even the identifiable fragments have lost their original shape. Wax chalices are especially characteristic of 13th-century burials, but they remained in use throughout the Middle Ages.⁶⁹⁶ The single reference to funerary chalices in written sources is from the accounts of Tyrvää Church, where it is recorded that a funerary chalice of wax was to be made for a certain Magnus Fleming who died in 1517.⁶⁹⁷ The grave in which the fragments of the wax chalice were found in Koroinen did not reveal any other structures besides its wooden coffin. On the basis of the funerary chalice Rinne suggests that it was a bishop’s grave.

The other tomb with the funerary chalice of pewter was situated in the chancel of the church. In this case, Rinne identified it as the grave of a bishop not only by its contents but also because it

⁶⁹⁵ Andersson 1963, cols. 169–170.

⁶⁹⁶ E.g. a wax chalice and paten were found in the grave of Bishop Thomas Tulloch (in office 1422–1455) in St. Magnus Cathedral of Kirkwall, Orkney Islands (Mooney 1925, 244).

⁶⁹⁷ *subleuata 2 öre pro cera de qua calix sepulture fiat d: no Magno Flaeminghe; BFH I, 410, 411.*

was a brick-laid tomb. In addition to a number of unidentifiable pieces, the fragments comprise two larger strips from the bowl of the chalice, its foot and the rim of the paten. As Rinne emphasizes, the bowl of the chalice is wide, but low, and its foot is circular. All these are characteristics of a 13th-century funerary chalice, but based on British parallels the dating can be defined even more precisely to the earlier part of the 13th century.⁶⁹⁸

Both funerary chalices are from graves which Rinne associates with bishops. This might help to link them to persons known from written sources, since, according to the *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum Finlandensium* compiled in the 1570s, only three bishops of Finland, Bero (in office 1248–1258), Ragvald I (1258–1266) and Catillus (1266–1286), were buried in Koroinen.⁶⁹⁹ Rinne attributes the tomb with the funerary chalice of pewter found inside the chancel to Catillus, the last bishop to be buried in Koroinen, because he assumes the chancel to represent the last building phase of the church. If this is the case, the grave with the chalice of wax must belong to Bishop Bero or Ragvald. Rinne does not expressly associate the tomb with Catillus' predecessor, Ragvald, but this attribution is clear, since Rinne bases the dating of the chancel on the assumption that Bishop Ragvald would have been buried there if it had been built. Instead, he was buried inside the nave.⁷⁰⁰

Rinne's argumentation rests on the condition that episcopal graves can be identified by the presence of a *calix funeralis*. If, on the other hand, the identification were based on the presence of tomb structures, the situation would be different. Inside the church of Koroinen, Rinne found two other graves built of bricks, and the total number of brick tombs would nicely fit with the knowledge that three bishops were buried at the site.⁷⁰¹ Although it was, indeed, more common to bury chalices with higher ecclesiastical dignitaries such as bishops,⁷⁰² Rinne's conception of bishops as the only group enjoying the privilege of funerary chalices is too categorical. The sole official requirement for the privilege was ordination, and thus a funerary chalice could be placed in a grave so long as the deceased was a priest. It was not an uncommon practice in the Middle Ages for priests to receive a burial with a chalice and a paten, although the chalices of Koroinen represent the only survivals of the practice in Finland. The cup was placed upright on one side of the body or on the chest, and it may even have contained wine.⁷⁰³

Iikka Kronqvist questioned Rinne's interpretation of the architectural history of Koroinen and presented his own chronology. In contrast to Rinne's idea that the early medieval church of Koroinen had one nave, and was later expanded into a two-nave church with a stone chancel, Kronqvist suggests that there actually existed two subsequent churches in Koroinen, indicated as Koroinen I and II, and the stone chancel was built with the rest of the newer church. To support his theory, Kronqvist points out that one of the brick-laid tombs was placed according to the central axis of the first church, and the other of the second church.⁷⁰⁴ To complicate the issue, Markus Hiekkanen proposed in 1994 that the ruins discovered in Koroinen were in fact the remains of a late-medieval episcopal memorial chapel, not a 13th-century church.⁷⁰⁵

The long and complex debate on the chronology of Koroinen reveals that linking the two funerary chalices to historically known figures or even dating them contextually is highly problematic. An extensive detailed analysis and publication of the archaeological material excavated from Koroinen might change the situation, but at present it can only be argued that the pewter chalice and paten are from the earlier part of the 13th century and probably from an episcopal tomb. The wax chalice is also probably from the 13th century like the majority of burials at the site, but its association with a bishop is far more dubious.

The third vessel suggested to be a funerary chalice is from Köyliö Church (Fig. 43) (Cat. 1:3). Although the present church of Köyliö was built in 1752, a wooden church had preceded it in the

⁶⁹⁸ Type A dated to 1200–1250 in the typology of Westlake 1921.

⁶⁹⁹ Juusten 5–7.

⁷⁰⁰ Rinne 1941, 54.

⁷⁰¹ Koivunen 2003, 57.

⁷⁰² Andersson 1963, col. 169.

⁷⁰³ Kyriacou, Mee & Rogers 2004, 162–163; Gilchrist 2008, 127; see also Alexander 1991.

⁷⁰⁴ Kronqvist 1948, 11–13.

⁷⁰⁵ Hiekkanen 1994, 100, 137, 195, 239–240. For an overview on the research history of Koroinen, see Koivunen 2003.



Fig. 42. Fragment of the rim of the 13th-century funerary chalice found in Koroinen (Cat. 1:1).



Fig. 43. Funerary chalice of Köyliö Church. The 15th-century chalice of brass with a nine-lobed foot is 9.2 cm in height (Cat. 1:3).



Fig. 44. Seal matrix discovered in the area of Kökar Convent and later parsonage. The matrix dating from the mid-16th to the late 16th century depicts a chalice (Cat. 26:12).

medieval period. The chalice is made of brass and is rather small. Its bowl is relatively large, shaped as a hemisphere and attached to a nine-lobed foot. Stylistically the chalice is rather peculiar. Nordman describes the chalice as partly Romanesque on the basis of its proportions, and partly Gothic due to its lobed foot, which is a typical 15th-century feature of style.⁷⁰⁶ He concludes that a local jug maker, combining new and old characteristics in the chalice, probably made the object in the 15th century. Pylkkänen, in contrast, maintains that the chalice is indeed Romanesque and dates it to the 13th century. On the basis of the coarse workmanship, sparse decoration and especially the small size of the object, she asserts that the object is indeed a funerary chalice.⁷⁰⁷

Nordman's arguments seem somewhat academic from the point of view of the jug maker. On the one hand, the interpretation underscores the error of the craftsman in using styles anachronistically, but on the other hand, it seems to assume elegance in adopting various stylistic features and combining them in an identifiable manner. Why would a local craftsman decide to combine two elements of different styles?

While Nordman does not suggest how the chalice was used, the possibilities are rather limited. The chalice could not have been used in the parish church, as it was not gilt and was therefore unsuitable for touching the blood of Christ.

Both Nordman's and Pylkkänen's interpretations of the chalice and its dating are problematic. Neither one considers the possibility that funerary chalices are not simple, miniaturized versions of contemporary chalices, but an artefact type of its own with a stylistic development particular to it. Although chalices placed in burials before 1300 were made in the style of contemporary communion vessels, during the successive centuries funerary chalices continued to be made in the old style.⁷⁰⁸ Hence funerary chalices partly froze into their Romanesque type and remained as such irrespective of the Gothic forms adopted into the contemporary communion chalices. Consequently the stylistic anachronism of the Köyliö chalice is not as surprising or exceptional as one could think, and thus Nordman's dating of the chalice to the 15th century seems valid, though his arguments regarding the object's stylistic naiveté are erroneous.

Dating the Köyliö chalice more precisely is a risky task because of its very general form as well as its lack of ornamentation and exact parallels. However, it can be compared with the four chalices depicted in the Crucifixion scene painted on the wall of the Franciscan Convent church in Rauma. In this scene, three angels collect Christ's blood spouting from His wounds in chalices. Each of the vessels has a lobed or ridged foot as in the Köyliö chalice, a node and a hemispherical cup. The paintings of the church have been dated to 1510–1522 on the basis of the coat of arms of Bishop Arvid Kurck appearing as part of it,⁷⁰⁹ but the actual visual source for the painting might well be from a decades-older model-book. The similarity between the depicted vessels and the chalice of Köyliö could suggest that the funerary chalice was made in the latter part of the 15th century rather than its earlier part. However, such argumentation would be shaky at best, but the closest parallels for the piece seem to suggest a similar dating.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁶ Nordman 1980, 60–61.

⁷⁰⁷ *L'Europe Gothique XIII-XIVe siècles* 1968, 255–256, no. 396.

⁷⁰⁸ Oman 1957, 40.

⁷⁰⁹ Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 76.

⁷¹⁰ Oman 1957, pl. 6–7; Ekström 1978, 275; Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 56–58.

The use of funerary chalices emphasized the link between the priesthood and liturgical practices in which communion vessels were artefacts handled solely by ordained priests. This visual cue was utilized even in gravestones like the one surviving in Hattula Church. It has a cut depiction of a five-lobed chalice with a host above it. The gravestone is dated to the Late Middle Ages,⁷¹¹ and the motif was popular in Swedish gravestones of priests from the 15th century onwards.⁷¹² The chalice denoted priesthood also in medieval coats of arms and consequently in seal impressions. The Finnish examples of priestly seal impressions with chalices date from 1381 to 1511,⁷¹³ though the youngest example of the motif is in the seal matrix found in the area of Kõkar Convent and later parsonage (Fig. 44) (Cat. 26:12). The matrix dates from the mid-16th to the late 16th century.

Chalices and patens of precious metals

The earliest Finnish communion vessels of precious metals

Besides the funerary chalices of Koroinen, not a single 13th-century communion chalice or paten survives in Finland – with the sole exception of the Porvoo chalice dated to around 1230 (Cat. 3:1), which however, was brought to Finland in the 17th century as war booty. Hence the oldest communion vessels of gold and silver date from the 14th century. Five chalices and two patens survive from the century in the churches of Saltvik, Masku, Maaria, Kõkar, Kokemäki and Eckerö.

The only one with a precise dating is the paten of Saltvik Church (Cat. 2:1). It is exceptional also in other ways as it has inscriptions on both its upper and bottom surfaces. While the upper one repeats in Latin the Angelic salutation *AVE MARIA · GRACIA · PLENA · DOMINUS · TECUM · BENE(DICTA)*, or ‘Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed [art thou amongst women],’ which is a common inscription in 14th-century Swedish patens, the bottom one provides a dating for the paten: *ANNO · D̄O (= DOMINI) M°CCC° · XL°VI° · H̄VC (= HUNC) · CALICEM · FECIT · FIERI · LAURENCIUS · ARNBERNI CANONCIUS · ABOENSIS · EC̄CE (= ECCLESIE) · SVE · SALTWIK*, or ‘In the year of the Lord 1346, Laurencius Arnberni, the canon of Turku, had this chalice made for his parish, Saltvik.’

Laurencius Arnberni has left many traces in written sources. In June 1352, Pope Clemens VI promised him a canonicate and prebend in the Diocese of Strängnäs, although Laurencius Arnberni already had ones in Turku Diocese. He was also a priest in Sund Church.⁷¹⁴ Some months later Innocent VI awarded him a canonicate and prebend in Västerås Cathedral, because King Magnus Eriksson himself had requested them for the priest.⁷¹⁵ Moreover, according to the inscription, Laurencius Arnberni worked as a canon at Turku Cathedral some years before these events. Nordman and Andersson interpret the inscription on the bottom of the paten as evidence of his also being the priest of Saltvik Church,⁷¹⁶ although the phrase states that Laurencius Arnberni was a canon at Turku Cathedral at the time. Åsa Ringbom suggests that the expression *ecclesie sue saltwik* in the inscription could mean that his canonicate included a prebend in Saltvik Church. *Curia Saltvik* is mentioned in Turku Cathedral in 1351.⁷¹⁷

In addition to the two inscriptions, the paten has engraved scenes on both sides, another exceptional feature among Finnish medieval patens. The scene on the upper surface of the paten depicts *Majestas Domini* or Christ as the heavenly judge seated on an arch or a rainbow within a mandorla. He is surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists. The motif on the bottom, in turn, depicts *Manus Dei* or the right hand of God in salutation.⁷¹⁸ The saluting hand is typical of 14th-century patens, but appears only on two other Finnish items. The older of the two is also from the 14th century, but it was acquired by Tyrvântö Church after the Middle Ages, probably

⁷¹¹ Knapas 1997, 23.

⁷¹² Gardell 1945–1946, 146.

⁷¹³ FMS 47, 55, 61, 71, 77; see also *Vapensköldar* 319.

⁷¹⁴ FMU 616, 618.

⁷¹⁵ FMU 620, cf. 632, 633.

⁷¹⁶ Nordman 1929, 67; Andersson 1956a, 38.

⁷¹⁷ REA 144; FMU 603; Ringbom 2000, 215–219.

⁷¹⁸ Oman 1957, 50; Braun 1932, 234; Pegelow 1998, 185.

from Germany (Cat. 3:2). Here the *Manus Dei* is depicted with a sleeve and engraved on the upper surface of the plate. The other occurrence of the motif is on the paten of St. George's Hospital in Turku (Cat. 2:10), where the *Manus Dei* is engraved again on the upper surface of the item. This time it is surrounded by clouds. The paten and accompanying chalice are from the 1440s, which is rather late considering the other occurrences.

Bengt Stolt has examined a group of medieval Swedish patens with the motif of God's hand in benediction. The patens with the motif on their bottom surface are especially typical of the Diocese of Linköping and Gotland. However, the same motif also appears on a few patens surviving outside the diocese, such as the patens of Bälänge and Skänninge churches in Central Sweden.⁷¹⁹ Stolt points out that the motif on the bottom was visible only if the priest raised the paten during the Mass, which meant that it had to be empty at the time. William Durandus (c. 1237–1296), Bishop of Mende, states in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of c. 1289 that during the benediction the priest should hold a crucifix, paten or corporal,⁷²⁰ and the Swedish patens indicate that the custom was also known in the Nordic countries.

Although the chalice of Saltvik displays the most similarities with the communion set of Masku Church (Cat. 2:3), the small chalice and paten of Maaria Church (Cat. 2:2) seem to have been made before the vessels of Masku. The chalice of Maaria Church, only 12.4 cm in height, has survived intact in its entirety. The cup survives in its original form with a conical bowl and sleeves around the central tube decorated with simple crosshatching. The node has no bosses, but consists of six tripartite ridges, which are separated by a vertical crosshatched band. The inscription on the foot stating *De · vera vite · fert hoc vas pocula vita[e]* or 'this cup carries the drink of life from the true vine' recurs constantly in the 14th-century chalices. The paten is only c. 10 cm in diameter, and in contrast to the chalice, has no ornamentation at all. Due to their small size, Nordman suggests that the chalice and the paten might be a set used during visitations around the parish. Such a set is mentioned for the first time in 1355, when presbyter Henricus Tempill bequeaths a *calix viaticus* 'with a consecrated stone altar', probably a portable one, to brother Johannes Gladda.⁷²¹

The medieval date of the current paten accompanying the chalice of Maaria Church can be questioned because it lacks any ornamentation, but another Finnish paten, the one in Masku Church (Cat. 2:3), is certainly from the 14th century. The plate has the *Agnus Dei* as its central motif. This is typical of medieval patens and refers to a communion chant: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'.⁷²² The central motif of the Masku paten is surrounded by the inscription *HOSTIA · SACRA · IH̄C (=IHESUS) · ANIME · FIT · HIC · OPTIMUS · ES' (=ESUS)*, or 'As the sacred host, Jesus becomes here the best nourishment for the soul' on the rim. The same inscription appears in the ciborium of Viipuri (Porvoo) Church (Cat. 4:1), which was produced at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. The phrase has its counterpart in the inscription *de vera vite fert hoc vas pocula vitae* engraved on the feet of four Finnish 14th-century chalices and several contemporary Swedish chalices.

Although the central motifs of the Saltvik and Masku patens are different, they are very similar stylistically. They share not only the Gothic majuscules on a cross-hatched background in their inscriptions, but also the use of an ornamental band formed by two lines and a row of small pits between them. In fact, the sexfoil formed with such a band of pits on the Masku paten is repeated in contemporary chalices.

The chalices of Saltvik and Masku also share several features. On its foot, the Saltvik vessel has a frieze consisting of a dotted line framed by two pairs of lines. The frieze forms a septfoil. The Masku chalice has a similar frieze, but it forms an octofoil. The chalices also have *signacula* or crucifixes, which are attached with readily visible rivets. Since both chalices have lost their original stems and bowls, only the nodes can be compared, and they are also alike. The two nodes have circular, convex bosses, each with a Gothic majuscule. Probably the bosses were originally

⁷¹⁹ Cf. Andersson 1956, 185–196.

⁷²⁰ Stolt 1990, 63–66; cf. Jungmann 1986b, 445.

⁷²¹ REA 160; FMU 649; Nordman 1929, 69–71.

⁷²² John 1:29.



enamelled. Together the letters on the bosses form the name IHESVS. However, to point out differences, the upper and bottom surfaces of the node of the Saltvik chalice are adorned with vine ornamentation in relief, which is characteristic of older chalices such as the luxurious Porvoo chalice of the 1230s, while the node of the Masku chalice has a row of Gothic windows, typical of later chalices.

The chalice of Kökar, or rather the remains of a bowl and stem, were removed from a pennant pole on top of the belfry near the church during restorations in 1978 (Cat. 2:4). The belfry was built in 1846 and the present parish church in 1784, but when and why the remains of the medieval chalice were placed there is not known. Nevertheless, it seems certain that the chalice predates the current parish church and belongs to the Franciscan Convent, which was founded at the site in the mid-15th century.⁷²³ Interestingly, the chalice was in fact produced even before the convent in the latter part of the 14th century. Though the foot of the chalice is missing, the sleeves above and below the node are intact. The ornamentation on the sleeves consists of punched lozenges and trefoils.

The Kokemäki chalice has a melon-shaped, ridged node, but in contrast to the other 14th-century chalices, it has a six-lobed foot (Fig. 45) (Fig. 46) (Cat. 2:5). However, the simple, engraved geometrical decoration on the foot echoes the geometrical ornamentation of older chalices. The engraved line repeats the contours of the foot, and has, like the lilies of the foot of the Saltvik chalice, a small circle in the basal of each lobe. The node is 14-lobed with every other lobe adorned with a cast human face or bossed cross. Altogether there are three crosses and four faces. Two of the faces form a pair, but otherwise crosses and faces occur alternately. All the faces depict men who have slightly opened mouths with thick lips and short hair marked with lines and dots.

Tapio Salminen has interpreted the faces on the node as a group of donors or alternatively as members of the family which donated the chalice.⁷²⁴ His interpretation has its difficulties, though. The placement of donor's faces on chalices is not unique. For instance, the Rusko chalice has an engraving of the donor's face on its foot (Cat. 2:23), and there the face is depicted frontally. However, placing the faces of donors on the node appears odd as usually the space is reserved for the name of Christ, emblems of the four Evangelists or faces of saints. Moreover, the faces on the node of the Kokemäki chalice lack any signs of social rank.⁷²⁵ The men's mouths are also strangely

Fig. 45. The 14th-century chalice of Kokemäki Church has a melon-shaped, ridged node and a six-lobed foot (Cat. 2:5).

Fig. 46. The node of the Kokemäki chalice is 14-lobed with every other lobe adorned with a cast human face or bossed cross (Cat. 2:5).

⁷²³ Gustavsson 1986; 1988; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1997.

⁷²⁴ Salminen 2007, 279.

⁷²⁵ Cf. the busts of noblemen attached to the node of the 16th-century chalice of Kristine Church; Ekström 1977, 85.

depicted as open and thick-lipped. These features could point to two possibilities, to singing angels or the heraldic device of a Moor. Moors were stereotypically represented in profile as wide-lipped and with curly hair on the forehead, and are known as heraldic devices in Denmark from the late 13th century onwards and in Sweden from around the mid-14th century onwards.⁷²⁶ The faces on the Kokemäki chalice, nevertheless, lack the golden earrings and pearl necklaces typical of Moors. Although angels, in turn, should have wings as their attribute,⁷²⁷ it would seem appropriate to consider the faces as angelic.

The paten of Eckerö Church is the last item in the material displaying 14th-century features (Cat. 2:6). According to written sources, the plate still had a medieval chalice as its pair in the 17th century, but now only the paten remains. The vessel is very simple, having only an equal-armed cross on the rim and a small central motif depicting the face of Christ. The face itself does not provide a dating, but the quatrefoil-shaped cross on the background and especially the frame made with two parallel lines and a row of pits between them are characteristic of 14th-century patens. A similar High Gothic nimbus has been drawn onto a page of the Icelandic sketchbook.⁷²⁸ No compass was used in making the circular frame, and the crosshatching of the background is executed rather carelessly. Even the cross motif on the rim was drawn without a compass. The central motif with its dotted frame points to the 14th century, but the equal-armed cross on the rim resembling a cross moline seems to date the production of the paten to the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. Nordman argues on the basis of its parallels that the paten was made in Stockholm, but this claim is unfounded.⁷²⁹

The face of Christ as the main motif appears in a younger paten from Iniö Church (Cat. 2:15). In contrast to the Eckerö paten, here the face of Christ is surrounded by a cross-nimbus and the frame has no row of pits. These features clearly indicate that the paten of Iniö is younger than the paten of Eckerö. The dating provided by the accompanying chalice of Iniö Church can be extended to the paten placing its production to the third quarter of the 15th century.

Stylistic change from the High to Late Gothic and two chalices of Turku Cathedral

From the latter part of the 14th to early 15th century a stylistic change occurs in communion vessels, which could be termed a transition from High to Late Gothic. The six-lobed form of the foot, as in the chalice of Kokemäki Church, became a norm. Of the 15th-century chalices in the material, only a vessel of Turku Cathedral (Cat. 2:7), and the chalice St. George's Hospital Chapel (Cat. 2:10), both from the earlier part of the 15th century, have circular feet. After them, the next chalice with a rounded foot is the anachronistic early-16th-century one of Viipuri Church (Cat. 2:26), and the chalice of Mietoinen Church made around 1600 (Cat. 2:31). The six-lobed feet provided six level surfaces for engraving, and not surprisingly engravings copied from model books and other visual sources are a typical feature of the 15th and 16th-century communion vessels. The six-lobed feet replaced circular ones as completely as melon-shaped nodes changed to nodes with circular and later exclusively lozenge-shaped bosses. Moreover, stems with a circular cross-section became rarer than hexagonal ones, although this change did not become a rule – round stems appear from time to time also in the younger chalices.

The stylistic change is apparent in a group of two chalices made originally for Turku Cathedral during the earlier part of the 15th century, but moved to the churches of Honkilahti and Pedersöre during the 17th century. Both have very plain forms. The Honkilahti chalice has a circular foot and stem, but a node with lozenge bosses (Cat. 2:7). The inscription on the chalice begins on the right side of the *signaculum*. The inscription states in Low German: 'Heyne Watmal gave this chalice to St. Henry's altar in Turku'.⁷³⁰ The last word *abo* for Turku is placed above the *signaculum*.

⁷²⁶ Verwohlt 1966.

⁷²⁷ Cf. Cat. 2:22 and the German chalice made around 1535 with winged angel faces attached to its node (Fritz 2004, 113, 362 no. 52).

⁷²⁸ Fett 1910, 15, pl. 1.

⁷²⁹ Nordman 1929, 67–69; Ringbom & Remmer 1995, 243–244.

⁷³⁰ FMU 1796.

A burgher from Turku named Henrik Wadmal is mentioned with his brothers Hennekinus and Arnold in a letter from the town council of Turku to the council of Lübeck in 1386. Arnold had lived and recently died in Lübeck.⁷³¹ In 1426, a burgher named Laurens Wammal is mentioned with his brother Hincza Wammal.⁷³² Laurens Wammal alone is mentioned in written sources in 1413–1432.⁷³³ Ruuth suggests that his brother Hincza is the person recorded in the inscription as Heyne Watmal and in 1386 as Henrik Wadmal.⁷³⁴ Also Hausen seems to assume that Heyne is actually Henrik, although he also states that the Heyne of the inscription is mentioned for the first time in 1426.⁷³⁵ Nordman, however, points out that in 1424 Laurens is referred to as Larens Hintzasson, ‘the son of Hintza’ and suggests that both Laurens and Hincza were sons of Henrik Wadmal mentioned in 1386. The person referred to in 1426 is the person who donated the chalice.⁷³⁶

Rinne tries to narrow the dating of the chalice further on the basis of the history of the altar. After its consecration in 1400, the altar of St. Henry did not have a prebendaryship and associated estate until 1403, when Matisse Jøerlsson was given full rights to organize the estates donated to the altar. However, the prebend was not given to the cathedral until after his death. Rinne suggests that as long as Matisse Jøerlsson handled the altar and its prebend, there were no appropriate circumstances for other donations, and the first known donor is mentioned in 1426.⁷³⁷ Also Nordman dates the chalice to the same decade, and he furthermore suggests that it was made in Turku, although its style points to Lübeck. His argument is based on stylistic similarity with the chalice of St. George’s Hospital.⁷³⁸

Another chalice of Turku Cathedral made its way to Pedersöre Church (Cat. 2:8). This chalice has a six-lobed foot with no remaining decorations, including the *signaculum*, although holes indicate that some ornaments were originally attached to the foot. There is, however, an inscription engraved on the flange in Gothic minuscules, except for the last five words which are set in majuscules. The inscription begins with an equal-armed cross engraved in front of the now-missing *signaculum*. The whole inscription reads

✠ testamentū (= testamentum) dñi (= domini) gregori monch qui obiit anno dñi
 (= domini) 1429 in die sti (= sancti) [bar]nabe AD ALTARE · S · IOAN:
 (= ioannis) BAPTæ (= baptistae)

The text can be translated as ‘Testamentary donation of Master Gregorius Monch, who died on the day of St. Barnabas (= 11 June) in the year of the Lord 1429, for the altar of St. John the Baptist’. Since the medieval parts of the chalice are rather generic in form and their decorations minimal, the dating is based on the inscription.

The chalices of Honkilahti and Pedersöre were certainly made for altars in Turku Cathedral, but despite the stylistic similarity, the origins of the chalice of Pohja Church remain unclear (Cat. 2:9). It has no inscriptions or other ornamentation that would suggest a certain period of production. However, its six-lobed foot and especially the frieze of the edge made of vertical lines are almost identical with the chalice of Pedersöre. The feet of both chalices even have two holes for attaching *signacula*. The stem and node, however, are not alike, but still on the evidence of the Pedersöre chalice it seems appropriate to date the production of the Pohja chalice to the second quarter of the 15th century, although stylistic affinities do not give grounds for further conclusions. Hence both the Honkilahti and Pedersöre chalices remain rare examples of those communion vessels which were made for a number of new altars founded in the cathedral in the early 15th century.

⁷³¹ FMU 945.

⁷³² REA 421, 422.

⁷³³ REA 338, 353, 381, 406, 413, 415, 420, 441.

⁷³⁴ Ruuth 1916, 27.

⁷³⁵ FMU 1796.

⁷³⁶ REA 415; Nordman 1940, 31.

⁷³⁷ REA 297, 423; Rinne 1948, 166–168.

⁷³⁸ Nordman 1940, 12–14.

Communion vessels of Ulvila Church and St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku

Three further communion sets made before the mid-15th century survive in the churches of Ulvila and Kemi, and from St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku. The most common in form and decoration is the chalice of Ulvila Church (Cat. 2:12). It has a six-lobed foot, a round stem and a node with six circular bosses. The bosses are decorated with six-petalled flowers, and the spaces between the bosses are adorned with bunches of grapes. The lower sleeve bears the inscription *mari ihesus*, while the upper one states *got help mah* (= *maria help?*). The circular bosses and especially the use of grapes point to the other chalices produced in the earlier part of the 15th century. The church of Ulvila was destroyed in a fire around 1429, and it seems very likely that the chalice was acquired after that.⁷³⁹

The other two chalices and their contemporary patens, all from the 1440s, have richer decorations and inscriptions narrowing down their dating compared with the chalice of Ulvila Church. The paten and chalice of St. George's Hospital Chapel in Turku are of modest weight, the cup weighing only 281.1 g and the plate 75.8 g (Cat. 2:10). The foot of the chalice is circular, a rather old characteristic at the time of its production. The *signaculum* with Christ on the cross is flanked by two heraldic shields, one with the letter *l* and the other with the letter *h*. In addition, the foot is decorated with an inscription listing a series of names *larens hannes son cristrin thomas walborgh*, identified as Laureus Hannesson, Cristin Laurensdotter, Thomas Korro and Walborg, the wife of Thomas Korro. The text ends with two more names, those of Jesus and Mary. The name of Laureus Hannesson explains the letters used in the two shields. Like the foot, also the stem is of circular cross-section. Each of the six bosses on the node has a Gothic minuscule, together forming the name *ihesus*. Moreover, the lower sleeve presents the words *sone marien*, whereas the upper sleeve has the name *ihesus cristus*. The inscriptions should probably be read together as *ihesus cristus sone marien*, or 'Jesus Christ, the son of Mary'.

The names of the burghers engraved on the chalice suggest a dating for the communion set, because three of them are mentioned in several medieval written documents. On 8 September 1453, Cristin Laurensdotter, with the permission of her sister Walborgh, donated some movable property and land in Lieto to the Birgittine Nunnery in Naantali. She was the widow of Hans Simonsson and lived at Loukinainen in Lieto, and was planning to move to the nunnery.⁷⁴⁰ Her sister, Walborgh, was the wife of burgher Thomas Korro of Turku.⁷⁴¹ His name suggests that he was of Finnish origin. Thomas Koris who witnessed a transaction in 1450 must be the same person.⁷⁴² A third sister, Karin, was married to burgher Matts Gregersson.⁷⁴³ Cristin must have been a widow at the time of the inscription, as her husband's name would otherwise have been mentioned first. Walborgh, in contrast, is not mentioned as a widow until 1453. Hence the chalice must have been made before that year. Nordman concludes that the chalice dates from the 1440s.⁷⁴⁴

The chalice is accompanied by a medieval paten. Besides the common cross motif on the border, the paten bears the hand of God appearing in the midst of clouds with a blessing gesture. Although the motif of *Manus Dei* is very typical of the communion vessels of the 13th and 14th centuries, its popularity waned in the 15th century. Hence it was slightly outmoded at the time when the communion set of St. George's Hospital was made. In addition to the choice of the motif, a circular foot is a characteristic of older chalices. These peculiarities could easily be explained by the location where the vessels were made. They were most likely produced in Turku as suggested by the hallmark on the chalice. It was punched on the bottom of the foot inside a triangle formed by the three rivets holding the crucifix in place. The mark is a mirror image of the letter S, and it has been associated with Sven guldsmed, who is known from written sources in 1443–1480. Nordman points out that the vessels are executed in the international Hanseatic style, which shows that the

⁷³⁹ Lehtinen 1967, 31–32; Hiekkänen 2000; 2007, 269.

⁷⁴⁰ FMU 2929.

⁷⁴¹ FMU 2930.

⁷⁴² REA 553.

⁷⁴³ FMU 2930.

⁷⁴⁴ Nordman 1980, 12.

goldsmith was well acquainted with North German style.⁷⁴⁵ Hence the communion set is a fine example of how deducing the place of production on the basis of style alone can be misleading.

The choice of the old-fashioned, though Hanseatic, motifs and forms might find an explanation in the liturgy and ceremonies of the hospital chapel. First of all, the size of the set is relatively small, which is probably related to the role of the hospital chapel. Secondly, the chapel was not a church proper, and though its size is unknown, it probably remained much smaller than a parish church. Thirdly, benedictions were of heightened significance in the services of medieval hospital chapels and for the persons taking part in them who prayed for healing.⁷⁴⁶ Hence it is conceivable that there is a meaningful link between such benedictions and the motif of *Manus Dei* on the paten. Fourthly, the old but international appearance of the communion set was likely intentional and motivated by the place where the vessels were used and the social standing of the donors, but it is difficult to discern what precise connotations were evoked with the chosen style.

The chalice and paten of Kemi Church

The communion set of Kemi Church (Cat. 2:11) was made approximately at the same time as the vessels for St. George's Hospital Chapel. The chalice has a six-lobed foot, each lobe is adorned with a scene. The scenes are beneath lancet arches. The *signaculum* comprises a cast plaque with figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John, but the cross itself is engraved on the foot. The engraved scene on the right side of the *signaculum* depicts a male saint with a book and a gridiron, which identifies him as St. Lawrence. The third scene depicts another male saint with a book and a chalice, which are the attributes of St. John, while the fourth scene has St. Paul, the bearded saint again with a book and a sword. The fifth scene presents another bearded saint with a book and a key, which identify him as St. Peter. The sixth and last scene is of a bearded saint holding a book and a saltire, the attribute of St. Andrew. In this cavalcade of male saints, the brothers SS. Peter and Andrew as well as SS. Paul and John are very typical saints on communion vessels, whereas St. Lawrence stands out from the group as a less common figure. Also his position next to Christ is noteworthy.

Above the foot, the lower sleeve bears the opening of the phrase, *ave maris stella*, and the upper sleeve its end: *dei mater alma*, or 'Hail, star of the sea, fostering mother of God'. The verse is from a hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary. Finally, the node has six bosses each with a Gothic minuscule letter adorned with leaves and blue background. Together they form the name *hiesus*. The spaces between the bosses are ornamented with six-petalled flowers. A pot with a plant is placed above and below each flower (Fig. 47). The flower is probably an iris referring to the Virgin Mary, who thus has a prominent role on the stem in contrast to the foot.

The donor of the Kemi communion vessels is revealed in the inscription written around the accompanying paten.⁷⁴⁷ The Latin phrase *agnus dei qui [tollis peccata] mundi miserere nobis et pro laurencio fris om(n)es orate amici dei* can be translated as 'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us, and all friends of God, pray for Laurencio Fris'. The beginning of the phrase is part of the formula recited thrice by the priest at Mass.⁷⁴⁸ The inscription surrounds the central motif of the paten depicting the *Agnus Dei*. The lamb carries a processional cross with a banner and chalice to which blood flows from a wound on the animal's chest. The donor Laurencio Fris was christened after St. Lawrence,⁷⁴⁹ which creates a link between the paten and the chalice, and the position of the saint near Christ on the foot emphasizes its importance. Hence the communion vessels were probably both ordered by Laurencio Fris. He is mentioned as the priest of Kemi Church in written sources in 1443–1445.⁷⁵⁰ The 1440s seem to have been the most likely period for the production of the communion set.

⁷⁴⁵ Nordman 1980, 12.

⁷⁴⁶ Sandholm 1973, 115–120.

⁷⁴⁷ FMU 2651.

⁷⁴⁸ John 1:29.

⁷⁴⁹ St. Lawrence is depicted once in the corpus of the Finnish medieval seals. The seal belonged to Lars Michelsson Suurpää who later became the bishop of Finland (FMS 37).

⁷⁵⁰ FMU 2544, 2651.



Fig. 47. Node of the Kemi chalice made in the 1440s. A pot with a plant is placed above and below each six-petalled flower between the bosses. The flower is probably an iris referring to the Virgin Mary.

Communion sets of the Franciscan Convent in Rauma and the church of Tammela

Besides the chalice of St. George's Hospital Chapel, there is another chalice hallmarked with the mirror-S mark. It survives in the church of the Franciscan Convent in Rauma (Cat. 2:13), which was later converted into a parish church. The hallmark appears punched twice on the bottom rim of the foot. The foot has an inscription formed by six text scrolls, one in each of the six lobes. The dactylic verse reads *Hostia sacra Ihesus anime fit hic optimus esus*, or 'the Sacred Host, Jesus, becomes here the best nourishment for the soul'. The crucifix is placed between the first and the last word of the inscription.

Because the inscription refers to hosts instead of wine, Neovius suggests that the chalice was originally a ciborium and only later adapted to its current use,⁷⁵¹ but Riska points out that a medieval-style crucifix would have been a rather strange addition to a medieval ciborium in the 1630s, when it was assumedly transformed into a chalice.⁷⁵² Although she seems to think that ciboria did not have crucifixes, which is not entirely correct, the current object has all the characteristics of a medieval chalice without the further characteristics of a ciborium. Hence Neovius' suggestion is of no relevance.

The node of the Rauma chalice has six bosses, each with a letter on a crosshatched background forming the name *ihesus*. The spaces between the bosses are decorated with bunches of grapes. Such grape bunch nodes are a typical characteristic of Swedish 14th-century chalices, but are also known from later chalices. This feature would suggest a dating to the mid-15th century rather than the latter part of the century.

Approximately of the same age as the Rauma chalice is the very small chalice of Tammela (Cat. 2:14), which has, in contrast to a number of medieval chalices, the original cup and stem intact,

⁷⁵¹ Neovius 1911, 10.

⁷⁵² Riska 1981, 46–52.

while the foot was replaced at some stage, probably during the 19th century. Both sleeves of the original stem bear inscriptions. On the upper sleeve are the letters *ihesus* and *na*, whereas the lower sleeve has the letters *sarenus* and *r*. The words should be read as *ihesus nasarenus r(ex)*, or ‘Jesus of Nazareth, King’.⁷⁵³ The node in the middle has six lozenge bosses, but instead of Gothic letters, they are furnished with quatrefoils. In its overall style, the chalice of Tammela points to the 15th century, but there is another Finnish chalice with lozenge-shaped bosses decorated with a floral motif instead of letters. It is the chalice of the Naantali Birgittine Nunnery Church, and with reference to it the suggested dating for the Tammela chalice could be around the middle of the 15th century.

Communion vessels of the Birgittine Nunnery Church in Naantali and the churches of Iniö and Nauvo

The communion set of Naantali Church comprises a paten as well as a chalice (Cat. 2:16), although the survival of the medieval chalice seems to have been forgotten by several modern scholars. As early as 1670–1671 the antiquarian Elias Brenner made a drawing of the inscription and two coats of arms on the foot of the medieval chalice. They were published in his work *Gamble monumenter i Stoor-förstendömet Finlandh, afrijtade Anno 1671 och 1672*.⁷⁵⁴ The inscription that Brenner copied from the chalice is almost identical to the inscription on the surviving paten. It states *thenne kalk loth brodher Jönis budde aff nadhendam göra hy Stokholm* or ‘Brother Jönis Budde of Naantali had this chalice made in Stockholm’.

In Brenner’s drawing of the two coats of arms, the one on the left depicts a bent arm holding a heraldic lily. This has been attributed to the Ille family,⁷⁵⁵ although Birgit Klockars suggests, rather surprisingly, that it might represent the face of Christ. She argues that the coat of arms of the Ille family was not in use at the time when the chalice was made.⁷⁵⁶ Tuhkanen, however, points out that there are examples of similar coats of arms of the Ille family dated to the end of the 15th century.⁷⁵⁷

The coat of arms on the right depicts a horned animal *en face*. The tongue of the animal, possibly a reindeer, is hanging out of its mouth. The coat of arms has its closest parallels in the seals of the Renhufvud family.⁷⁵⁸ Valborg Jakobsdotter Ille was married to Henrik Stensson Renhufvud, bailiff of Hämeenlinna Castle and lagman of North Finland. He was beheaded in 1522. Henrik Stenssons’s half-sister and sister were nuns at the Naantali nunnery, but no connection can be established with these persons and Jöns Budde on the basis of written sources.⁷⁵⁹ It is known, though, that members of both the Ille and Renhufvud families made donations to the Bridgettine nunnery in the latter part of the 15th century. Lagman Jeppe Pedersson Ille donated part of his property when his daughter Signild moved to the nunnery in 1417, while Sten Henriksson Renhufvud, district judge of Piikkiö, donated land to the nunnery in the 1480s and 1490s to support his three daughters who became nuns.⁷⁶⁰

In 1887, the antiquarian Eliel Aspelin stated that the chalice forming a pair with the medieval paten is missing,⁷⁶¹ and indeed no vessel matching Brenner’s drawings survives. However, three years later, in 1890, Karl Gabriel Leinberg corrected Aspelin’s error by stating that there was still a medieval chalice in the church. It has a hexagonal stem and ‘a six-lobed foot’ (*sexudding fotställning*) in the Gothic style. A similar silver chalice, heavily gilt on the outside and inside, is mentioned in the church inventory of 12 September 1825. The weight of the object was recorded as c. 737 g (56 *lods*), and it consisted of three parts, which had been attached to each other with nails, which were already missing at the time. The bowl was undecorated, but the foot had ‘heads of Seraphs’ and other figures. The middle part, probably referring to the node, had plant ornament

⁷⁵³ Cf. John 19:19.

⁷⁵⁴ Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 63; Suvanto 1976, 139; Tuhkanen 2005, 100.

⁷⁵⁵ Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 65.

⁷⁵⁶ Klockars 1980, 81.

⁷⁵⁷ FMS 220, 267; Tuhkanen 2005, 100.

⁷⁵⁸ FMS 203, 261, 261a; Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 65; Tuhkanen 2005, 100.

⁷⁵⁹ Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 65.

⁷⁶⁰ Leinberg 1890, 316–317; Ramsay 1909, 114; Tuhkanen 2005, 101.

⁷⁶¹ Aspelin 1887, 203. This view is repeated in Tuhkanen 2005, 100; Hiekkänen 2007, 114.



Fig. 48. Hexagonal stem of the 15th-century communion chalice in Naantali Church. The six bosses around the node are ornamented with quatrefoils (Cat. 2:6).

in relief. Leinberg suggests that the same chalice is mentioned in the inventories of 1628 and 1634.⁷⁶²

Leinberg's description suits the current chalice accompanying the medieval paten (Fig. 48). The chalice has a hexagonal stem, a node with six bosses ornamented with quatrefoils and a circular Baroque foot decorated with a frieze with three winged, plump-faced putti. Goldsmith Hans Meijer, who worked as master in Turku in 1678–1716, amended the foot, as revealed by his hallmark. The only problematic part of Leinberg's description is the 'six-lobed foot' but he might be referring to the Gothic node instead of the foot proper.

The paten forming a pair with the chalice also caught the attention of antiquarians very early. Historian Henrik Gabriel Porthan published the first drawing of it in 1783 as part of his study on the history of the library of the Academy of Turku. The paten is composed of three parts. The outermost rim was added to the plate in 1878 as its hallmarks reveal. This modern outer element is attached to another rim with an inscription in Swedish, which can be translated as 'brother Jöns Budde of Naantali had this chalice made in Stockholm'.⁷⁶³ The

inscription begins with and ends in an image of the head of Christ. The rim with the inscription, in turn, is soldered to an embossed, quatrefoil-shaped central part.

The engraved central motif of the paten depicts a standing tonsured man in a cape (Fig. 49). The garment has a collar or a hood lowered to the back. A cross-like object with a circular centre is attached to the left side of the man's chest. A rectangular object hangs from a cord around his neck. It is a pumice stone used in writing.⁷⁶⁴ His left hand is not visible, but in his right hand the man holds the sleeve of his cape. The man stands in a landscape with three flowers, some tufts of grass and two large leafy branches. The branches wind upward and become entwined above the man's head.

Since Jöns Budde's name is mentioned in the inscription as the donor of the paten, the picture of the Birgittine monk is frequently interpreted as his portrait. In 1890, Leinberg identifies the man as a Birgittine monk, although not directly as Jöns Budde.⁷⁶⁵ Aspelin considers the man depicted on the paten to be the donor of the vessel.⁷⁶⁶ Christer Laurén confirms the identification by arguing that Jöns Budde was ordained and the cape bears the insignia of priests – a cross with a round slip in the centre.⁷⁶⁷ The pumice stone confirms this conclusion, since Jöns Budde was a productive author.

Riska dates the medieval part of the paten on stylistic grounds to the latter part of the 15th century, and she agrees with the inscription and considers the plate indeed to have been made in Stockholm.⁷⁶⁸ However, it is possible to narrow the dating further by connecting the making of the communion set to biographical records on Jöns Budde. He is mentioned as a Birgittine monk from 1461 to 1491. The paten must have been produced after Jöns Budde was ordained as a monk, since the man depicted on the plate is a Birgittine monk. He is even referred to as a brother in the inscription. Klockars suggests that the chalice and paten of Naantali were donated at the time when Jöns Budde was ordained. After that, but before he moved to the nunnery, he had the economic means to buy the communion set.⁷⁶⁹ Also Christer Laurén dates the acquisition of the communion vessels to the beginning of the 1460s, more precisely to 1462.⁷⁷⁰

Jöns Budde and Brother Rotkerus Benedict of Vadstena are confirmed in a letter of Bishop Konrad Bitz (in office 1460–1489) in Stockholm on 27 October 1462.⁷⁷¹ According to the register of the Naantali nunnery, Jöns Budde returned to Naantali on 11 November 1462. Based on linguistic evidence, it

⁷⁶² Leinberg 1890, 248–249, 434–435; see also Ahola et al. 2005, 72.

⁷⁶³ Nordman 1929, 66.

⁷⁶⁴ Harjula 2009.

⁷⁶⁵ Leinberg 1890, 241–249, 433–435.

⁷⁶⁶ Aspelin 1887, 203–205.

⁷⁶⁷ Laurén 1973, 169–171; 2004, front cover, 6.

⁷⁶⁸ Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 63; cf. Aspelin 1887, 203.

⁷⁶⁹ Klockars 1980, 81.

⁷⁷⁰ Laurén 1973, 169–171.

⁷⁷¹ FMU 3187.



Fig. 49. The 15th-century communion paten of Naantali Church depicts a standing tonsured man in a cape (Cat. 2:16).

has been considered likely that Rotkerus and Budde copied an ancient Swedish legend, part of the *Passionarius* manuscript, at the time. Laurén argues that there exists a link between the inscriptions of the paten and chalice, the journey to Stockholm and the commissioning of the manuscript. Since Rotkerus was responsible for ordering works of art for the Birgittine nunnery in Vadstena, Laurén suggests that Rotkerus assisted Jöns Budde in commissioning the chalice and paten. The communion vessels were essential for the new church, which was consecrated in 1462.⁷⁷²

Tuhkanen dates the objects somewhat differently. If the picture of a monk on the paten is indeed that of Jöns Budde as the executor of the donation, and the coats of arms of the Ille and Renhufvud families on the chalice belong to the donors, the artefacts could be dated to the 1480s or 1490s. In this case, the two coats of arms point to Sten Henriksson Renhufvud and Jeppe Pederssen Ille, whose daughters joined the nunnery at this time.⁷⁷³ The accompanying chalice, or rather only its medieval stem, is of a common late medieval style, and in the absence of more precisely datable features, its age remains rather vague and has to be extrapolated from the plate. Embosses with quatrefoils in relief seem to be a feature present in the chalices of the mid- to late 15th century like the chalice of Tammela Church.

Furthermore, Tuhkanen suggests that the plate is not in fact a paten, a communion vessel, but a plate used under the chalice.⁷⁷⁴ Her claim is based on the medieval conventions of representing donors, which are in sharp contrast with the monk engraved on the vessel. He is depicted as standing upright instead of kneeling, and he has not joined his hands in prayer, both gestures being typical of representations of donors. What is even more striking is that the figure is alone,

⁷⁷² Laurén 1973, 169–171.

⁷⁷³ Tuhkanen 2005, 101.

⁷⁷⁴ Tuhkanen 2000; 2005, 10, 96–101.

not accompanying saints or a Golgotha scene.⁷⁷⁵ Tuhkanen considers representations of donors in patens rare in general, which is explained by their liturgical character – the depiction of a Birgittine monk in the centre of a paten seems problematic considering its sacral use. On these grounds, she concludes that the object was used under the chalice. The expression *thenne kalk* or ‘this chalice’ in the inscription of the plate supports this. Moreover, the quatrefoil-shaped embossing of the plate, argues Tuhkanen, would have fitted with the shape of the chalice’s foot.⁷⁷⁶

Tuhkanen’s conclusions are problematic in several ways.⁷⁷⁷ First of all, quatrefoil-shaped feet are extremely rare in the late medieval chalices. In fact, the hexagonal node and stem of the Naantali chalice suggest that also its foot was hexagonal, or rather six-lobed. Secondly, a chalice that fits with the embossing of the plate would have to be very small unless it was somehow disproportioned. This seems highly unlikely considering the size of the paten, the careful execution of its engravings and the ecclesiastical background of its commissioning party. Even the surviving stem of the medieval chalice seems to rule out this possibility. Thirdly, there are no known examples of late medieval plates utilized only under chalices. Fourthly, the use of such a chalice plate seems rather awkward from the liturgical point of view. If it was used during the Mass, the plate would have only served the purpose of holding the chalice on the altar before and after the Elevation of the Host, because carrying the chalice on a plate would have meant decreased stability and the actual risk of dropping the chalice.⁷⁷⁸ The chalice was an object to be carried by its node, not on a plate.

If not in the liturgy proper, the plate could have been used under the chalice when it was not in use. Even this function for the plate seems rather pointless. The chalice and its paten formed a pair, and when stored, the paten was placed on top of the chalice as its lid. The strong connection of a chalice with its paten also meant that the pair was often referred to as a single item, ‘a chalice’.⁷⁷⁹ This also explains the two almost identical inscriptions on the chalice and paten of Naantali Church.

More or less contemporary with the Naantali set are the communion vessels of the churches of Iniö and Nauvo. The paten of Iniö (Cat. 2:15) depicts the *Facies Christi* and dates from the third quarter of the 15th century on the basis of parallels, while the bowl and the foot of the chalice were renewed in 1737, leaving only the medieval stem intact and narrowed possibilities for dating. However, the node with six lozenge bosses adorned with Gothic minuscules is characteristic of the later part of the 15th century rather than its earlier part, and the engraved face of Christ surrounded by a cross nimbus on the paten points to the same period. Another similarly problematic chalice belonged to Nauvo Church, but is now in the collection of the Helsinki University Museum (Cat. 2:20). Its original bowl and hexagonal stem survive, but the foot has been replaced with a wooden one. The engraved ornamentation is confined to the sleeves with two German inscriptions, the upper one asking *hilf uns got*, or ‘God help us’, and the lower *hilf maria*, or ‘Help Mary’. The node is very plain with six unornamented lozenge-shaped bosses. The general form of the node as well as the lettering of the inscriptions point to the latter part of the 15th century.

The Ejby set and other late-15th-century communion vessels

The rest of the 15th-century communion vessels can be dated more accurately. Among them are the chalice and paten of Turku Cathedral, together known also as the Ejby set, which has attracted a lot of attention among Finnish scholars (Fig. 50) (Cat. 2:17). The paten and especially the chalice are an outstanding example of highly elaborate craftsmanship and display associations with the contemporary ecclesiastical and secular elite. Moreover, the set has a complex history. The Danes led by Otto Rud raided the town of Turku at midnight on 2 August 1509. The raiders looted the chalice and paten with other artefacts from the cathedral, and they ended up in the church of Ejby in Själland, Denmark, but it is uncertain how and why this happened. There are, however, scholarly

⁷⁷⁵ Tuhkanen 2005, 99.

⁷⁷⁶ Tuhkanen 2005, 96. The idea was originally presented by the historian Jukka Korpela.

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. Räsänen 2007 on the tendency of Finnish medieval scholars to overemphasize the normative conception of medieval culture at the expense of local adaptations and applications.

⁷⁷⁸ Hiekkänen 2007, 114 note 399.

⁷⁷⁹ Hirn (1909) 1987, 439; Nordman 1929, 66.



Fig. 50. Communion chalice, or the Ejby chalice of Turku Cathedral, made of gilt silver in the late 15th century. It is probably the most handsome piece of goldsmithing surviving from the medieval Diocese of Turku (Cat. 2:17).

suggestions. Karl K. Meinander points out that Ejby Church was part of the Turebygård estates, which had three different owners during the period 1539–1588. The first of them, Erik Madsen Bølle, was married to Sofie, the daughter of Otto Rud, and the second, Peder Bilde, was the nephew of Otto Rud's sister Anna. The third owner, Oluf Bilde, was the son of Peder Bilde. These strong bonds between Ejby and Otto Rud would suggest that the chalice and the paten were deposited in Ejby Church already during the 16th century.⁷⁸⁰ The first description of the communion vessels was published in 1854,⁷⁸¹ but it was C. F. Allen's work, published in 1864,⁷⁸² which eventually caught the attention of Finnish scholars in 1871.⁷⁸³ The Turku Historical Museum (later the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland) made efforts to repatriate the vessels in the 1880s, but it was not until 1925 that the Ejby set was finally returned to Turku Cathedral amid fervent public interest.

The foot of the Ejby chalice is six-lobed with triangular protrusions between the lobes. The foot does not have a *signaculum*, but six separately made and attached targe shields with superjacent heraldic helmets. The six shields and helms comprise, in clockwise order, the coats of arms of the

⁷⁸⁰ Meinander 1902, 12–13.

⁷⁸¹ Kall Rasmussen 1854.

⁷⁸² Allen 1864, 429–430.

⁷⁸³ Koskinen 1871, 136.

Stiernkors family, the Tavast family, Claus Henrici Bitz and the Bitz family. The fifth shield belongs to the Garp, Stålar or Tavast family, while the last coat of arms is that of Magnus Nicolai a.k.a. Magnus Nilsson (c. 1435–1500), who was Bishop of Turku in 1489–1500. Based on these names of the donors, the chalice was made in the 1470s or 1480s. As Nordman points out, the coat of arms of Magnus Nilsson does not have an episcopal mitre, and thus it must have been made before he became bishop in 1489. Moreover, Magnus Nilsson built the Chapel of All Saints, the vaulting of which was finished in 1471.⁷⁸⁴ In 1474, he founded the Mass of the Five Wounds of Our Lord,⁷⁸⁵ and in 1480 made a major donation to the chapel.⁷⁸⁶ The communion vessels must have been already donated at the time when Magnus Nilsson founded an altar in the Chapel of All Saints in 1485 or 1486–1488. Nordman suggests that the chalice was made for the main altar of the chapel, not for any of its side altars.⁷⁸⁷

In spite of its late date, the stem of the Ejby chalice is circular in cross-section. The stem has both of its openwork sleeves intact fitted with separately cast ornaments. The main frieze of the lower sleeve consists of four large quatrefoils with the Seat of Mercy. Furthermore, there are eight small cast images of Christ's face grouped into pairs set between the large quatrefoils. The same ornamental structure with four quatrefoils and a set of smaller figures is repeated in the upper sleeve. Here the large quatrefoils are decorated with the face of Christ, while four of the small figures between the quatrefoils depict the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child and four show a man holding a candle, a reference to Christ's birth or perhaps even to St. John. In a more typical manner, the lozenge bosses on the node have Gothic minuscules. Together they form the name *ihesus*.

Also the paten accompanying the chalice is rather exceptional (Fig. 51). On its rim, the plate has an inscription set with Gothic minuscules on a crosshatched background. It echoes the phrase from the setting of the host: *hoc facite in meam/commemoracionem (= commemorationem)* or 'this do in remembrance of me'.⁷⁸⁸ A two-dimensional version of the Stiernkors family's coat of arms and helm which appear on the chalice is engraved on the rim underneath the cross depicted on the centre of the paten. The cross is part of the central motif, the Man of Sorrows, where Christ, facing right, stands in front of the cross with his five wounds bleeding and his right hand raised in blessing. In addition to the text scroll, the cross has two nails on its horizontal bar as well as clearly marked wood grains. A cross-nimbus surrounds Christ's head. Four angels collect his blood into four chalices. The angel on the lower right has a cross mark on his chest. The paten is clearly late medieval in style, but with reference to the Ejby chalice it can be dated to the 1470s or 1480s.

The communion set of Hollola Church has a connection with the Ejby set (Cat. 2:18). Like the Ejby chalice, the Hollola chalice has a six-lobed foot with triangular protrusions between the lobes and a round stem with openwork sleeves. Both the upper and lower sleeves have separately cast images depicting the face of Christ. Despite these similarities, there are also marked differences. The Hollola chalice has a small figure of Christ attached to the foot, unlike the Ejby chalice, although the *signaculum* of the Hollola piece lacks the cross. Instead of cast ornaments, all six lobes of the foot have engraved decorations. The lobe with the figure of Christ is also ornamented with a fantasy flower and moreover, three nails and the crown of thorns are engraved under the figure of Christ. Each of the five other lobes also has a fantasy flower. More differences appear in the node, which has six circular bosses instead of lozenges. Furthermore, each boss has a Gothic majuscule, not a minuscule, forming the name *IHESUS*.

Even more striking similarities are apparent in the paten of Hollola Church. The inscription on the rim written with Gothic minuscules reads *qui manducat et bibit indigve (= indigne), iudicui (=iudicium) sibi manducat et bibit* or 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself [not discerning the Lord's body]', which paraphrases a sentence from the Vulgate.⁷⁸⁹ The main motif of the paten is the Man of Sorrows, where Christ is in front of the cross

⁷⁸⁴ REA 460, 505; Rinne 1929, 32.

⁷⁸⁵ REA 517.

⁷⁸⁶ REA 541.

⁷⁸⁷ Nordman 1940, 21–27; 1980, 15–19.

⁷⁸⁸ Luke 22:19.

⁷⁸⁹ 1 Cor. 11:29.



Fig. 51. Communion paten of the late-15th-century Ejby set depicts a crucifixion scene, where Christ stands in front of the cross with his five wounds bleeding and his right hand raised in blessing (Cat. 2:18).

facing left with his five wounds bleeding. In addition to the text scroll, the cross has two nails on its horizontal bar as well as clearly marked grains of wood. A cross-nimbus surrounds Christ's head. As in the Ejby set, one of the motifs appearing on the Hollola chalice is repeated in the accompanying paten below the cross. In this case, it is the crown of thorns and the three nails. Around the cross, four angels collect his blood into four chalices. The angel on the lower left has a cross mark on his chest.

The close connection between the Ejby and Hollola sets permits an extrapolation of the dating of the Ejby chalice and paten to the communion vessels in Hollola. Moreover, written sources reveal an incident that could have bearing on the production of the vessels in Hollola Church. The court records of Häme Province state that on 27 August 1487 the farmer Anders Urtti donated some of his lands to Hollola Church, because he had stolen 'all the chalices and crosses in the church'.⁷⁹⁰ Nordman suggests that the event could have a connection with the production of the current medieval chalice and paten – they might have been part of the expiation for Anders Urtti's crime.⁷⁹¹

In addition to the Ejby set, the cathedral owns one paten without a chalice (Cat. 2:19). The plate has an inscription on its rim stating *o ihesus | criste (= Iesu Christe) | fili | dei | unii (= unius) | miserere | nobis* or 'O Jesus Christ, the son of the one God, have mercy upon us'. Instead of an equal-

⁷⁹⁰ *han stahll all dhe Kalck och Korss som i kyrckian war; BFH I, 83.*

⁷⁹¹ Nordman 1980, 19–21.

armed cross, the *signaculum* of the rim depicts the *Agnus Dei* motif, while the central motif on the paten is a Golgotha scene, in which the Virgin Mary and St. John stand around the crucified Christ. A tonsured monk kneels and prays before Christ in front of the Virgin Mary. The scene is placed in a rural setting with plants and two trees. A bird is standing in the tree on the Virgin Mary's side, perhaps as a symbol of the soul. In front of the cross there is a pile of gathered stones. To the left of the pile there are lines which could be read as the letters *fr* for *frater* or *st* for *sanctus*. Also each of the five stones bears a letter, while the last letters of the word are engraved on the right side of the stones. The word which the letters form is *bernarij* accompanied by the letters NB or less likely IIB. The letter B is emphasized with a curling ornament.

On stylistic grounds, Pylkkänen dates the paten to the latter part of the 15th century. Hiekkänen concurs and narrows the dating to the last quarter of the 15th century. Tuhkanen takes a different view. She suggests that the first signs in the Golgotha scene should be read as *fr* and thus the name *bernarij* refers to brother Bernardi. In fact, a Birgittine monk named Johannes Bernardi moved in 1440 from Vadstena to the Naantali nunnery, where he acted as the head of the monastery.⁷⁹² Bernardi died on 20 September 1445.⁷⁹³ Based on this identification, Tuhkanen dates the paten to the mid-15th century. However, the association between the enigmatic inscription on the paten and the person documented in the written sources is problematic, especially since stylistic analysis does not confirm such an early dating. Hence Pylkkänen's and Hiekkänen's datings seem more probable than Tuhkanen's.

Yet another chalice originally from Turku Cathedral survives in Uusikaarlepyy Church (Cat. 2:21). The six-lobed foot of this chalice has an engraved scene on each lobe. The first presents a crucifixion scene with Christ on the cross, the Virgin Mary on his right side and St. John on his left. The two figures are standing on a curling branch, and the scene also includes engraved turfs of grass. Christ has a nimbus and his head is tilted to the right. The second scene presents a coat of arms under a curling branch. The shield belongs to the Stiernkors family, and more specifically it has been attributed to Magnus Nilsson before 1490, when he became bishop. The third lobe has a depiction of St. Lawrence standing and holding a gridiron in his right hand and a shield, round in base, in his left hand. The shield has a male face on it. Nordman associates the shield with Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää, who was bishop in 1500–1506. St. Lawrence was his patron saint and is engraved on the seal that he used while holding the position of dean.⁷⁹⁴ The fourth scene has the coat of arms of Martin Olofsson Skytte, who was a priest in Kalanti in the 1470s but was promoted to the office of canon of Turku Cathedral in 1484.⁷⁹⁵ The next lobe has a depiction of a blossoming fantasy flower, which is finally followed by a scene with the *Mater dolorosa*.

Both circular sleeves of the Uusikaarlepyy chalice have four quatrefoils, each originally adorned with a standing human figure, although one of the figures is now missing. The first of the surviving ones depicts Mary Magdalen carrying an ointment jar,⁷⁹⁶ whereas the second shows the Virgin Mary standing and holding the Christ Child to her bosom. Mary Magdalen with the ointment jar appears again in the next scene. Also the upper sleeve depicts Mary Magdalen, three times, but the fourth quatrefoil again contains the Virgin Mary with the Child. The node has six circular bosses and between the bosses there are six busts of angels with long hair and wings.

Nordman dates the Uusikaarlepyy chalice by pointing out that the vegetative ornaments on the foot are similar to the ones on the Hollola chalice. Moreover, the manner of representing the human figures seems to support a dating to the 1480s or 1490s. The three persons referred to in the chalice's coats of arms all have a connection with Turku Cathedral, which suggests that the chalice was originally made for one of its altars, possibly the altar of St. Lawrence or that of the Holy Cross. According to Nordman, the depiction of the crucifixion scene with the Virgin Mary and St. John could suggest that the Holy Cross has an emphasized position in the programme of the chalice,

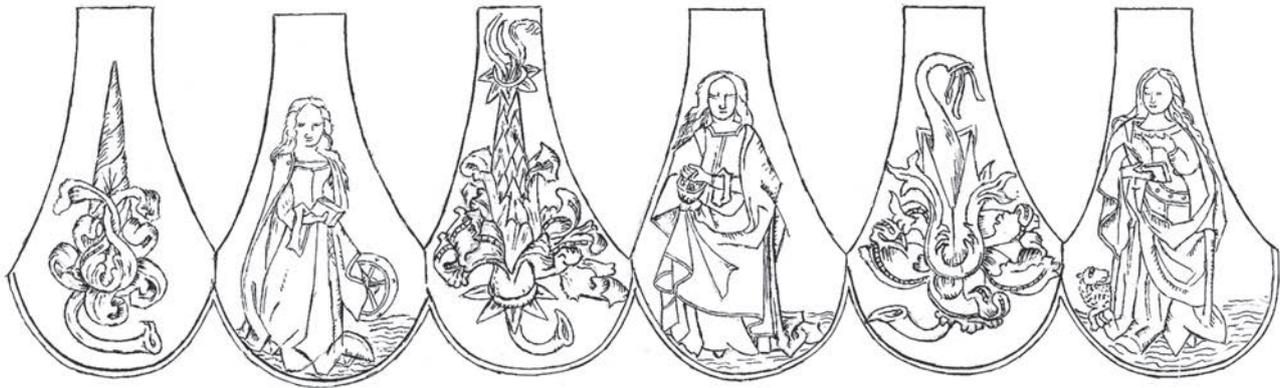
⁷⁹² FMU 2570, 6646, 6649; Leinberg 1890, 321–322; Klockars 1980, 19–29, 34–37, 59, 84; Tuhkanen 2000, 37; 2005, 101–104.

⁷⁹³ FMU 2636.

⁷⁹⁴ FMS 37.

⁷⁹⁵ FMU 4004.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. the mourning St. Mary Magdalen with the ointment jar on the wooden altar screen of Vanaja Church (Rácz 1960, 158).



although the use of such Calvary groups as *signacula* is not exceptional in medieval chalices. The repeated representation of St. Mary Magdalen in the stem, however, endorses Nordman's idea. She was one of the people standing at the foot of Christ's cross, she saw him being laid in the tomb and was among the first to witness his resurrection. Whatever the case, the chalice must have been produced between 1485 and 1488, when Larentius Suurpää and Martin Skytte were still canons and Magnus Nilsson was not yet a bishop.

Fig. 52. The small chalice of Kalajoki Church was made around the year 1500. The six facets of the foot have alternately three human figures and three flowers (Cat. 2:22). Drawing by Elin Nordman, National Board of Antiquities.

Early-16th-century communion vessels of the churches of Kalajoki, Rusko and Vehkalahti

Some years after the making of the chalice of Uusikaupunki Church, the small chalice of Kalajoki Church was produced (Fig. 52) (Cat. 2:22). Its visual programme emphasizes flowers from the edge of the six-lobed foot to the stem. The edge has an openwork frieze with six-petalled roses and their curving branches, which has exact parallels in German chalices.⁷⁹⁷

The six facets of the foot have alternately three human figures and three flowers. The first of the figures is St. Agnes. Flowers are part of her hagiography. After St. Agnes was martyred during the persecutions of Christians, a vision of her with the lamb under the garland of a virgin was seen at her grave. A pointed flower bud is depicted to the heraldic left of St. Agnes. The flower is followed by St. Catherine of Alexandria with a book in her hand and a wheel behind her leg. On the fourth lobe, the bud has developed into a blossom and opened, revealing petals and three stamens. The fifth lobe depicts again a female figure, St. Dorothea holding a small woven basket. During the persecutions of Christians, she was hauled before a court, where she declared to the judge that she would endure any suffering for God and merely pick roses and apples in His garden. A clerk named Theophilus mocked her by asking her to send roses and apples from the Garden of Paradise when she had died. Dorothea was executed and later, in the middle of winter, a small boy visited Theophilus and brought him a basket of flowers and apples as he had asked. In the final lobe, the flower has withered and droops to form an arch.

The flower theme continues on the stem. Both of its sleeves present inscriptions with Gothic majuscules on a crosshatched background. The upper inscription reads *IHESVS* and the lower, following a sexfoil, *MARIA*. The letter 'I' of the upper inscription and the flower of the lower are in line with the depiction of St. Agnes. The node comprises six sexfoils on lozenge bosses.

On the basis of its shape and the style of the decorations and engravings, Nordman dated the chalice of Kalajoki to around 1500, which seems appropriate. He further suggests that it was made in Germany, possibly in Wismar or Danzig.⁷⁹⁸ Flowers as such are not a theme unique to medieval chalices, but the intensity of the floral symbolism of the Kalajoki chalice as well as the marked

⁷⁹⁷ Fritz 2004, 94, 345 no. 16.

⁷⁹⁸ Nordman 1980, 29–30.



Fig. 53. The six-lobed foot of the early-16th-century Rusko chalice has an engraved portrait of a bishop in his mitre *en face*. The face is flanked by a crosier (Cat. 2:23).

emphasis on female saints is unparalleled in the Finnish material. Moreover, the three facets with fantasy flowers is clearly intended to be a narrative of a flower reaching its bloom and then fading, and because of the circular form of the foot, starting to grow anew. Flower symbolism also has a prominent role in the hagiographies of the female saints represented on the other lobes. On the basis of the flower narrative as well as the lives of the saints, the floral theme could ultimately be interpreted as a symbol of Christ's sacrifice and resurrection. The customary crucifix, however, is absent here. The design of the chalice seems to give St. Agnes the main role in the pictorial programme. The letter 'T' in the name of Jesus and the flower in front of the Virgin Mary's name are on the same side as her image. St. Agnes also occupies the liminal position between the budding and dying flowers.

Unlike the Kalajoki chalice, the chalice of Rusko Church can be dated quite precisely (Cat. 2:23). The six-lobed foot of the Rusko chalice has a cast *signaculum* comprising the figure of Christ surrounded by the Virgin Mary on his right side and St. John on his left. All the figures are standing on the branches of a grapevine referring to the Gospel of John, where Christ declares: 'I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.'⁷⁹⁹ In addition to the crucifixion scene, the foot has four text scrolls with Gothic majuscules. The text begins from the left side of Christ and reads *Lares Surpe Biscop i Abo* or 'Lares Surpe, Bishop of Turku' denoting the donor of the chalice. Between two text bands, on the opposite side of the *signaculum*, is a portrait of a bishop in his mitre *en face* (Fig. 53). The face is flanked by a crosier. Tuhkanen notes that the face of the bishop resembles the

⁷⁹⁹ John 15:1.



Fig. 54. Enamelled medallion on the foot of the Vehkalahti chalice (Cat. 2:24).

mitred head of a man painted on the vault surface above the choir window of Tyrvää Church. This figure is identified as Bishop Maunu Särkilahti.⁸⁰⁰

The foot as such has a very typical late medieval form and decorations. Also the hexagonal stem with the inscription *IHESVS* and the node with six lozenge bosses repeating the name *IHESVS* are very typical of the period. Hence the dating of the chalice has to be anchored to the career of its donor, Bishop Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää. He was bishop in 1500–1506, which must also be the period when the chalice was donated, judging from the bishop’s mitre engraved on the foot. Rusko was Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää’s annex parish, the tax revenue of which he received while holding the office of cathedral dean in 1490–1500.⁸⁰¹

The paten of Rusko Church has an inscription on its rim in Gothic minuscules which reads *Ihesus autem transiens per medium*. The end of the sentence is in a separate text band with majuscule letters in antiqua: *illorum ibat*. The sentence refers to a passage in the Gospel of St. Luke. Christ was preaching in Nazareth, where people gathering at the synagogue asked him to perform miracles. Christ refused, which made the crowd furious and they forced him to a cliff in order to throw him down. ‘But he passing through the midst of them went his way.’⁸⁰² In medieval theology, this event was considered as the miracle of invisibility and thus a symbol of the Communion.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰⁰ Tuhkanen 2005, 96–97.

⁸⁰¹ Riska 1961, 192.

⁸⁰² Luke 4:30.

⁸⁰³ Thomas Aquinas VIII:8.

Besides the first text scroll with the two Latin words, another small text band has been engraved on the rim. It has only two letters, *VN*. The two letters have been interpreted as the initials of the goldsmith who made the paten, but they cannot be associated with any of the goldsmiths known from written sources. Moreover, this suggestion is not tenable, as in all other similar cases where initials are incorporated into the pictorial programme of communion vessels. Such visible places and declarations of identity were reserved for donors, not for craftsmen, who could, however, punch their hallmarks under the foot or its flange.

The central motif on the paten is the face of Christ. A vegetative cross-nimbus is depicted behind his head. The execution of this motif and the inscription clearly differ from the style of the engravings of the chalice, and Nordman suggests that they were made by a different hand. Hence the two items are not necessarily contemporary.⁸⁰⁴ However, the motif of the vegetative nimbus first appeared in the late medieval art, which seems to confirm that the paten was made, in broad terms, at the same time as the chalice, or perhaps slightly later. This also lends support to the idea that the initials on the paten are not those of the maker but of the donor, who may well have been a different person than the bishop who gave the chalice to Rusko Church.

In previous research, the medieval chalice of Vehkalahti Church (Cat. 2:24) has been considered a donation which was given to the church in the late 18th century.⁸⁰⁵ The argument is probably based only on the inscription, which includes a Bible quote and the number 1780, circling around the rim of the modern bowl. The six-lobed foot, however, is medieval in style, and has an enamelled medallion attached to it (Fig. 54). It depicts two shields round in base. Above the shields, there is the number 1506, and below them, the letter P. The shields cannot be associated with any particular person or family, but the colours gold, green and red appear in the coat of arms of the Poitz family to which also the letter P seems to refer.⁸⁰⁶ The family, living in Vehkalahti, was knighted in 1463.⁸⁰⁷ Ragnar Rosén suggests that the item was donated by one of the family's men and his wife. Hence it is more probable that the year on the bowl indicates only the date when it was renewed, whereas the medieval foot has been in Vehkalahti Church since the Middle Ages. Besides the medallion, the foot of the Vehkalahti chalice is undecorated. Even its *signaculum* is missing. The stem, in contrast, has the names *maria* and *ihesus* on its sleeves, and the node has six lozenge-shaped bosses each with a Gothic majuscule forming the name *IHESVS*.

The communion vessels of Hauho and Viipuri Churches

The dating of the Rusko and Vehkalahti sets is a much easier task than that of the chalice of Hauho Church (Cat. 2:25), where the donation inscription is in chronological contradiction with the other elements of the object. The foot of the chalice is six-lobed, and six targe shields are attached to five of the lobes. The first one below the crucifix has a chevronel and a mullet of six points, the next shield bears an *ih̄s* monogram, but the two following shields have a similar coat of arms as the first one. The fifth shield is furnished with the crown of thorns and three nails. The last shield repeats yet again the coat of arms. The targe shield type seems to become common in the Finnish seal material after the year 1500.⁸⁰⁸ According to Nordman, the coat of arms on the chalice refers to district judge Gudmund Larsson, who owned land in Hauho parish and is mentioned in written sources in 1507–1525. He donated a chalice to the church in 1516 probably together with his relatives in expiation of a sin. The offence might have been that Gudmund Larsson had broken the peace of church by forcing his way into Hauho Church with his father after a Mass. They were searching for lagman Henrik Stensson, but he had already left the church. However, there was a fight between Gudmund Larsson's and Henrik Stensson's men in the churchyard. In addition to this incident, the manner of depicting Christ's flaring loincloth on the chalice can be dated to the beginning of the 16th century. These separately produced elements, however, cannot securely date the foot itself.

⁸⁰⁴ Nordman 1980, 24–26.

⁸⁰⁵ Nordenstreng 1909, 30–31; Anttila 1936, 27; Korhonen 1981, 15.

⁸⁰⁶ Nordenstreng 1909, 30–31; Rosén 1928, 158.

⁸⁰⁷ FMU 3218; Nordenstreng 1909, 30–31; Rosén 1928, 158; Nordenstreng & Hallila 1975, 54; Vähäkangas 1999, 100–102.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. FMS 284.

Finally, Nordman suggests that the chalice of Hauho and its shields are the only example of a medieval silver artefact with enamelling that could be identified as locally made.⁸⁰⁹

The first lobe of the chalice has the figure of Christ attached to an engraved cross. The lance, one of the devices of his torments, is depicted on his right side and the sponge with vinegar and hyssop on his left. Below the crucifix flows a text scroll with an inscription, which continues in the other lobes. The text is in Gothic minuscules and reads *ano * dni | mcdxvi * lot | mester | lares * magi | gore * tene * kalcken | gudi * lof* or 'In the year of the Lord 1416, master Lares Magi (Magnusson) had this chalice made for the grace of God'.⁸¹⁰ In another words, the inscription on the instep suggests another, much earlier dating for the chalice, or at least the foot.

Above the figure of Christ is a baldachin-like structure comprising two juxtaposed lancet arches. This architectonic feature is repeated in all the facets. The next facet on the right side of Christ depicts St. John the Evangelist, a young male saint with long hair and a chalice in his hand. The man shown after him is St. Peter holding a key, while the next scene show St. Paul with his sword. The last apostle in the series is St. John the Baptist holding a book on which the *Agnus Dei* lies, while the last scene depicts the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus. Between the lobes there are six triangular protrusions, which continue on the foot as triangular strips.

Each of the strips contain two cast intertwined shoots (Fig. 55). One of the shoots has horizontal grooves and the other is smooth, but both end in a flower-like leaf. The node has six lozenge bosses each with a Gothic minuscule letter forming the name *ihesus* and between the bosses flowers with four petals.

The representations of saints on the foot do not securely reveal the time of their engraving, as their models may have been wooden sculptures made decades earlier as argued by Nordman. This leads him to use the architectural setting as the most important basis for the dating. The negative lancet arches are extremely rare in the Nordic countries, and there are only two cases of such a motif in the Finnish material. Carl af Ugglas has traced the motif to South Germany, where it was introduced in the 1470s and from where it spread to the Baltic countries after 1500. Relatively speaking, the negative lancet arch was more common in Estonia than in the Kingdom of Sweden.

On the basis of its inscription, Nordman considers the chalice to be of Nordic production. Written sources indicate that Gudmund Larsson had extensive connections with Hauho, but he does not seem to have had family connections outside Finland. This suggests that the chalice was commissioned from Turku or Viipuri. Moreover, Gudmund Larsson had a contact with a certain Erik Turesson in Viipuri, a town which had strong links with Tallinn. As the chalice does

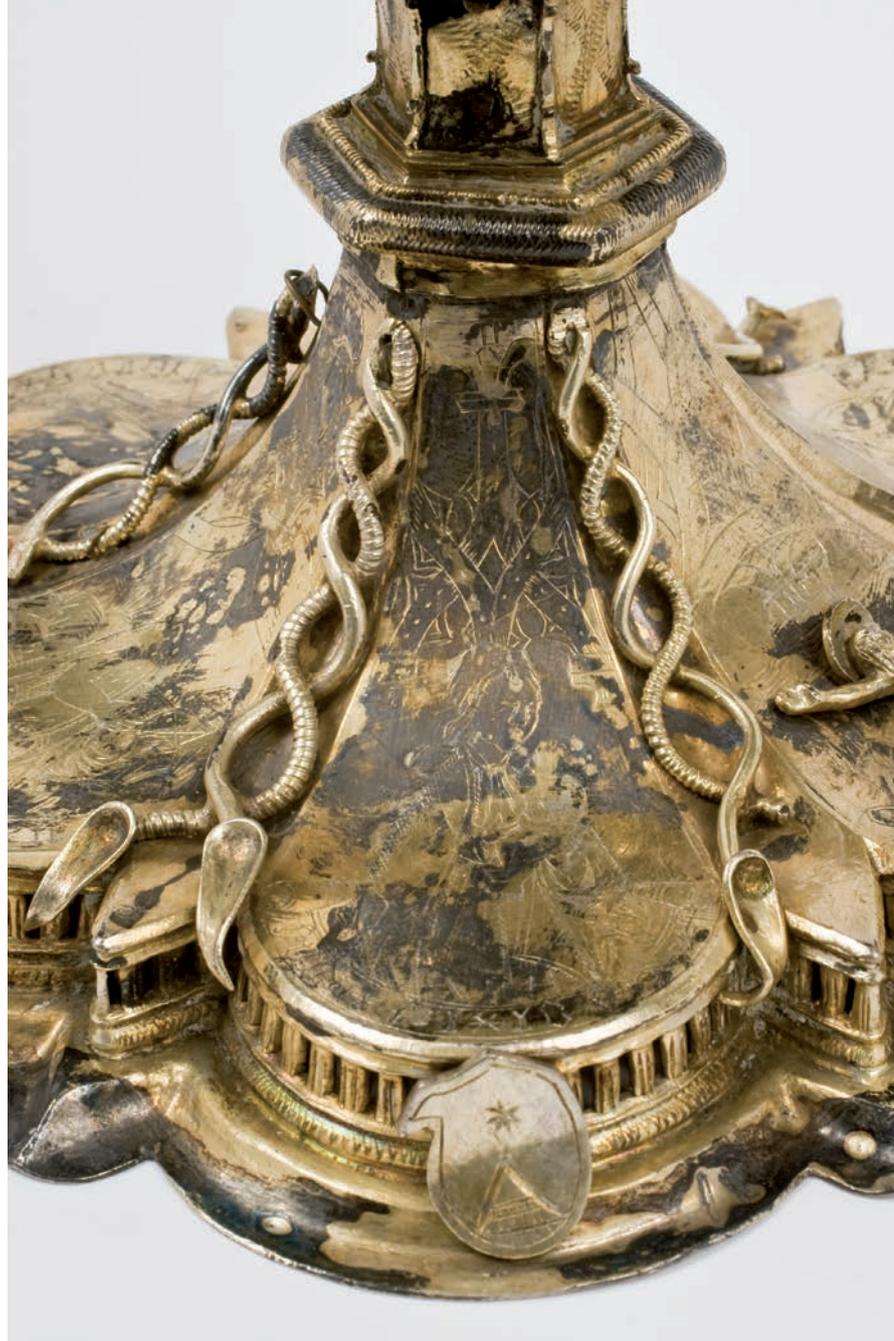


Fig. 55. The foot of the early-16th-century chalice of Hauho Church has engraved depictions of saints and pairs of intertwined shoots (Cat. 2:25).

⁸⁰⁹ Nordman 1951b, 197 note 8.

⁸¹⁰ FMU 1490.

not resemble any of the chalices which are thought to have been produced in Turku, Nordman concludes that a goldsmith living in Viipuri might have made it in 1510–1520.

The chalice of Hauho Church comes with a paten. Instead of an inscription, the rim of the paten depicts a rosary. It comprises 54 beads and the head, hands, feet and heart of Christ. The depiction of the rosary is one of few occasions when rosaries are attested in the medieval context in Finland.⁸¹¹ A pilgrim badge, or rather a bead of lignite or jet, unearthed in Turku and dated to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries is probably from a rosary along with other beads of lignite discovered in the urban layers of Turku,⁸¹² but no entire rosaries have been found in Finland. However, the panel of St. Henry's sarcophagus depicting the laying of the saint into the sarcophagus shows a priest holding a rosary in his hand. In 1510 or 1511, Jakob, a priest in Porvoo, bequeathed his *rosarium corallinum* to Henrik, a priest of Kangasala Church.⁸¹³ Hiekkänen points out, on the basis of Källström's argumentation, that the rosary was probably not made of actual coral, but perhaps rather of amber.⁸¹⁴ In 1516, 'a coral band' or rosary was mentioned in a conflict between Knut Bitz's widow Birgitta and Henrik Bitz's widow Anna Hansdotter Tott.⁸¹⁵ Also the inventory of Margareta, the widow of Anders Slatte, made in 1530 includes a string with corals, probably a rosary, and another object, 'black string of lignite with silver inlays', which was perhaps another rosary resembling the popular rosaries with beads of lignite.⁸¹⁶ The bailiff of Kastelholm Castle Klas Holst owned a string with corals and a gilt silver ring in the 1550s.⁸¹⁷ In the confiscations of the mid-16th century, Tornio Church delivered 45 'smaller and larger' pearls, possibly from a rosary. Källström considers it possible that they were harvested from local waters,⁸¹⁸ but there is no real evidence to support this claim.⁸¹⁹ In 1578, Johannes Jussoila, who studied at the Jesuit seminar of Braunsberg, wrote to his father and sisters in Rome, mentioning a rosary as part of praying for his mother and other relatives, and he sent several rosaries to his family.⁸²⁰

The central scene on the Hauho paten depicts Christ standing in his open tomb. A cross with the text scroll *inri* rises behind the tomb. Christ has a cross nimbus surrounding his head. The *arma Christi* or the weapons of Christ are collected around the tomb. In clockwise order from the left side of the tomb, they comprise pinchers, a ladder, lantern, hammer, three dice, a purple robe, three nails, a lancet, a bucket for the vinegar or a dish for water with which Pilate washed his hands, a rod and sponge, a crown of thorns, a knife, a cock, a column with rope, a whip and scourge, an unidentified object, and finally an axe. Nordman does not believe that the same goldsmith produced both the chalice and paten of Hauho Church. Nevertheless, they are stylistically contemporary and also the paten was made during the first quarter of the 16th century.

One of the chalices of Viipuri Church (Cat. 2:26), nowadays kept in Porvoo Cathedral, has a circular foot and the inscription 'this cup carries the drink of life from the true vine' as in the 14th-century chalices of Saltvik (Cat. 2:1) and Masku (Cat. 2:3), but the hexagonal stem along with the style of its engraved ornaments suggest a much younger age for the piece. The sleeves of the stem are decorated, along with other motifs, with fantasy flowers and negative lancet arches. The latter motif is almost identical with the two juxtaposed lancet arches on the Hauho chalice, while the former motif is very common in early-16th-century chalices. Since the inscription and the semicircular ornaments are very poorly executed, it seems that the foot of the Viipuri chalice was partly copied from an early chalice in the first quarter of the 16th century which might explain its anachronistic appearance. Moreover, if Nordman's argumentation on the origins of the negative lancet arch motif is followed, the chalice might have been made locally in Viipuri.

⁸¹¹ Rinne 1948, 202; Hiekkänen 2006b; 2006c.

⁸¹² Taavitsainen 2003, 310–314.

⁸¹³ FMU 5495; Pirinen 1956, 486.

⁸¹⁴ Källström 1939, 120–122; Hiekkänen 2006b, 35.

⁸¹⁵ *thet korelbondet*; FMU 5901.

⁸¹⁶ *eth korlabondh; j suart agadabondt met nagra sölfftenå*; FMU 6557; cf. Källström 1939, 120–122.

⁸¹⁷ Hausen 1934, 58 note 2.

⁸¹⁸ Källström 1939, 271.

⁸¹⁹ Källström 1939, 271; Papunen 1971, 184; Hiekkänen 2006b, 35 note 29.

⁸²⁰ Leinberg 1891, 184–185; Hiekkänen 2006b, 36.



The last communion set before the Reformation - the chalice and paten of Pernaja

The paten of Kalanti Church is probably late medieval (Cat. 2:27), but since it has no ornamentation and the accompanying chalice was melted down in 1885, when the parish needed a new set of communion vessels,⁸²¹ the plate cannot be dated. Hence the communion set of Pernaja Church remains the last one made before the mid-16th century confiscations. Furthermore, the Pernaja chalice is a very striking exception among the Finnish chalices (Fig. 56) (Cat. 2:28), and some of its features can be associated with the transition from the Late Gothic to the Early Renaissance. The foot is eight-lobed and has openwork ornamentation with eight medallions, which are alternately shaped as quatrefoils and cinquefoils. The openwork frieze above the medallions is decorated with eight Gothic lancet arches. Every other arch has a high twin window topped by a quatrefoil, while in the alternate ones a short twin window is surmounted by a sixfoil. The stem of the piece is plain and circular, but the node, in contrast, comprises 10 lozenge bosses and 10 curved lancet arches. Eight of the ten bosses bear illegible letters, one has a quatrefoil, and the last one a hole for a missing stone.

Fig. 56. The foot of the 16th-century Pernaja chalice is eight-lobed and has openwork ornamentation with eight medallions, which are alternately shaped as quatrefoils and cinquefoils (Cat. 2:28).

⁸²¹ Riska 1959, 193.

Also the paten accompanying the chalice is unparalleled in the Finnish material. The border of the plate is decorated with a series of flowers and leaves. The motif on the quatrefoil centre has been identified by Isidor Eriksson as St. John the Baptist. The saint has raised his right hand in a blessing, while the left hand holds a book with a small-horned animal, perhaps a lamb, on its cover.⁸²² St. John the Baptist has been represented in a similar fashion, for example, in the wooden sculptures of the churches of Naantali and Pertteli.⁸²³ Depictions of saints on Swedish patens are rare and date mainly from the Late Middle Ages,⁸²⁴ and the Pernaja paten is no exception. The figure of the saint is executed in a style pointing to the Late Middle Ages or Early Modern Period, but the use of the Moresque-like ornamentation of the border places the production of the item rather to the mid-16th century. Also the chalice seems to date from that period. Adolf Neovius mentions it only in passing and dates the chalice to the 16th century,⁸²⁵ and Eriksson also considers it to be a work of the latter part of the 16th century.⁸²⁶ In sum, the communion set of Pernaja appears to date from around the middle of the 16th century.

The Reformation and communion sets from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries

The Reformation made many of the features of medieval communion vessels theologically void, but more devastating for the church inventories were the confiscations that it legitimized. In the Diocese of Turku confiscations began in 1535, but they did not become systematic until the 1560s.⁸²⁷ The confiscations partly anticipated theological changes, because the transubstantiation that took place at the *elevatio sacramenti* or the elevation of the Eucharist did not lose its dogmatic legitimacy until the synod of Uppsala in 1593. The consecrated host no longer had the real presence of Christ and thus the *vasa sacra* were no longer vessels for the body and blood of Christ but merely containers of bread and wine. Although the chalice, paten and ciboria had forfeited their status as holy vessels, they did not lose their place among the altar equipment, as Martin Luther still accepted their use as vessels of communion and practical containers.⁸²⁸

The confiscation documents list 42 chalices and 40 patens taken from the churches of Turku Diocese. Parish churches had to give up one chalice and its accompanying paten, but there are three exceptions to this rule. Turku Cathedral handed over 12 chalices and patens, the church of the Franciscan Convent in Rauma four chalices and five patens, and the church of Naantali Nunnery four chalices and patens. In only one case are the communion vessels described in detail. The gilt chalice of Laitila Church is said to have a crucifix on its foot and the paten, also gilt, a depiction of Christ's resurrection. They had been donated by Sigfrid, a priest of Laitila.⁸²⁹ In two cases only parts of chalices were confiscated. Köyliö Church delivered a chalice without a foot and Närpiö Church the node of a chalice.

Chalices and patens should have been gilt if the church's orders had been followed to the letter. Indeed 25 chalices (58 %) and 24 patens (58 %) are said to be gilt and five chalices (12 %) and one paten (1 %) partly gilt, but eight chalices (19 %) and as many as 13 patens (32 %) are specified as ungilt. Five chalices (12 %) and three patens (7 %) lack information on their raw materials.

After the Reformation, the next surviving communion sets are from the last years of the 16th century, a clear indication of the effects of the Reformation on the economy of the church. The four sets of chalices and patens from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries display common features, which are partly Late Gothic, but also importantly pointing to new designs. Three of the four chalices have six-lobed feet, and one has a circular foot, which became increasingly common in the course of the 17th century. Unlike in earlier chalices, the use of semi-precious and precious stones is more

⁸²² Eriksson 1953, no. 45.

⁸²³ Hiekkänen 2003, 97.

⁸²⁴ Pegelow 1998, 198–199.

⁸²⁵ Neovius 1911, 12.

⁸²⁶ Eriksson 1953, no. 42.

⁸²⁷ Källström 1940.

⁸²⁸ Källström 1939, 102, 104.

⁸²⁹ Neovius 1911, 9.

common, though this might to some extent be the result of confiscators having focused on the most impressive communion vessels instead of the surviving ones. Nevertheless, there are also some features which are without a doubt signs of the new era. One is the use of Roman lettering in inscriptions instead of Gothic majuscules or minuscules. The second is the use of egg-and-dart friezes on edges, a Renaissance feature. The third one is the plainness of the new designs – the richness of the earlier pictorial programmes and engraved images of saints and other Catholic motifs are now gone.

The oldest of the Post-Reformation communion sets belongs to Untamala Church (Cat. 2:29). Following the medieval tradition, the foot of the chalice is six-lobed, but the instep is unusually high. There is no *signaculum* or any other figurative ornament on the foot except the egg-and-dart frieze around the edge and an inscription on the foot:

ANNO 1597 | Gaf. Hindric | storm och hās | hústrü elin |
skoüa och | hans brúdh
Hartta bergia | bergia Schnilla | rigia liff | lendall tenna |
kalck güth | til a^erå

Some of the text is difficult to understand, but otherwise it can be translated as ‘in the year 1597, Henrik Storm and his wife Elin, Skova and his bride Hartta Bergia ... living in Riga(?) gave this chalice for the glory of God’. The inscription states the year 1597 as the year of donation, and stylistically the chalice seems to conform to the date. Because of the height of the foot, the stem is rather short. Its spherical node has four rectangular mounts with pieces of glass set in them. The mounts have punched ornaments similar to the egg-and-dart ornament of the edge. The chalice along with its plain paten are even today kept in a wooden basket which is contemporary with the vessels as confirmed by radiocarbon dating.

Also the chalice of Houtskari Church has an embossed, six-lobed foot (Cat. 2:30). The foot is without decorations apart from the hallmark punched on the flange. The first mark depicts a crown as the town mark of Stockholm. The two other marks have the initials AC or AE. They could be associated with Antonius de Crock, who is known to have been a master in Stockholm in 1568–1611, or with Antonius Groth the Elder, who was a master in 1585–1614, but these possible identifications are conjectural.⁸³⁰ The node has six lozenge bosses, each with an engraved Roman letter, which together form the name *IHESVS*. The foot and the stem share stylistic similarities with other chalices made at the turn of the 16th and 17th century. The paten has no decorations, but is probably contemporary with the chalice. Sigrid Nikula dates the chalice to around 1600.⁸³¹

In contrast to other late chalices, the foot of the Mietoinen chalice is circular (Fig. 57) (Cat. 2:31). It is divided into six petal-shaped sectors with engraved vegetative motifs. The figure of Christ is placed in the middle of one such sector. Christ has a nimbus behind his head, but no cross is depicted. The hallmark on the item is an identification mark, and it might belong to Jost Hasenwinckel, who worked as a master in Stockholm in 1573–1601. The node of the chalice has six lozenge bosses. Five of them depict a quatrefoil, while one is without any ornaments. On the basis of the shape of the bowl and the engraved vegetative decorations, the chalice was probably made by a Swedish goldsmith around 1600. The paten has no decorations, but it was likely made at the same time as the chalice.

⁸³⁰ Borg (1935) 1977, 89–90; Andrén et al. 2000, 53, 56, 782.

⁸³¹ Nikula 1973, 103.



Fig. 57. The communion chalice of Mietoinen Church has a hallmark which might belong to Jost Hasenwinckel, who worked as a master in Stockholm in 1573–1601 (Cat. 2:31).

The last communion set in the material originally belonged to Viipuri Cathedral, although it is currently owned by Porvoo Cathedral (Cat. 2:32). The chalice is very large, weighing 1,444.1 g and is 30.3 cm high. The size is probably explained by the changes brought on by the Reformation. The whole congregation now received the bread and wine during communion, and in Viipuri the number of people taking part in the service must have been relatively high. The six-lobed foot of the chalice has an openwork frieze on its edge. The frieze consists of animal or human faces. The engraved cross of the *signaculum* stands on a ground with some tufts of grass. A cast figure of Christ has been attached to it. The erect spear and sponge flank the cross with two sprays of blood bursting from Christ's wrists. The node has six empty bosses. Although the form of the foot is late medieval, the Roman lettering on the INRI inscription above Christ's head, the node and the bowl are post-medieval in style. On the basis of the church inventory, the chalice was made around 1601. This dating can be extrapolated to the paten, which has no engravings but a steeply embossed, six-lobed centre.

Written evidence and conclusions regarding communion vessels

Before analysing the Finnish communion vessels as a group, it is necessary to take a look at chalices and patens in written sources. It is not surprising to notice that in written documents communion vessels mostly appear in connection with churches or in laymen's wills donating property to the church. In fact, the earliest reference to a chalice is from King Magnus Ladulås' will of 1285, in which he leaves money for making a chalice to the church of Finland.⁸³² Around 1420, Bishop Magnus Tavast acquired, among other items, a chalice and paten for Turku Cathedral during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁸³³ A few decades later in 1453, Henrik Klasson Dieken bequeathed a chalice to the altar of the Three Kings in Turku Cathedral, while his wife donated a silver cross for making a chalice for the altar of St. Henry in the cathedral and a gold ring for gilding it. She also left a silver belt for making two chalices for the altars of the Three Kings and the Virgin Mary and even seven gilt buttons for making a chalice for St. Anne's altar.⁸³⁴ Similarly in 1484 squire Kort Hartviksson bequeathed two chalices, one to Kökar Convent and the other to St. George's Chapel in Turku Cathedral,⁸³⁵ and in 1510 Jakob of Porvoo left a chalice to Porvoo Church.⁸³⁶

In addition to donations, communion vessels also appear in inventories of churches and chapels. The inventory of Olavinlinna Castle drawn up in 1499 includes two chalices, which were kept in the chapel.⁸³⁷ The inventory of Naantali Nunnery from 1530 lists nine gilt chalices with patens weighing together over 6.3 kg. A chalice was pawned to one Måns in Nousiainen for 20 marks, Biörn Klauesson had received two chalices for flour and corn, and also Jacob Fleming had three chalices belonging to the nunnery.⁸³⁸ The inventory of St. George's altar in Turku Cathedral mentions two gilt chalices and the inventory of St. Lawrence's altar a gilt silver chalice and paten and one small silver chalice.⁸³⁹ Lastly, two references reveal that also laymen had communion vessels in their possession. Duke John had three chalices with patens, weighing 395 g, 500 g and 316 g, in his inventory.⁸⁴⁰ The inventory of Anders Slatte's widow, Margareta of Brödrtorp in Pohja, drawn up in 1530 states that she owned Mass equipment though not a chalice,⁸⁴¹ while Philippa Erikdotter Fleming's probate inventory from the 1580s lists a gilt chalice with a paten.⁸⁴² These entries show that chalices and patens are mostly mentioned in relation to churches, although even the laity could own communion vessels. Nevertheless, whatever the context, the entries do not describe the artefacts in any detail – merely the materials of which they were made.

⁸³² *SD I 802; FMU 183.*

⁸³³ *Juusten 17:91–96; Palola 1997, 198–199.*

⁸³⁴ *FMU 2970.*

⁸³⁵ *FMU 4010.*

⁸³⁶ *FMU 5495.*

⁸³⁷ *FMU 4847.*

⁸³⁸ *FMU 6533.*

⁸³⁹ *REA 720, 723; FMU 4896.*

⁸⁴⁰ *Löseghendom 17.*

⁸⁴¹ *FMU 6557.*

⁸⁴² *BFH 5:308.*

The surviving objects themselves are saturated with details on production and use, but the small number of chalices and patens makes it difficult to grasp the overall picture. A closer examination of their chronological distribution combined with the geographical distribution, however, reveals some interesting points. The earliest chalices and patens in Finland date from the earlier part of the 13th century and they are archaeological finds from graves in Koroinen. The set of pewter is probably from an episcopal grave but the interpretation of the grave with the chalice of wax as episcopal is more questionable. Nonetheless, they date from the period when the church was establishing its parish organization.

The two early funerary chalices and one paten are followed by nearly a century of silence, until the first actual communion vessels of silver and gold appear around the mid-14th century. The 14th-century chalices and patens concentrate in the Åland Islands (the churches of Eckerö, Kökar and Saltvik) and the oldest parishes of Western Finland (the churches of Maaria, Masku and Kokemäki). The number of communion vessels grew significantly in the earlier part of the 15th century, when three sets were made for the newly founded altars in the chapel of St. George's Hospital, Kemi Church and Ulvila Church. The peak of communion vessel production, however, was in the latter part of the 15th century with three communion sets for Turku Cathedral and individual sets for the churches of Hollola, Iniö, Kalajoki, the Birgittine Nunnery in Naantali, Nauvo, the Franciscan Convent in Rauma, and Tammela. During the 16th century the Reformation and economic depression shook the church, which was also reflected in the number of surviving communion vessels. The churches of Hauho, Pernaja, Rusko, Vehkalahti and Viipuri had chalices and patens made in the earlier part of the 16th century, after which the next communion vessels were made in the last years of the century for the churches of Houtskari, Mietoinen, Untamala and Viipuri. From the point of view of stylistic influences, the closest parallels to the communion vessels are in the Swedish material, especially when the 14th-century items are considered, but the importance of the international Gothic style with Hanseatic or German accents increased significantly in the following century and remained strong throughout the 16th century.

The developments sketched here can be compared with the construction of stone churches in Turku Diocese with the underlying assumption that both were conditioned by the availability and accumulation of economic resources. Markus Hiekkänen has divided Finnish stone churches into three generations. The churches of the oldest generation (C) concentrate in the Åland Islands and were built during the period 1270–1420. The churches of the next generation (A) date from 1420–1490 and cluster mainly in Southwest Finland and the southern coastal area, while the peak of stone church construction is that of generation B dated to 1495–1560. These churches were mainly erected in Satakunta, Häme and Ostrobothnia, i.e. more northern and eastern regions than the churches of the previous generations.⁸⁴³

Some broad similarities with communion vessels appear in this comparison: the oldest churches and communion vessels are from the Åland Islands and Southwest Finland. The largest group of communion vessels dates from the latter part of the 15th century, while the construction of stone churches culminated in the following century. However, when the comparisons are made at the level of individual churches and their chalices and patens, the picture becomes blurred and the simple correlation between communion vessels and stone churches disappears (Table 4). This serves as a reminder that the conditions and processes of acquiring chalices and patens were more complicated on the microlevel than the crude comparison can reveal.

The large number of chalices which were part of the inventory of Turku Cathedral, altogether four or perhaps five, is conspicuous. Another church with more than one communion set is Viipuri Church, but even it has only two sets. With the important exceptions of the Ejby and Uusikaarlepyy chalices, the items of Turku Cathedral are very plain, without elaborate engravings or attached ornaments on the feet. This led Rinne to believe that they represent a large group of communion vessels intended for practical everyday use and obtained at the beginning of the 15th century, when

⁸⁴³ Hiekkänen 2007, 24–28.

Table 4. Medieval and Early Modern communion vessels in Finland. The table does not include items brought to Finland after the year 1600 (H = hexagonal, R = round, RhB = rhomboid bosses, RoB = round bosses).

No.	Church	Chalice	Paten	Dating	Shape of foot	Insc. on instep	Stem	Node	Main motif on paten	Insc. on paten	Present church
1	Saltvik	X	X	1346	Round	De vera vite	R	RoB	Majestas Domini + Manus Dei	Donation + Ave Maria	1370-1450s
2	Maaria	X	-	mid-14th c.	Round	De vera vite	R	Melon	-	-	1440s/1500
3	Masku	X	X	mid-14th c.	Round	De vera vite	R	RoB	Agnus Dei	Hostia sacra	1490-1510
4	Kökar	X	-	latter part of the 14th c.	-	-	R	Melon	-	-	1784(mid-15th c.)
5	Kokemäki	X	-	latter part of the 14th c.	Six-lobed	-	R	Melon	-	-	1500-1520
6	Eckerö	-	X	turn of the 14th/15th c.	-	-	-	-	Facies Christi	-	1380-1420
7	Turku (Honkilahti)	X	-	1420s	Round	Donation	R	RhB	-	-	(c. 1400)
8	Turku (Pedersöre)	X	-	1429	Six-lobed	Donation	H	RhB	-	-	(c. 1400)
9	Pohja	X	-	2nd q. of the 15th c.	Six-lobed	-	H	RhB	-	-	(c. 1400)
10	St George's Hospital	X	X	1440s	Round	Donation	R	RhB	Manus Dei	-	-
11	Kemi	X	X	1440s	Six-lobed	-	R	RoB	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei qui + Donation	1530-1550s
12	Ulvila	X	-	earlier part of the 15th c.	Six-lobed	-	R	RoB	-	-	1495-1510
13	Rauma	X	-	c. 1450	Six-lobed	Hostia sacra	H	RhB	-	-	1515-1520
14	Tammela	X	-	c. 1450	-	-	R	RhB	-	-	1530-1540
15	Iniö	X	X	3rd q. of the 15th c.	(Six-lobed)		H	RhB	Facies Christi	-	(1797-1800)
16	Naantali	X	X	1461-1491	(Six-lobed)	(Donation)	H	RhB	Birgittine monk	Donation	1480-1500
17	Turku (Ejby)	X	X	1470s-1480s	Six-lobed	-	R	RhB	Christ on the Cross	Hoc facite in	(c. 1400)
18	Hollola	X	X	1480s	Six-lobed	-	R	RoB	Christ on the Cross	Qui manducat	1495-1510
19	Turku	-	X	4th q. of the 15th c.	-	-	-	-	Golgotha scene	O Ihesus Criste + Donation	(c. 1400)
20	Nauvo	X	X	latter part of the 15th c.	-	-	H	RhB	-	-	1430-1450
21	Turku (Uusikaarlepyy)	X	-	1485-1488	Six-lobed	-	R	RhB	-	-	(c. 1400)
22	Kalajoki	X	-	1500	Six-lobed	-	H	RhB	-	-	(1876-1879)
23	Rusko	X	X	1500-1506	Six-lobed	Donation	H	RhB	Facies Christi	Ihesus autem	1510-1530
24	Vehkalahti	X	-	1506	Six-lobed	1506	H	RhB	-	-	1430-1470
25	Hauho	X	X	1510-1520	Six-lobed	-	H	RhB	Arma Christi	Donation	1500
26	Viipuri (Porvoo)	X	-	1st q. of the 16th c.	Round	De vera vite	H	Melon	-	-	1435-1445
27	Kalanti	-	X	Medieval?	-	-	-	-	-	-	1430-1450
28	Pernaja	X	X	Earlier part of the 16th c.	Eight-lobed	-	R	RhB	St. John the Baptist	-	1440
29	Untamala	X	X	1597	Six-lobed	Donation	H	Collets	-	-	(1785)
30	Houtskari	X	X	c. 1600	Six-lobed	-	H	RhB	-	-	(1703-1704)
31	Mietoinen	X	X	c. 1600	Round	-	H	RhB	-	-	(1643)
32	Viipuri (Porvoo)	X	X	1601	Six-lobed	-	H	Collets	-	-	1435-1445

a number of new altars were founded at the cathedral.⁸⁴⁴ The two other chalices have ornamental, complex visual programmes. The foot of the Ejby chalice is reserved for donors and their coats of arms, but the stem has several symbols on it: the Seat of Mercy, the Face of Christ, the Virgin with the Child, and a man holding a candle. The symbolism related to the life and Passion of Christ continued in the accompanying paten depicting the Man of Sorrows.

The Uusikaarlepyy chalice, in turn, has engraved depictions of the Crucifixion, St. Lawrence and the Mater Dolorosa but also the donors' coats of arms. The stem has an equally complex programme with Mary Magdalen with the ointment jar and the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child, and the node is adorned with busts of angels. While the symbolism of the stem refers to the altar of the Holy Cross for which the chalice was made, the image of St. Lawrence on the foot appears to relate to one of the donors, Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää. Similarly, the figure of St. Lawrence on the foot of the chalice in Kemi Church has been associated with the donor of the item, Laurencio Fris and his patron saint. Hence the visual programme of the chalices accommodated the needs of the donors as well as the altar or church. The most integrated programme, however, is in the chalice of Kalajoki Church, which depicts female saints related to floral symbolism as well as the narrative of a flower's life cycle and new blooming. The visual programme is not only elaborate, but forms a semiotic whole pointing to Christ's sacrifice and resurrection.

The saints depicted on chalices and patens are rather stereotypical. They include Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. Lawrence, Mary Magdalen, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, the female saints of the Kalajoki chalice – SS. Agnes, Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothea – and St. Peter as well as St. Paul. All these saints are very common in medieval European art. No Nordic saints such as St. Birgitta, St. Henry or St. Olof appear although they are popular saints in the surviving corpus of Finnish medieval wooden sculptures. Moreover, the popularity of the *Facies Christi* and *Agnus Dei* in the Finnish material conforms to the general Swedish situation.⁸⁴⁵ The only local flavour is given by the coats of arms of the donors and the depiction of Jöns Budde on the paten of Naantali Church.

The rarity of regional variation could be due to the Reformation and its hostility towards saints and other overtly Catholic imagery, but then again, the surviving corpus of medieval wooden sculptures and wall paintings as well as the long use of medieval wooden altar screens on the altars of post-Reformation churches do not support this kind of explanation.⁸⁴⁶ Another way of interpreting the situation is to point out that wooden sculptures and communion vessels of precious metals are two different media. It is conceivable that chalices and patens formed a visual genre or mode of their own in which local saints and regional applications were not of as marked importance as in other genres such as wooden sculptures. Perhaps the sculptures were intended for a wider audience than the small details on communion vessels.

Ciboria, pyxes and oblate caskets⁸⁴⁷

Although containers of some kind for hosts were used throughout the Middle Ages, the emergence of ciboria is connected with the establishment of the dogma of transubstantiation and other changes in Christian liturgy during the Late Middle Ages. This dogma emphasized the importance of handling communion wine and bread correctly as well as preserving them safely in closable containers. Moreover, it stated that both sexes were to receive communion at least once a year during Easter. Though the number of parishioners receiving the Eucharist did not necessarily increase as a consequence of the doctrine, in principle the new situation meant that more hosts and consequently larger vessels for their safekeeping were needed.⁸⁴⁸ In Finland, eight medieval ciboria have survived the Reformation and the confiscations of King Gustavus Vasa during the 16th century, along with more recent perils.

⁸⁴⁴ Rinne 1948, 171.

⁸⁴⁵ Pegelow 1998, 186, 189.

⁸⁴⁶ Hiekkanen 2008b.

⁸⁴⁷ This chapter on ciboria and pyxes is largely based on Immonen 2007c.

⁸⁴⁸ Kolba 1975, 284.

The terminology used for containers of Eucharistic bread has a diffuse history and their etymologies are rather dubious. The term *ciborium* was not used to denote a small vessel for consecrated bread before the 14th century. Instead, the word referred to an arched vault or canopy raised over the high altar, or a small baldachin placed on the altar in the Early Church.⁸⁴⁹ An older concept for the container of the Eucharist was a pyx, or Latin *pyxis*, deriving from a Greek word meaning a small boxwood container. In Classical Greek the word meant a round vessel for the storage of cosmetics, and even in Late Antiquity it does not seem to have had sacral connotation. In inventories it sometimes refers to vessels such as containers of relics, incense and so on. It was not until the 9th century that the first signs appear of the pyx as a special container for consecrated hosts.⁸⁵⁰ Besides pyxes, there are also many other artefacts, such as textiles, which were adopted from more or less profane uses into the Christian liturgy during Late Antiquity.⁸⁵¹

The etymology of the term *ciborium* is complex. One suggested source is the Latin word *cibus*, 'food', indicating the bread that it protected. The word has also been traced to the Greek *kiborion*, the term for the seedpod of the Egyptian lotus. The shape of the seed-vessel is thought to have led to the use of the word to mean 'cup', 'tomb', and the Eucharistic receptacle.⁸⁵² Another etymology considers the word as deriving from the name of the architectural canopy or ciborium, from which pyxes were suspended and which thus gave a name for the vessel.⁸⁵³ The Hebrew word for the architectural *ciborium* was a 'house of bread' or *betlehem*.⁸⁵⁴

In Swedish written sources the term *ciborium* is unusual even during the 16th-century confiscations, and the terminology used is rather irregular. In the confiscation documents, according to Olle Källström, instead of *ciborium*, the term *pyxis* is more commonly applied as well as the words *sakramentskar*, *öffletskar* or even *viaticum*. Also the word *helgedomakar* seems to have been used sometimes for ciboria when mentioned in association with chalices and patens, but in other contexts the word most likely refers to monstrances or reliquaries. The Central European term *calix viaticus*, 'visitation chalice', is not used in Swedish documents, but *viaticum* is rather common. Although in many cases *viaticum* refers to a special container, it may also denote the whole phenomenon of visiting the sick as such, or collectively all three vessels, chalice, paten and pyx, taken on these visits. Källström concludes that in sources documenting the confiscations executed in Finland in 1558, the terms *pyxis* and *ciborium* appear in combinations of two or three other Eucharistic vessels with differing names. It is very difficult to deduce the form of these vessels.⁸⁵⁵

Design and types of ciboria

The German term for ciboria, *Speisekelch* or 'food chalice', reveals the connection between ciboria and chalices. The *ciborium* could be seen as a covered chalice, and Joseph Braun considers it possible that the form of the ciboria developed from chalices. They are analogical in function, one being a container for bread and the other for wine.⁸⁵⁶ This analogy is also apparent in their overall design. In medieval chalices, the front of the object, or the side which the person drinking from the vessel saw, was marked with a *signaculum*, a small figure of Christ on the cross. Usually this differentiation of the front from the back affected the whole visual design of the chalice and the placing of its decorations and inscriptions. In ciboria, the differentiation of the sides is further emphasized by the lid and its hinge at the back and the locking device at the front. The two-sidedness differs from, for instance, monstrances and ostensoria, which were meant to be equally approachable from many sides.

Because ciboria were holy vessels,⁸⁵⁷ many were indeed made of silver and gold, but very often medieval ciboria, at least those that survived confiscation, were made of gilt copper. The nearly fifty

⁸⁴⁹ Klauser 1961.

⁸⁵⁰ Anderson 1965, col. 619; Kaufmann 1975, 66–67.

⁸⁵¹ Hiekkänen 2003a, 137–139.

⁸⁵² Liddell & Scott 1996, s.v. *kiborion*; McLachlan 2005, 360.

⁸⁵³ Kaufmann 1975, 68

⁸⁵⁴ Lindgren 1998, 167.

⁸⁵⁵ Källström 1939, 102–103.

⁸⁵⁶ Braun 1932, 281.

⁸⁵⁷ Lindgren 1987, 93–94.

ciboria mentioned in the Swedish confiscation documents were probably made of silver since the confiscators had little interest in vessels of gilt copper.⁸⁵⁸ Covered containers of consecrated hosts are usually divided by modern scholars into two basic types, although it is unclear how distinct these categories were during the Middle Ages. One type is called the pyx, and it is a small circular container without a stem, while the other type, the ciborium, stands on a foot and a stem which has a node. The surviving Finnish ciboria all have or had a foot and a stem and can thus be called ciboria. Furthermore, Nordman divides the Finnish ciboria of base metals into two main groups according to the shape of the bottom of the container. The first type of flat-bottomed containers comprises three objects from the churches of Somero (Cat. 4:5), Lammi (Cat. 4:6) and Tuulos (Cat. 4:7), and the other type of circular containers consists of the four ciboria in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 4:2–4, 8).⁸⁵⁹ The ciborium of silver in Porvoo Cathedral can be placed into the first group (Cat. 4:1).

Ciboria with flat-bottomed containers

The oldest artefact in the first group is the silver item currently deposited in Porvoo Cathedral (Cat. 4:1), although in the Middle Ages this ciborium belonged to Viipuri Church. The ciborium has a partially gilt cylindrical container. The conical lid lacks a cross, and the container a foot. An engraved dactylic inscription made in Gothic majuscules runs around the surface: *Hostia sacra Ihesus animae fit hic optimus esus*. The phrase can be translated as ‘the Sacred Host, Jesus, becomes here the best nourishment for the soul’. The ciborium has been stylistically dated to the 14th century,⁸⁶⁰ but similar objects were made as late as the early 15th century.⁸⁶¹

The other three ciboria of this type are from the 15th century. The ciborium from Somero Church is made of gilt brass (Cat. 4:5). The foot is six-lobed, with every other lobe decorated with an engraved crosshatching pattern. The stem has a node with profiled decorations. The hexagonal container-part has engraved decorations mimicking a brick-wall construct. In the same vein the lid-part resembles a roof with a lantern. The six edges of the container and the lid have attached columns continuing as finials over the roof. The roof of the lid is covered with engraved lozenge-shaped tiles. The sides of the lantern have engraved Gothic twin windows. The top of the roof with its cross is missing. Nordman points out that the ciborium has many parallels in the Baltic area,⁸⁶² but stylistically it is difficult to date more accurately than the 15th century or to identify the place of its production more precisely than Northern Germany or Sweden.⁸⁶³

Also the ciborium from Lammi Church is made of gilt brass (Cat. 4:6). Like the Somero ciborium, its container is hexagonal and the foot six-partite. The ciborium from Lammi also has six attached columns which continue as finials over the roof, which has engraved, lozenge-shaped tiles. Unlike the Somero ciborium, however, this ciborium has six pictorial representations on the six sides of the container (each measuring c. 4.0 x 3.2 cm). The panel on the side of the lock of the lid has an engraved Pietà motif. On the right-hand side of the panel with the Virgin Mary and Christ is John the Baptist in his goat’s hair cape. He carries a book with the *Agnus Dei* in his left hand. On the left-hand side of the Pietà, St. John holds a chalice of snakes. On the opposite side of the Pietà, or on the side with the hinge of the lid, the panel depicts St. Peter with a key in his right and a book in his left hand. On his right side is St. Andrew with his cross and on the left is St. Paul with his sword. Nordman dates the ciborium stylistically to the 15th century. He considers it impossible to identify its place of production.⁸⁶⁴

The images on the side panels of the Lammi ciborium can be assumed to have a meaningful and intentional order.⁸⁶⁵ From the differentiation of the front from the back by the locking device and on its opposite side, the hinge, it could be deduced that also the pictorial panels should be divided

⁸⁵⁸ Källström 1939, 104.

⁸⁵⁹ Nordman 1980, 55.

⁸⁶⁰ E.g. Hiekkänen 2003a, 126.

⁸⁶¹ Connolly 1975, 81, 125.

⁸⁶² Nordman 1980, 55.

⁸⁶³ Hiekkänen 1999, 37.

⁸⁶⁴ Nordman 1980, 55.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. e.g. Sundmark 2006.

into two groups: three images on the front and three on the back. On the lock side the Pietà motif is in the centre surrounded by persons important to Christ's life and body: John the Baptist and St. John. On the hinge side, St. Peter, symbolizing the unity of the Church, has the central position and is flanked by his brother St. Andrew and St. Paul. According to the Gospels, Christ called St. Peter and St. Andrew to become his disciples and fishers of men.⁸⁶⁶ Moreover, St. Paul was the most notable of the Early Christian missionaries together with St. Peter. In contrast to the historical body of Christ as the unifying theme of the front panels, the church as the body of Christ could be seen as the connecting idea of the panels in the back part.⁸⁶⁷

The ciborium from the church of Tuulos is an exception among the ciboria of silver or gilt brass. It is made of tinned brass (Cat. 4:7). The cross of the ciborium remains on the conical lid. The roof of the container has a separately made strip of metal imitating a castle wall with its crenellated parapet. The ciborium has no engraved decorations except a marker's mark on the inner bottom of the container. It is made with a serrated line and is triangular in shape. Compared with other Finnish ciboria, the artefact is more roughly made and the technique of its production is easily read from the clearly visible seams. Due to its roughness, Nordman considers the ciborium to be of local production.⁸⁶⁸ The Tuulos ciborium shows that the strict orders of the church to use precious metals for *vasa sacra* were not always followed at the local level.

Ciboria with spherical containers

The four ciboria of gilt bronze from Turku Cathedral represent Nordman's other group. Two of them are completely of metal and two have bowls of organic material. One of the metal ones is of gilt copper (Cat. 4:2). It has round container and an engraved inscription on its foot. The inscription in Gothic majuscules reads *Ave Maria gracia plena Dominus t(ecum)*, or the angelic salutation. The beginning and ending of the text are marked with a cross. The cross is placed directly in line with the locking device. Since the ciborium has no other decorations, its stylistic dating is difficult, but Juhani Rinne considers the object to be a product of the 14th century, based on the letters of the inscription and perhaps also on the circular shape of the foot.⁸⁶⁹ Other scholars have concurred, although there are some 15th-century Swedish ciboria with spherical containers, circular feet and angelic salutations, such as the one from Torsång Church in Dalecarlia dated to the latter part of the 15th century.⁸⁷⁰

The other spherical ciborium made of gilt silver has more extensive decoration (Cat. 4:8). It has a six-lobed foot with an edge decorated with quatrefoils and triangles. The foot has arch and trifoliate decoration. The stem is hexagonal and has a twelve-angular node. The round container has a hemispherical lid ending in a cone with a missing cross. Both the container and its lid have elliptically embossed recesses which repeat the ornamentation of the foot. A cross mark was incised on the bottom of the foot in the part which is directly in line with the locking device. Rinne dates the object to the end of the Middle Ages, but Riitta Pykkänen defines the date of its production more precisely to around the year 1500.⁸⁷¹ Similarly shaped and embossed ciboria with more precise dating seem to reinforce Pykkänen's estimate.⁸⁷²

Turku Cathedral owns two ciboria with containers made of organic material (Cat. 4:3–4). The containers, one of coconut shell and the other of wood, are attached to a stem and a foot of gilt brass with four bands of the same metal. The bands have hinges and thus the wooden containers can be removed from the metal casing. The lids of both ciboria are also of gilt brass. The two ciboria present yet more similar features as their feet were decorated with eight embossed leaves and small engraved flowers between their tips. The six-petalled flowers are placed on a cross-hatched surface. Rinne concludes that the two ciboria form a pair, although at some later stage the wooden

⁸⁶⁶ Mt 4:19; Mk 1:17.

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. Härdelin 2005, 283.

⁸⁶⁸ Nordman 1980, 54–55.

⁸⁶⁹ Rinne 1948, 161–162; Nordman 1980, 55–56; cf. Sundmark 2004, 46–47.

⁸⁷⁰ Boëthius 1932, 504–505.

⁸⁷¹ Pykkänen 1976, no. 20.

⁸⁷² E.g. the ciborium made by Étienne Blanc in Toulouse in 1509 (Aliquot 2005, 23).

one broke and its container was repaired by attaching two smaller wooden vessels together into a pear shape. In fact the current bowl resembles medieval Hanseatic jugs.⁸⁷³ The ciborium has also lost its cross and the small Christ figure, which are still intact on the other ciborium. Moreover, it lacks a part of its stem between the foot and node. The coconut shell of the unbroken ciborium is painted red, but the remains of colour on the repaired vessel present more shades. Its background colour is brownish white and while there are brushstrokes in black, they are too damaged to be identified precisely. There might be some kind of floral and vegetative motifs among some vertical and horizontal lines. Rinne does not date the two ciboria, but both Nordman and Pylkkänen consider their type as dating their production to the 14th century.⁸⁷⁴

Riitta Pylkkänen names the four ciboria of Turku Cathedral ‘relic ciboria’,⁸⁷⁵ and indeed during the Middle Ages, ciborium-like vessels were also used for preserving relics. Especially the two vessels made of coconut shell have parallels with relic ciboria known from Central Europe.⁸⁷⁶ This interpretation is hindered by the fact that neither one of the two objects displays any signs, whether constructional or ornamental, referring to the relics they assumedly contained. In the Middle Ages coconut shells were used in a range of sumptuous artefacts such as profane goblets, chalices, reliquaries and ciboria.⁸⁷⁷ Since there is no reason for seeing the two items in Turku Cathedral as reliquaries, it is simpler to interpret them as ciboria. The case of the two metal vessels is even clearer, since there are a number of similar vessels interpreted to be nothing else than ciboria.

Ciboria in written sources before and during the Reformation

Despite resembling chalices in many ways, inscriptions or decorations on ciboria do not reveal their donors or the time of their making, although written evidence suggests that also ciboria could be given to the church in the same way as chalices and patens. In this sense, ciboria were not fixed to a certain time or person, but had a more anonymous or atemporal nature. This seems to have been the general tendency in medieval Europe. Furthermore, references to ciboria or pyxes are rare in Finnish written sources prior to Gustavus Vasa’s confiscations. Nevertheless, in his will dated 22 February 1285, King Magnus Ladulås (reigned 1275–1290) donated four gold marks to the Finnish church for making a chalice for the main altar, and a pyx for the ‘conservation of the Holy Eucharist’.⁸⁷⁸ In 1404 the priest of Porvoo Church with two church wardens acquired a pyx of 40 marks for the church, but this was not a donation, as the object was paid for by selling some land owned by the Church.⁸⁷⁹ Henrik Klasson Dieken’s will composed in 1449 mentions a vessel of silver donated to Yläne Church for the ‘Holy Body’.⁸⁸⁰ In 16th-century confiscation documents it is stated that Laitila Church had a gilt pyx donated by M(aster) Siffrid in his will.⁸⁸¹ Although no complete church inventories survive from the medieval period in Finland, the inventory of the altar of St. George in Turku Cathedral mentions a container for oblates.⁸⁸² A similar container was possibly part of the inventory of the altar of St. Lawrence in the Cathedral, although its precise function is not stated.⁸⁸³

The eight Finnish ciboria constitute only a small part of all ciboria used in the medieval period. An overriding factor in their disappearance has been the Reformation and the accompanying confiscations. As the old liturgy and the meanings it gave to the liturgical implements were disrupted, also the meaning of ciboria changed. Since the Eucharist was no longer the actual body of Christ, there was no more need to give them such a visible place among the vessels of the church.

873 Rinne 1948, 162.

874 Rinne 1948, 162; Pylkkänen 1976, nos. 35–36.

875 Pylkkänen 1976, nos. 34–36.

876 Braun 1940, 136–137, pl. 56–57.

877 Lightbown 1978, 58–59.

878 SD I 802; FMU 183.

879 Och kennoms wij dessa for:ne peninga summo redheliga wpbuhrith hafwa, sva at wij latom oss alldelis wäl [atnögia] a for:ne kirckio wegna; med hwilcko päninga summo wij kiöpt haffwa pixidena till for:ne kirckio beho; FMU 1191.

880 eth helgelikame kar aff silff; FMU 2817.

881 Källström 1939, 316–317.

882 REA 720.

883 REA 723; FMU 4896; Rinne 1948, 162–163.

Although ciboria still had uses in the church after the Reformation, they lost their status as *vasa sacra* and were now revalued as objects of the past. Ciboria with containers standing on a long stem and foot were replaced by small host capsules. More importantly, the ciboria of precious metals became the focus of the state and confiscations: the value of liturgical vessels was reduced purely to their metal content, at least in the eyes of the officials.

In Källström's study on the confiscation documents, eleven ciboria, ten pyxes and three viatica are mentioned in the parishes of the Diocese of Turku.⁸⁸⁴ In only two cases has the metal of the artefact been specified to be copper. In nine cases it is said that the artefacts are not gilt and in seven cases that they are. In one case a gilt ciborium also had blue enamelling.⁸⁸⁵ The ciborium of Siuntio Church might have been a gift to confiscators.⁸⁸⁶ Even when all artefacts named as ciboria, pyxes, and viatica in the confiscation records are counted together, their number still remains small, 24, compared with the number of monstrances mentioned, 72. Ciboria seem, furthermore, to have been made more often of copper or other base metals than monstrances were.⁸⁸⁷

Iconography associated with ciboria

The ciborium from Somero Church clearly refers to a stone tower with its brick-wall-like sides and roof with a lantern. The Tuulos ciborium has a crenellated parapet, and the columns and roof tiles of the Lammi ciborium refer to architectural features. Also the scale-like engravings on the lid of the Porvoo ciborium resemble roofing. In the spherical ciboria architectural features are more difficult to detect, but their hemispherical lids with crosses can be seen as imitating the dome of a church. The clear association between ciboria and buildings can be understood in two ways, which are, in fact, complementary. Firstly, the ciborium as a church points to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Like this church, the ciborium was a container of the Body of Christ.⁸⁸⁸ Secondly in the Early Christian basilica church, the altar was protected by a tower-like construction, the ciborium.⁸⁸⁹ Hence, the other way of approaching the symbolism of the ciborium is to consider it as a castle or rather a tower, which is a reference to the tower of David, *turris Davidi*. It was a symbol of the Virgin Mary who, like an impenetrable fortification, had preserved the Body of Christ in her womb.⁸⁹⁰ The association is reinforced by inscriptions on ciboria, which often quote the angelic salutation *Ave Maria* as in the ciborium with a spherical container in Turku Cathedral.

By their form ciboria refer to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and to the tower of David, the symbol of the Virgin Mary as protector of Christ and the church. Furthermore, ciboria as containers of the Body of Christ involved a certain shared conception of Christian time. On the one hand, Christ and his Passion were historical, unique events, while on the other hand, they were present daily, as his body, through the mysteries of the church. This temporal dualism between the uniqueness of historical events and their constant presence through the church is visible in the pictorial programme of the Lammi ciborium.

In medieval art, the ciborium is often a sign of missionary work since it was used to protect and transport holy bread.⁸⁹¹ The medieval signets of the Åland Islands represent St. Olaf, the missionary saint, with a hatchet in one hand and a ciborium in the other. Wooden sculptures of St. Olaf in the churches of Hollola and Pertteli also hold a ciborium in their hands.⁸⁹² Furthermore, the purpose of ciboria to hold the most valuable content of all links them with the vessels in which the Three Magi brought their gifts to the Christ Child. Often the containers that they bring appear to be similar to contemporary ciboria in medieval art. For instance, the altar screen of Eurajoki Church depicts the

884 Källström 1939; cf. Källström 1940, 211 where he mentions nine pyxes; one pyx missing from Källström's calculations is from the nunnery church of Naantali, where the pyxes had already been lost before the actual confiscation (Källström 1939, 318–319).

885 Vanaja/Mäskälä parish; Källström 1939, 317.

886 Källström 1939, 322.

887 Hiekkänen 2003, 127.

888 Hiekkänen 1999, 37.

889 Lindgren 1998, 167.

890 Lindgren 1987, 104; Härdelin 1998, 175.

891 Lindgren 1987, 105.

892 Knuutila 1997, 2006.

visit of the Three Magi. There the youngest of the kings takes a container of myrrh from his servant and gives it to the Christ Child, and the object resembles somewhat the hemispherical container of the gilt silver ciborium of Turku Cathedral (Cat. 4:8).⁸⁹³

The oblate casket of Hauho Church

Even if the Reformation stripped ciboria of their previous theological meaning and the church of its economic means, wafers still had to be placed in some container, especially when a priest visited his congregation and took communion vessels with him. However, there is no information on what kind of vessels were used for this task and only one example of a post-Reformation oblate casket remains in the material, as part of the inventory of Hauho Church (Cat. 5:1).

The oblate casket is a small, cylindrical container 4.4 cm in height and 4.9 cm in diameter. Its sides are decorated with an engraved Moresque frieze, and the lid has a depiction of Christ with the crown of thorns on his head and a mantle, both referring to his scourging. The bottom of the container has two hallmarks, presumably for a town and a master. The town mark might be the crown of Stockholm, but it is too unclear to be certain. Below the hallmarks, a Renaissance shield with a coat of arms is engraved along with the text *F·I·W·P·I·A*. The shield depicts a lion holding a wheel, resembling the coat of arms of the Hjulhammar family, which is, however, a highly unlikely attribution.⁸⁹⁴ Moreover, the number '1602' is engraved on both sides of the shield. On stylistic grounds, the year 1602 could indeed be the year when the object was made.

Although the background of the casket is poorly documented and its donors are uncertain, the object is a fine example of the general appearance of such caskets at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Moreover, the small size of the casket suggests that it was not used in the church on an everyday basis. Instead, oblates were placed in it and the priest took it with him when visiting the congregation around the parish.

Monstrances and ostensoria

Both the terms monstrance and ostensorium are derived from Latin verbs meaning 'show' (*monstrare, ostendere*), and they are indeed vessels designed for the exhibition of objects of piety. In current English usage, the two concepts are interchangeable, but in this study, monstrance designates a vessel intended for the display of a consecrated host, while ostensorium denotes vessels used for displaying relics and other objects of devotion. The word ostensorium, however, does not appear in Finnish medieval written accounts even once, and it seems that 'monstrance' was used to denote vessels functioning both as monstrances and ostensoria in their strict sense. In the more limited scope of the term, the emergence of the first monstrances is also closely linked with the dogma of transubstantiation and the cult of the Body of Christ, *Corpus Christi*, made universal in 1264 by Pope Urban IV. During the following century, monstrances became part of standard liturgical equipment in Northern Europe, and on the basis of the confiscation documents, almost every church in Turku Diocese had at least one such item in their inventory in the mid-16th century.

The basic form of a monstrance was quite standardized. It had a foot and stem supporting a metal frame for a cylindrical vertical container of glass or rock crystal. The frame had two horizontal parts, usually rounded in shape and connected by two vertical members, which imitated architectural features such as pillars and pediments. Often the vertical parts are supplemented with further architectural features and sometimes even with small human figures. The upper part of the frame had a conical lid resembling the roof of a Gothic church. The host was placed inside the transparent container in a crescent-moon-shaped metallic holder called the *lunula*. When not on show on the altar, the monstrance was usually put in a tabernacle for display.⁸⁹⁵ The late

⁸⁹³ *Ráčz* 1960, 125–126.

⁸⁹⁴ *Cf. Carpelan* 1958, 524–525.

⁸⁹⁵ *Horskjær* 1966.

medieval ostensorium was principally identical to the monstrance, but the container could be placed horizontally depending on the object being exhibited.

The contrast between written sources and the surviving body of artefacts in Finland is starkest in the case of monstrances. They are the largest group of confiscated artefacts, as many as 72 objects being mentioned in written documents. However, only one definite example of a monstrance made of metal survives in the diocese, in Turku Cathedral (Fig. 58) (Cat. 6:1). This very plain item is made of gilt copper and it has lost its container, lunula and conical lid.⁸⁹⁶ The only ornamentation on the round foot consists of an engraved Maltese cross, while the vertical members of the frame of the container imitate battlements of Gothic architecture. Although the incomplete condition of the object and the lack of ornamentation make it difficult to date, the hexagonal stem with three hexagonal nodes is a feature shared by certain German monstrances dated to the early 16th century, which was probably also the period when the monstrance of Turku Cathedral was made.

The other medieval artefact (Cat. 6:2), which was originally a monstrance or ostensorium, has subsequently been transformed into the chalice of Kempele Church. This chalice of gilt silver was not initially a medieval item of the parish, but was instead transferred there from Liminka Church during the early 18th century. Lars Pettersson and Heikki Hyvönen point out that originally the stem and foot of the piece probably belonged to a monstrance, ostensorium or ciborium. This is indicated primarily by the widening of the stem towards the bowl, which is unusual in chalices. The object was most likely transformed into a chalice after the Reformation.⁸⁹⁷ The six-partite foot and the stem are made of gilt silver and have rich engraved and openwork decorations with vegetative motifs. A hallmark resembling the letter *I* was punched on the flange. Four cast figures are attached symmetrically around the foot, two depicting Christ on the cross and two showing the face of an angel. In addition to the symmetrical positioning of the figures, which indicates that the object was viewed from two sides, late medieval ciboria were usually less ornate and lacked separately cast figures of Christ on the foot. Hence the object of Kempele Church was not a ciborium, but a monstrance or ostensorium. Stylistically the ornamentation on the foot points to the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. Furthermore, the highly ornate foot with its geometrically complex plan has parallels among German monstrances and ostensoria of the early 16th century, and thus the making of the object can be dated to that period.

The item of Kempele Church is unique in the Finnish material, even Swedish parallels are lacking. It bears the closest similarity with German monstrances, which could suggest that the object was imported from Germany. Furthermore, due to the exceptional character of the vessel, one cannot help wondering whether the piece is actually war booty from the 17th-century wars. This could explain why it has survived the meticulous confiscations of the middle of the 16th century. Since no records lend support to this kind of conclusion, it remains provisional.

In addition to the monstrances made of metals, one wooden object used as a monstrance or ostensorium belonged to Naantali Church until deposited in the National Museum of Finland. The height of the vessel is 53 cm with its upper part missing. It is carved of oak painted with red, blue and green pigments and has the openwork lettering *MAR[IA]* and an unrecognizable Latin inscription. A spike has been placed in the centre of the vessel's bottom for attaching the host or relic, but the object was used as a candelabrum in the modern period, which probably explains its survival.⁸⁹⁸

Although monstrances are frequently listed in confiscation documents, references to them in other written sources are sparse. According to Paulus Juusten's chronicle, Bishop Magnus Tavast had a valuable monstrance along with reliquaries made for the chapel of *Corpus Dominicum*, which he founded at Turku Cathedral in the 1420s or the 1430s.⁸⁹⁹ Moreover, the order of the parish clerks in Turku Cathedral written in 1475 states that the clerk is supposed to carry the monstrance, for example in processions.⁹⁰⁰ Two gilt monstrances, one of silver and the other of copper, were present

⁸⁹⁶ The conical lid can be seen intact in a photo published in 1929 (Finnberg 1929, 148–149).

⁸⁹⁷ Pettersson & Hyvönen 1991, 97.

⁸⁹⁸ *NM Hist.* 2034:3; Leinberg 1890, 437; Korhonen 1985, 386; Häkli 1988, 170.

⁸⁹⁹ Juusten 17:11–15.

⁹⁰⁰ *FMU* 3632.

in the chapel of Olavinlinna Castle, when Erik Turesson drew up an inventory of the castle in 1499.⁹⁰¹ A 70-cm tall monstrance is mentioned in the 1530 inventory of the treasures of the Naantali Nunnery. It weighed nearly two kilogrammes.⁹⁰² Besides these written records, there are also some existing medieval visual representations of monstrances. Hollola Church has a wooden relief panel from around 1500 depicting a monstrance surrounded by four angels. The panel is currently placed as an antemensale, or the front section for the altar.⁹⁰³

The high number of monstrances in the accounts of Gustavus Vasa's confiscations has not gone unnoticed by Källström. They have a highly even distribution among the medieval churches of Finland. He considers it possible that the number of monstrances is a symptom of their period of confiscation, 1557–1558, when the most systematic execution of confiscations took place.⁹⁰⁴ Another quite obvious reason is the lack of any use for monstrances in the church after the Reformation. Whereas chalices and patens remained in use and even ciboria could still be used simply as containers of hosts, monstrances no longer had legitimacy unless refurbished as a communion vessel like the chalice of Kempele Church.

According to the administrative records of the confiscators, most of the churches had only one monstrance, though six parishes owned two.⁹⁰⁵ Only Turku Cathedral had three monstrances, but one of them was a relic monstrance or rather an ostensorium for displaying the relics of St. Henry. It weighed significantly more than any other monstrance, 5.4 kg. The next heaviest monstrance was also in the Cathedral, and it weighed c. 3.7 kg. The third monstrance of Turku Cathedral was 1.7 kg in weight, but Naantali Nunnery Church had a monstrance of three kilogrammes. A similar item of Sund Church weighed 2.9 kg. The smallest monstrance was in Hauho Church, weighing only 280 g. Even the confiscators described the piece as 'small'. Kuhmoinen Church had a monstrance of 560 g,⁹⁰⁶ while rest of the monstrances did not weigh less than 740 g, which was the weight of the monstrance in Hattula Church.

Despite the great variation in weight, the material of monstrances seems to have been rather constant. On 59 occasions the monstrance is described as 'gilt' (82 %) and in five cases as gilt copper (7 %). Two monstrances were of 'gilt silver' (3 %), and two 'partly gilt', while one was 'ungilt' (1 %) and one of plain copper. Two monstrances were gilt and enamelled. The monstrance of Janakkala Church had blue and green enamel, while the object of Hattula Church had only a blue colour. In the latter, as the confiscation document describes, the enamel had been applied on 'the house' and two coats of arms on the foot.

901 FMU 4847.

902 9 lmk 6 lods; FMU 6533.

903 Rinne 1948, 164–166; Riska 1985, 130–131; Hiekkanen 2007, 299, 301.

904 Källström 1940, 212.

905 Hämeenkyrö, Karjaa, Kirkkonummi, Korppoo, Lemu and Pirkkala.

906 Suvanto 1965, 93.



Fig. 58. Turku Cathedral has the only definite example of a medieval monstrance in the Diocese of Turku. The object made of gilt copper metal is in poor shape having lost its lid and transparent container (Cat. 6:1).

Censers

According to Thomas Aquinas, censers have two functions in the church. The first is to symbolize the elevation of the soul towards God in the form of rising smoke, and the other to cover the bad odour of gathered people with the sweet scent of incense.⁹⁰⁷ In Finland, 12 censers or thuribles (from the Latin *thuribulum*) survive from the Middle Ages and two of the missing ones have been documented with photographs (Table 5).⁹⁰⁸

Although ascending clouds of incense from these objects indicated the honour and ascent of prayers to God, the use of such scents and censers was already common in the religious services of the pre-Christian Greco-Roman world and the temple services of Old Testament Judaism. Probably because of these non-Christian connotations as well as the fact that incense was not used in synagogues, being restricted to services performed at the Temple in Jerusalem, early Christianity refrained from using such aromatic devices, although incense was still part of burial rites.⁹⁰⁹

The use of incense and thus also censers as part of the Christian rite were legitimized in the 4th century as Christianity gained a more official position. The first reference to incensing in a Christian burial survives from the year 311 in Alexandria, and in 431 incensing was used as a symbol of spiritual joy in a festive procession in Ephesus. The custom of incensing in the church, when a bishop entered at the beginning of the Mass, was established during the 8th century.⁹¹⁰ Hence *incensio* was eventually made a rite of Christian ceremony, the symbol of prayer and sacrifice, which could be justified with biblical texts such as the Psalms, where it is written: 'Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense', and the Book of Revelation.⁹¹¹

In church, incense was used for cleansing the interior and the participants of the Mass, blessings, weddings, processions, and other services. The altar was incensed in connection with the consecration of the church, and then repeatedly at the beginning of every Mass. The priest added grains of incense into the thurible and made the sign of the cross above it after which he incensed the host, the wine, the altar cross, and the altar. Then he gave the censer to the parish clerk, who incensed the priest and walked among the parishioners and did the same to them. During this, the parishioners made the sign of the cross. Incense was again used during the *offertorium* of the Mass as well as at the reading of Gospels.

In the first mass of Good Friday, the chalice and the host were incensed. The consecration of the fire on the eve of Easter is a notable feature of the service on Holy Saturday. In this rite, the central place is given to the paschal candle (*cereus paschalis*), a large column of wax, which is usually fixed in a great candlestick. While a deacon chants a long Eucharistic prayer (*Præconium paschali* or *Exultet*), the candle is first decorated with five grains of incense, a symbol of Christ's five wounds, and then lit with the newly blessed fire. Moreover, during funerals, the deceased, the bier, and the grave were incensed. Incense played a role even on occasions which were not directly liturgical services, as in the mystery plays of Christmas and Easter.⁹¹²

The grains of incense were made of resin imported from the Middle East and consecrated on Michaelmas on 29 September or more usually at Epiphany on 6 January. When used, the grains were sprinkled on hot charcoals inside a thurible, which was made of silver, copper, bronze or sometimes even leather,⁹¹³ but the medieval thuribles surviving in the Nordic countries were mainly cast of copper alloys. In fact, only one partly gilt silver censer survives in Strängnäs Cathedral.⁹¹⁴ In the confiscation documents related to Finnish parishes, only one censer is mentioned, the gilt (silver?) thurible of Turku Cathedral weighing 1.5 kg.⁹¹⁵

907 Lilja 1978, 140.

908 Furthermore, Turku Cathedral had six medieval censers in 1893 when they were transferred to the Historical Museum of Turku, but none of them survive to the present day (Finnberg 1929, 152; Rinne 1948, 194). On Finnish censers in museum displays, see Häkli 1988, 173; Linder, Meriluoto-Jaakkola & Taitto 2000, 225.

909 Atchley 1909; Zetterberg 1918, 145–146; Helander 1969.

910 Lilja 1978, 143; Mathies 2000, 156.

911 Pss. 141:2; see also Rev. 5:8.

912 Hiekkanen 2003a, 129, 149–150.

913 Braun 1932, 605–607.

914 af Ugglas 1948, 313–367. A censer of gilt bronze also survives in the Danish Kunstkammer (Gundestrup 1991, 214–215 no. 10356).

915 Källström 1939, 324–325.

Table 5. The medieval censers surviving or documented in Finland.

No.	Church	Inv. no.	Foot	Container	Lid	Lid ornament	Pegs	Chains	Chain holder	Style	Dating
1	-	NM Hist. 5980:25	Circular	Spherical	Spherical	Cross church	3/3	3/0	-	Late Romanesque	13th/14th c.
2	Rymättylä	-	Conical	Spherical	Spherical	Cross church	3/3	3/3	-	Late Romanesque	14th c.
3	Vehmaa	PMSWF 4470	Conical	Spherical	Spherical	Church	3/0	3/0	-	Late Romanesque	14th c.
4	Mynämäki	-	Conical	Spherical	Spherical	Roof with pillars	3/3	3/3	-	Late Romanesque	14th c.
5	Yläne?	NM Hist. 37100:7	Conical	Spherical	Spherical	Cross church, cock	3/3	3/3	X	Late Romanesque	14th/15th c.
6	Yläne?	NM Hist. 37100:8	Circular	Spherical	Conical	3 façades, flames	3/3	3/3	X	Gothic	early 15th c.
7	Lempäälä	NM Hist. 359	Conical	Spherical	Conical	3 façades, tower	3/3	3/0	-	Gothic	15th c.
8	Loppi	NM Hist. 454	Hexagonal	Spherical	Conical	3 façades, tower	3/3	3/0	-	Gothic	15th c.
9	Loimaa	NM Hist. 1390	Circular	Spherical	Conical	3 façades, tower	3/3	3/2	X	Gothic	15th c.
10	Rauma	-	Hexagonal	Spherical	Conical	6 façades, tower	3/3	3/0	-	Gothic	15th c.
11	Korppoo	NM Hist. 52107:28-29	-	-	Polygonal	Architectural	-	-	-	Late Gothic	15th/early 16th c.
12	-	NM Hist. 5980:24	Hexagonal	Polygonal	Polygonal	Architectural	3/2	3/2	X	Late Gothic	15th/early 16th c.
13	Köyliö	-	-	Octagonal?	Octagonal?	Architectural	4/4	4/4	X	Late Gothic	15th/early 16th c.
14	Vesilahti	NM Hist. 1390	Hexagonal	Octagonal	Octagonal	Architectural	4/0	4/0	-	Late Gothic	15th/early 16th c.

A typical thurible has a hemispherical container with a stand and a separate lid with openwork decorations. Moreover, it has pegs, or metal bars c. 15 cm in length with a widening on the bottom end and a hook or loop on the top, where a chain for suspension was attached. The pegs were put through hoops on the sides of the container and lid. In that way the pegs held the two halves of the censer together. The number of pegs in a medieval thurible was either three or four. Apart from the censers of Köyliö and Vesilahti churches (Cat. 7:13-14), which have four pegs, all the Finnish items have three pegs.

Besides the three or four chains on the pegs, another chain was attached to the lid, for lifting and lowering the cover.⁹¹⁶ Although no such chains on lids survive in Finnish censers, all of them with intact top of the lid have some kind of a hoop for attaching the chain, whether a hoop on a cross, or cock, or a hoop formed by an upraised hand. The chains were gathered into a triangular disc or cone. The conical chain-holders, surviving in two Finnish censers, have a small hole for the chain of the lid through which the chain was manoeuvred (Cat. 7:6, 12). Finally, a large ring was attached to the chain-holder, from which the censer was swung vigorously giving off clouds of aromatic smoke.

Thuribles, especially the earlier ones, are often grouped into two main types. The first comprises censers decorated with vegetative motifs and fantasy animals, while the latter refers to those that display architectural features.⁹¹⁷ This division does not suit the Finnish material, because all its thuribles represent motifs of church architecture in one form or another. Instead, the division made here aims to date the objects and is based on more general stylistic characteristics. The thuribles are divided into three groups. The first group refers to those items that have Late Romanesque features, while the second has characteristics of Gothic style, and the last one of Late Gothic style. This division also emphasizes the difficulty and uncertainty of dating the censers accurately. They were produced in great quantities in Central Europe, the Nordic countries and probably even in Finland, and old stylistic features could have remained in use for long. Hence it is not surprising that in many cases, exactly or almost similar thuribles can be found in the material. Ulrike Mathias, for instance, points out the similarities between censers in the Schnütgen Museum in Germany and the Statens Historiska Museum in Sweden, and two thuribles in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New

⁹¹⁶ Andersson 1965, cols. 624-625.

⁹¹⁷ Andersson 1965, cols. 624-625; Netzer 1991, 80. Zetterberg (1918) provides a more detailed typology of censers in the churches of Skåne, but her division does not function with the Finnish material, and moreover, her dating of the types remains rather unsubstantiated and appears often too old.



Fig. 59. Late Romanesque censer of Vehmaa Church (Cat. 7:3).

York. She concludes that they all originated from the same workshop and were made around 1200.⁹¹⁸ Because of these multiple problems, the datings of censers have more or less a *terminus post quem* character. Moreover, thuribles constitute an artefact group not usually bearing dates, inscriptions or other features, which could help to anchor dating to the absolute chronology.

The earliest Scandinavian thuribles of the 12th to 14th centuries have hemispherical containers and lids standing on a circular or conical foot. The lids are decorated with openwork floral motifs, fantasy animals and more commonly, architectural motifs. The latter became popular from the 12th century onwards, and the cross-in-square church with a circular or rectangular tower surmounting the crossing remained the most common theme of censers for the rest of the Middle Ages. As Theophilus states in *De diversibus artibus*, the church building symbolizes Heavenly Jerusalem, the symbolic representation of the City of God.⁹¹⁹ According to the Book of Revelation, the city is square in shape and has three gates facing each of the four cardinal points.⁹²⁰ The sphere formed by the container and lid could be understood as the earth, *globus*, or the church green, and the church on top of the lid as Heavenly Jerusalem rising above the ground. The cross-church could be considered as referring to four sides of the city, but the symbolism is more apparent in the censer of the Franciscan Convent church in Rauma (Cat. 7:10), which depicts a church with six façades each having a Gothic twin window opening. Hence the number of windows reached the number of the twelve gates of Heavenly Jerusalem.

Five of the thuribles in the Finnish material conform to the Late Romanesque group (Cat. 7:1–5) (Fig. 59). The smallest and simplest is the thurible from the Antell Collection lacking any further information on its provenance (Cat. 7:1). Its ornamentation comprises engraved triangles around the rim of the container, and a band of openwork triangles around the rim of the lid as well as triangles in the façades of the cross-in-square church. The object displays Late Romanesque features, and based on its style and parallels, it can be dated to the 14th or even the 13th century. The simplicity of the object might, on the other hand, be a symptom of the conditions of its production, and not of its old date. Another cross-in-church depiction was made on the lid of the thurible of Rymättylä Church (Cat. 7:2). It, too, bears Late Romanesque features, which provide

⁹¹⁸ SHM 2548:1A; Mathias 2000, 118 no. 6.

⁹¹⁹ Theophilus I:60.

⁹²⁰ Rev. 21:10–27; Braun 1932, 611–617.

a dating to the 14th century. Probably of the same date is the now-stolen censer of Mynämäki Church (Cat. 7:4), which in contrast to the other Late Romanesque thuribles has a four-pillar construction with a pyramid-shaped roof on top of the lid. The youngest item in this group is the censer possibly from Yläne Church (Cat. 7:5). It also has a church motif with turrets, as well as a cock standing on the roof of the church (Fig. 60). Although it is spherical in form and decorated with a cross-in-square church, all being 14th-century characteristics, the Gothic window openings of the church have a more recent flavour and suggest that it may date from the 15th century.

The figure of a cock, or more precisely tower-cock is not an uncommon feature in medieval censers, and Isidor Zetterberg interprets it either as a reference to actual weathercocks or a feature reminiscent of the dove, the symbol of the soul.⁹²¹ The former interpretation might be correct, but it does not explain the reasons for depicting such birds. The latter interpretation, however, is more doubtful, since the animal on the roof is clearly a cock with a comb and wattle, and not a dove. This would mean that the bird and its symbolism were totally misunderstood, which is very unlikely whether considering the popularity of such ornaments in Scandinavian censers or the precision of religious symbolism in the ecclesiastical context in general. Most commonly the symbolism related to cocks refers to the animal as a reminder of sins, as it was a cock that revealed the sins of the Apostle Peter. However, this interpretation does not seem to provide any appropriate meaning for the tower-cock, but another meaning refers to the bird as the ‘winged herald of the day’, the alert messenger of the new dawn as is described, for instance, in the morning hymn *Hymnus ad galli cantum* by Aurelius Clemens Prudentius: ‘The herald cock proclaims the morn: / And Christ, the soul’s Awakener, cries, / Bidding us back to life arise.’⁹²²

The Jerusalem symbolism seems to have been clearer in the 12th- and 13th-century thuribles, which present architectonic features referring, for instance, to the number gates in the City of God, while in the later ones forms became schematic and simplified.⁹²³ During the 14th and 15th centuries, the earlier floral and acanthus motifs were replaced by vine ornamentation, but what is even more important, the architectonic appearance of censers was developed further. The lid lost its hemispherical form as the church building began to comprise the whole polygonal lid. At the same time, lids became higher and narrower as rich Gothic window openings became popular. The more elaborate and slim shape of the thurible also affected the choice of raw material. The earlier items were cast in bronze, whereas the adoption of copper and brass now allowed now more light and complex forms.⁹²⁴ Five of the Finnish thuribles belong to this second group of Gothic censers.



Fig. 60. Cock standing on the roof of the church in a thurible possibly from Yläne Church (Cat. 7:5).

⁹²¹ Zetterberg 1918, 153.

⁹²² Leclercq 1914, cols. 2886–2887; 1924.

⁹²³ Cf. Netzer 1991, 80–81 no. 15.

⁹²⁴ Andersson 1965, cols. 624–625; Hiekkänen 2003, 129–130.



Fig. 61. Relief ornamentation of the Lempäälä censer comprises rather crude flowers and a motif which could be a maker's mark, since it resembles medieval and Early Modern identification marks (Cat. 7:7).

container is no longer hemispherical. Instead, it is geometrically complex as in the thurible of the Antell Collection (Fig. 62) (Cat. 7:12). Its container and lid have three circular recesses, which give them a triangular cross-section. Each of the recesses has a smaller hemispherical embossing in the centre. The containers in the churches of Köyliö and Vesilahti are octagonal (Cat. 7:13–14). The complexity of design continues in the lid, which in the case of the Korppoo censer is hexagonal and structured as if having several narrowing layers (Cat. 7:11).

Besides the actual censers, also some medieval representations of them survive in Finland. They are all very schematic in nature. The oldest representation of the use of a thurible is in the pendant cross of Halikko dated to the middle or latter part of the 12th century (Cat. 11:1). Here an angel is depicted above the body of Christ holding a censer. The object has a hemispherical container and lid on a conical foot. There are transverse, rectangular-shaped openings on the lid. Other representations of thuribles are considerably later. St. Henry's sarcophagus, which is dated to the 1420s, has a brass plate with a depiction of two pairs of angels incensing with thuribles.⁹²⁵ The censers held by two angels above St. Henry's mitre have hemispherical containers and lids. They appear to have three chains which are attached to the lid. The depictions seem to suggest furthermore that the two angels hold the censers by grabbing the chain-holders from below. The other two angels around St. Henry's face have thuribles with pointed lids, rounded bowls and circular feet. Another pair of censers is swung by two angels standing around the ascending Virgin Mary in one of the wall paintings of the Franciscan convent church in Rauma dated to 1510–1512.⁹²⁶ The two censers do not resemble any one of the actual medieval items with their cylindrical containers and three chains, but again the angels have grabbed the chains under the chain-holder.

There are only few written references to thuribles in Finnish sources, but one such rare instance is the order of the parish clerks of Turku Cathedral drawn up in 1475. This order states

⁹²⁵ Hiekkänen 2007, 49.

⁹²⁶ Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 69–70; Riska 1990c, 57–58.

Especially four of the Gothic censers display a close resemblance to each other (Cat. 7:6–9). They have hemispherical containers and conical lids with crosses on top. Moreover, three of them have four façades with crosses. Although the censer of an unknown church does not have façades (Cat. 7:6), it has flame-like ornaments as in the censer of Lempäälä Church (Cat. 7:7). The relief ornamentation on the Lempäälä thurible is unique, comprising rather crude flowers and a motif which could actually be a maker's mark, since it resembles medieval and Early Modern identification marks (Fig. 61). Compared with these four thuribles, the fifth Gothic one in Rauma Church (Cat. 7:10) has a more elaborate lid construction resembling a central church with six wings. Also its size is quite distinctive. All these Gothic censers can be dated to the 15th century as shown by the Swedish and other North European examples.

The youngest of the three groups includes the thuribles with Late Gothic characteristics. Four items in the Finnish material can be placed in this late group (Cat. 7:11–14). In the Late Gothic censers, the

that after the Masses of major feast-days, the clerk with a bucket of holy water and chaplain with an aspersorium and priest with a censer are to make a procession before supplication.⁹²⁷ Besides the order, the other references to thuribles are from medieval inventories. Erik Turesson's inventory of Olavinlinna Castle records that the chapel had one censer in 1499,⁹²⁸ while the inventory of the treasures of the Naantali Nunnery mentions one thurible weighing 1.1 kg.⁹²⁹ However, the actual number of censers in the diocese must have been much higher.

The survival of the medieval censers to the present was affected by two factors. The first one is the decision of the Reformers that thuribles were among those artefacts, which were no longer suitable for any use in the ecclesiastical services.⁹³⁰ The second factor, counteracting to some extent the first one, was the raw materials from which censers were cast. The base metal did not interest the crown, and later their material value was so low that their reuse was not usually recorded in church documents. As an exception to the rule, one of the thuribles in Turku Cathedral was melted down with other ecclesiastical artefacts in 1773 for making a new set of communion vessels.⁹³¹



Fig. 62. The Late Gothic censer of the Antell Collection is geometrically complex (Cat. 7:12).

Crosses

The cross – the symbol of Christ's death and resurrection – is a powerful and highly distinctive emblem, appearing in both ecclesiastical and secular contexts during the medieval and Early Modern period. The cross is one of the most fundamental symbols of Christianity, and the first instances of its use as referring to Christ and Christianity are from the 2nd century AD.⁹³² Since then crosses and crucifixes have been produced in various sizes and purposes, many of them combining a range of functions, uses and meanings.

⁹²⁷ *bör honum supelliciatum fore medh wigde watns kätülen oc capellanum med stenkelen oc curatum medh rökilse kareth in processione ganga; FMU 3632.*

⁹²⁸ *FMU 4847.*

⁹²⁹ *FMU 6533.*

⁹³⁰ *Hiekkanen 2003a, 170, 176.*

⁹³¹ *Hiekkanen 2003a, 130.*

⁹³² *Ziehr 1996, 44.*

In the Finnish medieval material, three kinds of crosses can be distinguished. The largest are processional and altar crosses of which three medieval examples have survived in the churches of Rusko, Lempäälä and Masku. Second are the reliquary crosses, or crosses used solely for conserving relics. Only one such cross has been found in Finland, in the church of Föglö. Finally there are smaller crosses, cross pendants, which were worn as part of personal apparel. They are represented in the material by a Late Crusade Period example from Halikko and two late medieval crucifixes of gilt silver.

The Limoges cross of Rusko Church

The oldest processional or altar cross surviving in Finland is of Limoges work. It is either the crucifix of Rusko Church or the plaque, possibly also from a cross, found in Uskela (present-day Salo). Limoges work, or enamel *champlevé* applied on copper plates, began around 1100 in Aquitaine in France, but only after the mid-12th century did this enamelwork experience a significant increase in production and the first international diffusion of the products. During the 13th century, the immense popularity of Limoges enamels led to semi-industrial production and consequently the emergence of stereotypical products combined with poorer quality. This large-scale enamel industry was not confined to the town of Limoges, but was spread around southern France and even parts of northern Spain on both sides of the Pyrenees. European demand seems to have diminished at the beginning of the 14th century and production declined to local scale and finally waned.⁹³³ The second period of Limoges enamel production began in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁹³⁴

Limoges enamels spread to a wide area extending from Jerusalem to Kiev, Ireland and the Nordic countries. The popularity of the products might be explained not only by the dazzling visual effect created by enamel applied on copper plates but also by the thickness and sturdiness of these plates as a ground. The cheap raw materials also meant that the price of the finished products was economical. Moreover, Limoges enamels do not tarnish like silver when handled.⁹³⁵ The immense demand for Limoges work is shown by almost 9,500 items presently known from 26 countries. The Scandinavian material comprises approximately 200 pieces of which 105 are from the area of present-day Sweden.⁹³⁶ On the basis of these figures, Marie-Madeleine Gauthier estimates that a total of 1,000–2,000 Limoges items were imported to Scandinavia between the late 12th and early 14th century.⁹³⁷

The majority or 80 % of the Limoges work in Sweden comprises altar and processional crosses with only a few censers, book covers, reliquaries, pyxes and ciboria. Even fewer are the profane objects: one casket and a plaque from a belt buckle. This pattern of products is in stark contrast with the rest of Europe, since only 10% of the surviving Limoges enamels are crosses. Britt-Marie Andersson interprets the incongruence as related to the situation of the church in Scandinavia. The churches of Denmark and Sweden were in the midst of consolidating their authority in the region during the boom of Limoges products throughout Europe. Many churches were still private, and they focused on acquiring handsome crosses at the cost of other liturgical implements. In view of the surviving 9,500 Limoges enamels, or even the 105 Swedish items, the two Finnish pieces seem like a tiny drop in the ocean. Taavitsainen has explained the low number of Limoges enamels in Finland with the late establishment of church organization in the Diocese of Turku compared with other regions in Sweden.⁹³⁸

The flow of Limoges work to the Nordic countries required contacts with Rome and France.⁹³⁹ In addition to trade routes, enamels could be transported via pilgrimage roads.⁹⁴⁰ Andersson

⁹³³ *Taburet-Delahaye 1996, 33–35.*

⁹³⁴ *Gauthier 1950; Kovács 1968.*

⁹³⁵ *Drake Boehm 1996, 42.*

⁹³⁶ *Andersson B.-M. 1980, 3.*

⁹³⁷ *Gauthier 1971.*

⁹³⁸ *Taavitsainen 1987; 1989.*

⁹³⁹ *Andersson B.-M. 1980, 4–8; Drake Boehm 1996, 44.*

⁹⁴⁰ *Drake Boehm 1996, 45.*

and Gauthier underscore the importance of travelling students and priests as well as the role of monastic contacts in acquiring Limoges enamels. Andersson places more emphasis on the Cistercians, while Gauthier considers the mendicant orders to have been central to the distribution of northern Limoges work.⁹⁴¹ Lastly, an important factor in their spreading was very likely the wave of urbanization that occurred in Scandinavia in the 13th century and the new economic and transportation infrastructure that it provided.

The crucifix of Rusko comprises a wooden cross and the figure of Christ (Cat. 8:1). The actual Limoges work involves only the figure of the crowned Christ, which is decorated with blue and green enamel and attached to a cross made of pine. The cross has square-shaped finials, *suppedaneum* and a small metal ring for suspension in the upper arm. Riska dates the crucifix to around 1200,⁹⁴² while Taavitsainen defines the dating more precisely by comparing the cross with Andersson's work on Swedish Limoges enamels. He identifies the cross with Andersson's group III, which provides a dating to the third quarter of the 13th century.⁹⁴³ It might have been among the first artefacts that were acquired for the parish of Rusko, which was founded in the late 13th century.⁹⁴⁴ Interestingly, Bishop Magnus I (in office 1291–1308) originally came from Mårtelä in Rusko.

The other Finnish Limoges work is only a fragment of a larger object (Cat. 8:2). This fragment was found in a field of Pohjatalo farm in the village of Moisio in Salo at a depth of 3–4 cm in the summer 1921 or 1922. The location of the find is about 100 metres from the Salonjoki River. The find is a convex plate in the shape of a human torso with cells for enamel *champlevé*. Deep blue enamel has been applied to the eyes and blue, turquoise, and purple enamel to the body, forming the outlines of the drapery. A hole has been drilled through the chest and knees of the figure, which suggest that the plaque was used as a metal appliqué. It might have adorned a reliquary, casket, book cover or cross. Andersson considers similar plaques found in Sweden to originate most likely from crucifixes as most of the surviving items of Limoges work in Sweden are crosses.⁹⁴⁵ Taavitsainen follows her argumentation with regard to the find from Salo and suggests that it belonged to a cross.⁹⁴⁶ He also identifies the object as a Limoges product belonging to Andersson's cross group III, which places the making of the object in the third quarter of the 13th century.⁹⁴⁷ Hence the cross of Rusko and the plaque are approximately contemporary and from the mass-production stage of Limoges enamels.

Processional crosses

The earliest forms of the processional cross are known in Central Europe from the late 4th to the early 5th century, and they were probably used as the examples of the *crux stationalis* carried before the pope in the stationary liturgy.⁹⁴⁸ The first processional crosses of metalwork were used in Byzantium in the 6th century, and the oldest processional crosses made of metals in Western Europe date from the 9th century. Based on visual sources Colum Hourihane argues that the processional cross was especially popular in the period from the mid-14th to the 16th century in the British Isles.⁹⁴⁹

In the late medieval period, besides the pope, archbishops and bishops, the papal legates, confraternities and general monastic orders as well as cathedral chapters, collegiate bodies and every parish had a right to own a processional cross. If a church had several crosses, the most valuable ones were carried only on the most important occasions, while the less decorated ones were used for everyday events. However, many of the poorer churches had only one cross at their disposal.⁹⁵⁰

941 Gauthier 1971; Andersson B.-M. 1980, 5–8.

942 Riska 1961, 186; see also Rinne 1948, 158–159.

943 Andersson B.-M. 1976; 1980, 25; Taavitsainen 1987; Häkli 1988, 169; Taavitsainen 1989a.

944 Hiekkänen 2007, 156.

945 Andersson B.-M. 1980, 12–14.

946 Taavitsainen 1987, 96.

947 Andersson B.-M. 1976; 1980, 28, figs. 78–84, 87, 88; Taavitsainen 1987; Häkli 1988, 169; Taavitsainen 1989a.

948 O'Connell 1955, 233–234; Ziehr 1997, 35, 49, 59.

949 Hourihane 2005, 6–7.

950 Hourihane 2005, 2–3, 14.

In medieval illustrations the processional cross is typically shown with four terminals and a node. Although the figure of Christ is usually missing from the depicted crosses, they more often had one than not. In many cases the cross was not permanently attached to the staff, but had a tang, as in the English crosses, or as in German crosses a socket to which a staff could be attached. A typical late medieval processional cross was well over two metres in length if the staff is included. In England, all surviving crosses are made of base metals, and most of them are gilt, but some have silver inlays or enamel. Wooden crosses with no figures of Christ are known from written sources, but none have survived.⁹⁵¹

The 15th-century processional cross of Masku Church, 28.1 cm in height and made of gilt sheets of copper (Cat. 9:2), was permanently attached to a wooden staff only recently, but it probably served this function already in the Middle Ages. The node of the cross is melon-shaped. The actual figure of Christ is missing, but stains of lead at the centre of the cross reveal the place where the figure was attached. The budded ends of the cross arms have engraved initials of the names of the four Evangelists, while the back of the cross is without decoration. The back, however, has five empty compartments for storing relics. Although the cross of Masku was certainly carried in medieval processions, it might well have found a use also at the altar, if it only had a detachable staff and a base. Since such accessories are missing, the idea of multifunctionality cannot be considered certain.

Altar crosses

In spite of being named as two distinct categories, the separation between altar and processional crosses was not sharp in the Middle Ages. In contrast to processional crosses, an altar cross appears in European written sources as late as the 13th century,⁹⁵² but according to Braun, in the Late Middle Ages, altars, or at least the main altar, usually had crosses.⁹⁵³ They were rather small items held on the altar as part of the liturgical equipment, although they were not absolutely necessary for the liturgy on the basis of ecclesiastical regulations. If altar crosses as well as processional crosses were as popular in the Nordic countries as in Central Europe, the number of such items mentioned in the 16th-century confiscation documents is surprisingly small. Olle Källström counts only some 85 altar and processional crosses in the whole Swedish realm, but he explains their rare occurrence by their raw material. If wooden crosses are not counted, in most cases the crosses were probably made of copper, a material which was of no interest to the crown.⁹⁵⁴

In Nordic written sources the distinction between altar and processional crosses seems at times rather vague. In some cases altar and processional crosses appear as a pair. Such was the case, in addition to Askaby Cloister in Sweden, in Turku Cathedral and in the churches of Kirkkonummi, Laitila, Pernaja, Pirkkala, Rauma and Vehmaa, all of which had at least one pair of crosses.⁹⁵⁵ This was in line with some regional though not general liturgical orders.⁹⁵⁶ Moreover, as Källström points out, there are several occasions in the confiscation documents where an individual cross is assumed to have a separate foot. The gilt altar cross of Pyhtää Church is said to be missing its foot.⁹⁵⁷ Also Vihti Church had a 'cross without a foot',⁹⁵⁸ while the cross of Helsinki (Helsingē) Parish Church is specified to have a 'foot of copper'.⁹⁵⁹ Two of the six crosses confiscated from Turku Cathedral are also described as being without feet.⁹⁶⁰ It appears that the foot was needed for installing the cross on the altar, but when a processional cross was required, the cross could be separated from the foot. The cross had a tang or more likely a hollow socket, to which the separate processional staff could be attached.⁹⁶¹ According to Hourihane, the poor churches of England that

951 Hourihane 2005, 5, 7–8, 52.

952 Hourihane 2005, 7.

953 Braun 1932, 470–472.

954 Källström 1939, 111.

955 Källström 1939, 113, 313, 316, 320, 323, 324.

956 Hildebrand 1898–1903, 670; Braun 1932, 471–472.

957 Källström 1939, 320.

958 Källström 1939, 324.

959 Källström 1939, 314.

960 Källström 1939, 324–325.

961 Källström 1939, 112.

did not have the necessary funds for acquiring two crosses owned only one, which served both altar and processional needs.⁹⁶² On the basis of written sources, multifunctional crosses were a common phenomenon in Finnish churches.

At present the cross of Lempäälä Church is usually identified as an altar cross (Cat. 9:1), but its attachable base of copper reveals that it might also have been used as a processional cross. The height of the Lempäälä cross is 16.8 cm and 28.5 cm with the base. Like the Masku cross, it has been folded from gilt copper sheets around a wooden core. On the front of the cross, the figure of Christ is accompanied by four rock crystals mounted at the budded cross arms. On the back, the ends of the arms have engraved trefoils and the cross centre an empty compartments for storing relics. Although the figure of Christ is of late-14th-century type, the cross itself suggests that the object was made in the second quarter of the 15th century (Fig. 63).

Crosses and medieval processions

Processional crosses were used in various contexts of the ceremonial life of the church. The most important ones were processions. The oldest reference to a Christian procession is by St. Ambrose in 388,⁹⁶³ and by the 12th century, processions had become an accepted ritual throughout Western Europe. Up to the 6th century, only bishops or archbishops were permitted to participate in processions, but the number of participants permitted in processions grew gradually since then. Nevertheless, the association between ecclesiastical dignitaries and the processional cross survived throughout the Middle Ages. The processional cross was specifically linked with the bishop or rather archbishop even as late as the 13th century, although its use was not confined solely to high dignitaries during the late medieval period. In medieval imagery, even the pope can be depicted holding a processional cross instead of his papal cross with three transverse arms. Besides the papal cross, the processional cross has to be distinguished from the cross-topped staff, which was another sign of ecclesiastical authority. Although the cross-topped staff or the cross of jurisdiction was in principle a processional cross, it nevertheless differs from the processional cross in both shape and purpose. Even its formal liturgical meaning was dissimilar. The cross-topped staff rarely had an image of the Crucifixion, and moreover, it was made as a single object with the pole and the cross permanently attached to each other.⁹⁶⁴

In Finland, the authoritative significance of processional crosses is clearly visible in the imagery of the sarcophagus of St. Henry in Nousiainen. In the plate depicting the arrival of SS. Eric and Henry, the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities, both men are carried by their own ships. As his emblem St. Eric has the flag of three crowns held up by a warrior at the prow of the ship. Similarly St. Henry has an emblem of his authority, the processional cross held aloft by a tonsured deacon. The visual pairing of the ships, the two men and their symbols of power clearly show that the processional cross was the sign of ecclesiastical authority.

Those processions which were part of more usual ceremonial life were either canonical or non-canonical. The canonical processions could be penitential, festive or regular. Regular processions took place on Sundays and principal festivals, before the Eucharist and every Saturday from



Fig. 63. Altar cross of gilt copper with five rock crystals from Östra Ryd Church, Östergötland. The height of the piece is 34.5 cm whereof the foot 15.3 cm. The width of the hexagonal foot is 12.6 cm, and the width of the horizontal arms 24.7 cm. Dated to around 1425 (SHM 3393:3).

⁹⁶² Hourihane 2005, 54.

⁹⁶³ *Patrologia latina, Letter to Theodosius, XVI:1107.*

⁹⁶⁴ Hourihane 2005, 3, 12.

Easter to Advent. The High Mass on Sundays began with a procession around the church itself and placed strong emphasis on community and participation. Similarly all religious processions were important communal events gathering people primarily for religious but naturally also for other social purposes.⁹⁶⁵ Annual processions included Candlemas on February 2, and the Easter procession as well as a procession on Palm Sunday.⁹⁶⁶ Such processions were structured events often ending with the Mass.⁹⁶⁷

Traces of medieval processions are scant in Finland. According to a medieval document, when the bones of Bishop Hemmingus were transported from Turku to Stockholm in 1514, the delegation was received with crosses and banners.⁹⁶⁸ Moreover, the Whitsuntide festival (*helkajuhla*) at Ritvala village in present-day Valkeakoski (previously Sääksmäki parish), still celebrated today, is most likely a festival with a background in medieval celebrations. The festival already attracted the interest of scholars in the 19th century. The historian Eino Jutikkala provides a detailed description of the celebrations,⁹⁶⁹ and Viljo Tarkiainen identifies and analyses the pre-Christian and Christian strata of the festival.⁹⁷⁰ The folklorist Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio, however, dismisses Tarkiainen's interpretation as 'a construction of fantasy', and argues that the festival most likely has clear Christian roots by which even the so-called pagan characteristics can be explained.⁹⁷¹

In the 19th century, the Whitsuntide festival began with maidens gathering into the village centre. They formed a procession, which progressed to nearby Helkavuori Hill singing hymns. The procession ended in a great bonfire. Probably the festival originally started as an annual spring procession, beseeching God for agricultural fertility, and is hence called the Rogation procession (from the Latin verb *rogare*, 'to ask'). It took place during the three Rogation days immediately before Ascension Thursday and was organized in order to avert God's anger and to beg for his mercy on the fruits of the fields.⁹⁷²

Consecrations of churches were also important occasions where a processional cross played a part, but like the processions in which they were included, consecration rites are not described in Finnish medieval sources. The diocesan statutes, however, give broad guidelines on how they were executed. Only a bishop could consecrate a church after it had been built, and thus the need for the consecration of a Finnish church was always addressed to the Bishop of Turku. The bishop used a processional cross in connection with the consecration of the church and the blessing of its altars.⁹⁷³

Crosses were an integral part of all processions as they were carried before the journeying group. Borne as part of the procession, crosses referred to the cross that Christ carried on his way to Calvary, transforming the procession into a re-enactment of Christ's journey. The precise position of the cross in processions could slightly vary and was dependent e.g. on the day of the year. The figure of Christ on the cross always faced the direction of the viewer and away from the procession following behind it. The only exceptions to the rule were papal, legate and archiepiscopal processions, in which the body of Christ on the cross faced the procession.⁹⁷⁴

The non-canonical processions were occasional and organized when needed. Written evidence of funeral processions is limited, but based on depictions in book illuminations, Hourihane argues that processional crosses probably played their most important non-canonical role in funerals. The cross was used throughout the whole death sequence, not only in the burial rite or in the funerary processions.⁹⁷⁵ Visiting the dying person, the priest came with the communion vessels and processional cross. The priest heard the confession of the dying and served the communion as ordered in the statutes of Bishop Hemmingus in 1352. Hourihane states that in the illuminations, the cross is placed in a vertical position behind the dying person's bed during the communion. It

965 Hourihane 2005, 9.

966 Hiekkänen 2002b.

967 Hourihane 2005, 11–13.

968 FMU 5736.

969 Jutikkala 1934, 113–120.

970 Tarkiainen 1922.

971 Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953, 309, 341–346.

972 Hiekkänen 2002b.

973 For a reconstruction of the diocese's consecration rites, see Hiekkänen 2003a, 46–52.

974 Hourihane 2005, 11–14.

975 Hourihane 2005, 9, 15–16.

is reminiscent of the altar with its celebrants and the sacrifice of Christ. For the last rites, the altar was made up of the dying person's body.

When the hour of death was near, the dying was to receive extreme unction (*extrema unctio*). According to Eamon Duffy, during this service of visitation (*ordo visitandi*), the priest held an image of the crucifix above the face of the dying person at both absolution and the last rites.⁹⁷⁶ This scene is rarely depicted in illuminations, but when it occurs, it is always the professional cross and its crucifix that are used. While the cross was shown to the dying, the Passion narratives of St. John were read aloud as to accompany the dying to the last journey and ultimate resurrection.

After the last rites and the moment of death, the cross came to play a more discreet role.⁹⁷⁷ It accompanied the deceased in two processions. The first was the transportation of the body to the church. A procession of this kind is depicted on one of the plates of St. Henry's sarcophagus. In this scene, the saint's corpse is carried in a procession to Nousiainen Church, and it is led by two deacons with banners and succeeded by two more deacons carrying two crosses. The second procession was the last journey from the church to the cemetery. The position of the cross during the burial ceremony could vary, being at the foot, the head or behind the body.⁹⁷⁸ While the procession from church to cemetery is one of the most frequently represented scenes of the entire burial rite, in the sarcophagus of St. Henry, the laying of his body in the sarcophagus is depicted instead. Among the group of people participating in the event, a deacon stands with a processional cross held aloft behind the sarcophagus. Placed in the centre of the scene, the cross has an emphasized position.

In his will written in 1366, Torsten, a priest of Viipuri, asks the executor to prepare a silver cross which was to be carried in front of his funeral procession. The procession should walk around Turku Cathedral after which the cross is to be donated to the altar of the Virgin Mary.⁹⁷⁹ Torsten's orders seem to imply that the cross would not accompany his last journey from the church to the graveyard. According to Hourihane, in illuminations, if the processional cross is taken to the graveyard, it is shown in a prominent and vertical position at the actual entombment. The cross nearly always changes its position at the moment when the body is about to be placed in the grave. Instead of being held vertically, it is now inclined over the deceased. The gesture of pointing the cross towards the tomb could be understood as preparation for the last journey from the ground to the vault. This journey could have only one participant. The binary gestural language, with the cross held aloft or inclined towards the deceased, did not appear in intentional and depicted form until the 15th century, Hourihane notes. He associates its emergence with the popularity of the Crucifixion and its power as an active symbol.⁹⁸⁰

Since the procession was a re-enactment of the Passion and a symbol of death, it had no role in connection with baptism.⁹⁸¹ There are some cases, however, in which the processional cross appears in depictions of the event. Hourihane suggests that when the procession occurred, the cross was the symbol of the archbishop officiating at the ceremony.⁹⁸² In one of the panels of St. Henry's sarcophagus, St. Eric is fighting heathens in the upper field of the scene while St. Henry baptises men in the lower one. Behind St. Henry, who pours water over a kneeling man, stands a deacon with an upraised processional cross. Although the use of the processional cross is clearly present in this baptism scene, the object again probably refers more to the authoritative position of St. Henry as the first bishop of Finland rather than the actual event.

In addition to the chalice, paten, monstrance, ciborium and censer, the processional cross was probably the most familiar liturgical artefact for parishioners. It was the only liturgical object with the censer that was frequently removed from the altar and brought into the realm of the parishioners. In a way, the processional cross created a link between the remote altar and the people, or a link between the mystical and the real. When it was not in use, the processional

⁹⁷⁶ Duffy (1992) 2005, 314.

⁹⁷⁷ Hourihane 2005, 20.

⁹⁷⁸ Hourihane 2005, 20.

⁹⁷⁹ REA 198; FMU 745.

⁹⁸⁰ Hourihane 2005, 23, 50.

⁹⁸¹ Cramer 1993.

⁹⁸² Hourihane 2005, 14.

cross was kept on the Gospel side of the altar, facing the Epistle side. The position underscored the association of the cross with the Eucharist. Furthermore, because of its strong sacramental and Eucharistic associations, the processional cross could also be venerated as an object with miraculous powers. Hourihane refers, for instance, to a miniature in which a processional cross is applied to stop a nosebleed at a funeral.⁹⁸³

Rock crystals of the Lempäälä cross

The altar cross of Lempäälä has four clear rock crystals, one in each of its arms. Rock crystals appear in the Finnish archaeological material during the Crusade Period, when oval-shaped polished rock crystals on silver mounts were laid in graves. Such objects are known from the burial grounds of Humikkala in Masku and Taskula in Turku (previously Maaria).⁹⁸⁴ Ella Kivikoski suggests that the Crusade Period rock crystals might originate from ecclesiastical objects such as books or reliquaries.⁹⁸⁵ The excavations of Lempäälä Church unearthed another rock crystal, a round piece mounted in a silver frame with a suspension ring. Similar pendants are known only from Gotland and the Kostivere hoard in Harju, North Estonia. Markus Hiekkänen, who directed the excavations, dates the pendant to the latter part of the 11th century.⁹⁸⁶ Many Scandinavian rock crystals of the Crusade Period and early medieval times are set in cross-shaped mounts like the one found in Lempäälä Church. Lastly, the filigree silver brooch found in the burial ground of Mahittula in Raisio, dated to the latter part of the 12th century, has a mounted rock crystal on the centre.⁹⁸⁷

In the Nordic countries, these Late Iron Age and early medieval individual rock crystals have been interpreted as symbols of baptism, a pivotal church rite for the conversion period.⁹⁸⁸ The same interpretation has even been applied to the rock crystal beads found in the medieval layers of Turku,⁹⁸⁹ but these later rock crystals probably evoked different kinds of associations than ones of the missionary period. In the Middle Ages, transparent rock crystal was considered as a symbol of chastity or more precisely the Immaculate Conception. The Virgin Mary is the pure crystal and her son the celestial light. Hence especially the colourless form of quartz was used as the symbol of purity.⁹⁹⁰

Besides the altar cross of Lempäälä Church, only one other ecclesiastical artefact with a rock crystal survives. The crosier of Turku Cathedral has a large, cylindrical rock crystal just below its now missing crook. According to the confiscation documents, churches of Nauvo and Rymättylä had a special type of brooch, a clypeus pendant, consisting of a silver-mounted rock crystal.⁹⁹¹ Finally, among the crosses confiscated by Gustavus Vasa, there is one from Vanaja/Mäskälä Church, which is described as gilt and mounted with five pieces of glass. The glass pieces were soldered with lead.⁹⁹² They were most likely applied to the cross in order to imitate rock crystals like the ones on the cross of Lempäälä Church.

In the Lempäälä cross, the transparency of rock crystals was utilized by mounting them on backgrounds of different colour. The lower crystal in the vertical arm has a piece of woollen cloth beneath it. The cloth is dyed red. Both crystals in the transverse arms have pieces of silver foil placed underneath, while the background of the highest one is painted green. Two words are inscribed on the green surface with red paint: *pax vobis* (abbreviation of *vobiscum*) meaning 'peace be with you'. It is one of the liturgical salutations with Biblical origins.⁹⁹³ The use of inscriptions under rock crystals mounted on crosses is not uncommon.⁹⁹⁴ On a processional cross, the salutation

983 Hourihane 2005, 42–43, 51.

984 NM Arch. 8565 Grave 8:1, 14:4, 33:1; 10833:8–9; Kivikoski 1973, 142 fig. 1154–1155; Häkli 1988, 168.

985 Kivikoski 1961, 235–236.

986 NM Hist. 84060:18; Hiekkänen 1986, 96–99.

987 Lehtosalo 1973; Suvanto 1985, 35.

988 Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch 1985, 10; Thunmark-Nylén 1989, 218.

989 NM Hist. 4034:11; Ahola et al. 2004, 169 no. 54.

990 Raulet 1999, 22.

991 Arwidsson VI, 332; VIII, 159–160; Källström 1936, 161; 1939, 317–318, 320–321.

992 Källström 1939, 317.

993 Genesis 43:23; Judges 6:23; Luke 24:36; John 20:21, 26; Cabrol 1913.

994 E.g. the reliquary cross in the treasury (Trese) of St. Mary's Church in Lübeck has an inscription underneath the rock crystal of the lower arm. The cross is made of oak and plated with gilt copper and silver and dated to the 14th century (St. Annen Museum inv. no. 341).

emphasizes its significance at the head of the procession, although the text itself cannot be read by the naked eye without being very close to the object.

The background colours under the four rock crystals can be approached as having symbolic meaning as liturgical colours. Their significance or the number of liturgical colours during the Middle Ages is, however, a difficult matter. Before 1570, when Pius V systematized the use of colours in the liturgy, their meanings were not strictly defined, and the set of liturgical colours could vary from a diocese to another. Nevertheless, the liturgical colour system as known today began to emerge during the 12th century. In his treatise *De sacro altaris mysterio*, composed before his election as pope in 1198, Innocent III mentions four principal colours, white, red, green and black, as liturgical colours of general use and violet as occasionally employed. This sequence was regularly used from the thirteenth century. The sequence of Pius V comprises the same five colours: white, red, green, violet and black.⁹⁹⁵

Innocent III considers red to be the colour of the feasts of the Passion, the 'Precious Blood of Christ' and the martyrs. The use of red cloth in the lowest crystal of Lempäälä cross could be interpreted as pointing to the basis of the Christian faith, the suffering and death of Christ. The colour of the crystals on the transverse arms is silver or its heraldic equivalent, white. According to Innocent III, white is a consecratory and sacramental colour. White is the sign of holiness.⁹⁹⁶ In the reformed missal of Pius V, white is the colour proper for Trinity Sunday and the feasts of Our Lord apart from those of His Passion, and for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin. It is thus the colour of purity, triumph and innocence. The green background of the highest crystal is the most difficult to associate with Christian symbolism as it has no place in Innocent's sequence. He does, however, speak of the greenness of faith, while Dionysius of Alexandria writes that the green form of a heavenly being is an image of youth and the flower of the soul. It is the colour of life, growth and hope.

The use of silver in the backgrounds of the two rock crystals in the horizontal arm suggests that the colour symbolism of the Lempäälä cross should be read from bottom to top, not circularly. In this way, the colour narrative begins with the suffering and death of Christ, which through purity, Virgin Birth and the sacraments transform into life and hope.

Reliquary crosses

The crosses of the churches of Masku and Lempäälä each have five compartments for storing relics on their reverse side, but they cannot be considered to be reliquary crosses *per se*. Källström points out there are a large number of crosses mentioned in the confiscation documents which are so light or otherwise different that they could not have been used as altar or processional crosses. He interprets them as crosses hung on the wall. In the confiscation documents of Finnish parishes, there are six crosses described as small. One such artefact is a gilt cross weighing 8 *lods* or 105 g confiscated from Turku Cathedral. Some of the crosses are even said to have chains, assumedly for hanging them on the wall. Källström interprets them as encolpions or holders of scrolls with inscriptions of protecting verses or relics.⁹⁹⁷

One such reliquary cross survives in Finland, from the church of Föglö (Cat. 10:1). As it is made of silver and small, Matts Dreijer suggests that the cross was never hung on the wall but used only for conserving relics. The reliquary was discovered in the remains of the medieval main altar of Föglö Church in 1967. The altar remains, 150 cm long and 110 cm wide, were 60 cm from the east wall of the chancel.⁹⁹⁸ The surviving parts were 75 cm high. The altar base had a small east-oriented cavity made of bricks and measuring 18 x 18 x 20 cm. The sepulchre revealed remains of a wooden box with iron mounts as well as a reliquary cross of gilt silver, 6 cm in height. One of the relic compartments of the cross contained a small roll of parchment with the text *maria magdz*, which identified the accompanying object as a relic of St. Mary Magdalen. The reliquary was very

⁹⁹⁵ Shepherd 1992.

⁹⁹⁶ Innocent, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, I:65.

⁹⁹⁷ Braun 1924, 90.

⁹⁹⁸ Dreijer 1967a, 15–16, 21–23; 1967b.

likely sealed into the altar cavity when the church was consecrated. Hiekkänen dates the building of the church to the latter part of the 15th century or around 1500–1520,⁹⁹⁹ and indeed the reliquary cross was made around 1500.

The four arms of the Föglö cross, 6.0 cm in height, end in trefoils. The arms of the figure of Christ are stretched horizontally, and his legs are crossed on top of each other. Each trefoil has a letter in Gothic minuscule. Above Christ is the letter *j* for the Evangelist John, and clockwise on right *l* for Luke followed twice by the letter *m* for Matthew and Mark. Also the reverse has five letters in each of the trefoils and the centre depicted inside a crosshatched circle. A band encircles the central disc. The letter in the middle is a miniscule *m*, on the upper trefoil a miniscule *g*, and then in clockwise order, majuscule *S*, miniscule *b*, and finally majuscule *R*. According to Dreijer, these letters should be interpreted as referring to the phrases *Maria gratia benedicta* and *Mater regis salvatoris*, and thus the central letter *m* should be read twice.¹⁰⁰⁰

Cross pendants

Cross pendants are small crucifixes with chains to be worn around the neck or perhaps attached as part of a rosary.¹⁰⁰¹ The earliest written references to cross pendants in Europe survive from the 4th century, when pieces of Christ's cross were carried in reliquary pendants shaped as crosses.¹⁰⁰² The first known depictions of the crucified Christ appeared in the 5th century, and of the dead Christ in the 7th to 9th centuries.¹⁰⁰³ In Scandinavia, oldest cross pendants date from the Viking Age, including one found in a grave in Birka dated to the 10th century.¹⁰⁰⁴ In Finland most of the cross pendants date from the Crusade Period, although some might originate from the Viking Age.¹⁰⁰⁵

Despite their obvious religious connotations, such pendants were worn by ecclesiastics,¹⁰⁰⁶ laymen and women. Also the meanings of cross pendants were manifold. The object can be considered a symbol of authority if used as part of an episcopal garment, but the cross may also be a sign of private devotion. In Finnish archaeology, cross pendants became the *Leitmotif* of the Late Viking and Crusade Ages and subsequently of the missionary period. Indeed more cross pendants of various materials and shapes are known from the Late Iron Age than the following medieval period; altogether 37 have been published.¹⁰⁰⁷ Silver is the raw material in 24 (65 %) of them.

Because the large majority of the Late Iron Age cross pendants has been found in graves or as stray finds in burial grounds (27 items or 73 %),¹⁰⁰⁸ they have been interpreted as signs of the deceased's religious views. In 1948, Nils Cleve put forward the idea that 'graves with crosses or crucifixes belonged to Christians or at least semi-Christians, i.e. primsignated',¹⁰⁰⁹ which was adopted into many later archaeological studies.¹⁰¹⁰ Primsignation refers to a Christian ceremony practiced since the 2nd century, where the catechumenate or a pagan adult educated to be a Christian was given an early initiation to the church. After the missionary period, the rite became part of children's baptism. The rite is well documented in the Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavia,¹⁰¹¹ but as Hiekkänen points out, there are no written sources stating that a cross or crucifix had any function in the primsignation rite or that the use of such an artefact signalled a primsignated person. Undoubtedly, cross pendants have some association with the wearer's attitude towards Christianity, but the number of crosses is too small compared with the potential or even actual number of Christians or semi-Christians in the missionary period. Moreover, the

999 Hiekkänen 1995, 123–124; 2003a, 53; 2007, 373, 591 note 52; see also Dreijer 1972; Ringbom 1994, 483–484.

1000 Dreijer 1967a, 15–16, 21–23; 1967b; 1983, 407.

1001 E.g. Kammel 2000, 287–288 no. 112.

1002 Schiller 1968, 101, 438–439.

1003 Schiller 1968, 107, 118.

1004 Duczko 1985, 55–59 fig. 61; Staecker 1999; Lia 2008.

1005 Purhonen 1998, 58; Taavitsainen 2007a.

1006 For an episcopal cross, see Ekström 1983, 841–842.

1007 Two of them are so fragmentary that their identification is somewhat uncertain (Purhonen 1998, 212–217; Haggrén & Mikkola 2000, 16; Hiekkänen 2001a, 54 note 2; 2001b, 42 note 5).

1008 Four items (11 %) have been discovered in hoards.

1009 Cleve 1948, 75.

1010 E.g. Taavitsainen 1989a, 84; Purhonen 1998, 111–112.

1011 Sandholm 1965.

majority of the Late Iron Age cross pendants have been discovered in burial grounds interpreted as belonging to a farm or family. This might suggest that the use of cross pendants was part of certain family traditions, and not the symbol of primisignation as such.¹⁰¹²

The Late Iron Age crucifix of Halikko

Although the Crusade Period cross pendants are beyond the focus of the present study because of their dating and style, there is one late example that is discussed here: the silver crucifix of the Halikko hoard (Cat. 11:1), which stylistically differs from the other so-called encolpion crosses and cross pendants of the Crusade Period. The cross itself is of Romanesque style despite the fact that its chain displays some Late Viking Age features. The crucifix was found in October 1887 along with two encolpion crosses with chains and 36 filigree beads placed into a pottery vessel on the lands of Joensuu Manor in Halikko. All the other artefacts in the hoard belong stylistically to Viking Age Art.

No exact parallels exist for the crucifix of Halikko in Finland or anywhere in Europe, but the object can be divided into five structurally independent elements, which in turn can be associated with other dated artefacts. The first element is the crucifix proper with the figure of Christ. The Virgin Mary and St. John stand around the cross on branches extending from the base of the cross. Each of the four cross ends has a human figure. The human figure on the upper arm looks down and holds a censer on a chain. The figures on both horizontal arms have a piece of cloth spread on their arms. According to Nordman, they are angels collecting Christ's blood on the pieces of cloth held by them.¹⁰¹³ The lower arm has the *suppedaneum* and below that there is another winged human figure. Two triangular figures are placed on the crossbeam above Christ's wrists. Purhonen interprets them as human figures covering their faces with cloths, or more precisely, the moon and sun covering their faces as signs of grief.¹⁰¹⁴

The back of the cross is filled with engraved inscriptions inside a ridge following the contours of the cross. The cross centre has another ridge forming an area square in shape. The inscriptions have been set in Latin majuscules. Each rectangular widening has the name of one Evangelist starting with *MARCVS* on the upper arm and following in clockwise order with *MATHEVS*, *IOHANES* and *LUCAS*. The names of *MARIA* and *IOHNNES* are engraved above the respective figures on the crossbeam. On the vertical beam, there is an inscription reading *IN C[R]VCE MORTE SVI (= sua) / SIBI VHIDCIC (= vindicat) OMNI(a) XPS (= Christus)* or 'Through his death on the cross Christ conquers all for him'. Based on parallels, Nordman dates the crucifix to the earlier part of the 12th century.¹⁰¹⁵

The second element is the joining part with an openwork bead between the crucifix and chains. The joiner has the depictions of winged dragons and a bird sitting on a fish. Nordman associates the bird on a fish motif to one of the illustrations in the Icelandic *Physiologus* manuscript made c. 1200.¹⁰¹⁶ In David's psalms, *fulica* or the mud hen is said to be the wisest of all birds as it lives its whole life in the same place. According to *Physiologus*, humans should be similarly stable in their faith.¹⁰¹⁷ The motif of mud hen and fish seems to be rather common in the 12th- and 13th-century Nordic art. Purhonen concludes that the motif could be exemplary for the period of conversion.¹⁰¹⁸ The bead is executed in Viking Age style, or more precisely, the Urnes style dated to c. 1030–1100,¹⁰¹⁹ while the dragons on the joiner resemble the Romanesque-style bronze banner of Tinglestad, Norway, dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.¹⁰²⁰

Two chains, each with two heads of animals placed on their ends form the third element. The chains are produced as foxtail braiding as in all Crusade Age and early medieval crucifixes of higher

¹⁰¹² Hiekkanen 2003a, 13–14; 2007, 15.

¹⁰¹³ Nordman 1944, 50.

¹⁰¹⁴ Purhonen 1998, 94.

¹⁰¹⁵ Nordman 1944, 52–57.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Physiologus VIII*; Nordman 1944, 45–47.

¹⁰¹⁷ Nordman 1944, 46–47.

¹⁰¹⁸ Purhonen 1998, 95–96.

¹⁰¹⁹ Stjernquist 1979, 7.

¹⁰²⁰ Blindheim 1983, 103 fig. 19.

quality. Chains were often imported to Nordic countries as finished products, and probably originate from the same area as the silver.¹⁰²¹ According to Nordman, the animal heads can be related to the 11th-century animal ornamentation, but stylistically they cannot be older than around 1100. Their closest parallels are in the crucifixes of Dune and Slängs hoards.¹⁰²² Wilhelm Holmqvist places the animal heads into the type 4 of his classification, which dates them to the period after the 1150s. He also points out, following Nordman, that beads in the hoard have good parallels in the silver hoard of Alvdísjö, which includes coins from 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁰²³

The fourth element consists of two beads and a small cross between them placed above the crucifix. The openwork, spherical bead is formed by two intertwined snakes and executed in the style of Viking Art. The last element is a circular reliquary on the other end of the two chains. The reliquary is decorated with the image of a male lion. The beast is the emblem of St. Marcus, but in this context it more likely refers to the lion of Judah, the symbol of Christ.¹⁰²⁴ In the Old Testament, the Israelite tribe of Judah had the lion as its symbol, and the patriarch Jacob refers to his son Judah as a 'Young Lion' when blessing him.¹⁰²⁵ In later Christian tradition, the lion is often assumed to represent Jesus Christ. Holmqvist bases his dating of the animal heads on the dating of the reliquary. He points out that similar reliquaries are known as part of crucifixes in the Dune and Slängs hoards and compares them with the lion capitals of Canterbury Cathedral dated to the first decades of the 12th century. Indeed the lions of the Halikko crucifix display strong Romanesque characteristics.¹⁰²⁶

Because the five elements are structurally independent, they might have been produced separately and joined later, and the stylistic differences between the elements support this kind of assumption. Paula Purhonen points out that the Halikko hoard contains several objects which might be of different age, and the possibility of multi-temporality even applies to the crucifix *per se*. She reminds that the cross with its plastic figures is very worn compared with the chain, which has kept its distinct contours. Purhonen concludes that the old cross seems to have been furnished with a new chain, and there might be decades of difference in age between the two elements. This conclusion is, however, erroneous, because the amount and effects of wear are not only dependent on chronological differences, but crucially and even more importantly on the environment to which artefacts are exposed. Because the precise life history of the crucifix and its singular elements remains largely unknown, no conclusions on the relative chronology of its elements can be drawn.

Despite the potential multi-temporal nature of the Halikko crucifix, scholars so far have tried to provide a single dating for the whole object. Nordman dates the crucifix to the early 12th century in his seminal article published in 1944, but in 1963, Holmqvist underscores the crucifix's Romanesque stylistic features and mainly based on its the chain, considers it to be younger than the 1150s.¹⁰²⁷ Purhonen moves in an opposite direction with her suggestion. She emphasizes that the parallels Nordman finds for the crucifix have been made for different functions, they are not whole, metal-cast crucifixes worn around the neck. However, even she is not able to show any such exact parallels, but refers to several other crosses of similar shapes and ornamentation dated to the 11th century. She points in particular to the crosses of Herimann, St. Servatius and Mathilde, all dated to the 11th century and made in the German-speaking area. Purhonen does not seem to refute Nordman's dating, but somewhat confusingly also considers an earlier dating to the 11th century to be possible for the Halikko crucifix.¹⁰²⁸ Moreover, she argues that 'the crucifix of Halikko has strong ties with the Cologne area',¹⁰²⁹ but it remains rather unclear whether she refers to stylistic ties or to some more substantial connection.

1021 Tomanterä 1984, 70–75.

1022 Nordman 1944, 41–44.

1023 Nordman 1944, 40; Holmqvist 1963, 58. For a critique of Holmqvist's typology, see Blomqvist 1972, 17–19.

1024 Christie 1981, col. 388; Purhonen 1998, 95.

1025 Genesis 49:9.

1026 Holmqvist 1963, 50–59, 63, 152–153, 157, 171, 174.

1027 Holmqvist 1963, 56–64.

1028 According to Hiekkanen (2001a), the confusion could be explained by the ultimately unfounded nature of

Purhonen's argumentation which she tries to hide with obscurity.

1029 Purhonen 1998, 63.

Nordman pinpoints the site of production of the crucifix to Scandinavia, and he considers Gotland to be the most probable origin. According to him, there are signs of two craftsmen working on the crucifix. Similarities in the rounded, plastic shapes of the bead in the joiner and the crucifix proper suggest that they were made by the same master, while the other elements by another goldsmith. The first master was possibly a German accustomed to producing Christian artefacts and executing their motifs, but he might have moved to Gotland, because he adopted some of the ornamental features of Scandinavian style. The German figures of Christ made of bronze could lend support for Gotland as the place where the crucifix was made. The second master, on the other hand, had been more clearly brought up in the Scandinavian tradition and was accustomed to local motifs. This kind of stylistic fusion points first and foremost to Gotland, which had intensive connections with Germany that are particularly visible in the ecclesiastical art of the period.¹⁰³⁰

Carl af Ugglas criticizes Nordman's ideas of two masters and Gotland as the production place. He claims that contemporary silversmithing in Gotland was not as advanced in representing human figures as Nordman's interpretation assumes. Af Ugglas considers that the similarities between the crucifix and the Rhenish and Saxon ecclesiastical miniature art also reveal the origin of the crucifix.¹⁰³¹ In a similar vein, Purhonen argues that Nordman's precise identification of the geographical origins cannot be sustained, because different elements of the cross could have been made in both Germany and Gotland. Furthermore, goldsmiths of the period were not restricted to a certain production site and the best of them mastered a range of styles and techniques.¹⁰³² The criticism that Nordman has been subjected to does not appear unwarranted, because certain styles are not stamped on certain ethnicities or geographical origins but related to the craftsman's skills and are ultimately learned practices.

Purhonen argues furthermore that the crucifix is 'clearly an ecclesiastical object and definitely for a churchman in high official position',¹⁰³³ which crystallizes the consensus shared by scholars on the social background of the hoard. Ella Kivikoski, however, is sharper in her interpretation, stating that although the crucifix and the two encolpion crosses can be considered to be ecclesiastical objects, the necklace of silver beads is of profane character. This might suggest that the hoard is a cache of hidden booty. Torsten Edgren, in turn, claims that the crucifix must be an episcopal object. Hence it could be called 'a bishop's hoard'. It might belong to some Finnish bishop, but Kivikoski regards that rather unlikely. It is more reasonable to think that its raiders brought the hoard from some other place around the Baltic Sea.¹⁰³⁴

Purhonen wants to regard the three cross pendants of the Halikko hoard as part of a bishop's official attire. Accordingly, they could be the three official crosses belonging to Bishop Rudolphus who died in 1178,¹⁰³⁵ but Hiekkänen points out that the custom of wearing three crosses applies only to the officials of the modern-day Orthodox Church. Such a custom was unknown in the sphere of western medieval Christianity.¹⁰³⁶ Without further knowledge of its origins, the hoard cannot directly be associated with an individual churchman in Finland, but it nonetheless displays unusual wealth in the local and regional context.

Late medieval cross pendants

Other surviving cross pendants of precious metals date from the late medieval and Early Modern Periods. The cross with a chain found in Turku (Cat. 11:4) is not made of precious metals but copper alloys. The item is discussed here, however, since it is rather different from other Finnish cross pendants. It is made of bronze bars wrapped with bronze wire forming a cross *cercelée*. The cross lacks the figure of Christ, but has six small rings and 12 black bone beads attached to it. Also

¹⁰³⁰ Nordman 1944, 56–62.

¹⁰³¹ af Ugglas 1948, 154–157.

¹⁰³² Purhonen 1998, 62–63.

¹⁰³³ Purhonen 1998, 63.

¹⁰³⁴ Kivikoski 1961, 245; Edgren (1992) 1998, 256.

¹⁰³⁵ Purhonen 1998, 141.

¹⁰³⁶ Hiekkänen 2001a, 55.



Fig. 64. Pendant cross of gilt silver found as a stray item near the south shore of Lake Rauttuanselkä in Sääksmäki. The budded cross has simple engraved ornamentation and a soldered figure of Christ (Cat. 11:2).

the chain is rather curious as it does not form a large hoop to be slipped over the neck, but consists instead of 56 large rings interlinked in a row ending in a small, braided loop. The construction suggests that the cross was carried in the hand. The object is difficult to date due to the lack of pictorial and textual cues, but it appears to be from the 16th or early 17th century. It was found in the excavations in present-day Olavinpuisto Park in the area of the medieval Dominican Convent of St. Olaf.

Two late medieval silver cross pendants, the crosses of Sääksmäki (Cat. 11:2) and Kökar (Cat. 11:3), share similar characteristics. They both are budded crosses with simple engraved ornamentation and a soldered figure of Christ. The cross from Sääksmäki (Fig. 64), found as a stray item, is the larger and more ornate one, although it has lost its upper cross arm with a fastening hoop. The cross does not have engravings on its front except a groove following the outer contours, but on the back, in contrast, each of the four cross arms has an engraved lily with one petal erect and two others pointing downwards. The Sääksmäki find cannot be associated with any particular site, but it was found near the south shore of Lake Rauttuanselkä. The medieval church of Sääksmäki is situated on the north shore of the lake and Jutikkala Manor near the southern shore.

The cross of Kökar, found in the excavations of the refectory of the Franciscan Convent in 1985, is smaller and rather crudely executed. The middle bud of the upper arm was lost when the suspension loop was soldered to the cross. Moreover, the crucifix lacks figurative engravings. There is only the engraved groove following the outer contours along with some groups of small lines in the buds.

The budded cross seems to be a very common type in the late medieval material culture, both in small cross pendants and large processional and altar crosses. The three-leafed clover can be considered to be a symbol of the Trinity, and together the four arms, each with three buds, have twelve buds, the number of the Apostles. The association of the budded cross with the Trinity is emphasized in the Sääksmäki cross, which has four lilies with three leaves engraved on its back. The white lily with three leaves was the medieval symbol of the Virgin Mary as the Trinity, as for example in the revelations of St. Gertrude the Great.¹⁰³⁷

The Virgin Mary is not the only motif applied to the backs of cross pendants. For instance, the *Arma Christi* motif could also be used.¹⁰³⁸ However, the association of lilies and the Virgin Mary is very articulated in some Swedish cross pendants.¹⁰³⁹ A standing, crowned Virgin Mary is depicted in a reliquary cross pendant found at the Benedictine Cloister of Börringe in Skåne, Sweden. Af Ugglas dates the budded cross to around 1400.¹⁰⁴⁰ Another crucifix pendant with a container for relics has

¹⁰³⁷ Gertrude, *Legatus Divinae Pietatis*, III:18.

¹⁰³⁸ The reliquary cross of Mårum in Horns, Västergötland from around 1500 (SHM 898; af Ugglas 1944, 33).

¹⁰³⁹ The crucifix pendant of Middlefart, Denmark also has a figure of Christ and the four emblems of the Evangelists on the front, and on the back, the Virgin Mary and Christ Child surrounded by a pomegranate flower, St. Simon, St. Paul, and St. Christopher carrying the Child. Mackeprang (1934) dates the object on stylistic grounds to the 1520s. See also the cross of Alfta Church from the 15th century with engraved depiction of the Virgin Mary and the Child (Cornell 1918, 270–271; cf. Fritz 1966, 22, 41; 1982, 774).

¹⁰⁴⁰ SHM 23260A–B; af Ugglas 1944.

the Virgin Mary in central position. The artefact was found at Riddarholmen in Stockholm. On the back of the budded gold cross, a figure of Christ is depicted and the letters *ihesus* are engraved on the cross arms. On the front, the Virgin Mary is depicted holding the Christ Child. The word *maria* is inscribed on the upper arm, while on both horizontal arms, a three-stemmed flower with three leaves is represented as if growing from the Virgin Mary in the middle. The crucifix dates from around 1500.¹⁰⁴¹

Also the cross pendant with a container for relics, possibly found in Persberg in Färnebo, Värmland, supports the association between the Virgin Mary, lilies and cross pendants. The budded silver cross has an engraved figure of Christ and the four symbols of the Evangelists on the front, and the crowned, seated Virgin Mary with the Child on the back. Each of the cross arms on the reverse has an engraved quatrefoil with three leaves pointing outwards, while the fourth is bent back towards the cross centre.¹⁰⁴²

The crucifixes of Halikko and Sääksmäki cannot be linked securely with religious institutions. The Early Modern crucifix of Turku was found near the area of the Dominican Convent, whereas the Kökar crucifix was found in the ruins of the local Franciscan Convent. Torsten Edgren has associated even another crucifix, made of bronze and found in Karlby in Kökar with the island's Franciscan Convent. The crucifix was discovered in a garden, and he dates it to the late 15th–early 16th century.¹⁰⁴³ Small crucifixes of bronze or lead are also known from other places such as Saltvik Church.¹⁰⁴⁴

Crosses in written sources

The difficulty of written references to metal crosses is to distinguish larger altar and processional crosses from smaller cross pendants and crosses of private devotion. In some cases, especially in the confiscation documents, the size of the cross can be deduced from its weight. Moreover, Olle Källström assumes that the distinction between 'crosses' and 'small crosses' could denote a difference between liturgical crosses, whether altar or processional, and pendant crosses. Other written records of crosses, however, do not even suggest these kinds of differences and confines the use of the distinction to the confiscation documents.

The first reference to a cross of precious metals dates rather late. In her will of 1449 and subsequent will of 1451, Lucia Olofsdotter, the wife of Henrik Klasson Dieken, bequeaths a 'gilt cross with saints' to the Bishop.¹⁰⁴⁵ She also leaves a silver cross to St. Olaf's Chapel in Yläne in her first will, but in the third will, in turn, she gives a silver cross to St. Henry's altar in Turku for making a chalice and a gold ring for its gilding.¹⁰⁴⁶ In 1496, the Russians made a military expedition to Finland and according to the Sture Chronicles, they did not spare the 'images and cross' of Hattula Church. Marja Terttu Knapas suggests that the cross might have been a reliquary, while Hiekkänen interprets it to have been rather small and made of metal.¹⁰⁴⁷ A few years later in 1499, Erik Turesson's inventory of Olavinlinna Castle mentions a silver cross in the chapel.¹⁰⁴⁸ In 1512, Mattis Larensson donated a gilt silver cross of 92 g to Pernaja Church as a votive for his brother's soul.¹⁰⁴⁹ Antedating the confiscation documents, one silver cross and one small cross of silver are mentioned as part of the altar of St. Lawrence in Turku Cathedral,¹⁰⁵⁰ and in 1530, the inventory of the treasures of the Naantali Nunnery lists one gilt cross of nearly 3.2 kg and one small gilt cross weighing 438 g.¹⁰⁵¹

1041 SHM 3715; af Ugglas 1944, 33.

1042 SHM 24060; Lindblom 1944, 283, 285, fig. 445.

1043 Edgren 1977, 406 Fig 2b, 408–409; Ringbom & Remmer 2000, 116 note 6.

1044 Dreijer 1983, 241, 358–360.

1045 *kors forgylt met helgadoma*; FMU 2818; 2886.

1046 FMU 2970.

1047 *beeläthe älter korss*; FMU 4656; Knapas 1997a, 20; Hiekkänen 2007, 291.

1048 FMU 4847.

1049 FMU 5586.

1050 REA 723; FMU 4896.

1051 FMU 6533.

In Gustavus Vasa's confiscation documents, crosses taken from churches in Turku Diocese are mentioned 50 times and small crosses six times, making them together the second-largest artefact group immediately after the monstrances. As with the monstrances, each church had one metal cross, and they lost their legitimacy after the Reformation and were thus all in danger of being confiscated. Moreover, altar, processional and other devotional crosses in churches were usually made of precious metals or at least gilt. Seven of the larger crosses are listed in the confiscation documents without further attributes, but 12 are gilt, nine partly gilt and 14 are ungilt. Five are said to be gilt copper and three half silver, half copper. Not surprisingly Turku Cathedral had to deliver the largest number of crosses, altogether six. After the confiscations, crosses in connection with churches no longer appear in written sources. References to them in the latter part of the 16th century are all from profane contexts. In 1553, a cross pendant made of silver was given to the crown from Kokemäki Manor.¹⁰⁵² The inventory of Duke John mentions five cross pendants, two with seven diamonds and a pearl, one with ten diamonds and three pearls, one with 25 diamonds and a pearl, and the last one with a cross made of fish bones and with four rubies and 16 pearls.¹⁰⁵³ The inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming mentions two small gold chains, both with a small cross.¹⁰⁵⁴ In 1588, one silver cross 'without a silver brooch' is mentioned as part of Brita Mons' possessions in the records of a district court session held in Sund.¹⁰⁵⁵ The inventory of Karin Hansdotter drawn up in 1596 includes a silver cross pendant with a pearl.¹⁰⁵⁶ One gilt cross seems to have eluded the Reformation and much subsequent turmoil in Pohja Church, where such an object is mentioned in the church inventory as late as 1730, but after that it disappears from the accounts.¹⁰⁵⁷

Reliquaries

During his pilgrimage Bishop Magnus Tavast (in office 1412–1450) had head and arm reliquaries of silver for relics of St. Henry made in Italy around 1420.¹⁰⁵⁸ Sofia Lahti suggests that they or one of them is the exceptionally large monstrance mentioned in the confiscation documents of 1557,¹⁰⁵⁹ but the object may also have been the valuable monstrance which Magnus Tavast had made for the chapel of Corpus Christi in 1421.¹⁰⁶⁰ Possibly Tavast even acquired the smaller wooden casket-like reliquary inside the larger, architectonic wooden reliquary of Turku Cathedral. Both are still on display in the cathedral. The wood samples from the smaller reliquary have been dendrochronologically dated to the period predating 1414 and samples of the larger one to pre-1487, and the containers were probably made to conserve relics of St. Henry.¹⁰⁶¹

Although the wooden reliquaries are still present in the cathedral, only one of the medieval reliquaries of gold and silver in the Diocese of Turku, the cross reliquary of Föglö, has survived to the present day. Another potential relic was hidden into a small cavity behind the chalk painting in Kalanti Church. The cavity, discovered in the 1960s during restorations, was made in the left shoulder of St. Augustine, and revealed substance which was identified as cotton.¹⁰⁶² Moreover, apart from the finds of Föglö and Kalanti Churches, all surviving Finnish medieval relics are from Turku Cathedral,¹⁰⁶³ although written sources and the compartments for relics in ecclesiastical objects indicate that there have been other medieval relics, which have been subsequently lost. Jurmo Church owns a late medieval reliquary carved out of wood,¹⁰⁶⁴ and the two 15th-century altar and processional crosses of Lempäälä and Masku Churches have empty compartments for relics

¹⁰⁵² BFH 4, 335.

¹⁰⁵³ Lösegenom 5–6.

¹⁰⁵⁴ BFH 5:308; see also BFH 5:186.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *ena korsiacha vthan sölfspen*; BFH 2, 244.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Pykkänen 1956, 294.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *af Hällström* 1959, 177.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Juusten 17:91–96; Palola 1997, 198–199; on the intensification of the cult of St. Henry in Finland, see Hiekkänen 2008a.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Källström 1939, 324–325; Lahti 2003, 13–14; 2007, 78–80.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Juusten 17:11–15.

¹⁰⁶¹ Hirvonen 1997, 101–102.

¹⁰⁶² Käljunen 1968; Hiekkänen 2007, 62.

¹⁰⁶³ Rinne 1932, 273–402; Lahti 2007 with references.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Nikula 1973, 74–75.

on their reverse sides. Moreover, the wooden sculpture of the Virgin Mary in Korppoo Church has a rectangular recess in the chest, possibly for relics.¹⁰⁶⁵ Another possible relic compartment is the rounded hollow in the chest of a wooden Job sculpture in Karjalohja Church.¹⁰⁶⁶

Besides the monstrance for relics of St. Henry, confiscation documents mention the head of St. Ursula with a crown in Porvoo Church¹⁰⁶⁷ and three other containers which Källström has interpreted as potential reliquaries. Kalanti Church had to hand over two vessels of copper,¹⁰⁶⁸ whereas Raisio Church lost one container of gilt copper.¹⁰⁶⁹ St. Lawrence's altar in Turku Cathedral had, according to the early-16th-century inventory,¹⁰⁷⁰ one reliquary of silver and the altar of St. George two containers for relics.¹⁰⁷¹ Moreover, the inventory of the Naantali Nunnery Church drafted in 1530 mentions an 'arm reliquary' of 1.7 kg, four small reliquaries with silver-mounted black ostrich eggs weighing together almost 1.3 kg, two small reliquary caskets also with silver mounts and two other small caskets without mounts. The reliquaries made of ostrich eggs must have, like coconut, been an exotic material in the North. The confiscation document composed almost a quarter of a century later lists, however, only ungilt silver mounts of four reliquary caskets.¹⁰⁷²

In contrast to quite a few references to reliquaries in churches, there are only two reliquaries mentioned as belonging to a layman. In his two wills of 1449 and 1452, Henrik Klasson Dieken bequeaths a 'silver chain with a reliquary' to the nunnery in Naantali.¹⁰⁷³ Another reliquary pendant with a silver chain was given, in addition to three silver belts and an undefined object of copper, to Peder Eriksson in 1477, when he sold a farm to the bishop.¹⁰⁷⁴ Although these two are the only indications of privately owned reliquaries in Finland, relics were often worn in Europe as part of personal jewellery during the Middle Ages. On the basis of surviving artefacts and written sources, this custom was especially popular during the 11th and 12th centuries, and less common in later times.¹⁰⁷⁵

Among the medieval relics of Turku Cathedral one should include the possible finger ring relic of St. Henry, despite the lack of any direct evidence of its existence. In the liturgy of St. Henry's day, *Annulum et digitum*, it is described how Lalli slashed off the saint's finger with the episcopal ring still on it. The finger was lost in the snow, but miraculously discovered in the following summer. According to the different versions of the legend, the ring was found either inside a fish or on a piece of ice floating in Lake Köyliönjärvi.¹⁰⁷⁶ A folktale also tells that at the moment the finger was found, a miracle occurred and the finder, a blind man, recovered his eyesight.¹⁰⁷⁷ Martti Haavio suggests that the finger ring appearing in the hagiographies and folklore reflects the existence of an actual medieval finger and finger ring relic.¹⁰⁷⁸ Further support for the idea is given by the seal of Turku Chapter, which although post-dating the Reformation, depicts the finger of St. Henry with his ring.¹⁰⁷⁹

All the above-mentioned reliquaries, especially those made of precious metals, are containers intended to be seen. In the Middle Ages, however, there were also relics and reliquaries which were not submitted to visual veneration. The medieval rite for consecrating a church included walling up the *sepulcrum*, the small cavity in the altar to house relics and the reliquary which contained them. The Föglö reliquary cross is one of the two surviving Finnish sepulchral reliquaries. The cross made around 1500 was sealed into the main altar when the stone church was consecrated, which is supported by the dating of the church to around 1500–1520.¹⁰⁸⁰ The other reliquary, or rather its remains, was unearthed inside Finström Church, when the building underwent restoration in

1065 Nordman 1965, 247–248; cf. Hiekkänen 2003a, 133.

1066 Nordman 1965, 583; cf. Hiekkänen 2003a, 133.

1067 Källström 1939, 313.

1068 Arwidsson VI, 330; Källström 1936, 8; 1939, 318.

1069 Arwidsson VI, 331; Källström 1939, 320–321.

1070 *vnum reliquarium argenteum*; REA 723; FMU 4896.

1071 *due capse pro reliquiis*; REA 720; FMU 4896.

1072 FMU 6533. On the differences between the inventory of 1530 and the confiscation document drawn up in 1554, see Lahti 2006.

1073 FMU 2817, 2908.

1074 *et helgedoms kar met sylfkadher*; REA 655; FMU 3688.

1075 Braun 1940, 478–481; af Ugglas 1944, 30–32.

1076 *Missae et officium* 23, 121; Heikkilä 2005, 162.

1077 Haavio 1948, 135–182; Heikkilä 2005, 160–163, 173–174, 257–259, 410–411.

1078 Nervander 1872, 165; Haavio 1948, 176–182; Heikkilä 2005, 149–151.

1079 Lahti 2007, 73–74.

1080 Hiekkänen 2007, 373.

1966–1967.¹⁰⁸¹ The find consists of two sheet fragments of lead, which in spite of their very poor condition are very likely from the same object.¹⁰⁸² The pieces, weighing together 37.9 g, appear to come from a rectangular casket of which approximately half is missing. It was empty when found. The current size of the fragmentary container is c. 4.6 x 4.1 x 2.8 cm.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, or the Book of the Popes, Pope St. Felix I (in office 269–274) decreed that Masses should be celebrated on the tombs of martyrs,¹⁰⁸³ which echoed the early Christian custom of placing altars directly over saints' graves.¹⁰⁸⁴ This led to the medieval ecclesiastical doctrine that an altar and consequently any building functioning as a church had to have relics. Naturally the practice gave relics an essential role in the consecration of a church and its main altar, although the relics placed in the sepulchre did not necessarily have any connection with the actual saint to whom the church was dedicated. The dating of a sepulchral reliquary thus understandably correlates with either the building period of the stone church or at least with the altar in question.¹⁰⁸⁵

The importance of relics in the consecration rites is repeated in medieval pontifical books and also in the early-16th-century *Pontificale Lundense*, the pontifical of the Archdiocese of Lund.¹⁰⁸⁶ Although the pontifical of the Archdiocese was not applied as such in the Diocese of Turku, more or less similar guidelines were nevertheless followed there as well.¹⁰⁸⁷ During the consecration rite conducted by the bishop, at least two relics of martyr saints were masoned into or under the altar table.¹⁰⁸⁸ This kind of procedure assumes that the altar was made of stone, and indeed the main altars of medieval Finnish churches were usually laid of bricks on stone foundations.¹⁰⁸⁹ The main body of the altar was then covered with a flat chalkstone slab, *mensa*, engraved with consecration crosses. However, as Hiekkänen points out, wooden altars were also in use in Finland in churches which were waiting for fixed altars of stone.¹⁰⁹⁰

The cavity for the relics was usually located either directly under the altar table or at the front of the altar base, but the sepulchre could also be placed in some other part of the altar.¹⁰⁹¹ For protection, the venerated items deposited into the sepulchre were encased in reliquaries made of gold, silver or base metal such as lead. The more modest ones were small caskets with a lid covering the whole container. They were usually rectangular and rather flat in shape,¹⁰⁹² although their form could also be cylindrical or even rather indefinite despite the rectangular shape of the folded sheet.¹⁰⁹³ The relics placed inside the vessel were wrapped in textiles and had parchments identifying and authenticating their contents. The reliquary could also include parchments documenting the date of the altar's consecration. In addition, three hosts and three grains of incense symbolizing the balm used in the burial of martyrs could be placed inside the container.¹⁰⁹⁴

The first wooden church on the site of Finström Church may have been built in the 12th century and is thought to have been extended later during the 13th century to meet the needs of the growing flock of parishioners. There were probably several successive wooden churches built on the site until the 15th century when,¹⁰⁹⁵ according to Hiekkänen, the first stone church was constructed.¹⁰⁹⁶ He suggests that the stone sacristy and chancel were erected in the late 1440s and the vaulting by the 1450s.¹⁰⁹⁷

1081 Dreijer 1970; 1973, 48–49. The following discussion on sepulchral reliquaries is based on Immonen 2008b.

1082 ÅM 424:656.

1083 *Liber Pontificalis* XXVII:1.

1084 O'Connell 1955, 148–149.

1085 In addition to the Danish and Swedish examples listed in Immonen 2008b, see the relic found in the altar of Önum Church in Vara, West Götland (SHM 3477) and the 12th-century altar stone of Bergunda Church in Småland with an altar cavity and the accompanying sepulchre reliquary with relics (SHM 6762).

1086 Schulte 1913, 351; Strömberg 1955, 144.

1087 Hiekkänen 2003a, 47.

1088 Nordberg 1969, col. 59; Hiekkänen 2007, 47, 50.

1089 Hiekkänen 2007, 42–43.

1090 Hiekkänen 2003a, 87–93; 2003d, 96–102.

1091 Cf. Dreijer 1967a, 15–16, 21–23; 1967b; Stolt 2001, 47.

1092 Braun 1940, 100.

1093 E.g. Thordeman 1927; Vellev 1974.

1094 Snoek 1995, 186–187.

1095 Dreijer 1970, 177–178; Sárkány 1973, 123; Hiekkänen 2007, 367.

1096 Hiekkänen 1995, 123–124; 2003, 53; see also Dreijer 1972; Ringbom 1994, 483–484; Hiekkänen 2007, 591 note 52.

1097 Hiekkänen 2007, 269; cf. Ringbom 1994, 483.

While the reliquary of Finström Church was found in the southwest corner of the nave, far from the altars of the east part, its immediate context does not necessarily reveal its place of deposition in one of the church's altars during the Middle Ages. In the 1969 excavations, the foundations of the medieval main altar were discovered approximately at the place of the present-day altar near the east wall.¹⁰⁹⁸ The approximate date of removing the medieval main altar is known from written sources. The visitation protocol of the rural dean Boëtius Murenienius documents that in October 1637 he instructed the old main altar to be removed and replaced with a new one.¹⁰⁹⁹ These orders were followed in a few years' time.¹¹⁰⁰ In addition to the main altar, a medieval church had to have at least two side altars, one by the north wall and the other by the south wall. One of these two side altars has survived in Finström Church on the west side of the triumphal arch wall, near the south wall of the nave. According to Dreijer, no sepulchre cavity was found in it on closer examination.¹¹⁰¹

The sepulchre reliquary of Finström cannot be attributed with certainty to any of the three medieval altars, but the lack of a cavity in the surviving side altar suggests that the reliquary was originally laid in the main altar. Whatever the case, the reliquary was most likely deposited in one of the altars of the stone church. Even if any of the preceding wooden churches had such a sepulchre reliquary, it seems unlikely that it would have been treated in such a degrading manner when the old altars were dismantled during the Middle Ages. In fact, Hiekkänen suggests that the dismantling of some medieval altars and rebuilding them during the 17th century were motivated by the demands of Lutheran Orthodoxy and its wish to eradicate the last traces of Catholic devotional practices.¹¹⁰² Since the age of the casket of Finström cannot be anchored to the object itself with any precision, the only way of providing a date is to extrapolate it from the dating of the stone church. This would mean that the reliquary was produced around the mid-15th century and deposited in the main altar at the time of the consecration of the stone church.

The sepulchral reliquary of Finström Church forms an interesting visual contrast with that of Föglö Church. While the former is unimpressive and made of rather inexpensive material with a simple cutting and folding technique, the latter was made of gilt silver by a professional goldsmith and represents a complex visual and textual programme. Hence the visible/non-visible division between reliquaries does not seem to apply to their visual appearance,¹¹⁰³ or to put it more precisely, the reliquaries not intended to be seen were not necessarily visually less impressive than those produced as objects of visual devotion.

'Images', crowns and wreaths

Six 'images' or 'pictures' were confiscated by Gustavus Vasa's administration from Finnish churches. The term used in the written records, *bild*, refers probably to sculptures made of precious metals. Porvoo had one such figure of St. Mary with 'a small Jesus' and crown,¹¹⁰⁴ Pernaja Church owned a figure of St. Eric with a gilt crown as well as an ungilt 'image' of St. Lawrence.¹¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Pyhtää Church had an image of St. Anne as the third.¹¹⁰⁶ On only one occasion was the weight of such an 'image' recorded. Turku Cathedral had an image of St. Olaf in silver. The hair, crown and some mounts of the figure were gilt. Together they weighed 464 g.¹¹⁰⁷ Källström points out that the number of such figures confiscated from Swedish churches is quite small compared with Central Europe, where every church dedicated to the Virgin Mary had a gold or silver statue of her.¹¹⁰⁸ The rarity of devotional figures of precious metals also seems to apply to the Diocese of Turku.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Dreijer 1973, 8–9; 1983, 363; Hiekkänen 2003a, 96.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Murenienius 11–13.

¹¹⁰⁰ Sárkány 1973, 120.

¹¹⁰¹ Dreijer 1973, 13.

¹¹⁰² Hiekkänen 2008b, 78; 2008d.

¹¹⁰³ Lahti 2003, 3.

¹¹⁰⁴ Källström 1939, 313.

¹¹⁰⁵ Källström 1939, 319–320.

¹¹⁰⁶ Källström 1939, 320.

¹¹⁰⁷ Källström 1939, 324–325; Lindberg 1940, 350.

¹¹⁰⁸ Källström 1939, 114–115.

References to images of silver are rare also in other medieval written sources. In his will dated to 1355, the presbyter Henricus Tempill leaves an image of St. Andrew to the altar of St. George in Turku Cathedral. Juhani Rinne suggests that it was made of silver, because its value was estimated to be as high as 30 silver marks.¹¹⁰⁹ The inventory of St. George's altar reveals that it certainly had a silver image of its saint.¹¹¹⁰ Rinne further suggests that the altar of St. Lawrence in the cathedral also owned a silver image of its saint at some stage, although only a gridiron of silver is mentioned in the altar's inventory.¹¹¹¹ The rarity of silver images or figurines also seems to apply to the non-ecclesiastical sphere, since only one reference to a metal sculpture in a profane context survives. It can be found in the inventory of Duke John, who owned 'one Sampson with a lion, with pearls'.¹¹¹²

Medieval and Early Modern crowns, the signs of power, royalty and noble birth, have left only written traces. They have been found in both ecclesiastical and profane contexts, but more often in the former. Duke John had one gold crown with some pearls weighing 490 g and one gilt silver crown.¹¹¹³ Moreover, a 'bridal crown' with pearls and some glass ornaments is mentioned in the inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's belongings in Yläne Manor in 1582.¹¹¹⁴ Finally, the 1483 inventory of items that Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) took from Viipuri Castle includes a gilt crown of 1.6 kg, but it might have been removed from the chapel of the castle.

Other crowns in the written sources are in some way connected with the church. The priest Jakob left some broken silver for making a crown for the image of the Saviour and two Hungarian forints for gilding the piece in his will of 1510/1511.¹¹¹⁵ Also the early-16th-century inventory of St. Lawrence's altar in Turku Cathedral tells that the altar had one small gilt silver crown and some mounts of gilt silver for the sculpture of the Virgin Mary.¹¹¹⁶ In the 16th-century confiscation documents crowns appear on 14 occasions. In 1530, Jacob Fleming took a gilt silver crown of c. 630 or 840 g from Mynämäki Church.¹¹¹⁷ In Porvoo Church, in addition to the other gilt crowns, the figure of St. Mary with the Child as well as St. Ursula's head reliquary were furnished with gilt crowns.¹¹¹⁸ Similarly the 'image' of St. Eric of Pernaja Church had a gilt crown,¹¹¹⁹ whereas Turku Cathedral handed over not only the crown accompanying the metal figure of St. Olaf but also three other crowns said to be 'old' and 'small'.¹¹²⁰ Rauma Church had two gilt crowns¹¹²¹ and Nousiainen Church one.¹¹²² Finally Eurajoki Church delivered one silver crown.¹¹²³

These crowns had two usages as indicated by the written documents. A crown could adorn the head of a figure of a saint, whether sculpted of wood or made of metals. Alternatively the bride might be crowned for the wedding ceremony, which was the use of the crown in the possession of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming. A bridal crown referred to the Virgin Mary, the Queen of Heaven, and to her purity. Olaus Magnus describes how the Nordic peoples to wear handsome, gilt silver crowns at all kinds of festivities. Their use was thus not confined to brides at weddings; instead all maidens could carry such ornaments.¹¹²⁴ In some of the illustrations in Olaus Magnus's work, brides are also shown wearing wreaths as their festive garments during the wedding ceremony.¹¹²⁵

Wreaths, in contrast to crowns made of metals, comprised a band of organic material and hairnet of pearls. In the late medieval period, a difference emerged between crowns worn only by virgin brides and wreaths used by other brides.¹¹²⁶ Källström suggests that also the crowns and wreaths

¹¹⁰⁹ REA 160; FMU 649; Rinne 1948, 189.

¹¹¹⁰ *vna ymago argentj sancti Georgij*; REA 720; FMU 4896.

¹¹¹¹ *vna craticula argentea*; REA 723; FMU 4896; Rinne 1948, 189.

¹¹¹² *Lösegendom* 18.

¹¹¹³ *Lösegendom* 7.

¹¹¹⁴ BFH 5:308.

¹¹¹⁵ FMU 5495; Hiekkänen 2007, 462.

¹¹¹⁶ REA 723; FMU 4896.

¹¹¹⁷ Arwidsson VI, 328; KGR 1530, 119; Källström 1939, 324.

¹¹¹⁸ Källström 1939, 313.

¹¹¹⁹ Källström 1939, 319–320.

¹¹²⁰ Källström 1939, 324–325; Lindberg 1940, 350.

¹¹²¹ Arwidsson VI, 329; Källström 1939, 320.

¹¹²² Arwidsson VI, 327; Källström 1939, 318.

¹¹²³ Källström 1939, 314.

¹¹²⁴ Olaus Magnus 6:18; 14:2; 14:10.

¹¹²⁵ Olaus Magnus 14:1–2, 14:9.

¹¹²⁶ Källström 1939, 127 note 2.

in church inventories could be used as parts of bridal garment. In such cases, the objects did not belong to the parish church but might be considered, like the figures of saints, at least to some extent, to be the property of the parishioners. In that way, they had the possibility of borrowing wreaths and crowns for festivities.¹¹²⁷ The tradition of bridal crowns continued in the rural areas well into the Modern Period. According to estate inventory deeds and court records, bridal crowns were relatively common in West Finland throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.¹¹²⁸ The oldest surviving bridal crown is dated to the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries.¹¹²⁹

The crown as such is not an especially gendered artefact, since it is an accessory worn by both men and women. Bridal crowns, however, are clearly objects used only by women in a ceremony defining the genders and their relations. Based on written sources, wreaths are even more clearly linked to women. Surprisingly, only one wreath is mentioned in Gustavus Vasa's confiscation records. A pearl wreath with three gilt silver pins was taken from Nauvo Church, and Källström interprets the items as belonging to bridal ornaments.¹¹³⁰

Another wreath mentioned in connection with a church is the one which Lucia Olofsdotter left to the altar of the Virgin Mary in Mynämäki Church in all her three wills in the mid-15th century.¹¹³¹ Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture), in turn, took one pearl wreath from Viipuri Castle in 1483.¹¹³² In 1485, Laurens Olavsson of Hammarland sold a farm to Matts Niklisson of Mynämäki and paid 50 marks partly in coins and partly in other artefacts, including a wreath worth four marks.¹¹³³ Almost forty decades later, in 1524, the Finnish-born Marcus, a hired man, stole a wreath and ended up before the town council of Stockholm.¹¹³⁴ The inventory of Margareta, the widow of Anders Slatte, also mentions a wreath in 1530.¹¹³⁵ In the same year, the wife Elin of Högsar in Nauvo was accused of taking some of the possessions belonging to the accuser's deceased grandmother, including a wreath.¹¹³⁶ The pearl wreath began to lose its popularity among the nobility in the mid-16th century, and it was transformed into a hat ornament, which could be a ribbon-like adornment or a more brooch-like piece.¹¹³⁷ Hence it is probable that the pearl wreaths mentioned in the documents of the latter part of the 16th century are in fact hat ornaments, and should thus be examined further in connection with other dress accessories.

Ears of corn

In 1911, Adolf Neovius noted the odd artefact called *ax* or 'corn-ear' in the confiscation documents of Finnish churches,¹¹³⁸ but Källström was the first to write an extensive study of this artefact group. The corn-ear of silver occurs repeatedly in the confiscation records, altogether 29 times, and two of them are from Finland, from the churches of Kalanti and Marttila (Table 6). Renko Church is not included in Källström's list of confiscations, but Hiekkanen points out 'an ungilt silver corn-ear', which was confiscated among other things from Renko in 1560.¹¹³⁹ Moreover, one corn-ear survived the confiscations in Somero Church, but the item disappears from written sources by the late 18th century.¹¹⁴⁰ The silver corn-ear of Taivassalo Church, which is mentioned in 1749, had a similar fate.¹¹⁴¹ Hence there are altogether 32 known corn-ears from the Swedish realm and five of them from the Diocese of Turku, but such objects have not been attested in other countries around the Baltic Sea.¹¹⁴²

¹¹²⁷ Källström 1939, 122–128.

¹¹²⁸ Pylkkänen 1964, 97–115, 137–143.

¹¹²⁹ Pylkkänen 1953; see also Tommila 1965.

¹¹³⁰ Arwidsson 6, 332; 8, 158; Källström 1936, 151; 1939, 317–318.

¹¹³¹ FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

¹¹³² FMU 3967.

¹¹³³ FMU 4034.

¹¹³⁴ FMU 6189.

¹¹³⁵ FMU 6557.

¹¹³⁶ FMU 6559.

¹¹³⁷ Pylkkänen 1956, 289.

¹¹³⁸ Neovius 1911, 9.

¹¹³⁹ Hiekkanen 1993, 70, 210 note 3.

¹¹⁴⁰ Alanen 1996.

¹¹⁴¹ Stiernman II, 193.

¹¹⁴² Källström 1936a, 3–4; Talve 1951, 3.

Table 6. Ears of corn of silver in the Kingdom of Sweden known from written sources (Stiernman II, 193; Källström 1936a, 6–9; 1937, 325–330; 1939, 137; Ekström 1978, 286; 1980, 499, 510; 1981, 679, 722, 634; Hiekkänen 1993b, 70, 210 note 3; Alanen 1996).

No.	Church	Province	Date	Description	Weight
1	Stora Tuna	Dalarna	1553	one silver corn-ear at the altar of Our Lady	-
2	Svärdsjö	Dalarna	1553	one ungilt ear (in two pieces)	6.5 lod (85.8 g)
3	Delsbo	Hälsingland	1547	one white (= ungilt) silver ear	6.5 lod (85.8 g)
4	Ljusdal	Hälsingland	1547	one ungilt ear	-
5	Ekerö	Södermanland	1545	one ear	-
6	Helgarö	Södermanland	1545	one white (= ungilt) ear	-
7	Jäder	Södermanland	1545	one small gilt ear	-
8	Näshulta	Södermanland	1576	one ear	-
9	Unknown church in Åker	Södermanland	1542	one silver ear	-
10	Åker	Södermanland	1545	one ear	-
11	Alunda	Uppland	1555	one ear	-
12	Bred	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
13	Frösthult	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
14	Lagga	Uppland	1554	one corn-ear	13 lod 1 kv (175 g)
15	Lövö	Uppland	1545	one white (= ungilt) ear	3 lod 1 kv (43 g)
16	Norrby	Uppland	1545	one white (= ungilt) ear	-
17	Enköpings-Näs	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
18	Simtuna	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
19	Teda	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
20	Tillinge	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
21	Österunda	Uppland	1545	one ear	-
22	Fläckebo	Västmanland	1545	one ear	-
23	Kolbäck	Västmanland	1545	one ungilt ear	-
24	Kärrbo	Västmanland	1545	one ear	-
25	Munktorp	Västmanland	1545	one ear	-
26	Möklinta	Västmanland	1545	one ear	-
27	Tortuna	Västmanland	1545	one gilt ear	-
28	Renko	Finland	1556	one silver corn-ear	-
29	Uusikirkko/Kalanti	Finland	1558	one corn-ear of silver	-
30	Marttila	Finland	1558	one corn-ear	-
31	Somero	Finland	1737-1777	one straw of silver with a barley-ear; the straw c. 8 cm in length	-
32	Taivassalo	Finland	1749	one silver wheat-ear of which one third resembles a straw	-

Many ears of corn are identified in the confiscation documents as being made of silver and ungilt or gilt, but also the other corn-ears without further information on their materials most likely were of silver.¹¹⁴³ The weight of corn-ears – it is recorded only four times – varies between 43 and 175 g. Källström argues that in those cases where the weight is stated, the object was exceptionally large. Hence other corn-ears without any note of their weight were probably smaller. From this Källström deduces the possibility that these larger corn-ears might have been of more naturalistic appearance with full plasticity, whereas the smaller corn-ears were cut from sheet metal and were either pressed into shape or engraved. The same technique was used to make mounts and ornaments worn on ecclesiastical garments and clothes dressed on figures of saints to give them extra showiness on special occasions and festivities.¹¹⁴⁴ The description of the corn-ear in Somero Church from the 18th century reveals that the object comprised a straw with an ear of barley. The length of the straw is said to be approximately eight centimetres.¹¹⁴⁵ Similarly Anders Anton von

¹¹⁴³ Källström 1936a, 10.

¹¹⁴⁴ cf Uggla 1935, 27; Hildebrand 1884–1898, 391; Källström 1936a, 10–11.

¹¹⁴⁵ Alanen 1996.

Stiernman describes the wheat-ear of Taivassalo Church as an object ‘of which one third resembles a straw’.¹¹⁴⁶

Two corn-ears listed by Källström survived the 16th-century confiscations. Stora Tuna Church had a silver corn-ear in its inventory, and it was placed on the altar of Our Lady. The confiscation visitation was made by the king in person, and he let the church keep the corn-ear. The object, however, was sold among other small items around 1620.¹¹⁴⁷ The other corn-ear was owned by Näshulta Church in Södermanland and mentioned in an inventory of 1576 but was subsequently lost.¹¹⁴⁸ In the Diocese of Turku, besides the Taivassalo corn-ear mentioned in 1749, the corn-ear of Somero Church survived the Reformation. The first record of the item is from 1737, after which the ear also appears in the inventories of 1745 and 1777. It was eventually lost by the time the inventory of 1791 was drawn up. Similarly, the corn-ear appears in parish descriptions of Somero written in 1753 and 1766, and finally in a dissertation published in 1774.¹¹⁴⁹ It seems that the artefact was lost or sold at the end of the 1770s or the 1780s.¹¹⁵⁰

Since there is no written evidence of the use of corn-ears and they do not have any known role in the liturgy, the meaning of such objects has to be sought in other contexts. A range of saints venerated in medieval Europe have associations with ears of corn, established by both their hagiographies and iconographies.¹¹⁵¹ These saints, however, mainly remained remote from the Nordic perspective and could hardly have motivated the popularity which corn-ears enjoyed. There are, however, two well-established saints, which Källström also links with corn-ears, the Virgin Mary and St. Eric.

The large corn-ear mentioned in Stora Tuna Church, weighing 175 g, was placed at the altar of Our Lady. This leads Källström to associate ears of corn with the motif of ‘Madonna in a mantle of corn-ears’ (*Maria im Ährenkleid*). It represents the Virgin Mary in a cape decorated with corn-ears with the rays of sun arranged around the neck and sleeves. The motif appears in three basic types. The first type depicts the Virgin Mary standing without the Child and surrounded by angels and flowers with possibly a vase with lilies or ears of corn placed in front of her. In the second type the Virgin Mary appears with the Child in a garden or on a throne. In one of the variations of this type, the Virgin Mary and the Child walk in fields of corn, i.e. among the crops of God, with the Holy Spirit above. Thirdly, the corn-ear is part of the depiction of the Virgin Mary as the embodiment of the constellation Virgo. The most prominent star in the constellation, Spica, is considered to represent the ear of wheat in the Virgin Mary’s hand.¹¹⁵²

The corn-ear can be interpreted as the symbol of agriculture and the earth. In late medieval iconography it was also the symbol of the Eucharist.¹¹⁵³ Clement of Alexandria says that the risen body of Christ came into existence in the same way as the wheat rises through the decay of the sown seed. The bread of the Church must pass through the fire or the sufferings of the rye baked into a loaf. The 13th-century German ecclesiastical poet John of Krolewitz describes Christ in his paternoster as the grain of wheat sown by the creator of the world, which, after growing, mowing and grinding is baked and consumed as bread. Moreover, in his poem *Die goldene Schmiede* (The golden forge), Konrad of Würzburg (d. 1287) compares the Virgin Mary to a miller who grinds the divine corn and bakes it into heavenly bread.¹¹⁵⁴ Although this kind of theological discourse might appear distant from the religious practices of the Diocese of Turku, Hemming Gad’s proposition for the Cathedral Chapter on the festivities of Beatus Hemmingus’s canonization includes the idea of offering gilt and silvered bread.¹¹⁵⁵

¹¹⁴⁶ *Silfwer hwete Ax, med 3. knä som liknar halmen; Stiernman II, 193.*

¹¹⁴⁷ Källström 1936a, 3, 7.

¹¹⁴⁸ Källström 1937, 328–330; 1939, 229.

¹¹⁴⁹ Alanen 1937, 325.

¹¹⁵⁰ Alanen 1996, 82.

¹¹⁵¹ *These saints, at least, may be depicted with a corn-ear as their attribute: SS Abdon and Sennen, St. Ansovinus, the bishop of Camerino, St. Apollinare (Apollinaris), the first bishop of Ravenna, St. Britus of Tours, St. Cajetan of Thiene (Gaetano) (1480–1547), Blessed Maria Torribia (St. Mary of the Head), the wife of St. Isidore beatified in 1697, St. Oswald, king of Northumbria, St. Walpurga (Valborg), the abbess of Heidenheim, St. Walter of Pontoise (Gautier), and finally Walter Devereux, 1st Viscount Hereford (1489–1558) (Källström 1939, 12–13).*

¹¹⁵² Källström 1936a, 12–13.

¹¹⁵³ Braun 1932, 289, 291, 383, 389.

¹¹⁵⁴ Källström 1936a, 14.

¹¹⁵⁵ FMU 5715; Källström 1936a, 14 note 18.

Another saint with whom corn-ears might have an association is St. Eric. Written sources describe how St. Eric's relic casket was carried in the corn fields in a procession in order to secure good crops, and the canons of the Cathedral Chapter in Uppsala and the town council of Uppsala appealed to Gustavus Vasa in order to continue this old Catholic ceremony.¹¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the legend of St. Eric includes an account of a loving mother whose little boy had badly burnt his leg. After the boy's limp had healed, his mother offered a leg of silver to the Church of St. Eric in Uppsala.¹¹⁵⁷ Another story tells that peasants promised to offer the saint a corn-ear of gilt silver after their crops had failed for several years causing hunger.¹¹⁵⁸

To explain the importance of St. Eric for fertility, Källström interprets him as the successor of the pagan Freyr, the phallic male god of fertility. The cult and legends of St. Eric as well as corn-ears have a prominent concentration in Uppsala in Central Sweden. Källström considers corn-ears to be votive gifts offered to St. Eric to secure good crops.¹¹⁵⁹ In fact, he wants to downplay the importance of *Ährenkleidmaria*, since the motif does not appear in Nordic written or visual sources. The cult appears to have been limited to Central Europe. Källström suggests that the connection between the Virgin Mary and the corn-ear on her altar in Uppsala lies on a more general level and is based on the importance of the Virgin Mary as a symbol of fertility.¹¹⁶⁰

Evidence concerning the patron saints of the Finnish churches that had corn-ears of silver does not seem to reinforce or undermine Källström's suggestions. The patron saint of Somero Church was probably St. Michael during the 17th century, but the patron of the medieval church is unknown.¹¹⁶¹ The patron saint of Marttila Church, in turn, was St. Martin, while Renko Church was dedicated to St. Jacob the Elder and Taivassalo Church to the Holy Cross, while the patron saints of Uusikirkko/Kalanti Church were the Virgin Mary and St. Olaf.¹¹⁶² Only the Virgin Mary as the protector of Uusikirkko/Kalanti Church would seem to strengthen the idea of silver corn-ears' association with the Virgin. On the other hand, one of the two stories told about the corn-ear in Somero Church recorded in the 18th century resembles the account in the legend of St. Eric. The first story describes the corn-ear as a memento of a period when a bad smut destroyed crops of barley, while the other one interprets the object as a memento of an abundant crop of barley, which peasants of Somero received after years of hunger and failed crops of rye.¹¹⁶³

Fish

In an article published in 1936, Källström describes a fish made of a sheet of silver and deposited in Tynderö Church in Sweden, and af Ugglas dates it, mainly based on the technique of its engravings, to the 18th century. This modern object is the last material remnant of a medieval tradition of donating such figures of silver to churches. Silver figures of fish, however, are mentioned in the inventory of St. Mary's Church in Visby in 1427 as well as in several post-medieval inventories of other churches.¹¹⁶⁴

The inventory of St. Mary's Church lists as many as five fish figures of silver, which were furnished with chains.¹¹⁶⁵ The objects are no longer mentioned in the inventory of the church from 1585.¹¹⁶⁶ Other records of silver fish in the Swedish kingdom appear in Gustavus Vasa's confiscation documents. The silver of Gräsgård Church on Öland Island was going to be confiscated in 1541, but local peasants hid the treasury. It included a partly gilt 'silver herring' (*Clupea harengus*) weighing c. 70 g. The fish was eventually confiscated by Bailiff Johan Olsson in 1547.¹¹⁶⁷ In Södermanland,

¹¹⁵⁶ *Peringsköld 1719*, 51; Källström 1936a, 23, 24 note 41.

¹¹⁵⁷ SRSMA 2, 270, nos. 20, 42, 52.

¹¹⁵⁸ SRSMA 2, 304–305.

¹¹⁵⁹ Källström 1939, 137–138.

¹¹⁶⁰ Källström 1936a, 29–32.

¹¹⁶¹ Hiekkänen 1999, 34.

¹¹⁶² Hiekkänen 2003a, 149.

¹¹⁶³ Alanen 1996, 81–82.

¹¹⁶⁴ Källström 1936b, 146.

¹¹⁶⁵ Paa Snorer ere 3 Skib, / 5 Fiske aff Solff / oc 3 andere Stycken; af Ugglas 1935, 21.

¹¹⁶⁶ DBI.

¹¹⁶⁷ af Ugglas 1935, 28; Källström 1936b, 150; Talve 1951, 38.

two silver fish were confiscated from Överjärna Church in 1542, and one silver fish, called ‘a smelt’ (*Osmerus eperlanus*), from Åker Church in 1545. They weighed between 13 and 26 g.¹¹⁶⁸ Another silver fish was confiscated from a church in Enköpings-Näs in Uppland in 1545. Its weight is unknown, but the object had a chain.¹¹⁶⁹ There are also later and somewhat more doubtful records of fish figures in Swedish churches. A ‘bleak’ (*Alburnus alburnus*) made of wood, fitted with a chain and covered with silver is mentioned in the inventories of Skaga Church in Västergötland in 1794. The fish was donated, it was told, in the late 17th century by a nobleman.¹¹⁷⁰ Also the fish mentioned in Kils Church in Värmland in the early 18th century was a bleak, but the church exchanged it for a psalm book.¹¹⁷¹ Furthermore, dried remains of a real fish were hung in St. Mary’s in Visby and possibly in Linde Church in Gotland.¹¹⁷²

Källström knew of only one occurrence of silver fish in Estonia, an object in Jämaja Church in Saaremaa. It was mentioned in the inventory of the church in the early 18th century, but was subsequently lost by 1718.¹¹⁷³ In an article from 1951 the ethnologist Ilmar Talve gave a more detailed account of fish in Estonian churches. The first of them is a silver fish in the chapel of Kalana Village in Reigi on Hiiumaa Island. The silver fish was made in the late 19th century after an older fish had been stolen. The new fish was 8–10 cm in length and made of a thick sheet of silver.¹¹⁷⁴ The second occurrence is the record of a very doubtful oral tradition related to Panga Chapel in Mustjala, Saaremaa, which states that in the early 20th century, a golden fish was taken from there.¹¹⁷⁵ However, the only certain silver fish of medieval origin is attested in Püha Church, Saaremaa Island. An episcopal visitation protocol written in 1519 records the existence of ‘a silver Baltic herring (*Clupea harengus membras*), which fishermen had given’ to the church.¹¹⁷⁶ Moreover, unlike corn-ears, Talve has found two occurrences of silver fish in Denmark and Germany. ‘A fish of pure gold’ was taken among other church treasures by the last Catholic priest of Hörups Church, Als Island, Denmark in 1530. The fish is said to resemble a carp (*Cyprinus caprio*), ‘the fish of Our Lady’.¹¹⁷⁷ Talve also notes two fish of wax donated by fishermen of the Danube in Bogen, Lower Bavaria.¹¹⁷⁸

Silver fish also appear in the confiscation documents of three churches in Southwest Finland (Table 7). ‘A silver fish’ was taken from Nauvo Church, three fish from Rymättylä Church and finally two ‘ungilt silver fish’ from Sauvo Church.¹¹⁷⁹ One ‘Baltic herring of silver’ was still present in Pohja Church at the beginning of the 18th century, but was melted down when a new communion chalice was prepared.¹¹⁸⁰ All these churches are on the southwestern coast of the Finnish mainland. The patron saint of Nauvo Church during the Middle Ages remains unknown, while Rymättylä Church was dedicated to St. Jacob the Elder, Sauvo Church to St. Clemens and Pohja Church to the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁸¹

Like ears of corn, the silver fish did not have any particular liturgical function, which leads Källström to identify silver fish as votive gifts. Throughout the medieval period and even after the Reformation, votive offerings based on the principle of *similia similibus* were common throughout Europe. Silver fish were donated to churches to increase luck in fishing, although some saints carried a fish as their attribute.¹¹⁸² St. Zeno of Verona, who lived in the 4th century, has a fish or fishing rod as his attribute, but he is too marginal a saint in the Baltic Sea area to have motivated

1168 Both Källström 1936a, 6–7 and 1936b, 150–151 give incorrect information on the number of items. For the correct numbers of fish and their provenance, see Källström 1939, 304, 312; Talve 1951, 38.

1169 Källström 1939a, 8; 1936b, 151; Talve 1951, 38; Edsman 1996, 19.

1170 Edsman & Eskeröd 1949, 34; Talve 1951, 38.

1171 Talve 1951, 38–39.

1172 Talve 1951, 41–42.

1173 Källström 1936b, 148–150.

1174 Talve 1951, 8–11.

1175 Talve 1951, 14.

1176 Blumfeldt 1934, 54; Talve 1951, 13.

1177 Talve 1951, 40.

1178 Talve 1951, 41.

1179 Källström 1936b, 151; 1939, 136, 318, 321; Talve 1951, 39–40; Nikula 1957, 25.

1180 cf Hällström 1959, 177; Hiekkänen 2007, 457.

1181 Hiekkänen 2003a, 249.

1182 Källström 1936b, 145–146; 1939, 138–137.

Table 7. Silver fish in churches of the Baltic Sea area (Talve 1951, 43; cf Hällström 1959, 177).

No.	Date	Location	Quantity	Material	Description	Placing
1	1427	St Mary's Church, Visby, Sweden	5	silver	-	attached to a chain
2	1519	Püha, Saaremaa Island, Estonia	1	silver	Baltic herring	-
3	1530	Hörup, Als Island, Danmark	1	gold	carp	-
4	1541	Gräsgård, Öland Island, Sweden	1	silver	herring	-
5	1542	Överjärna, Södermanland, Sweden	2	silver	-	-
6	1545	Åker, Södermanland, Sweden	1	silver	smelt	-
7	1545	Enköpings-Näs, Uppland, Sweden	1	silver	-	attached to a chain
8	1558	Nauvo, South-West Finland	1	silver	-	-
9	1558	Rymättylä, South-West Finland	2	silver	-	-
10	1558	Sauvo, South-West Finland	3	silver	-	-
11	1706	Kil, Värmland, Sweden	1	silver	bleak	-
12	1718	Jämaja, Saaremaa Island, Estonia	1	silver	Baltic herring	-
13	1730	Pohja, South-West Finland	1	silver	Baltic herring	melted into the new communion chalice
14	(latter half of the 18th c.)	Tynderö, Medelpad, Sweden	1	silver	Baltic herring	hung over the altar
15	(1743) 1794	Skaga, Västergötland, Sweden	1	wood, covered with silver	bleak	hung over the pulpit
16	1870-1880	Kalana, Hiiumaa Island, Estonia	1	silver	Baltic herring	on the wall in front of the altar

donations of silver. There is also St. Botvid of Södertörn, whose attributes are an axe and fish, and fish were even part of his hagiography. One representation of St. Botvid has survived in Finland, namely in Lohja Church, where the saint was painted on the fourth column of the south nave counted from the altar. The mural has been dated to the 1510s.¹¹⁸³ Talve notes that St. Peter was the patron saint of fishermen's guilds in Central Europe, and furthermore, St. Nicholas protected seafaring and St. Clemens seafarers, but there are no indications that silver fish had any particular association with any of these saints. In fact, the only occurrence of a saint in connection with silver fish is the Virgin Mary to whom the fish in Hörup Church was said to be dedicated, but there is no clear association with her and fish.

Both Talve and Källström conclude that it is likely that silver fish were not donated to any particular saint. The motivation for donating silver fish was in the general interest of communities living off the sea through fishing. In fact, Talve does not consider silver fish to be votives specifically connected with the Christian or Catholic faith, although the cult of the saints was crucial for the tradition of silver fish to form. In Estonia, the post-medieval traditions associated with silver fish cannot be separated from general magic aiming to increase the luck of fishermen. Talve suggests that votive silver fish display the continuity of pre-Christian forms of fishing magic in the Christian period. In the translation of the old tradition into a Catholic custom, the sacrifice of real fish ended or rather was left outside churches. Instead, silver was chosen as the material of new donations. The precious metal suited the ecclesiastical context better, and the value of silver increased the efficacy of the donation.¹¹⁸⁴

Carl-Martin Edsman takes the point further by quoting a passage from Laurentius Müller's *Septentrionalische Historien* covering the years 1576-1593 and published in 1595. According to Müller, who was Rector of the Cathedral School in Riga, the Jesuits had a special method of trying

¹¹⁸³ Liewendahl 1953b, 258; Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 66-69; Riska 1990b, 184, 195.

¹¹⁸⁴ Talve 1951, 4-6, 27-30, 46-49.



Fig. 65. Pewter badge found in Koroinen, Turku. The item depicting a fish is 3.1 x 6.4 cm in size and weighs only 1.186 g (NM Hist. 52100:364).

to convince Baltic fishermen of the contemptibility of the Lutheran faith. They blamed their smaller catches of fish on abandoning of Catholic dogma and thus advised fishermen to have silver fish made and sent to St. Jacob's Church in Riga. If fishermen were to pray in Catholic churches, they would surely have richer catches. On the basis of Müller's account, Edsman concludes that votive gifts and their analogous logic were not a reflection of popular faith, but were pursued by church officials. The Jesuits' votive offerings were not a mechanical execution of some *similia similibus* magic, if such even existed, but offerings were essentially linked with prayer.¹¹⁸⁵ Moreover, Carl Brage Liewendahl criticizes the whole identification of silver fish as 'votive offerings'. The term *votive* refers to a practice where a sacrificial offering is given after a fulfilment of a vow, *ex voto suspecto*, as a sign of gratitude. Hence the principle *similia similibus* is not the fundamental principle of a votive gift. In contrast, silver fish were positive offerings directed to future events, securing the prosperous outcome of fishing.¹¹⁸⁶ Finally, though many of the silver fish might have been communal donations, there remains the possibility that some of them were instead individual donations. Due to the lack of written evidence and surviving silver fish, this cannot be ruled out.

There is still one archaeological find to be discussed in connection with medieval silver fish. It is a small pewter badge found in Koroinen (Fig. 65).¹¹⁸⁷ The object was cast in a one-sided mould leaving its other side featureless, but the other side represents a fish with scales. The badge does not have any exact parallels, although fish are not an uncommon subject among the known European badges. The fish was already an early emblem of Christ, but it was put in a range of iconographical uses in medieval art. Badges with fish may also depict them with accessories and other figures as parts of compositions,¹¹⁸⁸ but the pewter fish of Koroinen seems to have been cast on its own and without any distinguishing features. Considering the high status of the site and close relation to the sea, one might be tempted to associate the fish with the tradition of fish donated to the church to improve luck in fishing.

Bishop's insignia and the liturgical garment

On the brass panel on top of St. Henry's sarcophagus in the church of Nousiainen, the missionary bishop is depicted in his full official garment. Some parts of it belong to the sphere of goldsmithing. St. Henry has a finger ring, *anulus*, which he wears on a liturgical glove, *chirotheca*, on the middle finger of his right hand. Liturgical gloves were used as part of the official episcopal garment since the 10th century, while the finger ring was made part of the official insignia in the following century.¹¹⁸⁹ The ring symbolizes the bishop's commitment to the church and his diocese in a similar way as an engagement and a wedding ring symbolizes a relationship between two persons.

Usually the episcopal rings that have been discovered in the graves of medieval bishops are gold rings set with a large precious stone. As an interesting detail, the finger ring depicted on one

¹¹⁸⁵ Edsman 1996, 19–20.

¹¹⁸⁶ Liewendahl 1953a, 116–117.

¹¹⁸⁷ NM Hist. 52100:364.

¹¹⁸⁸ Spencer 1990, 115–116, 134; 1998, 171–172, 174, 310, 312; van Beuningen, Koldeweij & Kicken 2001, 420; Forsyth & Egan 2005, 125.

¹¹⁸⁹ Oman 1974, 46–47; Hammervold 1997, 13–14; Hiekkänen 2003a, 138.

of the side panels of the sarcophagus has a precious stone cut *en cabochon*, which differs from the finger ring on the top panel, which has a pointed-cut diamond stone. The third episcopal ring of the sarcophagus is depicted on the hand of the kneeling Bishop Magnus Tavast, but because the ring is facing the viewer, its profile and the shape of the precious stone remains hidden. The difference between the finger rings on the top and side panels may well be incidental and merely caused by the tastes of two different engravers.¹¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, the use of two finger rings might also denote a chronological gap. The technologies of pointed-cut and cabochon are means for merely polishing the natural shape of the precious stone. For diamonds, this form is octahedral, but for other coloured gems the natural form is rounded. Although differences in technologies as such cannot provide a chronological difference, pointed-cut diamonds are typical of 15th- and 16th-century finger rings, while rings with cabochon gems were also used in earlier centuries.¹¹⁹¹ Perhaps the choice of different finger ring types underscores the point that the item of jewellery on the side panel is the actual relic-like ring of St. Henry,¹¹⁹² whereas the episcopal ring depicted on the top panel is contemporary, *hic et nunc*, which brings out both the historicity of the saint as well as his constant presence in the episcopal succession.

In addition to a finger ring, a bishop received a crosier and mitre as insignia of his office during hisointment. Also St. Henry holds an episcopal staff (*baculus pastoralis*) in his left hand. Imitating a shepherd's staff, it has a hook made of precious metals and adorned with stones. The staff itself could be made of metals or wood. According to Paulus Juusten's chronicle, Bishop Hemmingus (in office 1338–1366) donated a crosier to Turku Cathedral.¹¹⁹³ Since dioceses usually had only one crosier, it seems likely that the crosier donated by Hemmingus was the one which the Dane Otto Rud and his men stole along with the bishop's mitre and other valuables from the Cathedral in 1509, although written documents do not reveal the origin of the stolen insignia.¹¹⁹⁴ The staff and mitre were returned to Uppsala in 1516, and were eventually brought back to the cathedral.¹¹⁹⁵

Perhaps it was this crosier again that was confiscated from the cathedral in 1557. The confiscated staff is said to have weighed over one kilogramme.¹¹⁹⁶ Later John III of Sweden gave new episcopal staffs to replace the items which King Gustavus Vasa had taken, but Turku Cathedral was not among the recipients. In 1593, however, the Synod of Uppsala forbade the liturgical changes imposed by John III, and it especially considered the mitre and the staff to be troublesome. Their use as episcopal insignia was abandoned altogether.¹¹⁹⁷

Despite the rough treatment of the crosier of Turku Cathedral during the 16th century, there still survives an early episcopal staff among its treasures. This object is difficult to date, because its hook, made of precious metals and weighing 290 g, was melted down and reused for a new set of communion vessels in 1777.¹¹⁹⁸ The rest of the staff is made of wood and covered with velvet tied with gold cords. The three wooden nodes on the staff are gilt, and a cubical piece of rock crystal adorns the top. The crosier must antedate the Uppsala synod of 1593, because the use of episcopal crosiers in the Swedish church was not reintroduced until the late 18th century. Moreover, the rock crystal remaining on the top of the staff is a feature typical of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

Juhani Rinne suggests that the old crosier of Turku Cathedral was donated by Bishop Hemmingus, stolen in 1509 and returned after seven years.¹¹⁹⁹ He does not, however, take into notice the liturgical artefacts donated by Bishop Magnus Tavast in the 15th century, the crosier mentioned in the confiscation documents,¹²⁰⁰ or the account of the melting of the metal parts of a crosier in

¹¹⁹⁰ Riska 1990a, 286.

¹¹⁹¹ Scarisbrick 2007, 234–237, 299–307.

¹¹⁹² St. Henry's finger and finger ring cut *en cabochon* appear also in the 17th-century seal of Turku Chapter (Parvio 1963).

¹¹⁹³ Juusten 12:6.

¹¹⁹⁴ Juusten 22:31.

¹¹⁹⁵ FMU 5870, 5957; Rinne 1948, 153–154.

¹¹⁹⁶ Källström 1939, 324–325.

¹¹⁹⁷ Sepponen 2000, 24–25.

¹¹⁹⁸ Pylkkänen 1976, nos. 38, 102–103.

¹¹⁹⁹ Rinne 1948, 154.

¹²⁰⁰ Källström 1940, 215.

1777. Since there are no records stating that only the metal parts of crosiers were confiscated,¹²⁰¹ the assumption that they were taken as whole objects seems correct. Moreover, even if confiscators had only taken the valuable parts of the old crosier, they would not have left the large rock crystal intact, because Gustavus Vasa's administration confiscated numerous clypeus pendants – made of rock crystals – from Swedish churches. Hence the exact age of the crosier at Turku Cathedral remains unclear.

Besides the finger ring and staff, two other objects related to the bishop's Mass garment should be noted. One is the episcopal pectoral cross worn on the chest, *crux pectoralis*, which usually remained hidden between the alb and the stole. Pectorals do not have a standard form, but they were often of precious metal and possibly set with precious stones and worn on a cord or chain. The crucifix pendant of the Halikko hoard has been pointed out as one potential episcopal cross.

The last relevant object in this connection is the already mentioned clypeus pendant. The *pluviale* or *cappa*, cope, was a liturgical mantle worn by the priests assisting the bishop during the 11th century, but its use became limited to bishops in the following centuries. According to the *Pontificale Roschildense*, dated to the first third of the 16th century, a new bishop should wear a cope during his ordination, while his assisting priests should be dressed in chasubles. The cope was open at the front, reached the feet and was fastened with a large brooch in front. Depictions of such brooches are ample in medieval art, but the number of surviving examples is very limited. One rare example is the brooch belonging to the cope of Bishop Thomas of Strängnäs Diocese.¹²⁰²

The cope originally had a hood, which during the 13th century developed into a triangular piece of garment known as the clypeus. It could be ornamented with a tassel or mounted with a precious stone, the clypeus pendant. Gustavus Vasa's confiscation documents mention such a pendant three times in churches of the Diocese of Turku. Karjaa Church had 'a gilt brooch and button' for a cope, probably a clypeus pendant,¹²⁰³ while the churches of Nauvo and Rymättylä had clypeus pendants made of silver-mounted rock crystals.¹²⁰⁴

If the use of the cope was confined only to the bishops, the existence of clypeus pendants in the rural churches of Nauvo and Rymättylä seems odd. The orders of Turku Chapter stated that its members had to wear copes in processions that took place during the cathedral's main and special festivities. Moreover, on the basis of written accounts, it seems that parish churches of the diocese had many copes in their inventories, which leads to the conclusion that also other priests than those of the chapter used copes.¹²⁰⁵ Some written accounts suggest that even laymen found use for clypeus pendants. The queen Margareta Leijonhufvud, the second wife of Gustavus Vasa, took some 'gilt cope buttons', which were confiscated from churches in Västergötland and Östergötland in 1541, in her own possession. Together, the pendants weighed 8.8 kg.¹²⁰⁶

Other objects of non-ferrous metals of the liturgy and altar

The rest of the medieval and Early Modern artefacts surviving in churches or mentioned in contemporary written sources are somewhat problematic for the present study. Not only are the surviving pieces made of base metals, but also their numbers, whether of actual objects or indicated in written evidence, are so small that their potential for the analysis beyond suggestive identifications and dates of production seems rather confined. Nevertheless, the scanty evidence of non-ferrous metal objects is presented here mainly on the basis of Juhani Rinne's and Markus Hiekkänen's works.¹²⁰⁷

Before the Eucharist, the celebrant needed to wash his hands and this was done by pouring water from an *aquamanile* or *lavatorium* on the hands through which the water continued its way into a dish of some sort. The *aquamanile*, a metal water container used in both liturgical and

¹²⁰¹ Cf. Källström 1939, 133.

¹²⁰² Nockert 1997, 209.

¹²⁰³ Källström 1939, 315.

¹²⁰⁴ Arwidsson VI, 332; VIII, 159–160; Källström 1936, 151, 161; 1939, 317–318, 320–321.

¹²⁰⁵ Hiekkänen 2003a, 138.

¹²⁰⁶ KGR 1541, 213; Källström 1939, 128–130.

¹²⁰⁷ Rinne 1948; Hiekkänen 2003a; 2007.

domestic settings, can take many shapes, the most common of which is the lion.¹²⁰⁸ Surprisingly, while common in Swedish churches, no such objects survive in Finland and even written references to aquamanilia are lacking.

The lavatorium, in turn, is a spherical container hung on chains and fitted with two spouts shaped like animal-heads on opposing sides of the vessel. Certain medieval lavatoria are missing from the Finnish material, but Hiekkänen suggests that two items discovered in the cultural layers of Turku might be fragments of such containers. One is the two-forked spout of a bronze container found near the Cathedral Bridge in the 1950s,¹²⁰⁹ but it might as well be from a pitcher.¹²¹⁰ The other item is a ceramic pig(?) -head-shaped spout from a washbasin. It was unearthed close to the cathedral in archaeological excavations in 2005–2006. The fragment is dated to the earlier part of the 16th century.¹²¹¹ Because such basins were used also in secular environments, Hiekkänen's identification cannot be considered conclusive. A liturgical lavatorium is mentioned once in the written sources in 1504, when Henrik Friis donated such an artefact with a basin to the altar of the Holy Cross in Turku Cathedral.¹²¹²

The wine and water mixed before the Eucharist was carried in a pair of ampoules, containers with a foot, one for wine and the other for water. Hiekkänen points out a small bottle discovered as a stray find in Köyliö as potentially being such a container.¹²¹³ The artefact type is referred to once in the confiscation documents, when Laitila Church is described as having a lidded ampoule for wine marked with the gilt letter V for *vinum*. The container was ornamented with gilt circles(?) and also its handle was partly gilt.¹²¹⁴ If it had another bottle as a pair, it would have been marked with the letter A indicating water, *aqua*.¹²¹⁵ According to late medieval inventories, the altars of St. Lawrence and St. George in Turku Cathedral each had a pair of ampoules.¹²¹⁶ Although the artefact from Laitila is the only silver ampoule in the Finnish sources, Rinne points out that the royal Swedish wills mention many ampoules made of silver and gold.¹²¹⁷

The oils used in the liturgy required their own vessels, *chrismatoria*, which in principle comprised three bottles for sacred oils. The container marked with the letter S was for *oleum sanctum* or scented oil used in consecration and blessing of persons and objects, while the vessel with the letter C was intended for *oleum cathecumenorum* or oil used in the rites of baptism and confirmation. Finally the container with the letter I for *oleum infirmorum* was needed in the rites involving the sick and dying. Such objects could be made of pewter, copper or stone and stored in a leather case for transport.¹²¹⁸ The confiscation documents on Finnish churches, in cases where the exact number of bottles is given, list 13 pairs of chrismatoria and seven individual bottles, but not a single time is a three-bottle set mentioned. Usually the bottles are described merely as 'ungilt', but the 'small' ungilt chrismatorium of Mäskälä/Vanaja Church is said to weigh 72 g,¹²¹⁹ while the church of Rauma has one ungilt bottle without a lid and another 'small' one.¹²²⁰ Finally Vehmaa Church owned two ungilt oil bottles, which were in some way connected to each other.¹²²¹ Källström suggests that in cases of bottle pairs, the first one was intended for oils used in consecrations and baptisms and the other one for oils of the last rites.¹²²²

The *situla*, or holy water bucket, and the sprinkler, *aspersorium*, were also important equipment for the liturgy, but besides the regulations of parish clerks of Turku Cathedral,¹²²³ the only reference

1208 Netzer 1991, 96.

1209 PMSWF 14681:2759; Valonen 1958; Dixel 1961, 164 figs. 125, 127, 128; Hiekkänen 2003a, 129.

1210 Cf. Dixel 1961, 188 fig. 210, 189 fig. 214; Bos 1973, no. 32.

1211 Hiekkänen 2007, 210 note 975; Majantie 2007a, 39.

1212 *unum lavatrum (= -torium) och ene mulløgh*; FMU 5028.

1213 Hiekkänen 2003a, 128–129.

1214 Källström 1939, 316.

1215 Hiekkänen 2003a, 128–129.

1216 REA 720, 723; FMU 4896.

1217 Rinne 1948, 182–183.

1218 Källström 1939, 108–109.

1219 Källström 1939, 317.

1220 Källström 1939, 320.

1221 Källström 1939, 323.

1222 Källström 1939, 109.

1223 FMU 3632.

to such objects is from Rymättylä Church, which in 1554 had a holy water bucket and a vessel,¹²²⁴ which Hiekkänen interprets as a larger container for storing holy water.¹²²⁵ One medieval holy water bucket even survives to the present day. This vessel, made of brass and 10.4 cm in height, was found in Önningeby, Jomala in the Åland Islands, and Hiekkänen dates it to the 15th century.¹²²⁶ No sprinklers are attested in Finland, but on the basis of few Swedish examples, they were wooden artefacts with handles and a knob with holes into which small wooden sticks were attached.¹²²⁷ Catherine Jagellon had a silver handle for a sprinkler and silver holy water bucket among her belongings in Poland.¹²²⁸

The liturgy also required a casket for storing blessed salt used in purification rites. Especially salt was needed at the beginning of the rite of baptism, when a grain of salt as the grain of wisdom was put in the child's mouth. Despite no such containers having survived or left written traces, Hiekkänen points out that the inventory of Tammela Church composed in 1626 lists one salt container. Because the Lutheran liturgy had no application for salt and thus containers of salt, the casket probably survived from the medieval period.¹²²⁹ Another very poorly represented artefact in Finnish sources is the *pax tecum* or *pacifcale*, a tablet for delivering the Kiss of Peace from the celebrant to the congregation. It was a rectangular or circular plate made of precious metals or gilt copper and equipped with a handle.¹²³⁰ The only indication of such liturgical objects in the diocese is from Hemming Gadh's plan for the beatification of St. Hemmingus, and even there the item is mentioned only in passing.¹²³¹

If the *pax tecum* remains a rather distant liturgical artefact, traces of candlesticks or candelabra are more abundant. The light provided by the candle has at the same time spatial and visual effects as well as religious connotations related to Christ and God as providers of grace, wisdom and light. Medieval wills and donations recurrently make a pledge to light candles on the altar of a church during the requiem of the donor.¹²³² Churches had a variety of candles in their use. The paschal candle (*cereus paschalis*) was a large column of wax, but also smaller candles called 'book candles' and 'foot candles' could be lit. Moreover, the regulations of parish clerks of Turku Cathedral list the candles of the main choir, the candles of the altar of St. Henry and the parish altars and the candles on the tomb of Beatus Hemmingus.¹²³³ According to the inventory of St. Lawrence's altar in the cathedral, the altar had two candelabra of brass in its possession.¹²³⁴ In 1556, an eight-branched chandelier of copper was confiscated from the church of Urjala and given to the crown manor of Mustiala in Tammela.¹²³⁵ The overwhelming majority of medieval chandeliers surviving in Finnish churches are of iron,¹²³⁶ but Eurajoki Church still has a handsome pair of candlesticks dating from the earlier part of the 15th century (Fig. 66). The objects are 41 cm in height and their feet are decorated with three figures of lions. Although the two candlesticks form a pair, there are small differences in their sizes as well as in small details of their ornamentation.¹²³⁷

The last group of liturgical vessels discussed is the chased brass dishes, which were used as baptismal fonts in the 17th century, although the vessels themselves were made in Germany in the 16th century. Five such dishes, all c. 45 cm in diameter, are known from the Finnish churches of

1224 Arwidsson 8, 159–160.

1225 Hiekkänen 2003a, 131.

1226 NM Hist. 3424:1; Hiekkänen 2003a, 130–131; 2007, 391.

1227 Linde Church, Gotland (SHM 8084:9); Halltorp Church, Småland (SHM 26330:280); Sundmark 2008, fig. 7.

1228 Palmén 1903, 346.

1229 Hiekkänen 2003a, 131.

1230 See e.g. McLachlan 2005.

1231 *ther näst för fridh och nadhe Da pacem*; FMU 5715.

1232 Rinne 1948, 194.

1233 FMU 3632.

1234 REA 723; FMU 4896.

1235 Ojanen 1990, 27.

1236 Rinne 1948, 196.

1237 A fragment of a candlestick of bronze was unearthed as a stray find at a depth of 30 cm near the shore of Lake Längelmävesi in 1956 (NM Hist. 56064). The fragment, 14 cm high, depicts a young, skinny man standing with his knees bent and his spread arms ending in candle holders. It can be dated to the earlier part of the 16th century. Moreover, a bronze fragment of a chandelier from the late 15th or earlier part of the 16th century depicting a Wildman was discovered from the attic of Taipalsaari Church (NM Hist. 40018; cf. von der Osten 1963, 74 fig. 3, 75; Steingraber 1964, 164–167 fig. 167). The parish of Taipalsaari was founded around the mid-16th century (Jurvanen 1987, 71). Another fragment of a possibly medieval bronze chandelier survives in Rymättylä Church (Lilius, Nikula & Riska 1972, 189–190).



Fig. 66. Eurajoki Church has a handsome pair of candlesticks dating from the earlier part of the 15th century. The objects are 41 cm in height and their feet are decorated with three figures of lions.

Loimaa, Pedersöre, Rauma, Somero and Sysmä, one was found on the bank of the Porvoonjoki River in Porvoo, and one without provenance information is deposited in the collection of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland.¹²³⁸

The dish of Rauma Church is mentioned in 1805 as broken and unfit for use, and it was deposited in the church museum in the late 19th century. There it was stored still in the 1970s, but has been missing since. The dish, however, has been documented with photographs, which show that it had a simple geometric rose pattern formed by curvilinear fish bladder motifs. Also some small floral patterns were punched in the surface.¹²³⁹ The centre is surrounded by an illegible inscription set with Gothic majuscules, which has been interpreted differently depending on the scholar reading them: *RAHE WISHNBI* or *RAM(H?):EW:S'h(H)NB*: or *RAH WE ShN*.¹²⁴⁰

The dishes of Sysmä and Pedersöre churches have been chased with the depiction of the Annunciation, while the dish of Somero Church has the Crucifixion scene.¹²⁴¹ The dish of Loimaa Church and the one discovered in Porvoo bear depictions of the Fall of Adam and Eve (Fig. 67). The rims of both dishes have punched lilies and other motifs.¹²⁴² The Loimaa dish has two rows of inscriptions framing the central scene, the inner row remains illegible, while the outer one repeats the phrase *IGH SCAL REKORDE* or 'I shall remember'. Cavalry captain Michel Johansson, the son-in-law of the Reverend Joh. Walstenius and owner of the Mäkimattila farm in Alastaro in 1647–1664, donated the vessel in 1658.¹²⁴³ The two rows of inscriptions on the Porvoo dish remain illegible.

The above dishes represent a fraction of the chased brass vessels imported from Germany and Holland since the late 15th century, although the surviving ones in Finland date from the 16th century. These semi-industrially produced vessels gained a wide distribution throughout Western and Northern Europe. Despite the Biblical scenes depicted on them, they were originally produced mainly for lay consumption and intended for use in banquets. During the 17th and 18th centuries the dishes became unfashionable and their owners began to donate them to churches, which found use for them as baptismal

fonts.¹²⁴⁴ As a result, the parish churches in the Kingdom of Sweden have numerous similar dishes in their inventories.¹²⁴⁵

In addition to these liturgical vessels, churches also had in their possessions a legion of artefacts which do not seem to have connection with actual liturgical practices. One of the clearly devotional objects is the so-called Agnus Dei capsule. Its origins lay in wafers made of wax taken from the paschal candles of St. Peter's in Rome. The wax wafers were impressed with the figure of a lamb and blessed by the pope. The wafer was conserved inside a capsule, usually also circular, with an engraved depiction of Agnus Dei on one side and a saint or motif such as the Vernicle on the reverse.¹²⁴⁶ The capsule usually had a chain for suspension so that it could be carried like an

¹²³⁸ The antique dealer Valter Sjöberg noticed the Porvoo dish in use as a laundry basket by the river bank. It had been found in mud on the bank. Sjöberg acquired the vessel and donated it to the Porvoo Museum in his will (Suvanto 1985, 121; Jämbäck 1996). PMSWF 22019; Söderström 2001, 219.

¹²³⁹ Cf. Karlson 1958, 81 fig. 17.

¹²⁴⁰ Killinen 1880, 203; Stegmann 1899, 19, 25; Lockner 1982, 50–51; Hyvönen 1990, 112–113, 129 note 2.

¹²⁴¹ NM Hist. 37100:51.

¹²⁴² NM Hist. 2150:54; PM 37145.

¹²⁴³ Riska 1979, 35.

¹²⁴⁴ Jämbäck 1996.

¹²⁴⁵ af Ugglas 1913, 48.

¹²⁴⁶ Hildebrand 1898–1903, 530; Källström 1939, 135; Husband 1992, 22 note 12.



Fig. 67. Dish of brass discovered in Porvoo with a depiction of the Fall of Adam and Eve (PM 37145).

amulet in the same way as the Agnus Dei capsule which squire Kort Hartviksson bequeathed to his wife Brita Hindersdotter in 1484.¹²⁴⁷ In 1488, the Stockholm town council summoned Oleff Seck to testify on the pawning of an Agnus Dei capsule.¹²⁴⁸ Taivassalo Church had such a capsule in its inventory when Michael Agricola visited the church in 1554, but the piece is no longer mentioned in the confiscation document drawn up four years later.¹²⁴⁹ The capsules were clearly of devotional significance and perhaps they were also valued as mementos of the eternal city.

Finally, the confiscation documents of the crown administration list several pins, finger rings, brooches and spoons which do not seem to have any connection with religious services or devotional life at all. Nevertheless, some of the brooches might have found use in the liturgical garments and pins could form part of the bridal gown. Some miscellaneous pieces of silver and mounts mentioned in the accounts are possibly loose items from caskets, copes and other liturgical equipment. The number of finger rings suggests, however, that none of them were episcopal, especially when no rings were delivered from Turku Cathedral,¹²⁵⁰ and thus they had no ecclesiastical function in churches.

¹²⁴⁷ *kädia och agnus Dei*; FMU 4010; Rinne 1948, 202–203.

¹²⁴⁸ FMU 4165.

¹²⁴⁹ Arwidsson 8, 160; Källström 1939, 323.

¹²⁵⁰ Källström 1939, 139.

Also spoons seem rather superficial in the ecclesiastical context. Some implements could have been used for dipping hosts into Eucharistic wine and handing them over to the parishioner. Such spoons are termed *cochlear eucharisticum*, while spoons used for pouring water into the communion wine formed a category of their own. Thirdly, grains of incense could be moved from the *navicula* or container of incense grains to the censer, and this utensil was called the *cochlear parvum*.¹²⁵¹ These three spoon types are discussed further in connection with the 13th-century silver spoon found in the Lammaistenkoski Rapids in Harjavalta (Cat. 15:1). Neither Källström nor Hiekkänen finds it plausible that any of the spoons mentioned in the confiscation documents were such liturgical spoons, but rather perhaps personal belongings of the parish priest or the bequeathed silver of laymen and churchmen.¹²⁵²

The interpretations of the presence of profane silver in churches can be augmented with one explanation typically related to laymen and the find context of hoards. Profane silver might have been intentionally accumulated from bequests as a reserve for situations where liturgical equipment required repairs and additions of material. Moreover, it could be conceivable that profane silver was also kept as liquid assets, to be utilized at any time, rather than simply encasing the objects and storing the coins, although usually it is expressly the church which is considered pivotal for the early medieval process of monetization.¹²⁵³ However, the idea presented here is only that profane silver could be used as a subsidiary and rather low-key way of accumulating and releasing wealth – especially considering the relatively small numbers of profane artefacts in confiscation documents. Though admittedly geographically and socially distant, an example of the practice is attested in the records of St. Cuthbert's Church in Wells, England, where dozens of finger rings were held in the church chest at least in the 15th century and part of the church's payments were settled with them. The procedure developed because no regular gold coinage was commonly available in England,¹²⁵⁴ but the example nevertheless shows that such subsidiary systems of storing and distributing wealth lived on despite monetization. In Finland, furthermore, such transactions based on the exchange of goods and the accumulation of wealth in the form of silver and gold objects were common throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period and crucial for the consumption of goldsmiths' products in the mundane setting, which is discussed in detail in the following chapters.

¹²⁵¹ Källström 1939, 106–108, 120.

¹²⁵² Källström 1939, 139–142; Hiekkänen 2003a, 131.

¹²⁵³ E.g. Klackenborg 1992, *passim*; Carelli 2001, 201–205.

¹²⁵⁴ *du Quesne Bird* 1997.

10 At the Table

Dining as a social ceremony

When Gudmund, the servant of the Bishop of Turku, had arrived in West Götaland, he took lodgings at the house of the priest of Sandhem, tells the hagiography of St. Henry. Late in the night after supper, Gudmund drank a toast to the memory of the saint, but the priest laughed and said: 'If he is indeed holy, let him get angry with me, if he can.' In the following night, the priest got sick and he called for Gudmund, apologized for his behaviour and called on St. Henry for help. He immediately felt better.¹²⁵⁵ The sarcophagus of St. Henry has a depiction of the moment when the two men have dined and Gudmund is raising a toast. The priest on the right wears a home dress while the guest on the left has a travelling gown. The men are holding a shared hand towel or table napkin in front of them. The table is laid with four circular salt pots, two plates and a jug between them. Both men also have knives at hand.¹²⁵⁶

Although the supper of Gudmund and his host was an intimate occasion with only two participants, it was nonetheless a sign of the priest's hospitality and a situation for maintaining personal relations and alliances. In medieval and Early Modern life, dining was a communal event, a gathering in a shared space, both metaphorically and in practice. To dine meant the act of distributing and dividing food, and the greater the group of diners, as in castles and courts, the more important were the ways in which these distributions and divisions of people and food were made.¹²⁵⁷ It was an event where social differences and liaisons were displayed and created. Hence dining, acts performed during it and the material culture ranging from environment and tableware to food were of central significance in social life.¹²⁵⁸

In a way, dining was the secular equivalent of the Eucharist, and the communion was indeed one of the central rites of medieval devotion and an enactment of spiritual communality. Consequently, the forms and uses of liturgical equipment revolved to a large extent around eating, drinking, handling, presenting and conserving holy bread and wine. From the perspective of material culture, the Eucharist can be compared to the secular dining ceremony, which was also a collective recreation of the community and its social relations, and in which material culture played a pivotal role. This dimension of dining is emphasized, along with entertaining guests, when the meal collected members of a certain community in places such as castles, ecclesiastical institutions, religious fraternities, urban and rural associations or guilds. In these situations, especially when higher social groups were concerned, correct conduct and the ceremonial nature of Pre- and Early Modern society are evident,¹²⁵⁹ but even the more ordinary, casual dining of higher as well as lower social groups had an unavoidable ritualistic aspect.

Probably people in the Diocese of Turku, as in other Nordic countries, enjoyed two warm meals a day, breakfast and supper, and cold meals between them.¹²⁶⁰ Banqueting and lavish eating took place particularly at supper. The ceremony of dining already began with the creation of a suitable environment and its decorations,¹²⁶¹ since the social hierarchy affected the dining space itself, the seating plan and the order of service, whether the setting was a large dining hall in a castle¹²⁶² or a small family household.¹²⁶³ However, in contrast to the Finnish medieval churches, spaces for secular dining were more heterogeneous. Dining could take place in dining halls or the rooms of castles, manors, urban and rural houses, but also in spaces not particularly planned for such activities.

¹²⁵⁵ Heikkilä 2005, 419.

¹²⁵⁶ Korhonen 1985, 408.

¹²⁵⁷ Reinholdt 1977, 11–12; Nordström 1989, 40–41.

¹²⁵⁸ E.g. Tomasik & Vitullo 2007 with references.

¹²⁵⁹ Brown 2005, 87.

¹²⁶⁰ Korhonen 1985, 407; cf. Vilkkuna 1967a.

¹²⁶¹ Glanville 2002, 12.

¹²⁶² But see Helenius 1994, 90.

¹²⁶³ Korhonen 1985, 409.

The diners seated around rectangular tables following a certain order.¹²⁶⁴ One of the wall paintings of Lohja Church dated to 1510–1522 depicts a scene with a king, two other men and three devils banqueting around a rectangular table. The table is covered with a white tablecloth and laid with beakers, two pitchers, dice and bread.¹²⁶⁵ Another painting in the same church depicts a bishop's dining table, which also has a white cloth, but also two plates for bread and two empty ones.¹²⁶⁶

After the scene of the dining was prepared and diners had sat down at the table, the ritual of washing the hands followed. The inventory of presbyter Henricus Tempill written in 1355 mentions a tablecloth along with a hand towel and washbasin or *lavatorium*, most likely intended for washing hands before and after the meal. Moreover, Henricus Tempill owned two jugs for beer and pitchers of wood and pewter.¹²⁶⁷ The hand washing was followed by the serving of food and possibly in a courtly setting, by the carving ritual, in which meat was cut and served to the diners with special tools such as the large 14th-century steak knife found in Perniö.¹²⁶⁸

The dishes from which the food was served and eaten were of various materials. A wooden or bread trencher or platter could be placed in front of the diner, who could help him or herself to food from communal dishes. Or the dishes might be of ceramics, or, on the tables of the highest elite, base metals and even silver and gold. Individual drinking vessels were sparse in contrast to communal vessels, and they were made of wood, glass, ceramics, horn and metals. Cutlery was confined to small knives and spoons, although the first fork in Finland is mentioned among the treasures which Catherine Jagellon brought from Poland to Turku Castle.¹²⁶⁹ In these early stages, the implement was used singularly for picking specialities and bringing them into one's mouth. It did not form a functional pair with the table knife.¹²⁷⁰

In the event of dining, artefacts of precious metals served two main functions. Firstly, they formed part of the backdrop that enabled the actual ceremony to take place. Especially serving dishes were meant to be impressive eye-catchers, emphasizing the sumptuousness of the occasion and the wealth of the host. Secondly, in addition to their visual appearance and material presence, silver dishes and cutlery were also objects handled and used to serve foods, cut and portion pieces of food and take them into mouths. In fact, all the dishes and cutlery used in dining, whatever their functions were, can be argued to form relations with humans varying from mere visual perception to intimate bodily contact, and thus the paraphernalia follow, as well as condition, the movements of diners. This relationship between artefacts and bodies has important implications for understanding the role of cutlery and dishes in the development of mealtime customs, the gestures performed in dining and the changing criteria of correct conduct.

In spite of the self-evident way in which cutlery and dishes are presently handled and used, these ways are highly artificial and socially constructed as Norbert Elias argues in his *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in 1939:

*Nothing in table manners is self-evident or the product, as it were, of a 'natural' feeling of delicacy. The spoon, fork and napkin were not invented one day by a single individual as technical implements with obvious purposes and clear directions for use. Over the centuries, in direct social intercourse and use, their functions became gradually defined, their forms sought and consolidated. [...] Every movement of the hand – for example, the way in which one holds and moves knife, spoon or fork – was standardized only step-by-step.*¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁴ Cf. Valonen 1950.

¹²⁶⁵ Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 76; Riska 1990, 166.

¹²⁶⁶ Riska 1990, 190.

¹²⁶⁷ REA 160; FMU 649; Ruuth 1923, 166; Vilkkuna 1967b.

¹²⁶⁸ Taavitsainen 1985.

¹²⁶⁹ Palmén 1903, 345.

¹²⁷⁰ Ruempol & van Dongen 1991, 91.

¹²⁷¹ Elias (1939) 2005, 92.

Changes in dishes and cutlery are thus symptoms of changes in diet, manners and food materials, cooking practices, and even in the political and social spheres.¹²⁷² Eating has never been merely an event of satisfying physiological needs.¹²⁷³ The change of mealtime customs was part of the social process in which burgher and elite cultures were constantly creating and redefining social differences in relation to other social groups through social etiquette and criteria of suitable conduct. In a similar way, Ingrid Nordström argues that the principles of food distribution and ultimately social differences underlie the rules or etiquette of using cutlery.¹²⁷⁴ In sum, archaeologically found remains of tableware and the material culture of dining in general have a socio-political dimension besides their temporal and spatial coordinates.¹²⁷⁵

The almost proverbial forks of Catherine Jagellon are only a symptom of, or agent in, constantly changing mealtime customs, which partly conditioned the growing amount of specialized tableware in the late medieval and Early Modern Periods as well as the stylistic change of individual object types. This gradual change of mealtime customs culminated in the 16th century, when the dining ceremony had formed into a complex affair,¹²⁷⁶ but continued in the following centuries to finally formalize more or less into the gestural and practical event of dining as we know it. Riitta Pyllkkänen traces the turning point of the dining culture of the Finnish nobility to the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), when cooking became more complex, the amount of cutlery and dinner sets increased, and they became more specialized.¹²⁷⁷ The main forms of cutlery and dishes became established in their present types.¹²⁷⁸

To analyse the ways in which the dining table operated from the perspective of material culture, Hugh B. Willmott presents a schematic representation of the various classes of material culture used in dining (Fig. 68). The model is based on two axes, one of which charts the mobility of objects during dining. For instance, the trencher or other plate-like vessel in front of the diner was not moved but food was collected on it, while collective drinking vessels were passed from one diner to another. The other axis of the model describes the communality of objects ranging from serving dishes from which all diners reached for food to knives and spoons, which were used individually. Willmott's scheme shows how various types of dishes and cutlery functioned in the dining ceremony,¹²⁷⁹ but the model can also be applied to chart relations between the material culture used in dining and the bodies of diners. Since the close bodily relation is one of the features Appadurai assigns to the register of luxury consumption, Willmott's model helps to analyse the bodily contact of various silver and gold artefacts used in dining. But first the temporal, spatial and social coordinates of the material have to be clarified.

Drinking horns

Unlike chalices and patens, many of the vessels used in secular dining have local prehistoric predecessors, at least in a formal sense. This is also case with drinking horns, or containers made from animal horns or made to look like them. The oldest fragments of drinking horns in Finland are dated to the Earlier Roman Iron Age (1–200 AD). They consist of pieces of bronze mounts

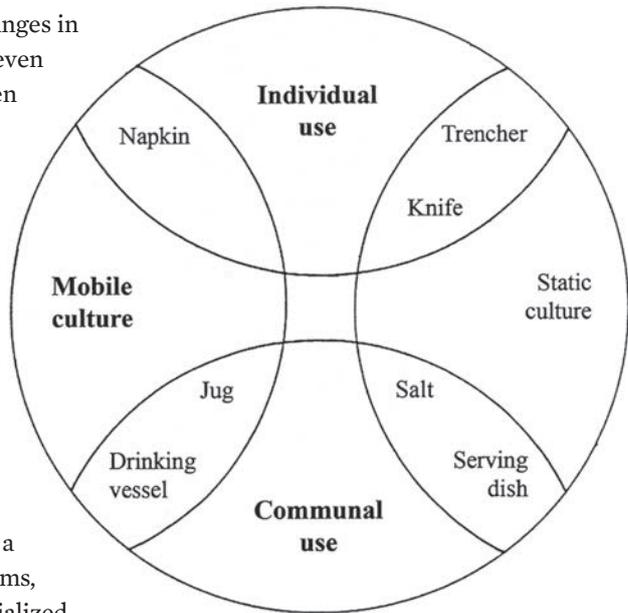


Fig. 68. Hugh B. Willmott's (2005) schematic representation of the various classes of material culture used in dining.

¹²⁷² Emery 1976, 4–5; Ruempol & van Dongen 1991, 196.

¹²⁷³ Strong 2002, 101–115.

¹²⁷⁴ Nordström 1989, 40–41.

¹²⁷⁵ Gaimster 1999.

¹²⁷⁶ Willmott 2005, 121.

¹²⁷⁷ Pyllkkänen 1956, 92.

¹²⁷⁸ Fagerström & Juntikka 1996, 22–23.

¹²⁷⁹ Willmott 2005, 124–125.

found in the burial grounds of Saramäki in Maaria (Turku) and Koskenhaka in Piikkiö (present-day Kaarina).¹²⁸⁰ The most famous drinking horn found in Finnish soil was, however, unearthed in a cairn in Soukainen, Laitila. It was made of glass in the Later Roman Iron Age (200–400 AD) and belongs to Roman provincial imports into the Nordic countries.¹²⁸¹ Sherds of two similar glass horns have also been discovered in the burial ground of Vanutehtaanmäki in Salo (previously Uskela). Moreover, there are metal fragments of drinking horns dated from the 2nd to the 6th centuries from the burial grounds of Palo in Nousiainen, Untamala in Laitila, Katajanmäki in Salo, Pukkila in Isokyrö and Latjineliden in Vöyri (present-day Vöyri-Maksamaa).¹²⁸²

In contrast to the Early Iron Age finds, no drinking horns dated to the Late Iron Age have been published in Finland. However, in Scandinavia, the use of medieval drinking horns is a tradition continuing from prehistoric times without interruption. Besides archaeological finds of plates mounted on drinking horns, Harald Fairhair or Finehair (c. 850–c. 933), the first King of Norway (872–930), and his court are known to have used drinking horns.¹²⁸³ Despite the lack of published Late Iron Age drinking horns in Finland, the burial ground of Pukkisaari in Jaala (present-day Kouvola) has revealed finds of bronze plate, which might be mounts from a drinking horn.¹²⁸⁴ The finds assemblage of the burial ground ranges from the late Merovingian period to the Viking Age, but is mainly from the early 10th to 11th centuries.¹²⁸⁵ Apart from this one potential drinking horn, there is a long temporal gap between the finds of the Roman Iron Age and the only surviving medieval drinking horn in Finland.

Drinking horns are depicted in banqueting scenes in the famous Bayeux Tapestry made in the latter part of the 11th century.¹²⁸⁶ In Scandinavia, Olaf III of Norway or Olaf Haraldsson (reigned in 1067–1093) sought to replace local drinking horns with Central European drinking vessels, but their use became again more popular at the end of the 13th century. In the Nordic countries, a medieval drinking horn is mentioned for the first time in a will of Danish origin in 1285,¹²⁸⁷ and in the following century, occurrences of drinking horns in written sources become common.¹²⁸⁸ The use of drinking horns flourished during the 14th century and the first part of the 15th century, but after the mid-15th century the use of drinking horns waned in Scandinavia.¹²⁸⁹ Accordingly, the main body of medieval drinking horns in the Nordic countries dates from the 15th century, although there are also a few examples from the 14th century.¹²⁹⁰

Despite the popularity of drinking horns in the Middle Ages, only one such artefact has survived in Finland. Unfortunately, the provenance of the piece is somewhat unclear, at least regarding its earlier phases. Reinhold Ernst Peter Jägerhorn (1838–1926), the owner of the Yläne Manor in Yläne (present-day Pöytyä), sold the medieval horn to the Turku Historical Museum (the present-day Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland) in 1907 (Cat. 12:1). The main body of the item consists of a bull's horn, 75 cm in length, which curves steeply forming almost a semicircle. The diameter of the rim is 14.6 cm, and the horn holds about two litres. The object has been repaired at some stage, since a rectangular strip of horn, 0.5–2 cm in width and 9 cm in length, has been fastened with two rows of iron nails. Nowadays, on display, the horn has been set on a support made of iron wire, but originally the horn probably did not have a pedestal, although feet, sometimes imitating sumptuous architectural features or animal feet, survive in some European drinking horns.¹²⁹¹

The rim and the tip of the horn are mounted with gilt copper. The metal part on the tip has a disc-shaped node with four lozenges and between them, pairs of circles. The node resembles the ones on medieval chalices, and it probably even had a similar function, to enhance the grip on the

¹²⁸⁰ Kivikoski 1937, 36 fig. 18, 44–45; 1973, 27–28, fig. 74–75.

¹²⁸¹ Kivikoski 1973, 39–40, fig. 191.

¹²⁸² Tegengren 1936, 6; Schauman-Lönnqvist 1988, 33–37.

¹²⁸³ Kielland 1927, 180.

¹²⁸⁴ Several fragments catalogued under NM Arch. 29097. I wish to thank Leena Tomanterä for bringing this to my attention.

¹²⁸⁵ Miittinen 2004, 127.

¹²⁸⁶ Wilson 2003, 3, 47.

¹²⁸⁷ Olrik 1909, 6.

¹²⁸⁸ Kielland 1927, 180.

¹²⁸⁹ Kielland 1927, 179.

¹²⁹⁰ Kielland 1927, 180.

¹²⁹¹ E.g. SHM 290; Sängner 2001.

object when raised to the lips or passed on. The tip of the horn ends in an acorn-shaped knob.

The mount around the rim is c. 6 cm in height and consists of an inscription, a frieze of triangles and below the frieze a row of semicircles resembling petals. The engraved inscription is set with Gothic minuscules on a crosshatched background and reads:

drik af oc lat ga mik help maria iacpar melchi(or balthasar)

The Swedish sentence can be translated as ‘Drink of me and let me go, help Mary Caspar Melchior Balthazar’. The exhortation refers to banquets, where drinking horns were circulated from one drinker to another and each had a gulp of its contents, beer, mead or wine. The rest of the inscription is an appeal to the Virgin Mary and to the Three Magi for help.

The semicircular form of the Yläne horn is typical of late medieval drinking horns, and the lettering of the inscription suggests that the text was engraved in the latter part of the 15th century. Due to the lack of other datable characteristics it is difficult to provide a more accurate dating. The Norwegian and Swedish parallels without feet and mounted with gilt copper also seem to date broadly from the 15th century.¹²⁹²

According to the oral tradition recorded in the museum archives and published by Juhani Rinne, the horn came to the possession of the Jägerhorn family from Eleonora Kristina Lybecker, when she married Reinhold Ernst Jägerhorn (1753–1821) in 1790. The Lybecker family, in turn, had received the horn from Governor Lorenz Creutz (1646–1698), who had acquired it upon marrying Hedvig Eleonora Stenbock (1664–1729) in 1684.¹²⁹³ If the tradition associated with the horn is correct, Hedvig Eleonora Stenbock brought the horn from Sweden and it is not a medieval Finnish luxury item. At least the use of Swedish in the inscription suggests, according to Rinne, that the horn was made by a Swedish goldsmith,¹²⁹⁴ or at least for a Swedish customer. The language of the inscription does not, however, help to pinpoint the origin of the horn more accurately than to the Kingdom of Sweden.

Reginald Jägerhorn considers the idea that the horn was acquired by the Jägerhorn family in 1790 inaccurate, because Reinhold Ernst himself told the Swedish House of the Nobility in 1751 that the horn was in his possession at the time and that he had received the vessel from his father Johan Anders Jägerhorn (1681–1751). Reginald Jägerhorn traces the possible origin of the horn to the von Willebrand family. Two of Johan Anders’s seven children married children of Colonel Ernst Gustav von Willebrand and Eleanora Maria Creutz, granddaughter of Hedvig Eleonora Stenbock.¹²⁹⁵

Notwithstanding family traditions, Rinne seems to suggest another kind of provenance for the horn. Bishop Magnus Tavast founded the guild of the Three Kings in 1449, and it became the most important guild in Turku. In addition to the bishop, the guild had members from the Chapter and from among the leading burghers and nobles of the town.¹²⁹⁶ In 1480, the guild gave its chest of treasures to the newly founded prebendary of the altar of The Three Kings in the Cathedral. In this connection, Alderman Olof Alfson, Hans van Asken, Gertrud van Bücken and Benrt skrifvare inventoried and confirmed the list of items in the chest. It mentions among other things ‘two mounted horns’.¹²⁹⁷

Rinne is not very clear on what he actually considers to be the origin of the Yläne horn, but he seems to suggest that the two drinking horns mentioned in the inventory of the altar of the Three Kings are actually the one of Yläne Manor and another medieval horn which he knew to be in

¹²⁹² SHM 290, 1321, 4972:1; Kielland 1927, figs. 195, 197; Gundestrup 1991, 315–316 no. 10544, 329 no. 10543.

¹²⁹³ Rinne 1906–1912a.

¹²⁹⁴ Rinne 1906–1912a, 65.

¹²⁹⁵ Jägerhorn 2006.

¹²⁹⁶ REA 552; Gallén 1957, col. 305; Kuujo 1981, 57.

¹²⁹⁷ *ij beslaghen horn*; REA 676; FMU 3819.

Hämeenkyrö Church.¹²⁹⁸ At least in later research, the association between the Yläne horn and the guild of the Three Kings has become an established likelihood.¹²⁹⁹ This interpretation rests on two overlapping assumptions, if the bypassing of the uncertain oral history is not taken into account. The first one is the lack of other indications of the use of drinking horns in Finland, which supports the link between the only surviving horn with the two horns of the Three Kings altar. The second assumption is the identification of the owner of the horn as the guild, based on the names of the Three Magi appearing in the inscription.

Rinne's argumentation is misguided in that he knew only one medieval reference to drinking horns in the cartulary of Turku Cathedral printed in 1890. However, the series *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, which did not begin to appear before Rinne completed his article, contains many more references to medieval drinking horns. The earliest one is in the will of Bo Jonsson (Grip) dated to 1410, where he says that he owns horns in Turku and Nyköping.¹³⁰⁰ In addition to Bo Jonsson's vessels, there are altogether seventeen horns mentioned in the written sources. Olof Nilsson Tavast had two silver-mounted drinking horns at his estate of Porkkala in Lammi in 1455. He had received the first one from Jngeborg Waldemar's daughter and the second from Niels Thawast.¹³⁰¹ The inventory drawn up in 1483 lists items taken by Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) from Viipuri Castle. The list includes 'four horns with silver mounts' and one 'horn mounted with gilt copper'.¹³⁰² Similarly Jens Mattsson brought four gilt horns from Hämeenlinna Castle to Stockholm in 1521.¹³⁰³ Furthermore, squire Måns Frille bequeathed his silver-mounted horn to Clauus Henricksson in 1508,¹³⁰⁴ and two gilt horns are mentioned among items belonging to Margareta from Brödtorp in Pohja, the widow of Anders Slatte.¹³⁰⁵ Turku Castle had one drinking horn with gilt copper mounts in the 1570s.¹³⁰⁶

There is even one late-16th-century written reference to a drinking horn, which is of central importance for the Yläne horn. Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's possessions at Yläne Manor were inventoried immediately after her death in 1578, and again in 1582 and 1591, when they had been moved to Turku Castle. In the later inventories, three items are mentioned under the section entitled *Tafflor* (Tableaux). One of them is *Boffel horn – 1 st*, 'Bull horn – 1 piece'.¹³⁰⁷ Listing the drinking horn among painted artefacts, and not among other vessels or silver artefacts, might be an indication that it was painted like the famous wooden banqueting tankard or *kousa* of Rusko with remains of red paint and the engraved year 1542,¹³⁰⁸ or it could even mean that the horn did not have mountings of metal at all. Nevertheless, Aulikki Ylönen suggests that the horn from Yläne had been in the manor since the medieval period. She points out that Governor Lorenz Creutz and his wife Hedvig Eleonora Stenbock spent relatively little time at Yläne because of Lorenz Creutz's duties.¹³⁰⁹ Why would she have brought such a luxurious object to the manor? In fact, the first wife of Lorenz Creutz was Ebba Maria Fleming (1653–1678), whose father was the owner of Yläne Manor.¹³¹⁰

The first one of Rinne's assumptions, the rarity of written evidence related to drinking horns and their being limited to the guild and altar of the Three Kings, is ill-founded. As shown, there are more drinking horns mentioned in the documents than the two belonging to the guild. Furthermore, one horn is mentioned even in the inventories of Yläne Manor in the late 16th century, although it seems to differ from the horn in the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland.

Also the second assumption of a link existing between the altar of the Three Kings and the names mentioned in the inscription becomes less secure upon closer examination. Based on Biblical

1298 Rinne 1906–1912a, 61.

1299 E.g. Kuujo 1981, 56–57.

1300 *all mijn horn och mijna flaskor och mijne tynstander, som jag hafwer i Åbo och i Nykiöping*; FMU 922.

1301 *j silff horn [...] beslagen horn*; FMU 3001; af Ugglas 1942, 19.

1302 FMU 3967.

1303 FMU 6055.

1304 FMU 5309.

1305 FMU 6557.

1306 Ruuth 1923, 167.

1307 BFH 5:308, 465.

1308 Riska 1987a, 246.

1309 Ylönen 1969, 389–390.

1310 Tuominen 1937, 8.

sources, drinking horns were associated with royalty. According to the Bible, David and Solomon were anointed as kings with oil taken from a horn.¹³¹¹ Although there is no Biblical description of the vessels in which the Three Wise Men brought the myrrh to the Christ Child, in medieval imagery they use horns. For instance, Balthazar carries a drinking horn in the wooden altar screen of the Franciscan Convent Church in Rauma. The screen was probably made in Prussia in the 1440s and donated to the church as late as the 1620s.¹³¹² Because of this visual tradition, many medieval drinking horns have inscriptions with the names of the Three Wise Men without any particular association with the place where the objects were used,¹³¹³ although drinking horns were common also in the Nordic ecclesiastical context. Moreover, the Magi were patron saints of inns and drinkers and their names were invested with protective and curative powers and consequently inscribed on medieval drinking horns and cups. Walter Leo Hildburgh suggests that this was done in order to gain protection against poisons or to enhance the quality of the beverages in the vessels.¹³¹⁴

In addition to the horn from Yläne, there are two other drinking horns in Finland which have been considered to be of considerable age. The drinking horn of Hämeenkyrö Church, which Rinne mentions, is not lost, although he so thought. According to Yrjö Koskinen, the horn was indeed stolen around the 1820s and sawn into pieces in order to get the silver mounts. Only the fragments of the horn were retrieved,¹³¹⁵ but they were kept and sent in the 1920s to the National Museum for restoration. The present-day Hämeenkyrö horn is rather massive in size. The horn holding 1.2 litres is 52 cm in length, and the diameter of its rim 10 cm. Vilkuna argues that only a bull gelded very young can grow such a large horn.¹³¹⁶

The horn, curving only a quarter of a circle, stands on a massive pedestal and weighs 2,121.0 g. The pedestal was acquired in connection with the restoration, and on the basis of the hallmark punched on the flange of the pedestal, it was commissioned from the Taito company in 1928. The rim part of the horn is painted red and the tip part blue. Both parts have painted flowers. The mid-part of the horn has clearly suffered from rough treatment. It has been sawn in two places and the mount around the horn seems to be missing. The church was, however, donated a new horn with silver mounts and a lid in the 19th century. In addition to these two horns, the church museum of Hämeenkyrö owns yet another two horns but they are without metal parts.¹³¹⁷

Besides the drinking horn of Hämeenkyrö Church, there is another similar horn, which is sometimes referred to in the literature as possibly medieval. It belongs to the neighbouring church of Viljakkala. The horn is more or less of the same size as the Hämeenkyrö horn. It is 52 cm in length, and the diameter of its rim is 9 cm. It weighs 826.42 g and holds 1.2 litres.¹³¹⁸ As in the Hämeenkyrö horn, the rim part of the Viljakkala horn is painted red and the tip part blue, and both parts have painted flowers. However, in contrast to the Hämeenkyrö horn, the chain for attaching it is still in place. A hallmark with the initials CAZ accompanied by a crown mark was punched on the mount. They belong to Carl Adolf Zweiger, who was a master in Tampere in 1810–1819.¹³¹⁹

A radiocarbon dating was made of the horn in 2006 as the municipality of Viljakkala was adjoined to Ylöjärvi municipality on 1 January 2007. The horn was presented as a gift to Ylöjärvi to celebrate the event. According to Anu Salmela, the radiocarbon analysis provides the horn with likely datings to 1650–1750 calAD or 1800–1950 calAD, but she refrains from suggesting either period as the most likely one.¹³²⁰ The latter period is so recent, however, that it seems very unlikely that oral tradition would have already forgotten the making of the horn by the mid- and late 19th century, when the horn was mentioned in published studies for the first time. Hence the dating of the horn to the period 1650–1750 calAD seems more probable.

¹³¹¹ 1 Sam. 16:13; 1 Kings 1:39.

¹³¹² Hyvönen 1990, 70–72; Hiekkanen 2008d.

¹³¹³ E.g. SHM 4972:1; DNM 1574, 638, 1737; Gundestrup 1991, 329 no. 10543.

¹³¹⁴ Koskinen 1874, 155; Hildburgh 1908, 85.

¹³¹⁵ Koskinen 1852, 98–99.

¹³¹⁶ Vilkuna 1948, 70; 1952, 200.

¹³¹⁷ Vilkuna 1952, 200–201.

¹³¹⁸ Kaskimies & Sinisalo (1973) 1999, 40–41.

¹³¹⁹ Borg (1935) 1977, 350–351.

¹³²⁰ Hela-1166: 115±35 BP; Salmela 2007.

It is obvious that none of the parts in the Viljakkala horn is from the Middle Ages. Although the Hämeenkyrö horn lacks scientific dating, its gently curving form and floral ornamentation are not medieval in style,¹³²¹ but resemble the Viljakkala horn. Hence it was probably made at approximately the same time as the Viljakkala horn, or perhaps even later.

Notwithstanding their actual age, both drinking horns are considered to be remnants of a medieval practice, since such vessels would not have been accepted as parts of the church inventory after the Reformation. The oral history associated with the Hämeenkyrö and Viljakkala horns states that the two drinking horns were owned by the church and were lent to the community for occasions such as weddings. Kustaa Vilkuna traces this kind of an arrangement to the Middle Ages. For instance, in 1560 the dean's court of Viljakkala parish ordered that the ecclesiastical pewter ware and kettles lost somewhere in the parish were to be returned to the church immediately. Moreover, similar banqueting vessels were already donated for the altars of Turku Cathedral during the Middle Ages. Vilkuna concludes that the horns of Hämeenkyrö and Viljakkala are remnants of a tradition that began already in the early medieval period.¹³²² Pentti Papunen goes even further and wants to link the tradition to prehistoric sacrificial banquets.¹³²³ Neither of these two scholars have any direct evidence to support their claims. The basis of their argumentation rests on Scandinavian parallels and local oral traditions recorded in the modern period.

There survives one 15th-century drinking horn in Finland without any clearly ecclesiastical or profane background. In fact, medieval drinking horns were multifunctional. They could be used at aristocratic banquets as depicted in the Icelandic sketchbook,¹³²⁴ where two men seated at a table are drinking from horns, or as reliquaries and even containers for chrism. It is nevertheless certain that the drinking horn was part of elite culture with its conspicuous consumption and public performances of rank and wealth. It was used communally and passed from one person to another during banquets.

Secular vessels of precious metals

Beakers

Though not the most poorly represented artefact types in the material, the number of surviving tankards (2) and beakers (8) is very small. Moreover, they all date from the latter part of the 16th century or the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Hence for most of the research period only vessels of base metals or ceramic, glass and wooden items available. Written evidence, however, can provide some help the study of the tankards and beakers of earlier times.

The beakers in the material can be divided into three types. The first group comprises beakers of rather simple form, a cylinder or cone widening towards the rim. Such beakers are approximately ten centimetres in height and five centimetres in diameter. The engraved ornamentation concentrates around the rim, and is usually based on garlands or geometrical forms arranged into a frieze. A possible hallmark is punched in the centre of the bottom. This type of beaker follows the common European Late Gothic and Renaissance form, which dates from around the mid-16th century or the latter part of the century.¹³²⁵ Two of the beakers in the material were found in the same hoard in Pielavesi, while the third is from Muhos.

The first of the two beakers from Pielavesi is decorated with a very simple geometrical frieze (Cat. 13:1), while the other one has a Renaissance-style frieze (Cat. 13:2), consisting of series of whirling branches with leaves and quatrefoils. Hallmarks depicting identification marks have been punched on the bottoms of both vessels, but their owner remains unknown. The hoard containing

¹³²¹ Although Vilkuna (1948, 76) argues that the Hämeenkyrö horn shares the shape of its medieval counterparts, he does not take into consideration the upward curve of their tips, which is missing from the Hämeenkyrö horn. Moreover, the lack of a foot is not one of the defining characteristics of medieval drinking horns as Vilkuna claims.

¹³²² Vilkuna 1948, 76–79.

¹³²³ Papunen 1983, 263–264.

¹³²⁴ Fett 1910, 12, pl. 40.

¹³²⁵ E.g. the beaker of the Rotebro hoard in Sollentuna, Uppland, dated to the second quarter of the 16th century (SHM 17339:10; af Ugglas 1942, 11).



Fig. 69. Römer beaker of gilt silver, part of the Kaitainen patrimony in Taivassalo (Cat. 13:5).

both beakers was found in a former bog in the village of Heinämäki in Pielavesi in 1890. The 112 coins in the hoard predate the year 1673, and Pekka Sarvas suggests that the hoard was deposited shortly after that. Other artefacts in the deposit are three silver scoops, one of which was made by Christoffer Bonstorff (master in Oulu 1641–1647) and one by Johan Michelsson Hollst (master in Turku 1637–1640). Two of the spoons were made in the 17th century.¹³²⁶

The third beaker was discovered in ploughing a field in Muhos in the late 19th century (Cat. 13:3). The beaker was broken when found. The frieze on the rim is of Renaissance style with series of whirling branches and quatrefoils. Unlike the other two beakers, the hallmark on the bottom is identifiable. It belongs to Hans Andersson, who worked as a master in Stockholm in 1559–1603.

The second type of beaker is more complex in form and ornamentation, and it resembles the contemporary glass beakers of the so-called Römer type.¹³²⁷ The body of the vessels is divided into two parts. The lower one is narrower and cylindrical with ornamentation imitating prunts of the contemporary glass cups, while the upper part is wider and more spherical or polygonal in cross section. In contrast to the first type, these beakers are also somewhat younger and date from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. One of the Finnish Römer beakers of gilt silver belongs to the Kaitainen patrimony from Taivassalo (Fig. 69) (Cat. 13:5), one was obtained from Rusko (Cat. 13:6), and the last one from Loimaa (Cat. 13:7).

The beaker of Kaitainen has two rows of prunts on its foot and the engraved coats of arms of Hans Munck af Fulkila and his wife Katarina Eriksdotter Slang on the bowl. Munck is mentioned in written records for the first time in 1609, and he died in 1635. The beaker obtained from the municipality neighbouring Turku (Cat. 13:6) is very similar to the Kaitainen beaker, whereas the

¹³²⁶ Sarvas 1975.

¹³²⁷ Hagggrén 1999, 36–37.



Fig. 70. Small cast figure depicting a soldier in a late-16th-century garment on top of the tankard found in a hoard in Nivala. The item is partly gilt, and its place of production is revealed by the town mark of Tallinn punched on the flange (Cat. 14:1).

vessel from Loimaa has oval embossings instead of prunts around its foot. Nevertheless, German parallels for the piece suggest more or less a similar dating for it as with the others.

The third beaker type is one with a handle, and thus such vessels should perhaps rather be called mugs. Beakers with handles emerged in the early 17th century, but continued to be produced, for instance in Oulu, for the Sámi people and farmers of Lapland as late as the 18th century.¹³²⁸ The basic form of these beakers is similar to the cylindrical beakers of the first type; even the engraved frieze is placed around the rim and composed of similar motifs, but the difference lies in the handle shaped like the letter D and a series of profiled belts placed around the foot and the rim. According to Raimo Fagerström, they imitate hoops placed around wooden mugs.¹³²⁹ The single Finnish example of such a beaker was found as part of a hoard in a tussock in Nivala (Cat. 13:8).

Fagerström interprets the small number of surviving silver beakers as a symptom of the intended use of such Renaissance beakers. They were made for the consumption of wine instead of beer, which was an overwhelmingly more common stimulant in Northern Europe.¹³³⁰ The explanation converges with Georg Haggren's ideas on the fluctuations of glassware finds in Turku. During Haggren's last phase of medieval glassware from the mid-15th century to the early 16th century, a change occurred in international fashions and the large-scale production of glass beakers in Western and Central Europe began. However, the number of glasses used in Turku as in other towns of the Northern Baltic seems to have declined during this change. Haggren associates this surprising decline with the function of the new glass vessels. They were intended for the consumption of wine in contrast to the earlier Bohemian glass vessels.¹³³¹ The same factors would seem to have affected the consumption of both silver and glass beakers.

Despite the seemingly similar development in the consumption of glass beakers, the problem with the interpretation when transferred to silverware is the fact that no earlier beakers survive at all. Moreover, in her survey of base metal vessels, Marja Anttila lists five beakers of pewter, all of which seem to date from the latter part of the 16th century,¹³³² which suggests that the medieval beakers of both precious and base metals appear to be lacking in the Finnish material. Hence, unlike glass, the number of silver beakers in Finland does not reveal their popularity or unpopularity, because this number cannot be compared with the situation before the introduction of the three 16th-century beaker types. Nevertheless, as the rather small size of the 16th- and early-17th-century beakers reveals, they were not meant to be handed over to another drinker after a sip like drinking horns. If beakers were used in banqueting, everyone probably had his or her own beaker on the table.

Tankards

If the corpus of surviving beakers is small, the number of tankards is even smaller, since only two survive. They are both of the same type, with cylindrical forms, lids and profiled feet. Both also have a rope-like ornament wrapped around the lower part of the container, engraved floral decorations and a small figure standing on top of the lid, although one of the tankards has lost its figure at some stage. The first of the tankards was discovered in the same hoard in Nivala as the above-mentioned beaker (Cat. 14:1). The item is partly gilt, and its place of production is revealed by the town mark of Tallinn punched on the flange. A small cast figure depicting a soldier in a late-16th-century garment is placed on top of the lid (Fig. 70). The other tankard was found during ditch digging in the village of Hiismäki in Rantasalmi (Cat. 14:2). It has no gilding and has lost the figure on its lid. However, it has similar geometric and vegetative Renaissance ornaments engraved on its surface as the Nivala tankard. The two tankards also share the rope-imitation frieze with faces of winged

¹³²⁸ Fagerström & Juntikka 1996, 28–31, 50

¹³²⁹ Fagerström 1983, 36.

¹³³⁰ Fagerström 1983, 34–35.

¹³³¹ Haggren 2003.

¹³³² Anttila 2002, 92–96.

angels attached around the lower part of the container. The frieze is at the same level at which the actual container on the inside begins.

The tankards of Nivala and Rantasalmi belong to the popular group of Late Renaissance Hanseatic tankards which were made, for example, in Lübeck, other North German towns and towns of the Baltic countries.¹³³³ Only one of the Finnish tankards has the town mark of Tallinn, but most likely the other one was made in a Baltic town as well. The vessels are secular in character, intended to serve several drinkers in banquets, and their content, beer or wine, was probably drunk straight from them. Ecclesiastical tankards, in contrast, usually had triangular beaks to secure the pouring of the valuable communion wine into the chalice.

The Late Renaissance tankards are products of the general 16th-century course of development in which tankards became narrower, taller and cylindrical in form. Although there is no evidence of earlier types of silver tankards in Finland, a group of so-called Hanseatic tankards of base metals is well represented in the country. These either heavy-looking, potbellied or rather tall and slender tankards are typical of the coastal regions of the Baltic Sea area along with the North Sea region, Scandinavia and Finland. In fact, it seems that such tankards are represented more in the Nordic countries than in Germany, and despite their established name as Hanseatic tankards, such vessels were probably made more locally than imported.¹³³⁴ Although they could have been used with wine,¹³³⁵ it was likely beer that was distributed in them.¹³³⁶ Anttila lists over ten such tankards in the Finnish material and dates them to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.¹³³⁷

Secular vessels of precious metals in the written sources

In the Pre- and Early Modern written sources, references to beakers and tankards are abundant. The spectrum of words denoting these vessels is also wide including, in addition to Latin concepts, the Swedish terms *bekare*, *bolle/bullæ*, *kanne*, *kopp*, *kredens*, *kåsa*, *skal* (*skål*) and *stop*. The problem with these terms is that although they are still used to some extent in modern Swedish, the meanings of the words seem to have varied and differ from later usage, as shown by Carl af Ugglas.¹³³⁸

The two most often mentioned vessels are *skal* (*skål*) and *stop*. The former seems to be equivalent to the later meaning of the word, which denotes a bowl of greater width than height. Occasionally such bowls might have been furnished with a foot. These two basic types are represented in the Swedish medieval material,¹³³⁹ but only bowls without feet are known from Finland, where the oldest such vessels date from the Late Iron Age and the early medieval period. Made of bronze plate and decorated with engraved ornaments, they belong to a vessel type called 'Hanseatic bowls', although their production began in the Rhineland, Maas and Westphalia in the 11th century before the emergence of the Hanseatic League and continued to the 13th century. Eleven such Viking and Crusade Age objects have been found in Finland, all from graves.¹³⁴⁰

Although no medieval silver bowls survive to the present day, a silver vessel called *skål* is mentioned 32 times in the Finnish written documents dating from 1449 to the end of the 16th century, if the items in the inventories of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon are not included. There are also 32 bowls weighing together almost six kilogrammes among the items that Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) took from Viipuri Castle in 1483, but their material is not specified.¹³⁴¹ The first bowls to appear in wills are from those of Henrik Klasson Dieken and his wife Lucia Olofsdotter.¹³⁴² Both list three silver bowls, which they leave to various persons. In his second will

¹³³³ *Vende* 1967, 55–57; *Horbas* 2001, 9, 15, 36–38.

¹³³⁴ *Löfgren* 1933, 284–285; *Falck* 1973, 47.

¹³³⁵ *Mårtensson* 1967, 43.

¹³³⁶ *Kjellberg* 1964; *Reinholdt* 1977, 27.

¹³³⁷ *Anttila* 2002, 81–91; *Talvio* 2005; see also the lid of a vessel in *Ahola et al.* 2004, 199 no. 12 and parallels for the object in *Mänd* 2008a, 110–117.

¹³³⁸ *af Ugglas* 1942, 1–23.

¹³³⁹ *af Ugglas* 1936, 16 nos. 1–3; 1942, 7–8.

¹³⁴⁰ *Ruonavaara* 1989, 156.

¹³⁴¹ *FMU* 3967.

¹³⁴² *FMU* 2817, 2818.

of 1452, Henrik Klasson Dieken bequeathed ‘a bowl, mounted with silver’ to his brother Kort,¹³⁴³ which could indicate that the actual vessel was made of some other material, perhaps wood or base metal. Another bowl described in more detail is the one in the chest of the Three Kings altar in Turku Cathedral, which included ‘a silver bowl without a lid’ in 1480.¹³⁴⁴ A silver bowl mentioned in 1525 has the weight of 145 g.¹³⁴⁵

The numbers of silver and gold vessels belonging to Duke John and Catherine Jagellon are totally in their own league compared with other written sources. According to the inventory, Duke John had at the time ‘drinking bowls,’ one of which is specified as ‘Russian’. Together, they weighed over seven kilogrammes. He also had seven ‘festival bowls’, all gilt and weighing 4.8 kg.¹³⁴⁶ Interestingly, no bowls are mentioned among his wife’s belongings.

The vessel called the *bekare*, ‘beaker’, deriving from the Latin *bicarium* or *becarium*, is relatively rare in the medieval written documents in Sweden,¹³⁴⁷ and in Finnish sources the term is used only once in a list of items in Viipuri Castle in 1483. The castle’s 15 silver beakers had a total weight of over five kilogrammes.¹³⁴⁸ Because of the rarity of the term in documents, af Ugglas suggests that the term *stop/stob*, ‘tankard’ must be its equivalent,¹³⁴⁹ and indeed in Finnish sources there appear at least 75 vessels called silver *stop*, and one tankard of gilt copper is said to have been given to Raguald of Tornio as part of a judicial process in 1477–1478.¹³⁵⁰ Moreover, 61 tankards of unspecified metal are mentioned as part of the inventory of Viipuri Castle.¹³⁵¹ These tankards weighed together almost 19 kg, while the silver tankards of the castle, 15 items, had a total weight of c. 7.5 kg.

Some of tankards in Viipuri Castle were mentioned as being ‘inside one another’ and one of them was used as the lid for a set of tankards. For instance, a group of 12 tankards is said to have had a 13th as the ‘cover’.¹³⁵² Because tankards or high, cylindrical vessels, sometimes with separate feet, are difficult, if not impossible, to pile up in this way or even to use as a lid, af Ugglas comes to the conclusion that the ‘tankards’ must be bowl-like containers or like the tumblers of later centuries. Stacking of tumblers or rather beakers is, in fact, a custom known from a few medieval silver treasures. For instance, the Erfurt treasure discovered in Germany in 1998 includes eight almost identical beakers dated to the earlier part of the 14th century – only their size varies so that they can be placed one inside the other.¹³⁵³ A shift seems to occur in the meaning of the word *stop* during late 15th and the 16th centuries, when late medieval luxurious cylindrical tankards, or rather beakers without handles, took the name of earlier, simpler vessels, which later became a common term for all beaker-like vessels, and even for tankards.

Most of the references to *stops* or ‘tankards’ are very plain and they merely tell that the item was made of silver. However, in 1515 Paul Scheel left items of the archdeacon’s table to Jakob Johansson. The first of them is a tankard of silver which Bishop Magnus Särkilahti had donated and Master Paulus had renewed, gilt and furnished with feet.¹³⁵⁴ In 1532 Knut Eriksson Kurck gave valuables to his children. Among them were two smaller tankards ‘with feet’ and a tankard with his coat of arms.¹³⁵⁵ Coats of arms were also placed on the gold tankard with a handle stolen during the hostilities between King Eric and Duke John in 1563.¹³⁵⁶ Another silver tankard stolen in similar conditions had ‘three feet’.¹³⁵⁷ The inventory of Duke John lists 11 silver *stops*, many of them with lids like the one described as ‘old’ and ‘with a crown and lid’. Together, the tankards weighed 4.9 kg. Catherine Jagellon, in turn, had seven tankards.¹³⁵⁸

1343 FMU 2908.

1344 REA 676; FMU 3819.

1345 FMU 6267.

1346 *confecte skåler; Lösegendom 14.*

1347 af Ugglas 1942, 9–10.

1348 *xv solff beekere met ij loock, woff xxv[1/2] lödig march oc vj lot; FMU 3967.*

1349 af Ugglas 1942, 11–13.

1350 FMU 3727, 3752.

1351 FMU 3967.

1352 *xij solff stobe, huert wti annet, thet xiiij.de war loget, oc woff ix oc xx lodig march solffuer; FMU 3967.*

1353 *Stürzebecher 2009.*

1354 REA 710; FMU 5845.

1355 BFH 3:595.

1356 BFH 4:205.

1357 BFH 4:206.

1358 *Lösegendom 62.*

Another term for these luxurious showpieces of trophy-like appearance was *kredenz* or *kredens*, denoting a tall vessel with a foot. The verb *kredensa* has its etymological background in the Latin word *credere* and Italian *credenza* referring to the act of tasting food or drink before passing it to others, or simply pouring a drink and serving it to guests. The noun *kredens* means the service table where food and drinks are prepared and displayed in valuable serving dishes. The vessel known as the *kredens* or *kredensbägare*, ‘cup’, is a showpiece in which drinks were served. Some of the Renaissance cups had lids designed to be used also as cups. Such objects are, not surprisingly, called *dubbelbägare* or *dubbelkredens*, ‘double beaker’ or *kredens*.

A *kredens* is mentioned for the first time in Swedish records in 1486, but it is more a vessel type of the 16th century.¹³⁵⁹ Altogether six *kredens* cups are mentioned in the Finnish sources, if the items of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon are not counted, the oldest reference being a cup with a lid, which Knut Eriksson Kurck gives to his daughter Anna in 1532.¹³⁶⁰ Two of the Finnish cups are described with more details. In 1561 Erick Spåra sent a gilt, ‘rounded (embossed?) cup’ with a lid and a foot to the king. Erick Spåra’s coat of arms was depicted on the lid. His wife Häbla sent in turn another gilt ‘rounded cup’, which had a gilt figure of a man on the lid.¹³⁶¹

The *kredens* cup was clearly a vessel type that was in vogue in Duke John’s and Catherine Jagellon’s court. He owned eight large silver *kredens* cups and one made of gilt chrystal. The heaviest of them weighed 6.6 kg and had a figure of a man with a banner in his hand on the lid, while one had an armed male figure holding a shield. He also had 18 smaller, lidded *kredens* cups, of which the heaviest weighed 1.8 kg, and 15 double *kredens* cups, 26.1 kg in total weight.¹³⁶² She in turn had 36 *kredens* cups and 22 double *kredens* cups of which many are described as ‘Polish’. Their total weight reached 85.4 kg.¹³⁶³

Kanne or ‘jug’ is a cylindrical vessel also for liquids, but it has a handle for carrying. The first reference to a silver jug is from 1483, when such an item was part of the inventory of Viipuri Castle. The jug weighed half a kilogramme.¹³⁶⁴ After that a jug is mentioned in written sources at least 16 times. In 1561, Gustaff Fincke sent a ‘white silver jug’ to the king. It had a gilt middle part as well as a lid, which also had green enamel on it.¹³⁶⁵ Duke John had one ‘wine jug’ and 22 other gilt silver jugs, which together were 25.5 kg in weight, and four gilt silver flagons or bottles, two of them ‘with a chain’,¹³⁶⁶ while Catherine Jagellon had only three gilt silver jugs and four flagons or bottles, one of which contained ‘rose water’.¹³⁶⁷

A special type of serving dish was the *kåsa*, ‘banquet tankard’,¹³⁶⁸ a vessel known in Scandinavia, Finland and Russia. The oldest surviving Finnish items are made of wood, and the most impressive one is the banquet tankard of Rusko with the inscription ‘1542’ marked on its surface.¹³⁶⁹ Wooden banquet tankards consist of a pail-like container and two large, upright handles with elaborate openwork ornamentation. The oldest banquet tankards of metal in Finland date from the earlier part of the 17th century. They are of Renaissance-style appearance and, in contrast to the wooden tankards, furnished with one or two flat, horizontal handles.¹³⁷⁰

Medieval and Early Modern banquet tankards of metal are little better represented in written sources. Henrik Klausson Dieken bequeathed a banquet tankard of silver in his two first wills, dated 1449 and 1452,¹³⁷¹ but in the third one he has one of silver and another ‘banquet tankard mounted with silver’.¹³⁷² This formulation leads af Ugglas to wonder whether this was a wooden

1359 *af Ugglas 1942, 12 note 6.*

1360 *BFH 3:595.*

1361 *bulott credenmtz; BFH 4:5.*

1362 *Löseghendom 10–12.*

1363 *Löseghendom 59–61.*

1364 *FMU 3967.*

1365 *BFH 4:5.*

1366 *Löseghendom 12–15.*

1367 *Löseghendom 62.*

1368 The word *kåsa*, or its Finnish equivalent *kousa*, does not have a good standard translation in English. Usually the words ‘bowl’ or ‘tankard’ have been applied, but here the term ‘banquet tankard’ has been chosen instead in order to distinguish this particular vessel form from other bowls and tankards.

1369 *Vilkuna 1936; Korhonen 1985, 380–381; cf. Kiuru & Sääskilahti 1998.*

1370 *E.g. Fagerström 2000, 18–23.*

1371 *FMU 2817, 2908.*

1372 *FMU 2918.*

vessel with silver mounts.¹³⁷³ There are no other references to banquet tankards in the written records except one ‘banquet tankard of pure gold’ marked with a coat of arms. The item was stolen during the hostilities between King Eric and Duke John in 1563.¹³⁷⁴

Another vessel type difficult to interpret is the *bolle* or *bullæ* appearing in Nordic written sources. In the Finnish medieval records it is mentioned only twice. In 1480, ‘a silver *bullæ* without a lid’ was present in the chest of the Three Kings altar in Turku Cathedral.¹³⁷⁵ Three years later an object of the same type but now with a lid was part of the inventory of Viipuri Castle.¹³⁷⁶ It is not clear what kind of a vessel it was, but apparently it was round and deep, perhaps made of metal or metal-mounted wood.¹³⁷⁷ Catherine Jagellon did not possess such *bolle* vessels, but her husband had 10 of them, the heaviest weighing c. 400 g.¹³⁷⁸ Another rather unclear term used in the Finnish written sources to denote a vessel is *kopp*, ‘cup’ or beaker, but it appears only once in 1455 in Jakob Frese’s will in which he left his son Hinriike a silver cup.¹³⁷⁹

The few medieval and Early Modern plates surviving in Finland are of pewter, if the large copper basins discussed in connection with liturgical artefacts are not taken into account. The oldest item of this kind was found in the archaeological excavations of the Åbo Akademi plot in 1998 and dated to the 14th century,¹³⁸⁰ while other plates are from the 16th century. One of them is a plate marked with the year 1585 and the coats of arms of Arvid Henriksson Tavast (c. 1540–1599) and his wife Margaretha Mårtensdotter of Kurjala (d. 1615). The object was found along with four other identical plates in a field in Kurjala, Hämeenkoski in the earlier part of the 19th century. The hallmarks reveal that the object was made in Danzig.¹³⁸¹ Moreover, two pewter plates belonging to Karin Månsdotter at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries have survived at Liuksiala Manor.¹³⁸²

The oldest reference to a silver plate is in the document describing the items which Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) took from Viipuri Castle in 1483. Among other things, the inventory mentions one silver plate weighing over 2.3 kg.¹³⁸³ If the weight is marked correctly, the plate must have been some sort of service dish. In 1510 the priest Jakob of Porvoo left a silver plate to Andreas Diues.¹³⁸⁴ Later references to silver plates are found only in the inventories of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon. The duke’s inventory lists 91 items under a section with the heading *silver faat*, which can be translated as silver vessels, basins or most likely plates, although there is also another section entitled *tallercker*, which is closer to the term ‘plate’. Nevertheless, the 91 pieces weigh together as much as 108.9 kg, and the majority are described as having gilt rims and the engraved coat of arms of the duke. The section *tallercker* has 54 items weighing 21.1 kg.¹³⁸⁵ Moreover, Catherine Jagellon had 31 plates, 34.3 kg in total weight,¹³⁸⁶ but also ‘a water basin’ made of silver and furnished with six gilt ‘bands’. This luxurious item weighed 5.5 kg.¹³⁸⁷

Lastly, Duke John also had containers for salt. The section *salttekaar* or salt pots lists four items, which are gilt and fitted with lids and weigh from 895 g to 526 g. The section *saltzssere*, saltcellars, mentions as many as 14 pieces, of which nine have gilt rims and are engraved with the duke’s coat of arms. Three saltcellars are ungilt ones, while the remaining two have again engraved coats of arms. These vessels are slightly lighter than the salt pots, each of the nine gilt ones weighing c. 310 g,¹³⁸⁸ and they were probably the containers which were distributed around the table for diners to help themselves.

1373 *af Ugglas 1942, 2–3 note 4.*

1374 *BFH 4:205.*

1375 *REA 676; FMU 3819.*

1376 *FMU 3967.*

1377 *Källström 1941, 104; af Ugglas 1942, 2–3 note 4.*

1378 *sölffbullor; Lösegendom 13.*

1379 *silveren kopp; FMU 2968.*

1380 *Pukkila 1999, 40; Anttila 2002, 111; Ahola et al. 2004, 141 no. 26.*

1381 *NM Hist. 2130.*

1382 *Korhonen 1985, 409.*

1383 *jtem en solff taffle, woff xi lodig march; FMU 3967.*

1384 *jtem domino Andree Diues j tassam argenteam; FMU 5495.*

1385 *Lösegendom 16–17.*

1386 *Lösegendom 63.*

1387 *Lösegendom 63.*

1388 *Lösegendom 15–16.*

All the surviving Finnish beakers and tankards are of very young age, dating from the late 16th and early 17th century. The provenance of the seven beakers in the study material is twofold. Two cylindrical beakers are from the same hoard in Pielavesi and one is a stray find from Muhos. The single beaker with a handle was also found in a hoard in Nivala. In a similar vein, the two tankards were not discovered in the more prosperous parts of the country, or from a context indicating socially high status. Instead, they are rural finds, one from a hoard in Pielavesi, the other a stray find from a field in Rantasalmi. In contrast to these beakers and tankards, the silver items of the Römer type are all from Southwest Finland, and two of them have been parts of farmer patrimonies, while the provenance of the third is unknown – perhaps even that was obtained from a farmer?

Another contrast is revealed when the find contexts of the actual beakers and tankards are compared with the written evidence. In addition to the nobility mentioned in connection with silver beakers and tankards in the documents, it was often the case that the church or churchmen are mentioned as receiving or owning such items. None of the items are mentioned in connection with farmers. Hence the immediate find contexts or provenances of tankards and beakers reflect a different kind of consumption pattern or formation processes than written sources.

Spoons

A spoon found in the Lammaistenkoski Rapids

The Lammaistenkoski spoon, dated to the mid-13th century and thus the oldest Finnish silver spoon, remains exceptional among other spoons of precious metals, which date from the 15th and 16th centuries. The Lammaistenkoski spoon is also the earliest metal spoon attested in the country. The first spoons, made of wood and perhaps better termed as ladles due to their considerable size, or of clay, survive from the Stone Age,¹³⁸⁹ while spoons of bone and antler appear in the metal periods.¹³⁹⁰ Due to the uniqueness of the Lammaistenkoski spoon in Finland, it will be discussed first, and the general classification of spoons presented after that.

A tenant farmer found the silver spoon in 1909 while clearing the rapids of Lammaistenkoski, part of the Kokemäenjoki River, at a depth of c. 1.5 m (Fig. 71) (Cat. 15:1). The item made of gilt silver is rather long, 16.5 cm, and its bowl, shaped as a half of an eggshell, is relatively small, only 4.3 x 6.0 cm in size.¹³⁹¹ The bowl has an engraved three-petalled ornament on its base, which actually forms a flame bursting from the mouth of an animal depicted on the junction. Jouko Rätty identifies the beast as a lion.¹³⁹² The stem is divided into two parts with a profiled ornament. The part closer to the bowl has a leaf-shaped widening with engraved, curling acanthus ornamentation. Lastly, the small knob of the Lammaistenkoski spoon was formed by twisting a strip of metal around itself to form a spherical shape.

On the basis of its lean shape, the lion head and acanthus ornamentation Rätty considers the spoon to be of Early Gothic style and associates it with a group of spoons known mainly from Gotlandic hoards dated to the 14th century. He especially points out the similarities between the Lammaistenkoski spoon and the spoons of the Dune hoard discovered in Dalhem in 1881. The deposition of the hoard has been linked to the Danish invasion of Gotland in 1361, and the hoard contains artefacts dated from the 12th to the early 14th century. The exceptionally rich Dune hoard contains seven spoons of gilt silver of similar slender and long appearance.¹³⁹³ Two of the spoons have a two-part stem with a wider lower section and one of them even a lion's head at its junction.

1389 Wood: *Laukaa* (NM 6321); *Liekka* (NM 9003); *Humppila* (NM 21493:1); *Kittilä* (NM 10179); *Lestijärvi* (NM 2678:567). Clay: *Kirkkonummi* (NM 8709:39); *Kirkkonummi* (NM 21501:104); *Kirkkonummi* (NM 6058:5). See Immonen 2002.

1390 Antler and bone: *Salo* (NM 5580:27); *Janakkala* (NM 26065:6790); *Eura* (NM 1913:7a–b); *Pyhäjärvi* (NM 23788); *Sastamala* (NM 5203:217); *Huittinen* (NM 3574:271); *Suomussalmi* (NM 18057:51); *Hämeenlinna* (NM 23703:1342).

1391 A spoon can be divided into two main parts, which are the bowl and the stem. The bowl consists of an upper and bottom surface, and both of them have a basal end near the stem and a tip end. Moreover, the stem comprises a junction, stem proper and an end of the stem, which often has some sort of a knob. The stem has also upper and bottom surfaces, but also a basal end near the bowl and a tip end (cf. NRM s.v. *Lusikka*, *Kauha*).

1392 Rätty 1984, 90.

1393 SHM 6849:10–16.



Fig. 71. Silver spoon discovered in the rapids of Lammaistenkoski, part of the Kokemäenjoki River. The 16.5-cm long spoon has an animal depicted on the junction. An engraved three-petaled ornament forms a flame bursting from its mouth (Cat. 15:1).

The lower parts of the stems of two spoons are gilt. All the spoons in the Dune hoard, however, have rounder bowls than in the Lammaistenkoski piece.¹³⁹⁴ Carl af Ugglas dates the seven spoons to the earlier part of the 14th century and describes them as being of English types made in Gotland.¹³⁹⁵

Another large treasure deposited in 1361, the Amunde hoard, was discovered in 1858 at Burs in Gotland. It contains two silver spoons with long stems, animal heads as well as circular bowls. Their knops and junctions are gilt.¹³⁹⁶ They have also been dated to the earlier part of the 14th century. Moreover, the Kyrkebinge treasure found in Gothem, Gotland and linked to the Danish invasion of 1361 contains five gilt silver spoons with animal heads.¹³⁹⁷ Further Nordic parallels for the Lammaistenkoski spoon can be found in the Danish hoard of Ribe. The two spoons in the hoard display similar shapes but differing ornamentation. The deposition of the Ribe hoard has been dated to 1247.¹³⁹⁸

Räty adopts af Ugglas' conclusion that the spoons of the Dune hoard were locally produced and considers also the Lammaistenkoski spoon to be of Gotlandic origin. He seeks support for the argument from the animal head and acanthus motif on the spoon. Besides silver spoons, the lion head used as a junction ornament is known from the work of Theophilus, who describes how such a motif should be placed on the stem of a strainer for purifying the Eucharistic wine.¹³⁹⁹ Signe Horn Fuglesang links the use of the lion's head junction with some British silver and bone spoons. Such animal ornaments are known from silver spoons of the St. Ninian's Isle treasure, Pevensey and Taunton Castles as well as the hoard of Iona Nunnery in Scotland. Furthermore, bone spoons with the same feature are known from Winchester and London.¹⁴⁰⁰ This leads her to argue, in the same vein as Poul Nørlund, that the silver spoons of the Ribe and Dune hoards with animal head junctions are probably British imports of the 13th century.¹⁴⁰¹

¹³⁹⁴ SHM 6849:10–11.

¹³⁹⁵ af Ugglas 1936, 18.

¹³⁹⁶ SHM 2485:31A–B; af Ugglas 1933.

¹³⁹⁷ SHM 139:1–5; Hildebrand 1879, 439 fig. 189.

¹³⁹⁸ Norberg 1935.

¹³⁹⁹ Theophilus III:57.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Fuglesang 1991b, 227; cf. Emery 1976, 62–63; Karlsson 1976, 100–105; Reinholdt 1977, 18–19.

¹⁴⁰¹ Norberg 1935; Fuglesang 1991b, 227.

For Rätty, another anchor for the provenance of the Lammaistenkoski spoon is the acanthus motif. He refers to the similar engraved ornamentation of the paten of Hemse Church in Gotland dated to the earlier part of the 13th century.¹⁴⁰² Af Ugglas interprets its appearance as Saxon in style but argues for Gotland as its place of production. The ornamentation has been considered to be common in the Anglo-Gaelic area.¹⁴⁰³ Although the acanthus motif has close parallels among the early medieval artefacts of Scandinavia,¹⁴⁰⁴ and it even resembles the frieze engraved on the ring brooch of silver found in Finström Church (Cat. 19:37), it cannot be considered to be sufficient indication that the object was made in Scandinavia.

The Lammaistenkoski spoon shares many of its stylistic characters with Gotlandic spoons dated to the earlier part of the 14th century. However, the egg-shaped bowl and the acanthus motif have their closest parallels in the 13th-century English spoons as well as in Saxon ornamentation. Hence Rätty's dating of the spoon to the mid-13th century seems justified, but his idea of Gotland as its place of production is problematic, as no contemporary parallels are known for the spoon from the island. The spoon might as well have been made in the Anglo-Gaelic area.

Rätty assumes, or at least does not comment on the issue, that the spoon was deposited in the Lammaistenkoski Rapids at some point in the course of the 13th or 14th centuries.¹⁴⁰⁵ Unto Salo makes the same interpretation and further suggests that the spoon belonged to the bishop.¹⁴⁰⁶ Indeed the shores of the Lammaistenkoski Rapids were very important for fishing and in the interests of the bishop at least from the 1340s onwards, and to some extent even his property.¹⁴⁰⁷ However, the claims of both Rätty and Salo are impossible to either validate or invalidate with the available information.¹⁴⁰⁸

The chronological and geographical distribution of the medieval and Early Modern spoons

Classification of spoons based on stylistic epochs

Although silver spoons were produced as unique pieces, they stylistically form a rather uniform group of artefacts, especially if compared with wooden spoons known from archaeological contexts. The spoons in the research material can thus be divided into five chronological phases with distinctive features.¹⁴⁰⁹ This typological development of metal spoons has a broad European background but also some local variations and can be associated with broader changes in art styles or epochs.

The Lammaistenkoski spoon is the sole representative of the first type, termed here the *Early Gothic*. These spoons have relatively long and thin stems and small, elliptical, and in later examples more circular, bowls. Because the corpus of surviving early and high medieval spoons in Scandinavia or the whole of Europe is very small and also written sources are relatively mute about these early spoons, it is assumed that their number at the time was actually quite small. The numbers of spoons did not start to increase until the 15th century on the basis of contemporary paintings.¹⁴¹⁰ With the growing popularity of metal spoons there occurred a shift to the second, *Late Gothic*, type where the stems on spoons became much thicker and shorter. Sometimes their length is equal or even less than the length of the bowl. The knob, in contrast, was made larger and the drop-shaped or circular bowl widened. Moreover, in the course of the 15th century, more and more of the spoon's surface became covered with engraved decorations.¹⁴¹¹ Interestingly, the second-oldest

¹⁴⁰² SHM 4471.

¹⁴⁰³ af Ugglas 1933, 21–22; Rätty 1984, 88–89.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Karlsson 1976, 74–77.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Rätty 1984, 88, 91.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Salo 1999, 6–7.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Salminen 2007, 176–181.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Taavitsainen 1979, 27.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Immonen 2003, 242.

¹⁴¹⁰ Reinholdt 1977, 14–16.

¹⁴¹¹ Fagerström 2000, 25.

spoon in the material, found in the parsonage of Vöyri parish (presently part of Vöyri-Maksamaa) in Ostrobothnia (Cat. 15:2), seems to remain between these two types. The spoon, from which part of the bowl is missing, is 11.3 cm in length. It has a relatively large, circular bowl with an engraved but unrecognizable coat of arms, but the stem is rather long and trapezoid in cross-section. The knob is pointed. These features date the item to the latter part of the 15th century.

Although Late Gothic spoons began to appear in the 15th century, it seems that all the examples of such spoons in the Finnish material date instead from the earlier part of the 16th century. In fact, the production of only two spoons can be placed with some certainty in the earlier part of the century. The first of the spoons in question was deposited in the collection of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland in the late 19th century and has no provenance information (Fig. 72) (Cat. 15:3). The piece is 12.8 cm in length with a polygonal knob, and each of the 13 sides of the knob is engraved with a trefoil. The basal end of the bowl has an engraved Gothic minuscule letter *i* perhaps standing for the word *Ihesus*.¹⁴¹² The hallmarks on the stem remain unrecognizable, but the peculiar form of the knob is typical of the spoons of Southern Sweden and is dated to the early 16th century. The goldsmiths of Malmö, in particular, were famous for their spoons with polyhedral knobs at the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁴¹³

The spoons of the Late Gothic type are in many cases difficult to distinguish from the pieces of the following type termed *Renaissance*, because basically the overall form of the spoon did not change dramatically. The other one of the two spoons dated to the earlier part of the 16th century is already of this Renaissance type. The spoon, found possibly in Iisalmi (Cat. 15:4), is entirely gilt and 13.3 cm in length. On the circular bowl there is an engraved scene with a noblewoman, Lucretia, holding a sword pointed towards her bosom (Fig. 73). The bottom surface is filled with engraved floral motifs and the number 1543, which might well indicate the year of production or rather the date when the spoon was commissioned, possibly to commemorate some occasion or festivity. The knob consists of petals and three spheres forming a heraldic lily. In similar fashion, the knob is formed as a heraldic lily in a gilt silver spoon found in Naantali (Cat. 15:5). The circular bowl has richly engraved floral ornaments on both sides and the number 1557 is marked on the stem along with the initials *IB* or *IR*. As in these spoons, the bowl of the Renaissance type remains circular and rather wide and the knob large, whereas the length of the stem increases and the ratio between the stem and the bowl is no longer 1:1 but greater. Otherwise the Renaissance can be seen mostly in the style of the engraved ornaments and the motifs used on the knob.

The fourth type relevant for analysing the material can be called *Baroque*. In the Baroque spoons, which began to appear in the early 17th century, the stem is flattened and the bowl made smaller and oval in shape. The large knob starts to give away to flat finials, and finally in the 18th century the



*Fig. 72. Medieval silver spoon deposited in the collection of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland with no provenance information. The piece is 12.8 cm in length with a polygonal knob, and each of the 13 sides of the knob is engraved with a trefoil. The basal end of the bowl has an engraved Gothic minuscule letter *i* (Cat. 15:3).*

¹⁴¹² Axel-Nilsson 1967, 13–14; cf. e.g. Grieg 1968, 149–150.

¹⁴¹³ Reinsert 2006, 562–563.



Fig. 73. Silver spoon found possibly in Iisalmi. It is entirely gilt and 13.3 cm in length. The bowl has an engraved scene with a noblewoman, Lucretia, holding a sword pointed towards her bosom (Cat. 15:4).

early date. A treasure found on the lands of Heinola farm in Myllykoski, Seinäjoki revealed copper coins and five spoons, one of which is gilt silver and fitted with a lily knob (Cat. 15:7). The upper side of the circular bowl has engraved floral motifs, while the bottom bears the coat of arms of the Carpelan family and the initials L.MK. They have been attributed to Lars Mattson Karpelan (1566–1648), who was introduced into the Swedish House of the Nobility as Carpelan in 1625. The youngest coin in the hoard was minted in 1707, but the spoon might have been made much earlier than 1625, perhaps in the latter part of the 16th century.

The third knob type is spherical in shape and thus called the *ball knob*. A chronological anchor for the knob type is provided by the spoon of the Knuutila hoard in Suonenjoki (Cat. 15:8), which has a spiralling stem ending with a ball knob with a horizontal belt and a small spike. The stem is punched with a hallmark depicting the letter R, which has been attributed to Roland guldsmed who was a master in Turku and is known from written sources from 1561–1565. Moreover, the spoon found in the centre of Viipuri, the only example of a silver spoon from an urban context, has a ball knob with a spiralling, engraved groove (Cat. 15:15). The circular bowl was decorated with

modern shape of the spoon was established and has remained more or less the same since then.¹⁴¹⁴

Spoons with lily knobs and ball knobs

The overwhelming majority of the spoons in the material are either Late Gothic or Renaissance in type, dating from mid-16th to the early 17th century, but their more precise dating is extremely difficult, since only few have identifiable hallmarks or inscriptions with a marked year. The ratio of bowl to stem does not seem to develop in an even manner, and the Gothic and Renaissance types appear to be temporally overlapping. Moreover, even the items found in hoards cannot be given more than a *terminus ante quem* on the basis of their find context. The same problem seems to apply to Swedish and other Nordic spoons of the period, and usually also their datings are educated guesses rather than strictly proven conclusions. Despite these fundamental difficulties, the spoon material has to be grouped in some way, and for the current purposes, this has been done on the basis of the knobs.

The *polygonal* and *lily* knobs are dated to the early or mid-16th century. Nevertheless, one item among the four spoons in the group of lily-knopped spoons seems to defy such an

¹⁴¹⁴ The problems related to classifying spoons are exemplified by the first silver object ever donated to the collections of the University Museum (NM Hist. 10). Councillor of State Anders Henrik Falck (1722–1851) gave the spoon to the museum on 7 December 1833. The object has no further provenance information. The spoon has a drop-shaped bowl with a gilt engraved Gothic letter A. The stem continues underneath the bowl as in the late-17th-century rat-tail spoons. The ball knob is ornamented with a spiralling groove. Some medieval spoons have stems continuing underneath the bowl like the late-medieval silver spoon found in the vicinity of the Franciscan Convent of Arboga, which has a polygonal knob and a rather prominent junction on the bottom side of the stem and bowl. The junction continues almost to the middle of the bottom side of the bowl (SHM 29963). However, the rat-tail of the donated spoon is so similar to the late-17th-century spoons that it cannot be regarded to be medieval despite the Gothic letter and ball knob (Fägerström 2000, 4). (The donated spoon is 112.2 mm in length, the width of the bowl is 46.3 mm and length of the bowl 58.9 mm. The depth of the bowl is 8.0 mm, the length of the knob is 11.7 mm and the width is 12.1 mm. The object weighs 23.2 g.) Moreover, the spoon found at the plot of Hämeenkatu 28 in Turku (PMSWF 8362:1) is made of brass instead of silver as claimed in Immonen 2003, 243. This spoon with an acorn knob was made in the early 17th century (cf. Ehrnrooth 1991, 98, 102).

two Renaissance shields, one with the coat of arms of the Tott family and the initials *BI* and the other one with the coat of arms of the Kurck family and the initials *EID*. They have been attributed to Bertil Ivarsson Tott (c. 1540–1620), who was governor of Viipuri Castle in 1591. He and Elin Jönsdotter Kurck were married in 1575 or 1576.

Slightly older is the ball-knopped silver spoon in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland (Cat. 15:18), which has a hallmark with the letter *P* punched on the stem. The hallmark has been associated with Per guldsmed, who worked in Viipuri and is mentioned in written sources from 1590–1596. Finally, the spoon from a hoard at Törmäsenlahti Bay in Kuusamo can help limit the dating of the type (Cat. 15:12), because the youngest coin in the hoard was minted in 1603. The spoon has a ball knop and floral ornamentation on the bowl. Altogether, this type of ball-knopped spoon comprises 14 items, which makes it the largest spoon group in the material.

Some of the spoons with ball knops have elaborate ornamentation. A gilt silver spoon was donated to the National Museum in 1867, and on the basis of museum archives, it might have been found in Mikkeli, but there is no certainty of its provenance (Fig. 74) (Cat. 15:11). The spoon is furnished with a knop surrounded by three leaves. The bowl has floral engravings on the bottom side, while the upper surface displays a scene with Christ as the Prince of Peace, standing with a cross banner and his hand raised in blessing. The scene is framed by an inscription in Roman majuscules: **DRINCK * UNDE * ETHET * UNDE * GADE * NIEHL * VORGETET*. The Low German phrase can be interpreted as ‘Drink and eat, and do not forget God’. The phrase encouraging enjoyment of life without forgetting God is typical in different variants of the Nordic Renaissance spoons.¹⁴¹⁵

Another relatively long inscription is engraved on one of three spoons which a workman found in September 1873 while digging a ditch in a field in the village of Knuutila in Suonenjoki (Fig. 75) (Cat. 15:16). Lacking from the spoon are the stem and part of the bowl. The workman’s shovel probably damaged the spoons, but the long inscription, the two other spoons being ball-knopped and the year indicated in the inscription suggest that also this item had a ball knop. The junction of the spoon is shaped like an animal head, which resembles a snake. The text engraved on the bowl is set with Roman majuscules and reads: *CHRISTINE * IONS * [DOC]HTER * VD * M * T * E * T * N * 1581*. The text contains the name of a Christine Jönsdotter and the year 1581, but the rest of the abbreviated inscription is difficult to decipher. The phrase begins with and ends in a heart motif. Although the heart as a pictorial motif was not unknown in the Middle Ages, it became more common in the latter part of the 16th century with the advent of the Baroque style. As a symbol



Fig. 74. Gilt silver spoon found in Mikkeli. Its bowl has a scene with Christ as the Prince of Peace, standing with a cross banner and his hand raised in blessing. The scene is framed by an inscription which can be translated as ‘Drink and eat, and do not forget God’ (Cat. 15:11).

¹⁴¹⁵ Storesund 1993, 11, 21.



Fig. 75. Silver spoon found in a field in the village of Knuuttila in Suonenjoki. The text engraved on the bowl is set with Roman majuscules and reads: CHRISTINE * IONS * [DOC]HTER * VD * M * T * E * T * N * 1581. The text contains the name of a Christine Jönsdotter and the year 1581, but the rest of the abbreviated inscription is difficult to decipher (Cat. 15:16).

case of spoons, the lack of year markings in spoons made of non-precious materials emphasizes the connection between silver, year markings and the importance of ownership or rather events related to the owner's life.

Spoons with lily crown knops

The knops of the fourth type, called the *lily crown*, are formed by four lilies arranged into a conical, crown-like formation. The crown of lilies could be considered to symbolize power and strength, because the lily is an emblem of royalty, nobility and the Virgin Mary.¹⁴¹⁸ In spoons, the crown of lilies often rests on a base made of an interlaced ornament imitating rope. Another common feature of the 11 spoons in the material with lily-crowned knops is their less decorative appearance compared with the spoons with lily or ball knops.

In seven cases, the bowl was engraved with an imitation of a text scroll folding symmetrically at the basal end. In the Nordic spoons, such a scroll could be left empty, it might have a legible sentence or increasingly in the course of the 16th century it was filled with groups of vertical lines imitating the letter *i*. None of the Finnish spoons with text scrolls have proper inscriptions on them, though quasi-inscriptions repeating the letter *i* appear. A letter, finial or, as in Finnish pieces, a trefoil is occasionally placed in a prominent position in the middle of the scroll.¹⁴¹⁹ From the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries onwards, the text scroll with its folding tips became more and more commonly re-interpreted as leaves surrounding a flower in the middle.

Occasionally the crown of lilies is accompanied by another motif. A schoolboy discovered a silver spoon in the summer of 1942 on the south bank of the Kokemäenjoki River in Nakkila

of love and devotion, the heart was associated not only with Christ and his passion but also with earthly love, and therefore it is not surprising that it appears often in connection with other motifs and inscriptions referring to love and weddings. Such spoons are often interpreted as gifts given at weddings and other festivities.¹⁴¹⁶

In total, three of the spoons have a year engraved on them (Cat. 15:4, 5, 16). The form as well as ornamentation of these spoons indicate that the year marked on them could well also be the time of their production. If the spoons surviving from the period 1200–1600 are considered as a whole, including those made of organic materials, all the spoons that are furnished with year markings are made of precious metals.¹⁴¹⁷ There are other medieval artefacts of base metals and wood furnished with year markings, but in the

¹⁴¹⁶ Storesund 1993, 20–21.

¹⁴¹⁷ Cf. Immonen 2003.

¹⁴¹⁸ Storesund 1993, 13.

¹⁴¹⁹ Pyllkkänen 1947, 7, 11; Karlson 1948c, 96–100; Fagerström 1983, 42–43.



Fig. 76. 16th-century silver spoon found on the south bank of the Kokemäenjoki River in Nakkila (Cat. 15:29).



Fig. 77. The Nakkila spoon has a gilt knob with a small lily crown inside which is the bust of an angel with curling hair (Cat. 15:29).

(Fig. 76) (Cat. 15:29). On the circular bowl there is a text scroll with groups of the letter i. The stem has an unknown hallmark based on an identification mark. The gilt knob has a small lily crown inside which is the bust of an angel with curling hair (Fig. 77). A human figure peeking from a knob formed as a crown or a crenellated parapet appears in a few Swedish spoons dated to around 1500. The bust along with the hallmark could indicate that the spoon of Nivala was made around the mid-16th century.

In spite of the text scroll motif being medieval in style and the dating of the Nakkila spoon, in general spoons with lily-crowned knobs seem to be somewhat younger than the ball-knopped type. Two of the spoons in the group have at least partially identifiable hallmarks. The first of them is a spoon belonging to the inventory of Jomala Church (Cat. 15:34). The first of its hallmarks depicts a crown, which can be recognized without a doubt as the town mark of Stockholm. The other mark belongs to the goldsmith and is much harder to identify, as it was punched carelessly and its left side and upper left corner are missing. Nordman suggests in the inventory which lists the church's belongings that the mark could be a tulip between three letters, and as such has no match among the published Finnish and Swedish hallmarks. Another interpretation, proposed here, is that the hallmark depicts a bat, the mark of Anders Düsterbach, who was a master in Stockholm in 1588–1612.¹⁴²⁰ The late dating of the spoon, suggested by the period of Düsterbach's mastership, fits well with the use of a Renaissance balustrade on the stem. The other spoon was discovered in a hoard in Heinämäki, Pielavesi (Cat. 15:35). The hallmarks punched on the spoon are much clearer and can be associated with Johan Lennartsson, who was a master in Västerås in 1569–1603/1605.

The Pielavesi hoard also contained another spoon with a lily-crowned knob (Cat. 15:30), but the *terminus post quem* of the cache does not really help narrow the date, because it is as late as 1673. However, the hoard from Puolanka with two spoons of the lily-crowned type has the *terminus post quem* 1607 (Cat. 15:24, 32), while one spoon of the same type was discovered in a hoard in Muhos, which has the *terminus post quem* 1609 (Cat. 15:28). Hence it seems that the type should be dated to the latter part of the 16th century and turn of the 16th and 17th centuries in contrast to the ball-knopped spoons, which already appeared around the mid-16th century.

To return to another ornamental feature typical of the Finnish spoons with a lily-crowned knob, the interlaced ornament applied as a base for the lily crown is examined further in the following. Six spoons in the Finnish material have such an interlaced band under their crowns of lilies. Two of them are stray finds from Kuhmoinen (Cat. 15:27) and Vehkalahti (present-day Hamina) (Cat. 15:31), one from the hoard of Muhos (Cat. 15:28) and two from the hoard of Puolanka (Cat. 15:24, 32) and one is a part of Jomala Church's inventory (Cat. 15:34).

In the Jomala spoon, the interlaced ornament on the stem is particularly large, almost spherical and thus the motif should be considered as the so-called *osma* knot. The *osma* is a feature also appearing in Finnish medieval wooden artefacts. It is a special type of interlaced ornament, in which two to four parallel cords are twisted around each other to form a cylindrical or spherical knot.¹⁴²¹ Not surprisingly the technical origin of the *osma* is considered to be in seafaring and in knots tied with ship ropes.¹⁴²² The marine background is deduced from Olaus Magnus's description of how the Finnish tradesmen used to sell enchanted leather bands with knots tied to them. By opening the knots, it was believed, one could control the winds of the sea. In his account, Olaus Magnus was actually repeating a tradition that was first recorded as early as the 13th century.¹⁴²³

Interlaced ornament in general with a range of variations is attested from all Nordic countries and Russia with the oldest occurrences in artefacts dated to the 7th and 8th centuries.¹⁴²⁴ In Finland, the oldest examples are from Late Iron Age finds, but interlaced ornament remained in use for centuries up to the Modern Period.¹⁴²⁵ The *osma* in its strict definition, however, is a medieval motif appearing in two kinds of medieval artefacts: table legs and spoons. In his study on Finnish medieval

¹⁴²⁰ Andrén et al. 2000, 37.

¹⁴²¹ Äyräpää 1911, 288; Okkonen 1934; Valonen 1950, 129–130; 1954, 9; 1968, 336–340.

¹⁴²² Bengtsson 1970, 7–10.

¹⁴²³ Haavio 1935; Karlsson 1976, 180–181.

¹⁴²⁴ Valonen 1950, 130; Karlsson 1976; Kolcin 1989a; 1989b.

¹⁴²⁵ Itkonen 1957, 78–79.

table legs made of tree stumps onto which the *osma* was carved, Niilo Valonen lists four pairs and two single legs, suggesting at least six tables. None of them have been dendrochronologically dated, but one table with two tree stump legs, deposited in Turku Castle, has the number 1454 carved on one leg.¹⁴²⁶ Because of their large size, rarity, and the tradition of using them at weddings, burials or festivities, Valonen concludes that such tables were specifically made for banqueting purposes. Moreover, the distribution of the tables appears to concentrate in the province of Satakunta and mainly in parishes with no known late medieval manors. The distribution, Valonen suggests, correlates with the pattern of the Pre- and Early Modern rural guild system and thus the tables with *osma* ornaments should be considered as guild tables.¹⁴²⁷

Unlike many other ornamental motifs appearing in metal spoons, the *osma* is also known from medieval wooden spoons. Three wooden spoons with *osma* knobs, probably from the Late Middle Ages, have been found in the Upper Satakunta region, one in Parkano and two in Kangasala.¹⁴²⁸ On the basis of their find locations, Valonen suggests that the use of the *osma* on spoons was a local application of a late medieval fashion in the Upper Satakunta area, and an urban feature adopted in a rural environment.¹⁴²⁹ The discovery of similarly ornamented spoons in urban excavations of Turku after Valonen published his study on the *osma*, although supporting the idea of *osma* spoons as an urban feature, reveals that the use of the ornament was not as confined to Upper Satakunta as he thought.¹⁴³⁰ The wooden objects with interlaced ornament belong to a different social sphere and context of meaning than artefacts of precious metals even if furnished with the same interlaced motif. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the contexts of the wooden and metal spoons might partly overlap.

If the use of the *osma* in silver artefacts is traced in the Nordic countries, another kind of pattern emerges. In Sweden, there survive a number of medieval silver spoons with knobs shaped as *osma* or a ball engraved with an imitation of three or four braided ropes. Such items are not known in Finland, and even in Sweden their distribution concentrates in the southern provinces.¹⁴³¹ The oldest examples are dated to the 14th century, but the production of *osma* spoons continued for quite a long while, the youngest items being dated to around 1600. In these late spoons, the knob has become larger and engravings highly schematic.¹⁴³² The distribution of *osma* spoons of silver also covers Norway, where a pewter spoon has been found in Tyskebyggen in Bergen. It resembles the South Swedish spoons and has been dated to the 16th century.¹⁴³³ Bengt Bengtsson interprets the *osma*-knopped spoons to have been engagement and wedding presents.¹⁴³⁴

Despite the concentration of silver spoons with *osma* knobs in southern Scandinavia, the interlaced band also appears in the ornamentation of spoons found in more northern parts of Sweden and in Finland. In these spoons, however, the interlaced decoration does not cover the whole knob but is reduced to an ornamental band above which the central motif, a crown of lilies, is placed.¹⁴³⁵ Five of the Finnish lily-crowned spoons have such interlaced bands, whereas the Jomala spoon with its *osma* knot is unique. Moreover, the spoon of Jomala Church along with the spoon from Pielavesi are exceptional among the other spoons with braided ornaments, because they both have at least partly identifiable hallmarks. They reveal that the spoon from Pielavesi was made by Johan Lennartsson in Västerås, where he worked as master in 1569–1603/1605 (Cat.

¹⁴²⁶ Valonen 1950, 125–126. The dating receives further support from Jussila (1952, 177–179).

¹⁴²⁷ Valonen 1950, 128–132; 1955, 9–10; see also Vihervaara 1914, 106.

¹⁴²⁸ NM Ethn. 6702, 7538:1–3; Sirelius (1919) 1989a, 349.

¹⁴²⁹ Valonen 1967, 75.

¹⁴³⁰ PMSWF 14885:199.

¹⁴³¹ Braided *osma* knobs appear in four spoons discovered as a part of a treasure deposited in Mossåkra, Ramskulla, Småland after 1467 (SHM 487:1–4; Thordeman 1936, 74). There is a similar knob in a spoon discovered in a hoard in Jularop, Glimmäkra, Skåne (SHM 2703:8) which is dated to the mid-16th century. Moreover, the knob type appears in a stray-find spoon from Höreda, Kärda, Småland dated to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries (SHM 3280) and in one spoon from Stora Hestra, Norra Hestra, Småland dated to the latter part of the 15th century (SHM 4730). Lastly, in Gotland, a hoard found in Giphagen, Ducker, Bunge and deposited after 1529 has also revealed a spoon dated to the latter part of the 15th century (Björkegren 1928–1930, 29; Thordeman 1936, 75).

¹⁴³² E.g. the spoon of unknown provenance (SHM 2898:V:10) and another spoon found in Markim in Uppland and dated to the first quarter of the 16th century (SHM 5612; Bengtsson 1970, 5–7; Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970, 58, 106).

¹⁴³³ Grieg 1933, 107.

¹⁴³⁴ Bengtsson 1979, 44–45.

¹⁴³⁵ Bengtsson 1970, 8–10; Bengtsson 1979, 42–44.

15:35). The hallmark punched on the stem of the spoon in Jomala Church reveals that the item was made in Stockholm (Cat. 15:34). The places of production are of relevance for interpreting the regional character of the *osma* ornament.

First of all, the places of production of the two spoons, along with the spoons from southern Sweden and Norway, show that the *osma* ornament should not be conceived as a 'Finnish' motif *per se*. In fact, it seems to have had a non-localized meaning in the Nordic countries. Secondly, the Jomala spoon, along with other interlace-decorated spoons found in Finland, whether of silver or wood, show that the use of the motif should not be considered as clearly linked with Upper Satakunta as Valonen proposes. Moreover, the wooden font of Vesilahti Church in Häme has a foot decorated with the interlaced ornament. The font is dendrochronologically dated to 1425–1445.¹⁴³⁶ Unto Salo suggests that the *osma* motif should be approached from the perspective of foreign trade and Hanseatic trade in particular. Traces of the medieval guild system are abundant in Satakunta and they imply active trade in which North German merchants dominated.¹⁴³⁷ Although Salo's interpretation can be understood to approach material culture as a social strategy, it seems still to somewhat overemphasize the geographical limitedness of the *osma* motif to Satakunta.

Spoons with cherub knops

The last knop type occurring in the material is clearly based on a Renaissance motif and is conventionally termed the *cherub* knop, although the knop is actually composed of one or more children's pudgy, winged faces or putti. Since putti are so common in Renaissance art, their origins are very diffuse. On the one hand, they could be considered classical Cupid figures, and on the other hand, the Bible mentions cherubim as the heavenly servants of God's Majesty. There are altogether eight spoons with faces of putti in the material, but not a single one of them has inscriptions, hallmarks or find context, which could help set the chronological limits of the type. Nevertheless, in addition to the late date of the putto motif itself, individual spoons present features which clearly point to the earlier part of the 17th century rather than 16th century. For instance, the spoon found in the Nivala hoard (Cat. 15:43) has a bowl decorated with a cartouche and floral motifs engraved in the Floris style, while the stem is formed into a baluster. They are both indications of rather young age. Besides the floral ornamentation, the bottom of the Nivala spoon's bowl has two angel heads and the engraved initials *BPS* (-son?) and *KSD* (-dotter?). They suggest that the spoon belongs to a married couple and is perhaps related to their wedding. The use of cartouches is typical of spoons made at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Besides the cartouche, another late-16th-century Renaissance motif appearing in Nordic spoons is the Moresque or highly geometrical floral decoration of Hispanic and ultimately Islamic origin. Also a vase or candelabrum surrounded with symmetrically arranged flowers and leaves is a typical Renaissance feature.¹⁴³⁸

The chronological patterning of Late Gothic and Renaissance spoons clearly emphasizes the latter part of the 16th and early 17th century. Also the geographical distribution of these spoons is revealing. The provenance of nine pieces remain unknown or uncertain, but seven spoons are from the Åland Islands (2), Southwest Finland (4) and Satakunta (1), and six from Ostrobothnia, but as many as seven spoons are from North Savo (6) and Central Finland (1) and four from Lapland (2) and Kainuu (2). One spoon is attested in Häme, East Uusimaa, Kymenlaakso and Karelia. The surprisingly high number of spoons outside Southwest Finland and other wealthier regions is partly explained by the fact that 12 of the total of 37 spoons are from hoards. This overall picture seems to be in line with the chronological and geographical distribution of beakers and tankards, and to emphasize the rural consumption of farmers in the late 16th and early 17th century.¹⁴³⁹

¹⁴³⁶ Hiekkänen 2007, 273.

¹⁴³⁷ Valonen 1950, 128–132; Savanto 1973, 271–297; Salo 1999, 91–97.

¹⁴³⁸ Hernmarck 1941, 216–217.

¹⁴³⁹ Immonen 2009.

Spoons and changing mealtime customs

It may be considered self-evident that spoons are used for taking food into one's mouth, but the form of this act and its dependence on the shape of the spoon deserves further consideration. The shape of a spoon is linked with the ways in which the object can be used as a piece of cutlery and the food that it is best suited for eating. Hence changes in the overall form of spoons can be associated with changes in ways in which the spoon was handled and perhaps ultimately with the social environment of dining.¹⁴⁴⁰

The problem of defining the relationship between function – the way in which the spoon was used – and form – the shape of the implement – is complex, and probably there is no single simple formula to solve it. If argued in a structuralistic manner, the relationship could be compared to that of words and their meanings. In a speech community, there are, to a certain extent, shared linguistic norms for combining signifiers with signifieds and producing meaningful utterances. Similarly, it could be argued, the form of an artefact becomes meaningful when used in a certain way by its users. In the study of the past norms of extinct speech communities, there survive only utterances and their contexts, from which to reconstruct the underlying norms and uses. The term 'reconstruct', however, is somewhat misleading here, because past utterances as such do not reveal themselves, but are understood through new, contemporary processes of signification.¹⁴⁴¹

The situation is even more challenging when past objects are approached, since their uses and meanings are arbitrary but importantly, unlike words and sentences, also non-arbitrary, connected to the materiality of the life-world and its practices. Especially when the design of artefacts is considered, the fine line between arbitrariness and non-arbitrariness is difficult to trace. When a modern scholar takes a medieval spoon in his or her hand, tests different ways of using it and finally considers some ways impossible, some difficult, some performable and some likely, how can she be sure that persons using the same implement in the past had the same criteria? This is a problem that cannot be swept away easily.

The depth and shallowness of the spoon's bowl are connected with the ease with which it can be used to consume solid or liquid substances. When consuming liquid foods by drinking them from the rim of a bowl, the best shape for the bowl would seem to be rather large and deep. In contrast, when the spoon is intended for solid foods, the shape of the bowl should be rather narrow and spade-like for setting it inside the mouth. Of course many spoons can be used in both ways and their design may accommodate both functions, which is the case with modern spoons with oval-shaped bowls with tapering tips. John Emery has estimated that for liquid foods, the best radius of curvature for the bowl is 3–4.5 cm, whereas for solid foods the most appropriate measure is 1–2.5 cm.¹⁴⁴²

The shape of spoons changed dramatically from 1200 to 1600, and different stages in the development of spoon design can be interpreted as reflecting changes in the use of spoons. From the point of view of using spoons in dining, the material can be divided into three phases. The first phase has only one item, the spoon with a flat and narrow bowl found in the rapids of Lammaistenkoski (Cat. 15:1).

On the basis of the number and size of wooden spoons from Gamlebyen in Oslo, Signe Horn Fuglesang argues that these early medieval wooden spoons were used for eating porridges. The rims of the bowls mainly curve at their tips, not along the sides. If a spoon is used for eating porridge, the amount of liquid in the food affects which kind of spoon is best for the purpose. Eating soups or even watery porridges is difficult with the early medieval spoons. Moreover, when spoons are mentioned in the Scandinavian sagas, they are used particularly for eating porridge. However, as Fuglesang points out, the differences in size between the surviving spoon fragments are so great that they might have been intended for different uses. The smallest ones might be children's spoons, for eating eggs or for measuring herbs and spices.¹⁴⁴³ Similarly Emery considers the spoons with willow-leaf-shaped bowls to have been for porridges.¹⁴⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴⁰ C.f. Egan 1998, 244–245.

¹⁴⁴¹ Glassie (1975) 1991, 20–22.

¹⁴⁴² Emery 1976, 5.

¹⁴⁴³ Fuglesang 1991b, 230–231.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Emery 1976, 5; see also Ruempol & van Dongen 1991, 48.

The second phase of spoon shapes is characterized by relatively short but stout stems, large knobs, and tear-shaped, shallow bowls. According to John Emery, Scandinavian spoons of this kind were never used for dining because of their inconveniently small size and shape of the bowl. Instead, they were used for drinking liquids.¹⁴⁴⁵ Also Hans Hildebrand suggests that the late medieval spoon was kept angularly in front of the eater's face so that the eater drank the food from the bowl like from a cup.¹⁴⁴⁶ Emery bases his claim on practical experiments which he has performed. Their results, however, can be regarded highly problematic. As a man of the modern age, Emery has internalized the contemporary manner of using spoons, which is the result of a long historical process. What he might consider difficult, might well not have been so half of a millennium ago. Hence support for the argument should be found also from other kinds of evidence.

Very few written sources describe the actual use of silver spoons in the Nordic countries, but there survives an account of the German merchant Samuel Kiechel casting new light on Emery's claim. Kiechel made a journey to Scandinavia in 1586 and kept a journal in which he describes his stay at the house of a farmer in the Nyköping district of present-day Sweden. He was invited to dine, and as a guest Kiechel was lent a heavy silver spoon, whereas the host family ate with more ordinary, less valuable implements. The dinner consisted of milk or soup. Kiechel states that owning silver spoons and using them at meals was common among the farmers of Scandinavia.¹⁴⁴⁷ Although Kiechel's description of the dinner supports Emery's idea of using spoons with liquids, at the same time, it also shows that it was not a question of drinking but of a dinner.

The stem of a spoon can be held in at least three different ways. Nowadays the most common way of holding the stem is to place it between the index and middle fingers so that the thumb is laid on the stem. This manner could be called the *fingertip hold* . The second way, the *upper hold* , is to place the four other fingers underneath the stem and the thumb on the stem. The last way, the *fist hold* , could be described as the way in which modern small children hold the stem firmly inside the fist.¹⁴⁴⁸ Emery's experiments have showed that the upper hold is best for medieval spoons, especially Italian and Dutch ones, whereas the fist hold seems to him unlikely even with the late medieval spoons.¹⁴⁴⁹

The spoons of the second phase are also called fist spoons, or *vuistlepel* in Dutch, because their large knobs are convenient to lock inside the user's fist. In the spoons of the third or Renaissance phase, the knob remained as large as before, although the stem grew longer. In the Nordic literature, this change in the length of the stem has not been thought to reflect the change in the functionality or use of the spoon – it was merely caused by the adoption of Renaissance aesthetics. The same lengthening of the Dutch spoons, in contrast, has been interpreted in the context of dress design. As the ruff became more prominent in the dress during the 16th century, the use of spoons with short stems became increasingly difficult. Civilized eating in fashionable costume called for longer stems.¹⁴⁵⁰ The last major development of the modern spoons occurred when the Renaissance and Baroque-style spoons gave a way to rat-tail spoons with elliptical bowls and flat stems in the late 17th century. The change was again a symptom of changing manners and the adoption of the fingertip hold, which made the upper and fist hold old-fashioned, if not vulgar and primitive.¹⁴⁵¹

The Flemish artist Gerard David (c. 1460–1523) painted the work *Madonna with the Child Holding a Spoon* (also known as the *Virgin of the Soup*) around 1510 (Fig. 78). It depicts a Flemish domestic interior, in which Mary is holding the infant Jesus in her lap and is about to give him a spoonful of milk or porridge from a bowl. Mary has a fingertip hold on the wooden spoon, while the Child holds his spoon tightly inside the fist. Her hold is poignantly refined and seems to cast into suspicion all arguments for the change in the use of spoons prior to the 18th century. There are, however, some reservations against such a straightforward dismissal. Although the painting seems to reveal a rather everyday scene, it is still a representative of 15th- and 16th-century burgher realism

¹⁴⁴⁵ Emery 1976, 107.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Hildebrand 1894, 436–439.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Kiechel 1, 75; Kiechel 2, 22–23; Källström 1941, 116–118; Bengtsson 1979, 53–54.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Emery 1976, 5–6.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Emery 1976, 6.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Fleur 1980, *passim*.

¹⁴⁵¹ Fagerström 2000, 44.

intended for the homes of merchant burghers, the rich, emerging social group.¹⁴⁵² In early modern burgher realism, Biblical scenes were set in the domestic environment of well-off burghers depicting it as desired but also idealizing it. The gestures of the characters in the painting can be argued to present the ideals that burghers were adopting from court culture during the 16th century. Did the gestural choices made in the painting accentuate the difference between social groups and their behaviour?

Besides dining, medieval and Early Modern spoons of precious metals have also been linked with drinking beer or wine in banquets, although the idea does not find support in the Finnish sources. However, it is known that also in Finland spirits began to be consumed from banquet tankards of silver with the help of silver spoons during the 17th century. These spirits spoons combined characteristics of Early Modern spoons – large, round or egg-half-shaped bowls – with those of modern rat-tail spoons – long and flat stems, and were produced well into the 18th century. Such spoons are called vernacular or farmer spoons and Sámi spoons in Lapland according to the most important social groups of commissioning clients and consumers. Some of the older spirits spoons in the Nordic museums have well-preserved, bright surfaces, a phenomenon which has been explained as a consequence of their long, continuous use and contact with alcohol.¹⁴⁵³



Fig. 78. Gerard David's (c. 1460–1523) Madonna with the Child Holding a Spoon (also known as the Virgin of the Soup) painted around 1510. Oil on panel, 52 x 33 cm. Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa (Mohrmann 1994, 34).

Spoons in liturgy and church inventories

Of the spoons in the material, only one has a provenance in an ecclesiastical context i.e. the spoon of Jomala Church (Cat. 15:34). Also references to spoons in churches in medieval and Early Modern written sources are few compared with spoons mentioned in secular contexts. The will of Master Håkan written in 1484 bequeaths eight spoons to St. Catherine's altar in Turku Cathedral. They were to be made into a chalice.¹⁴⁵⁴ Two years later in 1486 squire Hartvik Japsson left his spoon to his chaplain Jöns.¹⁴⁵⁵ Also the father of Filpus Nilsson of Finnälä left a silver spoon weighing c. 80 g to Naantali Nunnery in 1497.¹⁴⁵⁶ The spoon was rather large considering that the heaviest spoon in

¹⁴⁵² Gaimster 2000.

¹⁴⁵³ Bengtsson 1979, 85–89; Fagerström 2000, 29.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *octo coclearia operis mensalis ad vnum calicem fabricandum*; REA 618; FMU 3984.

¹⁴⁵⁵ FMU 4111.

¹⁴⁵⁶ FMU 4728.

the material, the one in Jomala Church (Cat. 15:34), weighs 56.2 g. These three donations of spoons to an ecclesiastical institution, however, consist of secular items, which were given because of their metal value, not their function. However, the inventory of St. George's altar in Turku Cathedral reveals that the altar owned one small silver spoon.¹⁴⁵⁷ Otherwise, spoons in church inventories are from the documents of Gustavus Vasa's confiscations, where seven such objects are mentioned. Karjaa Church delivered one spoon,¹⁴⁵⁸ and Korppoo Church one 'small silver spoon',¹⁴⁵⁹ while one silver spoon confiscated from Nauvo Church is described as 'small' and 'white', perhaps a synonym for 'silvery'.¹⁴⁶⁰ Also Turku Cathedral had one small, ungilt spoon.¹⁴⁶¹ The chapel of Hämeenlinna Castle had as many as three spoons, but Källström considers them to have been most likely secular items.¹⁴⁶² Lastly, the accounts of Turku Cathedral tell that a silver spoon weighing c. 40 g had come into the possession of the cathedral in 1556.¹⁴⁶³

There are no indications in the written sources that any of the spoons mentioned in relation to the churches would have been different from those used in secular environments, or that they had particular liturgical functions. Hence the proof of their distinct ecclesiastical use has to be deduced with other means. The issue can be approached from two complementary perspectives – spoons as iconographical motifs and as part of ecclesiastical practices.

There are some saints having a spoon as their attribute such as St. Pantaleon, St. Roch and St. Augustine of Hippo. St. Pantaleon was martyred in Nicomedia, Bithynia during the Diocletian persecution of 303, and although mainly venerated in the Eastern Orthodox Church, he was included in the West among the fourteen guardian martyrs and considered the patron saint of physicians and midwives. St. Pantaleon is usually depicted as a young man carrying a spoon and small casket containing medieval equipment. St. Roch (1295–1327) is another healer saint depicted with a spoon. He was the son of the governor of Montpellier, but decided to give his fortune to the poor, and in the guise of a mendicant pilgrim St. Roch devoted himself to the plague-stricken. The saint is often represented as a bearded man in pilgrim's attire with a staff, hat, book, and spoon. Saints Pantaleon and Roch are rather marginal considering the Nordic context, although in Finland the latter is depicted on the south wall of Rymättylä Church.¹⁴⁶⁴

As moderate as the importance of St. Pantaleon and St. Roch for medieval ecclesiastical art in Finland is the role of St. Augustine. He was associated with a depiction of a child with a spoon, an allusion to a legend. It is told that while St. Augustine was meditating on the Trinity, he met a boy trying to scoop the ocean into a sand pit with a ladle. The attempt made St. Augustine realize that the boy's task is easier to accomplish than to grasp the nature of God. The pictorial motif reappears in some Danish ecclesiastical wall paintings, but remains distant for the ecclesiastical art in the Diocese of Turku.¹⁴⁶⁵

Besides being a saintly attribute, the spoon sometimes appears as an everyday implement in ecclesiastical scenes such as Gerard David's painting of the Virgin and the Child eating with spoons, but none of the banqueting scenes painted on the church walls in Finland depict spoons among the cutlery. In the wooden altar screen of Vöyri Church, a small child is depicted licking a spoon of wood clean and holding a clay pot in his lap.¹⁴⁶⁶ In another wooden altar screen, belonging to Vanaja Church, one of the men in the Adoration of the Shepherds has attached a spoon of wood to his hat.¹⁴⁶⁷ These representations of spoons in devotional art, however, do not particularly belong to the ecclesiastical context but refer to secular life and spoons used in dining.

Neither the written evidence nor visual sources support the idea of spoons being used as a liturgical implement in the Diocese of Turku. In fact, the only actual spoon alluded to as liturgical

¹⁴⁵⁷ REA 720; FMU 4896.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Källström 1939, 315.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Arwidsson 6, 332; Källström 1939, 315–316; Hiekkänen 2007, 119.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Arwidsson 6, 332; 8, 158; Källström 1936, 151; Källström 1939, 317–318.

¹⁴⁶¹ Källström 1939, 324–325.

¹⁴⁶² KGR 1531, 361; Källström 1939, 322; cf. Vilkkuna 1998, 188.

¹⁴⁶³ UADR 37.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Hiekkänen 2007, 163.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Säter Church in Sweden has an 18th-century oil painting depicting St. Augustine with a spoon (Odenius 1975, 23–43).

¹⁴⁶⁶ Rác 1960, 132.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Rác 1960, 154.

is the mid-13th-century spoon found in the Lammaistenkoski Rapids (Cat. 15:1). Fuglesang discusses two pewter spoons found in Oslo and dated to the 12th and 13th centuries – thus more or less contemporary with the spoon from Lammaistenkoski – and points out that they are part of a larger group of similar items. The spoons of the group have small, leaf-shaped bowls decorated with raised reliefs depicting concentric segments, crosses or fish. Ragnar Blomqvist and Rikard Holmberg argue that the group consisting of 14 spoons from Norway and southern Scandinavia had an ecclesiastical function. Not only the motifs depicted on the spoons but also the discovery of two spoons near St. Drotten's Church in Lund appear to support their idea. Fuglesang finds, however, the liturgical interpretation problematic, and reviews the various uses to which spoons could have been put in a church.¹⁴⁶⁸

Firstly, the spoon could be used for transferring incense from an incense-boat or container to the thurible. Although no medieval incense spoons survive, the existence of such implements is supported by written sources from the 10th century onwards. Secondly, a spoon might have served the purpose of measuring the amount of water mixed with the Eucharistic wine. The practice is mentioned for the first time in northern France in the late 13th century and it became normal during the next century. The ritual, however, was never adopted across Europe and it remained confined to particular, individual places. No certain occurrences of such spoons are attested in medieval Scandinavia. Hence, Jouko Rätty's suggestion that the spoon for Lammaistenkoski was perhaps used as a spoon for mixing Eucharistic wine should be considered highly unlikely.¹⁴⁶⁹

Thirdly, the spoon could also have been used in the act of *intinctio panis*, where the consecrated host was dipped in the wine in order to communicate by receiving both sacred species at once. Although a spoon may have been used for dipping, no particular implement was ever a prerequisite for performing the ritual. Moreover, the church already condemned the practice in the 7th century, although it remained in rare use until the 13th century. Fourthly, in some Cluniac monasteries spoons were occasionally used in moving the host from the ciborium or pyx to the paten, but this practice is marginal considering the Nordic situation.

On the basis of her survey, Fuglesang concludes that except for incense spoons, none of these liturgical uses were relevant in medieval Scandinavia, and even the incense spoon was never required by the liturgical orders. Moreover, because no ecclesiastical spoons have passed onto us with certainty, their possible special characteristics are unknown.¹⁴⁷⁰ Olle Källström, writing on the mid-16th-century situation, reaches similar conclusions and interprets the spoons mentioned in the confiscation documents as objects which were used either for mixing the wine or moving incense – if they had any liturgical purpose at all. He totally refutes the possibility of them being Eucharistic spoons.¹⁴⁷¹ This implies that the spoons used in the liturgy were not in touch with the consecrated bread and wine and thus not necessarily made of precious metals. Källström points out that the excavations at Alvastra Cloister in 1937 unearthed a small gilt bronze spoon. The oval bowl of the spoon can be detached from the stem. The spoon is quite small, 7 cm in length and 2.2 cm in width, and he suggests that it may be a spoon for moving incense.¹⁴⁷² In reference to the size of the implement, it is conceivable that the *paruum coclear* or 'small spoon' in the inventory of St. George's altar or other 'small spoons' in church inventories are incense spoons,¹⁴⁷³ but this remains merely a possibility. On the basis of written, pictorial and artefact evidence, it can be concluded that spoons might have been used in the medieval liturgy as incense spoons, but their role in the liturgy or ecclesiastical art was never substantial.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Fuglesang 1991b.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Rätty 1984, 86–91.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Fuglesang 1991b, 235–237.

¹⁴⁷¹ Källström 1939, 106–108, 120; 1940, 211, 215.

¹⁴⁷² SHM 21855:192; Källström 1939, 120.

¹⁴⁷³ REA 720; FMU 4896.

Spoons in the secular context on the basis of written sources

In contrast to the ecclesiastical context, spoons are abundant in documents related to secular activities, though appearing only from around the mid-15th century onwards. Several spoons are donated in wills. In 1449 Lucia Olosdotter bequeaths a silver spoon to Henric Martini and in 1455 to Henrik Pæderson.¹⁴⁷⁴ Squire Kort Hartviksson donates two spoons in his will in 1484,¹⁴⁷⁵ while the priest of Porvoo Church, Jakob, leaves his more precious spoon to the ‘dominus electus’ and one spoon along with a belt buckle to his housekeeper.¹⁴⁷⁶ Two years later Klemet Hogenskind bequaths two spoons to his relatives,¹⁴⁷⁷ and finally in 1568 Jakob Henriksson mentions a spoon in his will.¹⁴⁷⁸

Unlike all other artefacts discussed so far, the majority of spoons is mentioned in relation to court cases, where someone is accused of stealing such objects. In 1487, Trvels Bagge was summoned before the town council of Stockholm to testify that a thief had stolen a silver spoon from Niclis scriffuer, which ‘Gerth maler had purchased from a Dane in Viipuri’.¹⁴⁷⁹ Quite often the references to spoons, which were stolen from a Finn or stolen by a Finn, are from the minutes of the town council of Stockholm. In 1490, three silver spoons were stolen,¹⁴⁸⁰ and in 1491, thefts of three spoons¹⁴⁸¹ and another two silver spoons¹⁴⁸² were discussed. In the following year, Thomas Persson of Turku was accused of stealing several silver spoons in Turku.¹⁴⁸³ In 1496, Mechtel Hinrichsdotter from Hollola stole a spoon weighing 26 g from Clemit Jonsson,¹⁴⁸⁴ and in the same year Findwiidh Laurensen, born in Naantali, was accused of stealing a silver spoon from Knwt Jensson and selling it for 10 *penningar*.¹⁴⁸⁵ Jöns Persson, born in Uusikirkko, Karelia, stole a silver spoon from a farmer in 1499,¹⁴⁸⁶ and in 1503 Valborg Olofsdotter, writing to the town council of Tallinn, wants to recover, among other things, three silver spoons from Olof Eriksson,¹⁴⁸⁷ while in 1505, Hollola-born Knwt Hinrichsson stole a spoon and silver band.¹⁴⁸⁸ Dyrich Hansson was sentenced to pay a fine in 1512 in a justice court held in Turku, because he had stolen a spoon from Lass Dywass.¹⁴⁸⁹ In 1519, Erich Larensen, born in Uusimaa, was accused of stealing a spoon weighing 40 g.¹⁴⁹⁰ The Finnish-born Marcus, a hired man, stole four spoons in 1524,¹⁴⁹¹ and another Finn stole some spoons and money from a farmer in the following year.¹⁴⁹² Two years later the Stockholm town council convicted hired man Anders, born in Finland, of stealing two spoons and other things from a farmer in Spånga.¹⁴⁹³ Wife Elin of Högsar, Nauvo was accused of taking two silver spoons and some other possessions belonging to the accuser’s deceased grandmother in 1530,¹⁴⁹⁴ while Valborg Olofsdotter was missing three spoons, which her husband had deposited with a burgher wife in Tallinn in 1533, and in the following year, she received two spoons.¹⁴⁹⁵ In 1550 there was a conflict between Eskill Pappis and Erich Pappis which involved, among other things, a spoon worth 14 marks.¹⁴⁹⁶

Sixteenth-century records of fines from the Åland Islands also contain several references to spoons. In 1544, Swen Matzson of Stentorpp along with his wife, her sister and brother were condemned to pay fines, because they had three silver chains and four silver spoons belonging

1474 FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

1475 FMU 4010.

1476 *fibulam balteariam*; FMU 5495.

1477 FMU 5622.

1478 BFH 4:368.

1479 *ath en skedh worth reth tiwff stolin aff Niclis scriffuer, huilken Gerth maler köp[t] hade j Vyborg aff enom dandemannom*; FMU 4130.

1480 FMU 4290.

1481 FMU 4357.

1482 FMU 4358.

1483 FMU 4399.

1484 FMU 4688.

1485 FMU 4706.

1486 FMU 4830; note that Nykyrka/Uusikirkko in Karelia is different from the parish of Uusikirkko/Kalanti in South-West Finland.

1487 FMU 4986.

1488 FMU 5108.

1489 FMU 5598.

1490 FMU 6713.

1491 FMU 6189.

1492 FMU 6253.

1493 FMU 6288.

1494 FMU 6559.

1495 BFH 3:40, 46.

1496 AST 41.

to another man.¹⁴⁹⁷ In 1588, a silver spoon was stolen in Jomala, a silver spoon weighing 53 g in Hammarland and a spoon in Sund.¹⁴⁹⁸ Finally, the records of property stolen during the conflicts of King Eric and Duke John list altogether 64 items belonging to 11 persons.¹⁴⁹⁹

Also inventories of private property have spoons. The inventory of the widow Margareta of Brödorp's belongings mentions three silver spoons.¹⁵⁰⁰ This is nothing compared with the inventory of Duke John drawn up in 1563. He owned a dozen partly gilt silver spoons, 870 g in total weight, and another dozen entirely gilt ones, weighing 740 g, and finally an unspecified number of old, broken silver placed in an old container.¹⁵⁰¹ Although the inventory of Catherine Jagellon's movable property does not contain any spoons, she is said to have had several gold and silver spoons among her silver treasures in Poland.¹⁵⁰² The inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming lists nine spoons and as many as 47 gilt silver spoons,¹⁵⁰³ while Lasse Henriksson Hordeel had among his possessions two silver spoons in Turku in 1587.¹⁵⁰⁴

On two occasions spoons are mentioned as part of financial transactions. In 1485, Laurens Olavsson of Hammarland sold Matts Niklison of Mynämäki a farm for 50 marks, which was paid partly in coin, and partly in other artefacts among which there is a silver spoon worth 2 1/2 marks.¹⁵⁰⁵ The other transaction was in 1495, when Philpus Nilsson from Finnilä sells a farm for money and artefacts. A silver spoon weighing almost 80 g is mentioned as part of the payment.¹⁵⁰⁶ Finally, there are two more documents in which the context of delivering a spoon is specified further. In 1570, a spoon weighing 40 g was given as a gift of friendship,¹⁵⁰⁷ while in 1577 Klas Kristersson Jägerhorn wrote in a letter to Sara Thomasdotter Ryting of making wedding spoons from broken silver.¹⁵⁰⁸

While the wedding spoons mentioned in Klas Kristersson Jägerhorn's letter are the only written reference to such objects, three spoons in the material (Cat. 15:15, 22, 43) have engraved initials comprising two sets of two or more letters and were thus probably made for couples for their weddings. The most notable of these is the spoon from Viipuri associated with Bertil Ivarsson Tott and Elin Jönsdotter Kurck (Cat. 15:15). The rest of the initials appearing in spoons comprise one set of two or more letters probably referring to only one person.¹⁵⁰⁹ Whether containing initials of one or two persons or longer texts, they form a phenomenon attested only in spoons of precious metals.¹⁵¹⁰ Even identification marks often engraved or incised on silver spoons are, though not unknown, very rare in wooden spoons.¹⁵¹¹

Although the inscriptions of two names with their coats of arms on the spoons definitely refer to engagements or weddings, it is more difficult to ascertain whether such objects were given more often at the actual ceremony and subsequent festivities by the relatives or the groom, or whether they are spoons commemorating the event afterwards.¹⁵¹² Nevertheless, the silver spoons manifested and strengthen unions between both the couple and their families. The act of giving spoons was not limited to engagements and weddings, and especially during the 16th century spoons were given commonly as presents among the nobility at all kinds of festivities at least in other parts of Europe.¹⁵¹³

1497 BFH 2, 28.

1498 BFH 2, 217, 229, 244.

1499 BFH 4:205, 206.

1500 FMU 6557.

1501 Lösegendom 17.

1502 Palmén 1903, 345.

1503 BFH 5:308.

1504 BFH 5:452.

1505 FMU 4034.

1506 FMU 4590.

1507 *en sked om 3 lod i vängäfvva*; BFH 4:441.

1508 *thett bruttiitt sölffuer lett idhers kära man göra sig brölops skeedar wtaff*; BFH 5:186.

1509 Cf. Bengtsson 1979, 52–53.

1510 *The single Nordic reference to a medieval wooden spoon with Latin initials is from Denmark. The spoon dated to the 15th century has the devotional IHS monogram engraved into the bowl* (Reinholdt 1977, 20; Storesund 1993, 19).

1511 Immonen 2003, 244.

1512 *The custom of a groom giving a spoon, of silver or wood, to his future bride is well attested in the modern ethnological descriptions of farmer and Sámi cultures* (Sirelius [1919] 1989a, 349; Itkonen 1948, 400–401; cf. Mauss [1924] 1999, 31–32).

1513 Mauss (1924) 1999, 50, 107; Storesund 1993, 11.

Jouko Rätty suggests that the Lammaistenkoski spoon might have been a baptism spoon, among other uses.¹⁵¹⁴ This claim is, again, difficult to validate or reject as there are no attested baptism spoons in the Finnish sources, and the same problem applies to the possibility of giving spoons in connection with confirmation.¹⁵¹⁵ Six so-called Apostle spoons, however, have been discovered in Finland. Made of copper alloys, these items date from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries or the 17th century. In Central Europe, Apostle spoons were commonly used as christening gifts, and in England, the Early Modern custom of giving a full set of twelve pieces or a smaller number of such spoons to godchildren is well-documented.¹⁵¹⁶

Knives

As a general group of instruments consisting of a blade with a sharpened metal edge fixed to a handle, knives have been in use in Finland since the introduction of metals in the Bronze Age.¹⁵¹⁷ Handsome, carefully made knives and their sheaths were placed in the Late Iron Age burials.¹⁵¹⁸ Such bladed instruments continued to be used throughout the medieval and Early Modern periods, but knives and daggers – or swords for that matter – do not belong to the range of articles made by goldsmiths, even if their blades or handles have small silver inlays or other ornamentation. They were rather blacksmiths' products. Nevertheless, there is a special type of knife introduced for the first time in the Early Middle Ages signalling changes in the rituals of eating and banqueting which also involves goldsmiths' contribution. A specialized form of knives, table-knives were designed for a particular function in dining. Each diner had his or her own table-knife, which was used to cut food and take the pieces into the mouth. Although blades in such knives were still forged in iron, goldsmiths made their handles and mounts, at least in luxurious pieces.

Having said that, the most handsome of medieval luxurious table-knives found in Finland does not have a handle mounted with gold or silver but one carved in ivory. The end of the handle depicts a crouching male lion. The large *gravoir* or steak-knife was found in an old stone-pile in a field in Arpalahti, Perniö. It was obtained for the collections of the University of Helsinki in 1843. Taavitsainen dates the knife to the end of the 14th century, and associates its place of discovery with manors in the area, which belonged to the most prominent families of the aristocracy of Finland, and their refined table manners.¹⁵¹⁹

The *gravoir* of Perniö stand out from the flock of other medieval and Early Modern table-knives, which are rather a common find group in archaeological excavations. In these more ordinary utensils handles are made of antler and bone as in the knife found in Koroinen,¹⁵²⁰ or the 16th-century table-knife discovered in the Mätäjärvi excavations in Turku with a bone handle and gilt copper mountings and silver inlays on the blade.¹⁵²¹ Besides these knives with bone handles and silver inlays, also wooden handles, often with bull's-eye decorations, are known for instance from Turku,¹⁵²² but also such urban areas as Naantali¹⁵²³ and Helsinki¹⁵²⁴ have revealed similar table-knives. They are also known from the high social status rural sites of Hämeenlinna Castle,¹⁵²⁵ Kuusisto Castle,¹⁵²⁶ Laukko Manor¹⁵²⁷ and the convent area of Kõkar Island.¹⁵²⁸ Among the archaeological finds of Kõkar, there is one hafted knife from the 15th century with a swan finial.¹⁵²⁹

¹⁵¹⁴ Rätty 1984, 86–91.

¹⁵¹⁵ The confirmation and spoons can be linked only on the basis of modern, Lutheran oral traditions, which articulate the connection by stating that to gain one's, adulthood one must get a spoon from the parsonage (Ruoppila 1953, 170–174).

¹⁵¹⁶ Immonen 2005.

¹⁵¹⁷ Edgren 1998, 128–132.

¹⁵¹⁸ Kivikoski 1973, 147, fig. 1225–1229; Ahola et al. 2005, 59.

¹⁵¹⁹ NM *Hist.* 51; Taavitsainen 1979.

¹⁵²⁰ Koivunen 2003, 59.

¹⁵²¹ *Ikäheimo* 1989, 160–161.

¹⁵²² Kostet, Pihlman & Puhakka 2004, 58; Majantie 2007, 42.

¹⁵²³ Tulkki 2003a, 62–63.

¹⁵²⁴ *Klaavu* 2002, 66.

¹⁵²⁵ Mikkola 2005, 33.

¹⁵²⁶ Taavitsainen 1979, 25, fig. 11.

¹⁵²⁷ Majantie & Uotila 2000, 61–64.

¹⁵²⁸ Gustavsson 1997, 21.

¹⁵²⁹ *ÅM* 305:415; cf. Moore 1999, 69, 71.

Though table-knives are rather well represented in the medieval material culture of Finland, there is only one which can be counted as a goldsmith's product. The knife in question was unearthed in the excavations of the early medieval trading post of Högholmen in Kemiönsaari (formerly Hiittinen) in the late 1970s. The actual blade of the item is badly corroded and its current length is 8.8 cm. The handle is made of some organic material, but mounted with a cylindrical silver bolster and butt.¹⁵³⁰ The butt is 1.8 cm in diameter, and its cylindrical part has an engraved inscription set with Gothic minuscules on a crosshatched background. It reads *benedictus deus*. The inscription continues around the bolster with words *in donis suis + K*.¹⁵³¹ The Latin sentence can be translated as 'Blessed is God in His gifts'. Moreover, there is a circular, detachable disc at the end of the butt, which also has engraved letters. On the top, it has a minuscule letter *i* placed on a lozenge-background. The letter is crowned with a three-spiked crown and covered with green enamel. On the bottom side, the disc has an engraved quatrefoil with a rose in the middle. The letter *K* has been placed on the heraldic right side of the rose, the letter *G* above it, and the letter *M* on its left side, while the lower petal has a rosette. The bottom side of the disc has not been visible in everyday use.

Torsten Edgren finds the closest parallels for the knife in a group of Gotlandic hoards deposited in 1361. He then concludes that the knife is of a type produced from the mid-13th century to the mid-14th century.¹⁵³² However, the knife could also be compared with the silver-mounted knife found in Nöbble Church in Småland, possibly from a grave. The object has an engraved inscription *+ deus est unus et vbiqve*, or 'God is one and everywhere'.¹⁵³³ The sentence, like the one inscribed on the Högholmen knife, resonates with the medieval theological discourse.

From the iconographical point of view, Edgren argues that the letter *i* on the disc of the butt might refer to a town, because crowned letters usually signify towns. This is somewhat in contradiction with the sacral character of the inscriptions on the butt and bolster. The crowned letter motif is rather common in medieval artefacts, and cannot be associated solely with towns. In fact, the monogram was used also as a personal sign, and in some cases could even be interpreted as referring to saints or Jesus like the crowned letter *M* is a reference to the Virgin Mary. The sentence *benedictus deus in donis suis* is the litany said at the end of the dinner prayer in medieval monastic and priestly communities. The phrase has been inscribed also on a ceramic tile known from England.¹⁵³⁴

Edgren concludes that it is not unthinkable that the luxurious and versed knife was robbed from a church in Southwest Finland or in the Baltic Sea region.¹⁵³⁵ In contrast with the ecclesiastical knife of Högholmen, all Finnish written records on silver-mounted knives belong to the secular, aristocratic context. Altogether ten mounted knives are mentioned prior to the year 1500 and seven after that. Usually they are referred to as individual pieces,¹⁵³⁶ but in a few cases they are mentioned in pairs. Ruuth connects this pairing of knives to the Pre- and Early Modern custom of diners sitting in pairs and eating from the same, shared plate.¹⁵³⁷

Once again the first reference to the object group of knives is made in Lucia Olofsdotter's will in 1449, in all her other subsequent wills and in her husband's will.¹⁵³⁸ A silver-mounted knife is also mentioned in the records of the Stockholm town council in 1491 in connection with Hans Hermansson from Ulvila, Finland.¹⁵³⁹ After that a fifty-year gap follows until Erik Håkansson writes a letter to burgher Alert Dreikop in Tallinn in 1541. In the letter Erik Håkansson tells that he had

1530 The same arrangement e.g. in Frederiks 1947, 235 no. 39.

1531 Edgren 1977, 420–421.

1532 E.g. SHM 2485:37 of the Amunde hoard; af Ugglas 1936, pl. XXIII:112, XXIV:113–114.

1533 SHM 23194:1–2.

1534 The item inscribed *benedictus deus in donis suis* belongs to a tile type dated to the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Nichols [1845] 1998, xiv; Vince 1984). Moreover, there is a group of medieval swords inscribed with the texts *benedictus dominus deus meus qui docet manus* (Pss. 143:1) or *benedictus deus meus*, but these phrases have no relevance for the knife's inscription (Glosek & Kajzer 1977).

1535 Edgren 1977, 422.

1536 *eth par knifua beslagna oc forgylte; FMU 2970; j par kniffue; BFH 3:162; Förgijlt kniffsljida med 2 beslagne kniffwer och – 1 obeslagen; BFH 5:308B.*

1537 Ruuth 1923, 166.

1538 FMU 2818, 2886, 2918, 2970.

1539 FMU 4358.

ordered a pair of knives from a goldsmith.¹⁵⁴⁰ A few decades later, a gilt knife sheath was stolen from Karin Hansdotter during the hostilities between King Eric and Duke John in 1563. The sheath was with gilt chains and contained mounted knives.¹⁵⁴¹ A pair of mounted knives was also stolen from Niels Ingeson during the calamities.¹⁵⁴² Furthermore, the inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's possessions in Yläne Manor mentions one gilt sheath with three knives, two of which are mounted.¹⁵⁴³ Similar ornamental sheaths designed for several knives were produced as luxurious pieces in 16th-century Scandinavia.¹⁵⁴⁴

Conclusions on secular vessels and cutlery of precious metals

If communion vessels and other liturgical equipment were embedded in the complex whole of the liturgy, ecclesiastical space and theological meanings, not forgetting the social aspect of differentiating and bringing together various social groups, secular vessels and cutlery were equally intertwined with the event of dining, its practices and the social setting. However, the reconstruction of this event and the way in which vessels and cutlery functioned in it is much more patchy than the reconstruction of the liturgical event, because of the higher number of liturgical objects and written sources related to the ecclesiastical context.

Although the medieval and Early Modern written sources mention several drinking horns, only one such artefact survives in Finland, and even the provenance of this one item of Yläne Manor is rather blurred. The examination of written sources reveals nevertheless that the piece often associated with Turku Cathedral and the guild of Three Kings was not very likely part of their inventories. The inscription on the horn's gilt copper mount stating the names of the Three Magi is fairly typical of the 15th-century drinking horns and can be explained by common associations between drinking, the Three Magi and the visual conventions of depicting the Adoration of the Magi.

In Willmott's model, which represents the various classes of material culture used in dining, the drinking horn of Yläne Manor should be placed among the objects which were mobile and communally used. The two tankards of the material have a similar location in the scheme – they were shared items and passed on from one diner to another. Beakers, in contrast, were mobile but used privately. The seven beakers of the material can be divided into three types of which the second interestingly imitates contemporary glassware with prunts, while the third has adopted its profiled ornaments from wooden mugs. All the seven beakers date from the latter part of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. The same lateness applies to the two tankards, which conform to the Hanseatic and Baltic fashions of the late 16th century.

The distribution of the beakers and tankards reveals that they have been obtained from hoards and stray finds outside Southwest Finland or from farmer families around Turku and in Taivassalo, although the provenances are not entirely reliable. Despite the problems of representativity, the pattern of distribution seems to form a stark contrast with the written sources, where silver beakers and tankards are mainly mentioned in connection with the high nobility and churchmen. Moreover, written sources name many vessel types, which have not left other material traces at all.

In a similar vein, the immediate find contexts or provenances of silver spoons reflect a different kind of consumption pattern than the written sources, and thus the social setting of both secular vessels and cutlery seems to unfold differently than the one of liturgical artefacts. The abundant judicial records related to spoons also show that farmers and other social groups than the high nobility owned such objects. However, the single table-knife with mounts of silver found in a medieval trading post in Southwest Finland, and such spoons as the one found in Viipuri and furnished with the names of Bertil Ivarsson Tott and Elin Jönsdotter Kurck, or the spoon of Jomala

1540 *bettaler j honom igen xxj runstricker j gerningx lön för vij lod sölff han giorde til mit behoff vpo j par kniffue; BFH 3:162.*

1541 *BFH 4:205.*

1542 *BFH 4:206.*

1543 *Förgijltt knijffsljda med 2 beslagne knijffwer och – 1 obeslagen – 1; BFH 5:308.*

1544 *E.g. Gundestrup 1991, 323 no. 10812.*

Church are reminders of the social complexity of their consumption.

The spoons in the material represent three stylistic phases of the Early and Late Gothic and the Renaissance, but the more detailed classification of spoons is based on the form of knobs. The overall development of spoon design can be associated with the changes in mealtime customs, although the significant variations in spoon shapes during the 16th century show that the change was not necessarily as straightforward as the broad outlines sketched by Elias might suggest. Nevertheless, the long stems and relatively small, oval bowls of the early medieval spoons were replaced by spoons with short, stout stems and large, circular bowls at the end of the Middle Ages. However, with the new demands set by dress fashions and the aspiration for more elaborate conduct in courtly and urban spheres, the stem began to lengthen in the 16th century. Also the size and shape of the bowl was adapted from drinking and slurping the food by the rim into taking the spoon further inside the mouth. Hence, spoons and knives are more closely bound with the body and its movements than the dishes used in dining. In Willmott's terms, they were non-communal but highly mobile. Moreover, cutlery was probably commonly carried around as part of one's private items as is done by the shepherd depicted in the wooden altar screen of Vanaja Church. The man has attached his spoon to the headgear.

In parallel with the donors' names and coats of arms engraved on chalices and patens, beakers and spoons were adorned with the names of the owners. The Kaitainen beaker (Cat. 13:5) carries the coats of arms of Hans Munck af Fulkila and his wife Katarina Eriksdotter Slang. Also spoons have engravings indicating individual owners or couples and perhaps commemorating births and weddings. One spoon also bears an inscription referring to the event of dining and instructing to enjoy it without forgetting the eternity (Cat. 15:11). Another spoon has a depiction of Lucretia (Cat. 15:4). However, these elaborate scenes are rare. Usually the ornamentations on spoons are based on stereotypical motifs depicting flowers and text scrolls.

In comparison with communion vessels, spoons, beakers and tankards do not seem to have integrated pictorial programmes aiming to articulate some specific theological idea, moral teaching or message in general. Tankards and beakers do have elaborately engraved or cast friezes, but this ornamentation is not decoded in the same way as the pictorial motifs in communion vessels requiring theological knowledge. To say this does not mean that the surviving corpus of secular vessels and cutlery does not display semiotic virtuosity, far from it. It merely underlines that secular items constitute a different kind of medium in which the semiotic virtuosity aims at creating an impression of sumptuousness, abundance and elaborateness suitable for bringing forward such objects as luxurious, ultimately signalling the wealth of the owner.

11 Dressing up and Making a Mark

Dress accessories and heraldic devices as luxury technologies of the body

The account of Duke John's journey to meet King Sigismund I the Old in Lithuania in 1562 contains a description of the duke's arrival in Kovno. When the duke approached the city, he was accompanied with 120 horses dressed in Brunswickian style, twelve male guards, seven horn players, one drummer and four pages dressed in gold-braided jackets adorned with numerous valuable chains. Duke John himself wore a jacket along with a hat and mantel. Because the garment was covered with so much lace and oriental pearls, the colour of the mantel was hardly recognisable as brown, unless one examined the cloth at a very close distance, tells the narrator with admiration.¹⁵⁴⁵ Clothing always conveys something about its wearer, whether intentional or not, though in the case of Duke John's apparel, probably every effort was made to give him as magnificent an appearance as possible, without rivalling the king though.

Of the artefacts produced of precious metals, dress accessories and jewellery were placed closest to one's body, and at the same time, in the heart of social representation. They were pivotal in the constitution of a person as a social being in the Pre- and Early Modern culture, which was highly sensitive to expressing and creating identities in the visual sphere. Any person's appearance told of the social group to which he or she belonged, her or his financial situation, age, marital status and interest in fashion or rejection of it. Moreover, particular modes of dressing were associated with such rites of passage as birth, marriage and death. Dress-wise the society was divided into three groups. The highest nobility wore garments of silk, velvet and exquisite furs, whereas members of the lower nobility, churchmen and burghers were users of broadcloth. Frieze was the fabric of the common people.¹⁵⁴⁶ Considering the central role which one's appearance had in the creation of social relations, it is not surprising that in the medieval and Early Modern society, clothes and textiles formed a significant part of personal possessions. Wages and other payments were often made in fabrics. Moreover, in the inventories of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon, as in all the older inventories and wills surviving in Finland, clothes constitute the most important group of artefacts besides artefacts of silver and gold.

In Finland, the study of medieval and Early Modern clothing is based on archaeological finds and on such written sources as inventories, wills, judicial documents and customs records, although also various visual sources, such as wall paintings, have been utilized. Written sources reveal that textiles imported to the diocese were mainly ordinary wool cloth. The Flemish textiles dominate sources in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, but during the 15th century also Dutch and English textiles appear, and first occurrences of German textiles date from the late 15th century.¹⁵⁴⁷ Flemish textiles disappear from the written records by the 1460s. The Finnish finds of cloth seals seem to support the outlined development.¹⁵⁴⁸ In 1512, *flogel* or velvet cloth, and *cameloth* or textile made of camel hairs or fine Asian goat wool are mentioned in Klemet Hogenskild's will written in Turku,¹⁵⁴⁹ but extremely expensive cloths remain very rare in the written sources with the exception of the inventories of Duke John and other 16th-century members of the high nobility.

The archaeological excavations of the Åbo Akademi plot in Turku revealed approximately 800 textile fragments in 1998 whereof 154 have been analysed by Heini Kirjavainen.¹⁵⁵⁰ Of this sample, 10 % were imported textiles and the rest locally produced. The imported pieces included all broadcloth fragments in the whole sample as well as some pieces of fine worsted textiles. Finds

¹⁵⁴⁵ Palmén 1903, 340.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Pylkkänen 1956, 319–320, 369–372; Nockert 1997; Perkkio 1999, 199; Piponnier & Mane 2000.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Taavitsainen 1982, 23–24.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Taavitsainen 1982, 32.

¹⁵⁴⁹ FMU 5622.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Kirjavainen 2003.

from the Åbo Akademi plot and 53 textile fragments from the Mätäjärvi¹⁵⁵¹ excavations do not include examples of the most expensive textiles of gold, silver and silk fabrics like those mentioned as part of the inventory of Viipuri Castle in 1483,¹⁵⁵² but woollens and worsteds still were expensive textiles and can be considered luxury products.¹⁵⁵³ Some tapestries depicting St. George are mentioned in the inventories of Turku Castle in the mid-16th century, and it is possible that they had survived from the medieval period,¹⁵⁵⁴ but again it is Duke John's inventory that provides the best glimpse of the most lavish tapestries in the country.¹⁵⁵⁵ During the 16th century, the written records reveal the mass of luxurious textiles imported to Finland: several types of broadcloth, silk, velvet, brocade and linen.¹⁵⁵⁶

Sumptuary legislation is often seen as typically medieval, but in the kingdom of Sweden, there were no such laws equivalent to Denmark and Norway, although in the Tälje town ordinance (*stadga*) of 1345 and later in the land law of Magnus Eriksson, compiled in the 1350s, excessive luxuries in weddings and festivities are forbidden. Moreover, Magnus Eriksson's town law gives orders on the quality of beer used in baptisms, church attendings and burials.¹⁵⁵⁷ In 1546 Gustavus Vasa warned the inhabitants of Stockholm against excessive clothing, but the first actual sumptuary laws were not ratified until the 1580s during the reign of John III. In 1583, 1585 and 1589 the lavish dressing of burgher women was forbidden because it was considered harmful for the state's economy, but the constant reasserting of the orders implies that they had no real effects. John III's orders mainly focused on the types of textiles used in clothes. They also mention burgher husbands who try to purchase excessively sumptuous pendants and jewellery for their wives, but are swindled with counterfeit diamonds and other precious stones. Men of that social standing cannot distinguish them from authentic ones, it is claimed.¹⁵⁵⁸

Examples of expressing one's social status and loyalties through personal appearance were heraldic emblems, 'objects or representations that overtly signify the personal identity or social group affiliations of individuals' as Dave D. Davis defines the term.¹⁵⁵⁹ Such emblems were applied on cloths, pendants, brooches, finger rings and other forms of dress accessories. The heraldic tradition on which they leaned can be traced to early-12th-century France, and according to Davis, hereditary emblems, which originally were confined to the nobility, appear in complex societies in the presence of unstable systems of social rank. They provide material and visual means to reconcile the systems of social ranking and economic privilege grounded on inheritance with the social mobility of individuals from the lower ranks to the elite. Heraldry and coats of arms gained wider social significance in the late medieval period,¹⁵⁶⁰ and they were pivotal motifs for the Pre- and Early Modern silver in Finland, whether used in the ecclesiastical or secular context. Hence, although sfragistics remains beyond the focus of the present study, issues related to heraldic emblems used in dress accessories cannot be avoided. Moreover, seal stamps or matrices used for authenticating a person's signature or identity by leaving its owner's coat of arms pressed on wax, were objects which their owners carried often as part of their dress. Goldsmiths were also the craftsmen who produced them.

Besides signalling social status, dress and dress accessories could express faith and devotion even in laymen's garments. Various kinds of pilgrim badges and insignia along with amulets and devotional emblems could be attached to dress or be otherwise worn as jewellery. Finger rings and jewellery were commonly used as a medium for devotional expressions, but they were not necessarily considered luxuries at all. Especially pilgrim badges are an example of artefacts that are rare in Finland – only six are known from the whole country and three of them in Turku – but

1551 *Ikäheimo* 1989, 156–157.

1552 *FMU* 3967, cf. 4847; *Bengtsson* 1999, 56, 194, 197.

1553 *Kirjavainen* 2006.

1554 *Bengtsson* 1999, 198.

1555 *Löseghendom* 43–46.

1556 *Grotenfelt* 1887, 154–157.

1557 *Nielsen* 1966.

1558 *Pylkkänen* 1956, 369–373.

1559 *Davis* 1985, 149; cf. *Vale* 2001, 95, 114.

1560 *Davis* 1985, 151–152.

still cannot be considered as sumptuous items. Based on international studies as well as the analysis of surviving Finnish written documents, it seems that pilgrimages were not confined to a certain social group, although in some cases wealthy persons could pay someone poorer to conduct such a journey on their behalf. Pilgrim badges are thus not luxuries unless made of prized materials. The badges found in Finland are made of pewter with the exception of the badge discovered in Turku, which represents the figure of St. Jacob the Elder on a scallop's shell. The item is carved of lignite or jet and has formed part of a rosary. Similar badges of jet are rather common among the European rosary finds.¹⁵⁶¹

Appadurai's list of the features which he considers to be particularly significant for understanding the consumption of luxuries includes the link between the consumption of luxuries and the consuming body, individual or personality. The material cultures of dress accessories, jewellery and seal matrices are all technologies contributing to the performance in which a person is defined – they comprise artefacts following and setting his or her bodily limits, public image and identity. Even the network of social alliances is made tangible through such technologies with the adoption of the signs and emblems of one's social rank, reference groups and patrons. The social force invested in such material cultures made them seductive targets of imitation and appropriation for those socially mobile groups for which they originally might have been made inaccessible. The demand for emblems and imitations of jewellery and dress accessories of the elite at the lower end of the social spectrum thus indicates a wish to control the luxury technologies of the body and individuality.

Belts

Belt, a device used to gird or encircle a person around the hip or torso, to visually differentiate elements of the body and to support articles of use or ornament, is part of the garment appearing from the prehistoric period onwards. In Finland, some Viking and Crusade Period male graves have revealed leather belts adorned with rectangular mounts of metal. Buckles and rectangular mounts from belts are known from several burial grounds, for instance, in Anivehmaanmäki in Yläne (present-day Pöytyä), Hevonniemi in Tammela, Kirkkomäki in Turku, Köyliönsaari in Köyliö, and Tuukkala in Mikkeli. The stylistic origins of the Late Iron Age belts have been traced mainly to Gotland, though similar belts were popular widely around the Baltic Sea.¹⁵⁶² The use of such objects continued to the Middle Ages, when belts were worn on a long dress, placed tightly around the waist or wrapped loosely around the hip.¹⁵⁶³ For instance, the cemetery of Liikistö in Ulvila has revealed 12 circular or D-shaped buckles of iron, remains of a leather belt or purse along with fragments of textiles, and rivets and mounts of bronze. The fragments have been radiocarbon dated to 1215.¹⁵⁶⁴ According to Olaus Magnus, it was common for both men and women to wear belts chased of silver and gold.¹⁵⁶⁵ However, no items made entirely of precious metals are among these prehistoric belts, and not a single belt of such kind has survived even from the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁶⁶ Despite the lack of silver and gold belts, several medieval and Early Modern buckles of base metals have been discovered in excavations done in churches and towns, but such articles are not analysed further here.¹⁵⁶⁷

The first references to belts of precious metals appear rather late in Henrik Klasson Dieken's and his wife Lucia Olofsdotter's wills. In his first will dated in 1449, Henrik Klasson Dieken bequeaths his 'best gilt silver belt' to the altar of the Body of Christ in Turku Cathedral, his large ungilt silver belt to his brother Arwidh Clawsson and finally a small belt of silver to Knwt of Vehmaa.¹⁵⁶⁸ The

¹⁵⁶¹ Taavitsainen 2003b, 314–316.

¹⁵⁶² Kivikoski 1961, 241–242; 1973, 145–146 fig. 1195–1201; Riikonen 1999, *passim*.

¹⁵⁶³ Fagerström 1989, 24.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *NM Hist.* 34127:11; Sjölund 2000, 95–96; Jäkärä 2003, 31.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Olaus Magnus 2:23, 3:94.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Fingerlin 1971 is the fundamental work on medieval belts.

¹⁵⁶⁷ E.g. Dreijer 1983, 358, 360; Hiekkänen 1988, 47–48; Gustavsson 1997, 21.

¹⁵⁶⁸ FMU 2817.

two ungilt silver belts appear also in his second will of 1452.¹⁵⁶⁹ In his third and last will dated to 1453, Henrik Klasson Dieken mentions only one small gilt silver belt, which he leaves to Pæder Benktzson.¹⁵⁷⁰ Lucia Olofsdotter also lists belts in her three wills made in 1449, 1451 and 1455. In the third version, she bequeaths a gilt silver belt to the cathedral dean. However, more interesting is the silver belt, which she mentions in all of her wills. A half of it was to be given to the Three Kings' altar and the other half to the Virgin Mary's altar in the Clergy choir. In her third will, Lucia Olofsdotter specifies that the belt halves are to be made into chalices.¹⁵⁷¹

As in the couple's wills, most of the written references to belts of precious metals mention one to three silver belts, which sometimes are described as gilt. Between 1449 and 1600, there are altogether over 40 belts mentioned in the written sources with the overwhelming majority dating to the latter part of the 16th century. On several occasions belts are part of someone's property or inventory. One gilt silver belt is among the objects that Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) took with her from Viipuri Castle in 1483.¹⁵⁷² In 1515, Mathias Marci leaves his silver belt to Pernaja Church,¹⁵⁷³ and two silver belts are mentioned in the inventory of Margareta, the widow of Anders Slatte, in Brödorp, Pohja in 1530.¹⁵⁷⁴ In 1532, Knut Eriksson Kurck gives a belt to his grandson Klas Jonsson, probably of silver,¹⁵⁷⁵ and Hans Larsson donates three silver belts to his daughter Margareta in 1567.¹⁵⁷⁶ In 1553, Knutt Andersson of Pöytyä inherited a silver belt weighing over 280 g from Olof Skotte from Stockholm.¹⁵⁷⁷ Klaus Holst, the bailiff of Kastelholm Castle, had 41-part gilt silver belt in 1556,¹⁵⁷⁸ while Ursilia, the widow of Måns, the minister of Jomala Church, received as a bequest a silver belt weighing 218 g from Stockholm in 1582.¹⁵⁷⁹

Compared with all the abovementioned documents, the number of belts mentioned in inventories of the high nobility in the latter part of the 16th century is much higher. In 1582, an inventory was drafted after Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's death. It lists seven belts, one made of gold and fitted with nine scent buttons and pearls, while another gilt belt had 55 mounts and red velvet.¹⁵⁸⁰ Even more belts, altogether eighteen, are in the inventories of Duke John's and Catherine Jagellon's possessions in 1563.¹⁵⁸¹ The inventory of Karin Hansdotter (1539–1596), in turn, includes a dozen belts. One large silver belt has plates with 'eight angel heads and small roses'. Two belts are described as women's belts, one with star-shaped mounts and the other with 46 'leaves', while one belt had acorn pendants, acorns being symbols of fertility and prosperity. Moreover, one belt was furnished with 27 mounts depicting letters.¹⁵⁸²

In some cases, belts are part of financial transactions like in 1487, when Johan Kyle gave Sigge Laurensen one silver belt of 27 marks among other things as part of a land purchase.¹⁵⁸³ In 1556, Birgitta Mattsdotter and her brother Jöns Skytte made a friendly change on a silver belt with wife Karin of Skäggebol.¹⁵⁸⁴ A silver belt is mentioned in connection with a house deal of Michel Jörensön in Turku in 1581.¹⁵⁸⁵ Lastly, Nils Olsson of Gammelbacka received a gilt belt in 1587.¹⁵⁸⁶ Furthermore, belts are referred to in some juridical proceedings and documents,¹⁵⁸⁷ but they are not listed in Gustavus Vasa's confiscation documents despite belts being donated to churches in the Diocese of Turku. The 16th-century records on imports reveal, lastly, that such objects were also imported to the country.¹⁵⁸⁸

¹⁵⁶⁹ FMU 2908.

¹⁵⁷⁰ FMU 2918.

¹⁵⁷¹ FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

¹⁵⁷² FMU 3967.

¹⁵⁷³ FMU 5812.

¹⁵⁷⁴ FMU 6557.

¹⁵⁷⁵ BFH 3:595.

¹⁵⁷⁶ BFH 4:337.

¹⁵⁷⁷ STb N2:2, 239.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Hausen 1934, 58 note 2.

¹⁵⁷⁹ STb N2:6, 305, 488.

¹⁵⁸⁰ BFH 5:308.

¹⁵⁸¹ Lösegendom 9, 18, 32.

¹⁵⁸² Pylkkänen 1956, 300–301.

¹⁵⁸³ FMU 4139.

¹⁵⁸⁴ BFH 3:436.

¹⁵⁸⁵ STb N2:6, 317, 465, 501.

¹⁵⁸⁶ förgylte pantzere belte; BFH 5:443.

¹⁵⁸⁷ FMU 4264, 4358, 6559; BFH 4:206; STb N2:4, 597; STb N2:5, 322–324.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Grotenfelt 1887, 159.



Fig. 79. A belt with gilt silver plates is part of the Kaitainen farm patrimony (Cat. 17:1).

Notwithstanding the presence of silver and even gold belts in the written accounts from the mid-15th century onwards, the earliest belts of precious metals, two in total, date from the late 16th and early 17th centuries and pertain to the same belt type, i.e. plate belts. Not surprisingly, similar items appear in the written records during the late 16th century. Plate belts comprise a strip of leather onto which rectangular metal plates are placed one next to another so tightly that they cover the whole belt. The plates partly overlap each other forming a continuous but supple outer structure. The two other types, which Fagerström distinguishes in these Early Modern belts, were belts made of silver or gold hoops mounted with precious stones and chain-like armour belts.¹⁵⁸⁹ Two belts of the former type are mentioned among the belts of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon. They were adorned with diamonds, rubies and pearls. The duke had also an enamelled belt, while the rest were furnished with red, black or green velvet.¹⁵⁹⁰ The chain-like belts, in turn, are mentioned in two documents. In 1587, Nils Olsson of Gammelbacka received a 'gilt armoury belt',¹⁵⁹¹ and in the same year, the late Henrik Hannson's belongings included a silver armoury belt of 340 g.¹⁵⁹² Finally, one of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's belts was an ungilt armoury one and weighed 102 g. She also had a belt which was fitted with a purse, needle case, ornamented knife in a sheath and a scent button.¹⁵⁹³ The belt with the accessories echoes the common medieval and Early Modern custom of carrying along purses, keys, knives, daggers, rosaries and spoons attached to the belt.¹⁵⁹⁴

Of the two gilt silver belts in the material, there is at least some provenance information available on the belt of the Kaitainen farm patrimony (Fig. 79) (Cat. 17:1). Moreover, it has survived in its entirety unlike the belt in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland of which only three plates are left. The belt of Kaitainen comprises 13 slightly curving plates of gilt silver, a belt buckle and its counterpart attached to a leather belt. Also a medal to commemorate the victory of the Swedes in 1708 has been connected to the buckle with a silver chain. The coin

¹⁵⁸⁹ Fagerström 1989, 25–26.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Löseghendom 9, 18, 32.

¹⁵⁹¹ förgylte pantzere belte; BFH 5:443.

¹⁵⁹² BFH 5:348.

¹⁵⁹³ BFH 5:308; Pylkkänen 1956, 302.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Fingerlin 1971; Fagerström 1989, 24–25.

and perhaps also the present leather belt are later additions, but the rest of the metal parts date from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Each of the plates in the Kaitainen belt has been cast in the same mould, and they present identical Renaissance motifs surrounded with Moresque ornaments. The face of a putto has been placed in the middle of the plate. The arches of a cartouche surround it. Another two putti sit outside the cartouche leaning on it. One end of the plate has the figure of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Child. The standing figure is higher than the rectangular plate. Fagerström points out that the ornamentation has strong influences from the model drawings of Virgil Solis.¹⁵⁹⁵ The plates also resemble the description of Karin Hansdotter's (1539–1596) belt with angel heads and roses.¹⁵⁹⁶

The three plates from a belt in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland have been added to the collections in the late 19th century without any further provenance information (Cat. 17:2), but the pieces nevertheless are very likely of a Finnish origin. Although the plates do not have the same cartouche motif as the plates on the Kaitainen belt, they share the basic scheme of ornamentation. Again, there is the face of a putto in the middle. It is flanked by two putti, but this time the symmetrical pair is standing and playing flutes. The three putti figures are embedded into Moresque ornamentation. The tall figure at one end of the plate is a female, but this time she seems half-naked and without a child, thus representing a caryatid.

Both belts in the material are very similar structurally as well as visually and seem to date from around the same period. Their closest parallels are in Swedish material, but items of the same form are also known from e.g. the Baltic countries. The popularity of the belt type is furthermore revealed by the vernacular imitations and stone moulds carved for their casting. Moulds have been attested in Hattula, Hausjärvi, Janakkala and Parainen (present-day Länsi-Turunmaa), and a plate of base metals cast in such a vernacular mould was found in the excavations of Tyrvää Church in 1964–1965 (Fig. 80) (Cat. 17:4). Moreover, the belt made of pressed copper plate unearthed in the excavations of the Kökar Convent area has a thematic association with the silver ones (Cat. 17:3). The fragment is a counterpart for a buckle. The pressed ornament depicts a plump putto holding two oak-leaves in his hands. The putto is accompanied by an oval geometrical motif surrounded by curling volutes. These Renaissance or perhaps even Baroque motifs are not identical with the other contemporary belts in Finland, but clearly the item belongs to the same assemblage.

Despite only one provenanced gilt silver belt surviving in Finland, the copper plate belt of Kökar with the vernacular imitations and moulds support the written evidence that such plate belts were rather common in the material culture of the higher classes at least during the 16th century. This relative commonality and clear chronological emphasis on the Early Modern Period match the chronological pattern of silver spoons.



Fig. 80. A plate of base metal used in a belt was found in the excavations of Tyrvää Church in 1964–1965 (Cat. 17:4).

¹⁵⁹⁵ Fagerström 1989, 25.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Pylkkänen 1956, 301.

Chains, necklaces, bracelets and cords

Chains and necklaces were popular dress accessories in the late medieval and Early Modern Period. Although in principle chains and necklaces are both used in a similar way around the neck, chains differ from necklaces by their greater length and width. Consequently chains were more visible elements emphasizing and organizing the area of the neck and torso. In Pre- and Early Modern society, using chains as part of costume was considered a privilege of the nobility,¹⁵⁹⁷ and thus luxurious chains were symbols of power. This tradition is echoed in the still continuing tradition of the university rectors and mayors among other authorities using special chains as their insignia.

It is particularly the Early Modern fashion in which chains along with jewellery, pendants, mounts and other dress accessories were dominating elements,¹⁵⁹⁸ and indeed the first reference in the Finnish sources to a chain dates from 1505. Bailiff of Turku Castle Josef Pedersson (1481–1528), writing a letter to the regent of Sweden Svante Nilsson (1460–1512), says that he wishes to have a gold chain made for the regent's son, but instead sends money so that the accessory can be bought in Stockholm.¹⁵⁹⁹ In the same year Knwt Hinrichsson, born in Hollola, stole a silver spoon and a silver band or chain.¹⁶⁰⁰ In 1512, Klemet Hogenskild Bielke leaves his sister Margaret his 'daily gold chain'.¹⁶⁰¹ Moreover, among the items that Jens Mattsson brought from Hämeenlinna Castle to Stockholm was a small gold chain with a pendant.¹⁶⁰² A Finnish-born Marcus, a hired man, stole 'a chain' and some cords with rings, which brought him to face the town council of Stockholm in 1524.¹⁶⁰³ In 1530, the inventory of Margareta, the widow of Anders Slatte, mentioned a small chain.¹⁶⁰⁴ Knut Eriksson Kurck gave a silver chain with (finger?) rings to his nephew Knut Arvidsson in 1532,¹⁶⁰⁵ and in 1544, a silver chain weighing 30 g is mentioned in the minutes of the court held in Kumlinge,¹⁶⁰⁶ and another three silver chains in relation to another case.¹⁶⁰⁷ However, especially the chain weighing only 30 g cannot have been particularly large. Hence, all these silver and gold chains appearing in written sources probably were not chains wrapped around the neck, but attached to the belt or some other place in the dress. They were perhaps used like the chains in Agnus Dei capsules.

Fagerström distinguishes two basic types in Early Modern chains. The anchor chains, referred to as *mulekorgxgerner* in the documents, were produced from oval hoops attached one after another. An armour chain or *quernestens querning*, in contrast, had three or four hoops forming parallel rows.¹⁶⁰⁸ Chains were worn in various ways. One could wrap a chain around the neck once or several times. Arvid Henriksson Tavast (c. 1540–1599) had chains made in Helsinki, which could be wrapped three times around the neck.¹⁶⁰⁹ Chains could also be placed underneath one shoulder and over the other.

Chains were also extended over both shoulders, a manner which is depicted in a portrait of an anonymous woman, sometimes assumed to be Elin Fleming, who has placed a prominent chain on her shoulders. The chain depicted in the woman's portrait has a pendant with a sovereign's portrait.¹⁶¹⁰ Portraits of rulers are common in the 16th-century chains, which underscores the association of chains with power. The use of such portraits also signalled loyalties and alliances of the wearer.¹⁶¹¹ Some of the miniature portraits were individually made and embellished with precious stones. Duke John had four luxurious medallions of this kind.¹⁶¹² Portraits could also be medallions in the strict sense of the term, circular discs of metal with relief ornamentation.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Wrangel 1938, 280.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Perkkio 1999, 222.

¹⁵⁹⁹ FMU 5116.

¹⁶⁰⁰ FMU 5108.

¹⁶⁰¹ FMU 5622.

¹⁶⁰² *en liden guldkiede met [1/2] taffe*; FMU 6055.

¹⁶⁰³ FMU 6189.

¹⁶⁰⁴ FMU 6557.

¹⁶⁰⁵ BFH 3:595.

¹⁶⁰⁶ BFH 2, 27.

¹⁶⁰⁷ BFH 2, 28.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Fagerström 1989, 21–22.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Tawaststjerna 1920, 18.

¹⁶¹⁰ Fagerström 1989, 22–23.

¹⁶¹¹ Pylkkänen 1956, 297.

¹⁶¹² *madaller*; Lösegendom 6–7.



Fig. 81. A silver chain discovered in a hoard in Lammassaari Island, Sääminki (present-day Savonlinna), South Savo. It comprises two triangular locks with holes for suspension and 55 identical chain elements between them. The chain is approximately 92 cm in length and weighs 88.86 g (Cat. 18:1).

Medallions began to be produced in North Europe from the 15th century onwards, when their models were adopted from Southern Europe through Nuremberg and Augsburg. In Sweden, medallions are a phenomenon of the 16th century and were originally minted by kings as personal signs. However, during the century the nature of medallions began to change, and they become more connected with contemporary events, i.e. commemorative medallions. Medallions belong to the range of products which goldsmiths made,¹⁶¹³ but for the Finnish situation their significance remains rather marginal.

According to the inventory of Karin Hansdotter's movable property, she had a gold chain with 155 hoops and a pendant with King John III's portrait. She also owned a gold chain with 400 hoops, a gold chain with 255 small and 13 large hoops and finally one small gold chain with 56 hoops.¹⁶¹⁴ Also Philippa Erikdotter Fleming had two portraits of Gustavus Vasa mentioned among her jewellery, but the inventory also lists two small gold chains with small cross pendants, and two small armour chains without fittings.¹⁶¹⁵ In 1568, Hans Larsson Björnram donated two gold chains with pendants and two without.¹⁶¹⁶ The inventory of Duke John's movable property in Turku Castle in 1563 lists as many as 23 gold chains, but none of them have pendants or portraits on them. The chain estimated to be the most valuable was fitted with 20 diamonds and 20 rubies, but also some of the other chains were mounted with precious stones and pearls. One chain is described to be of Parisian workmanship.¹⁶¹⁷ In the same year the inventory was made, a pawned gold chain is mentioned among the duke's businesses.¹⁶¹⁸ Numerous chains of gold and silver, 19 to be exact, are mentioned in connection with items stolen during the hostilities between King Eric and Duke John. One stolen gilt chain weighed 171 g and another 158 g.¹⁶¹⁹

In spite of the popularity of chains in contemporary written sources, only one chain has survived to the present day (Cat. 18:1). There are some archaeological finds of Early Modern chains made of base metals, however like the fragment of a bronze chain, 84 cm in length, found in urban excavations in Naantali,¹⁶²⁰ but they cannot be considered luxurious showpieces. The sole representative of silver chains is from a hoard found in Lammassaari Island in Sääminki (present-day Savonlinna), South Savo. The chain was wrapped around the four silver spoons in the hoard. The cutlery seems to date the deposition of the hoard to the early 18th century, which suggests that reasons for caching the treasure should be sought in the Great Northern War (1700–1721).

The chain of Sääminki comprises two triangular locks with holes for suspension and 55 identical chain elements between them (Fig. 81). Each element has two identical volutes made of wire and soldered around a straight piece of wire. The pairs of volutes form mirror images of each other. The 55 elements are linked into a chain with a pair of hoops between elements. The chain

¹⁶¹³ Brenner 1904, 39; Rasmusson 1950, 20; Oldeberg 1966, 100.

¹⁶¹⁴ Pylkkänen 1956, 296.

¹⁶¹⁵ BFH 5:308.

¹⁶¹⁶ BFH 4:337.

¹⁶¹⁷ Lösegendom 8.

¹⁶¹⁸ Diarium 63.

¹⁶¹⁹ BFH 4:205, 206. Chains of precious metals are mentioned also in a number of other documents of the late 16th century (BFH 4:429, 5:47, 5:186, 5:205, 5:478; Ramsay 1909, 367).

¹⁶²⁰ Tulkki 2003b, 69 fig. 53, 71.

is rather little in comparison with other chains surviving from other Nordic countries. Moreover, the chain is very late, from the early 17th century, and the find context suggests that it belonged to a farmer. In Central Europe, chains become old-fashioned in the late 16th century, and the Nordic nobles stopped using them in the early 17th century, after which, however, chains remained in the use of burghers and farmers.¹⁶²¹ Hence it is likely that the chain is in fact an example of a vernacular tradition of using chains and should not be linked directly with the sumptuous, courtly fashions of the nobles. Here again, apparently, the surviving traces of material culture form a marked contrast to the material culture described in the written sources.

To distinguish chains from other necklaces, pendants and ribbons worn around the neck, hair or even wrists is somewhat misleading,¹⁶²² because in many cases on the basis of written sources it is quite impossible to say what kind of chains are meant. However, since no medieval and Early Modern hair ribbons, necklaces and bracelets have survived to the present day, the only traces of such objects are in the written form. In the Middle Ages, young maidens used ribbons for tying up their hair, and these often wreath-like ribbons were worn in Sweden till the late 16th century, although their use in Central Europe vanished among the nobility already a century earlier.¹⁶²³

In 1508 Lucia Erixdotter stole a hair ribbon worth three öre,¹⁶²⁴ while Knwt Hinrichsson, born in Hollola, stole a spoon and a silver band in 1505.¹⁶²⁵ In 1521, Jens Mattsson brought three headbands with pearls and precious stones from Hämeenlinna Castle to Stockholm,¹⁶²⁶ and a few years later in 1525, Erik Larsson sold Joons Torstensson, a canon of Turku Cathedral, land for a silver ribbon worth 60 marks.¹⁶²⁷ Indeed also men could use such ribbons, and Klaus Holst had a golden one in 1556,¹⁶²⁸ and in 1563 Bartill Ericksson lost a hair ribbon during the conflict between King Eric and Duke John.¹⁶²⁹ Karin Hansdotter in turn lost a gilt wreath weighing 315 g in 1563,¹⁶³⁰ but she also owned a ribbon with small pearls.¹⁶³¹

Around the mid-16th century, hair ribbons began to lose their popularity among the high nobility in Scandinavia, and they were more or less replaced by hat ornaments.¹⁶³² Hence the wreaths and ribbons mentioned in the written sources of the latter part of the century might also well be ornaments worn on hats. In 1562, Agneta Torstensdotter Ram pawned a farm to Ivar Torstensson for a velvet dress, a pearl wreath and a pearl plume.¹⁶³³ The inventory of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon of Poland lists several wreaths and other hat ornaments. The duke had three hat wreaths made of pearls and gilt silver from one wreath. Also several dozen hat ornaments made of gold and pearls are listed in his inventory under the title *fiedrer*.¹⁶³⁴ Catherine Jagellon owned one wreath of red silk,¹⁶³⁵ as well as dozens of pieces of hat jewellery, *enseigne*, which were used on *bonnett* hats resembling modern berets. The most valuable of them had rubies, diamonds and other precious stones.¹⁶³⁶ In the calamities of 1563 Sigfrid Glad lost two hat ribbons made of gold.¹⁶³⁷ Philippa Fleming had both pearl and gold-fitted hair cords, ten pieces altogether,¹⁶³⁸ but her inventory also mentions four velvet *timpar* or hat ornaments.¹⁶³⁹ The popularity of the hat ribbon is also testified by the several dozen ornaments of this kind that were imported yearly into the country in the late 16th century.¹⁶⁴⁰

1621 Lindblom 1952, 14.

1622 Pylkkänen 1956, 288–289.

1623 Pylkkänen 1956, 288.

1624 BFH 1, 193.

1625 FMU 5108.

1626 *iij halsband met perler oc edle stene*; FMU 6055.

1627 *syloff bondh fför lx marc*; FMU 6267.

1628 Hausen 1934, 58 note 2.

1629 *gull ladh*; BFH 4:206.

1630 BFH 4:205.

1631 Pylkkänen 1956, 288.

1632 Pylkkänen 1956, 289.

1633 *enn perle krans oc enn perle fieder*; BFH 4:70.

1634 *Lösegendom 18*, 28–29.

1635 *Lösegendom 82*.

1636 *Lösegendom 69–72*; Fagerström 1989, 33.

1637 BFH 4, 214.

1638 *Tw laad aff togenguld vm – 5 quarter huardere, Små lader aff gull – 2, [...] Perle håårband, små och store – 4 str. [...] Gul laad, små – 2*; BFH 5:308.

1639 BFH 5:308.

1640 Pylkkänen 1956, 290.

The hat ornament or *enseigne* was a Renaissance invention. According to John Evans, wearing such hat brooches can be traced back to the pilgrim badges and other emblems indicating allegiances, both sacral and secular, which were attached to a highly visible place in dress, i.e. hats and headgear. The most precious ones of these medallion-like items of jewellery were designed by renowned European artists and craftsmen and furnished with precious stones.¹⁶⁴¹ In Finland only some members of the highest nobility had access to such treasures. In the mid-16th century, however, the tides of Central European fashion had already started to turn from hat ornaments to pendants worn around the neck.

The first indications of necklaces are from the late medieval period. Among the items that Iliana Göstavsdotter (Sture) took from Viipuri Castle in 1483, there is a gilt necklace weighing over a kilogramme,¹⁶⁴² while the inventory of the widow Margareta lists one necklace with some kind of pendant in 1530.¹⁶⁴³ A flood of such objects, however, appears in the inventories of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon, which list 22 *charicanter* and 30 *hängie* or pendants.¹⁶⁴⁴ The *charicanter* of the ducal couple, adorned with rubies, diamonds and pearls, included necklaces, which is a symptom of the change in fashion. Moreover, the pendants include the most valuable jewellery of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon. A pendant estimated to be worth 8,000 *daler* had one large diamond, a ruby and a pearl. Five pendants had diamond-mounted crosses, and one depicting St. George was enamelled. One piece was in the shape of a ship and fitted with precious stones and pearls. Their most famous pendant, however, was an enamelled jewellery piece with a crowned C of rubies.¹⁶⁴⁵ This luxurious item was probably made by Nicolas Nonarth in Nuremberg in 1546. The pendant is depicted in Catherine Jagellon's portraits and was later recovered from her tomb in Uppsala Cathedral in 1833.¹⁶⁴⁶

Other references to hat jewellery and pendants are much more modest. Cross pendants were already mentioned earlier, but in 1563, Karin Hansdotter lost a pendant with a carneol gem and rubies as well as a gold-mounted toadstone,¹⁶⁴⁷ while her inventory of 1596 includes some jewellery with emeralds and pearls, which could be hat jewellery items.¹⁶⁴⁸ Two of the chains donated by Hans Larsson to his daughter Margareta in 1567 had pendants.¹⁶⁴⁹

Although bracelets were also a type of personal ornament favoured by the Renaissance taste, they have a much longer history than hat jewellery and brooches, which goes back to the Bronze Age. They are also a common find group in the Viking Age and Crusade Period graves,¹⁶⁵⁰ but their use ceased in the early medieval period and remained rare during the Middle Ages. They came into vogue again in the latter part of the 16th century, when both men and women wore bracelets. Bracelets often formed pairs and were worn on both wrists.

The first occurrence of bracelets is from the year 1563, when among the artefacts stolen from Karin Hansdotter there was a bracelet with double armour chains and enamelled, rectangular locks.¹⁶⁵¹ The inventory of Duke John and Catherine Jagellon drawn up in the same year lists nine bracelets. One of them was made of crystal and embellished with silver, and one pair was made of white and red coral and fitted with a gold pendant. Also another two bracelets formed a pair, but they were mounted with precious stones and pearls like the rest of the items.¹⁶⁵² The bailiff of Kymi Martin Knutsson also owned a bracelet made of silver and corals in 1569.¹⁶⁵³

The last reference to bracelets in the material appears in the inventory made of Karin Hansdotter's belongings after her death. It describes one bracelet with a heart.¹⁶⁵⁴ Although no

¹⁶⁴¹ Evans (1953) 1989, 78–82.

¹⁶⁴² *j haltzband, forgiilt, woff v lodig march; also one perlebyneck is among the items; FMU 3967.*

¹⁶⁴³ *eth halsbondt met en täffla; FMU 6557.*

¹⁶⁴⁴ *Lösegendom 3–6.*

¹⁶⁴⁵ *Lösegendom 3–6; Evans (1953) 1989, Plate 66.*

¹⁶⁴⁶ *Gårdberg 1986, 66.*

¹⁶⁴⁷ *camsöij; BFH 4:205.*

¹⁶⁴⁸ *Pylkkänen 1956, 294.*

¹⁶⁴⁹ *BFH 4:337.*

¹⁶⁵⁰ *Korkeakoski-Väisänen 1981.*

¹⁶⁵¹ *BFH 4:205.*

¹⁶⁵² *Lösegendom 7.*

¹⁶⁵³ *STb N2:4, 10.*

¹⁶⁵⁴ *Pylkkänen 1956, 304.*

bracelets of such old date have survived, Turku Cathedral had one gold bracelet belonging to Eevert Horn's wife Margareta Fincke (d. 1647). The bracelet was, however, lost in the early 1940s, but the documentation and a copy made of it reveal that it comprised an armour chain and a rectangular lock. Two joined hands, a heart and a violet were depicted on the lock's outer surface, whereas the side facing the wrist bore a heart pierced by arrows and the name of Margareta Fincke. The bracelet might, on the basis of its motifs, have been an engagement gift from 1611. Nevertheless, the heart motif resembles Karin Hansdotter's bracelet in the inventory. The structure of the piece also resembles the bracelet which was stolen from her in 1563. This item had armour chains and rectangular locks for attachment.¹⁶⁵⁵

Cords were previously mentioned as ornaments worn in the hair, but such objects braided from metal wire were also used in other ways. This cannot be attested from the written record, but foreign examples along with a few archaeological finds support the argument. The excavations in the area of the Aboa Vetus Museum in Turku have unearthed a braided object. The item comprises brass wires, which have been made into a cord called the braided foxtail. The chain has been bent into a hoop by joining one end close to the other with a piece of wire. Moreover, at the other end there are some fragments of organic material attached to the wires.¹⁶⁵⁶

The find is unique, and there are two possibilities for its use. Firstly, the object resembles cords placed around medallions and jewellery to make them look more like pendants. The problem with this interpretation, however, is the lack of any signs of fastening a central piece to the cord. It should have been secure and lasting, made perhaps with small metal wires. However, only the organic fragments on the end of the cord indicate some kind of attachment. It thus seems probable that the middle of the cord was left empty or the central piece was made of textiles or other organic materials. If the cord was simply as it is now, the second possibility is that it was a decoration placed on a garment and simply stitched to the dress with thread.

Although no identical object can be pointed out as a parallel to the cord of the Aboa Vetus Museum, the excavations of Kökar Convent have unearthed a curving piece of cord. It was apparently braided from wires in a similar manner as the Turku cord. The Kökar cord also seems to be made of copper alloys, but it did not have or is missing a piece between the two ends. Nevertheless it is clear that neither of these cords was made of gold or silver and cannot be compared with the cords mentioned in the written sources. Finally, besides dress accessories, gold and silver were also used as fabrics in textiles during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. For instance, the textiles woven by the nuns of Naantali Nunnery incorporate fabrics made of such luxurious materials.¹⁶⁵⁷ Textiles are beyond the scope of the present study, and will not be discussed here further.

Mounts

During the conflict between King Eric and Duke John, Niels Ingesson lost 'gilt head *ströningar*', which he had acquired 'for servant girls' needs'.¹⁶⁵⁸ Also the confiscation documents drawn up in the mid-16th century record objects called *bricker*, *spänger* and *ströningar*, which were taken from six churches and chapels. Nousiainen Church delivered 34 larger, gilt *spänger* and 23 small ungilt ones.¹⁶⁵⁹ Närpiö Church had 14 gilt *ströningar* to give,¹⁶⁶⁰ while the church of Rymättylä had as many as 76 *spänger* and buttons for the cope of Our Lady and 10 gilt *spänger* for St. Anna's cope.¹⁶⁶¹ Twelve and a half gilt *spänger* were confiscated from Sauvo Church.¹⁶⁶² The chapel of Hämeenlinna Castle had five *ströningar*.¹⁶⁶³ The image of St. Olaf in Turku Cathedral was fitted with gilt *bricker*, but the cathedral also had to give eight large *spänger*, 13 middle-sized and ten small ones.¹⁶⁶⁴ Källström

1655 Pykkänen 1956, 305.

1656 AV 200504 K408 26.7.2005.

1657 Nordman 1943; Pykkänen 1956, 311.

1658 *Förgyllte hoffued ströningar til pigors behoff*; BFH 4:206.

1659 Arwidsson 6, 327; Källström 1939, 318.

1660 Källström 1939, 319.

1661 Arwidsson 8, 159–160, 332; Källström 1939, 320–321.

1662 Källström 1939, 321.

1663 Källström 1939, 322.

1664 Källström 1939, 324–325; Lindberg 1940, 350.



concludes that these objects were mounts or studs of some kind attached to garments for dressing statuary or perhaps worn in the liturgy.¹⁶⁶⁵ In addition to the fittings used as dress accessories, the Naantali Nunnery Church delivered silver mounts from four reliquary caskets. Together, the mounts weighed over one kilogramme, which indicates that they must have been quite large.¹⁶⁶⁶

Studs and fittings of various kinds and sizes were typical decorations in medieval and Early Modern costumes. Mounts were also used in furniture, book covers, caskets and horse trappings. The casket reliquary of St. Birgitta is probably the most famous surviving object in Scandinavia ornamented with mounts. The casket itself is rather simple, made of wood and covered with red velvet, but its visual impression is based on numerous mounts of gilt and enamelled silver made in the late 14th century and attached to the casket.¹⁶⁶⁷ Geoff Egan, studying the medieval mounts found in archaeological excavations of London, claims that they were rarely used singly as indicated by the design. The overall decorative effect relied on repetition. In contrast to the ecclesiastical mounts, however, the majority of the urban finds were made of pressed base metal sheets and had rivets for attachment to leather or textile, belts and straps.¹⁶⁶⁸

In Finland, mounts are rather typical finds in churches, urban contexts and castles, but they were rarely made from other materials than base metals. Moreover, the majority of silver mounts have been discovered in churches and castles, which have very mixed find contexts. Hence their dating has to be based on the items themselves, but small mounts are usually difficult if not impossible to date, because the simple forms remained in use for long periods and previous, detailed studies are lacking. Nonetheless, some examples of possibly medieval mounts pressed from sheets of base metal can be presented here. A small sexfoil, 1.2 cm in diameter, of pressed sheet metal was discovered in the excavations of Lemland Church in 1957 (Fig. 82).¹⁶⁶⁹ The circular disc with a pressed sexfoil ornament¹⁶⁷⁰ (Fig. 83) along with another mount shaped into a quatrefoil with a hole in the middle were recovered during the same fieldwork (Fig. 84).¹⁶⁷¹

Excavations in the ancient urban area of Ulvila have also revealed two mounts. The first is rectangular in shape and ornamented with a lozenge and five sexfoils (Fig. 85). The mount was attached through four holes in the corners.¹⁶⁷² The other mount is a circular disc with a pressed ornament depicting a sexfoil arranged from heart-shaped petals (Fig. 86). Two holes were punctured

Fig. 82. Small sexfoil, 1.2 cm in diameter, of pressed sheet metal from Lemland Church (ÅM 305:342).

Fig. 83. Circular disc with a pressed sexfoil ornament from Lemland Church (ÅM 305:423).

Fig. 84. Mount shaped into a quatrefoil with a hole in the middle from Lemland Church (ÅM 305:395).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Källström 1939, 130–133.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Arwidsson 6, 331; Källström 1939, 318–319.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Bygdén, Gejvall & Hjortsjö 1954.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Egan & Pritchard 2002, 162.

¹⁶⁶⁹ ÅM 305:342; cf. Egan & Pritchard 2002, 189.

¹⁶⁷⁰ ÅM 305:423.

¹⁶⁷¹ ÅM 305:395; cf. Egan & Pritchard 2002, 185 nos. 942–943.

¹⁶⁷² SatM 18142:237.



Fig. 85. Rectangular mount ornamented with a lozenge and five sexfoils from the ancient urban area of Ulvila. The mount was attached through four holes in the corners (SatM 18142:237).



Fig. 86. Circular mount with a pressed ornament depicting a sexfoil arranged from heart-shaped petals from the ancient urban area of Ulvila. Two holes were punctured on the opposite sides of the disc (SatM 18142:70).

on the opposite sides of the disc.¹⁶⁷³ These mounts of base metals would deserve a detailed analysis, but will not be discussed further in the present study.

In addition to the multifunctional mounts, fittings were also designed for specific uses. Late medieval and Early Modern clothing, for both men and women, was formed of pieces which were attached or, to be precise, sewn together with cords whenever worn. Cords could also be used simply as decorative pieces for tying up cuts and slits. The ends of cords could be furnished with mounts of precious metals. Catherine Jagellon had, according to the inventory, circular French ferrets with

white and brown enamel used as cord ornaments.¹⁶⁷⁴ Also metal rosettes and studs called *guldroser*, *gulddopper* and *stiffer* could be used to decorate dresses and close slits. Duke John had a Spanish cope with six 'gold drops' enamelled black and white as well as a red velvet belt with golden flower mounts.¹⁶⁷⁵ Also the inventory of Catherine Jagellon lists numerous items of clothing with gold drops, circular and triangular gold mounts, gold rosettes and gold studs. Studs seem to have been used for decorating collar ruffs and sleeve frills. Some of the gold drops were even fitted with precious stones. The pearl rosettes on her garments seem to have had four or six petals, while the

¹⁶⁷³ SatM 18142:70.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Palmén 1903, 347.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Lösegendom 23, 32.

gold drops had two or three. Many of the rosettes were even enamelled.¹⁶⁷⁶ Lastly, Philippa Fleming owned 34 gold studs of various sizes, two pearl studs, a number of spangles, 131 larger mounts and 47 small gilt mounts. Also her *bonnett* was adorned with pearls and gold.¹⁶⁷⁷

Ring brooches

The classification and dating of ring brooches

The earliest ring brooches

Brooches probably constitute the most difficult artefact group in the material. Problems arise from the continuous use of the same type, i.e. ring brooch, from its introduction in the Early Middle Ages to the Modern Period. Due to this long period of use, it is hard to identify medieval and Early Modern items among the mass of later brooches. Ring brooches as a type are very simple personal ornaments consisting of a more or less flat metal band forming a circular frame and a pin attached to one side of the frame. Often the frame has a constriction at the place where the pin was attached.¹⁶⁷⁸ The constriction, as Geoff Egan argues, distinguishes brooches from buckles in which the pin is free to move around the circumference of the frame.¹⁶⁷⁹ The other end of the pin rests freely on the opposite side of the frame. This definition of ring brooches means that, for instance, the artefact with a circular frame and a pin with a simple, undecorated pin loop, found at the Åbo Akademi plot in Turku and usually called a brooch, in fact lacks a constriction, and is thus better given the term buckle.¹⁶⁸⁰ In Finnish archaeology, the ring brooch can be considered the *leitmotif* of the transition from the Crusade Period to the historical period. However, there is scholarly disagreement on when the first ring brooches were actually introduced in Finland, the basic disagreement revolving around the question whether this happened in the 12th or the 13th century.

In West Finland, grave goods of the Crusade Period are characterized by penannular brooches, a brooch type having circular frames with an opening and two ornamental terminals. According to Sarvas, who bases his argument on dates provided by coin finds, the type was introduced around 1025.¹⁶⁸¹ Moving eastwards, the set of brooches changes. In the Häme region, in addition to penannular brooches, there are oval tortoise brooches, while in Savo and Karelia penannular brooches are missing and oval tortoise brooches and other brooch types dominate the brooch assemblage. Taavitsainen has interpreted these differences in the distribution of brooch types as an indication of regional differences in material culture between Southwestern Finland, Häme and Savo–Karelia.¹⁶⁸²

This prehistoric regional pattern is disturbed by the appearance of ring brooches associated with the transition to Christianity and the early medieval period in the 12th and 13th centuries. The origin of the brooch type is in Roman fibulae from which it developed into a common artefact form throughout Europe.¹⁶⁸³ The first examples of the type were taken into use in France and the British Isles at the end of the first millennium. In the following centuries, ring brooches gained wide distribution across the continent. In North Europe their heyday began around the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁶⁸⁴ In Finland, once ring brooches were introduced, the use of prehistoric brooch types ceased, while in other parts of the Baltic rim penannular brooches were not abandoned altogether.

¹⁶⁷⁶ *Löselegendom* 66, 69–70, 73–74, 78.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *BFH* 5:308.

¹⁶⁷⁸ For the terminology, see Deevy 1998, 6 fig. 1; Egan & Pritchard 2002, 51.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Egan & Pritchard 2002, 248.

¹⁶⁸⁰ The buckle is made of copper alloy and dated to the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century (PMSWF 21816:MT1723; Ahola et al. 2004, 167 no. 44; Kostet, Pihlman & Puhakka 2004, 61). Also the iron object discovered in the Mätäjärvi Quarter in Turku and dated to the end of the Middle Ages is a buckle (PMSWF 20459:629; Ahola et al. 2004, 167 no. 49). See Berthelot, Marin & Rey-Delqué 2002, 211 no. 187 for similar artefacts of bronze termed buckles.

¹⁶⁸¹ Sarvas 1971.

¹⁶⁸² Taavitsainen 1990, 109–112.

¹⁶⁸³ Blomqvist 1948, 122–123.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Blomqvist 1948, 132–139; Platt & Coleman 1975, 258 fig. 241:1756, 260 fig. 242:1776, 1780; Sedova 1981, 89–92; Zachrisson 1984, 75; Kirme 1986, 24–25; Lehtinen & Sihvo 2005, 136.

For instance, some of the penannular brooches among the Estonian finds date from the 16th and even the 17th century.¹⁶⁸⁵

Discussing ring brooches found in Lund, Ragnar Blomqvist concludes that penannular brooches disappeared during the 11th century or slightly later and were replaced by ring brooches. However, all his specimens of ring brooches from securely dated contexts are from the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁶⁸⁶ Moreover, no necessary chronological difference can be noted between brooches of circular cross-section and those of flat cross-section. He argues that the difference was of function instead of chronology.¹⁶⁸⁷ Carl Axel Nordman suggests that the popularity and wide geographical distribution of ring brooches is explained by the importance of Gotland in the Baltic trade,¹⁶⁸⁸ and in a similar tone, Pekka Sarvas, following Blomqvist, dates the appearance of ring brooches in Finnish burial grounds to the 13th and 14th centuries, and considers them to have been a symbol of Hanseatic trade and the power of the Hanseatic League.¹⁶⁸⁹

The Finnish burial grounds dated to the Crusade Period have revealed over 40 ring brooches of precious and base metals.¹⁶⁹⁰ However, only one of these early ring brooches can be provided with a date based on coins discovered in the same grave. This brooch was unearthed from grave no. 4 in the Kirkkailanmäki burial ground in Hollola. The coins in the grave were minted by King Valdemar (reigned in 1250–1275) in Götaland, which suggest a *terminus post quem* date 1275 also for the ring brooch.¹⁶⁹¹ In the Kirkkailanmäki cemetery, the graves are furnished either with only ring brooches or with oval tortoise brooches and penannular brooches. Both penannular and ring brooches were also found in the Saramäki cemetery in Maaria, now part of Turku, but these ring brooches cannot be dated with the aid of coins.¹⁶⁹² Moreover, Paula Purhonen suggests, echoing Sarvas, that the *terminus post quem* date for the earliest ring brooches could be based, not on the burial grounds with such brooches, but on the latest datable cemeteries without them.¹⁶⁹³ Ring brooches are lacking from the Crusade Period burial grounds of Ristinpelto in Lieto, Liikistö in Ulvila and Rukoushuone in Narva, Vesilahti. The Rukoushuone cemetery can be dated with a coin minted by Bishop Hermann II von Katzenellenbogen (in office in 1173–1203) probably during his early period.¹⁶⁹⁴ The dating of the earliest occurrence of ring brooches to the 13th century is also supported to some extent by finds from other sites than burial grounds. The excavations of Turku and Koroinen have provided a number of ring brooches from the 13th and 14th centuries, but no penannular brooches.

Notwithstanding the early ring brooches of West Finland, the majority of the earliest examples of the ornament type have been discovered in the burial grounds of Savo and Karelia. Nordman considers the eastern ring brooches as indicators *par excellence* of the transition to the Early Middle Ages. However, because only a very few coins are known from eastern cemeteries, their ring brooches lack verified dates. Nevertheless, Nordman dates them to the 13th and early 14th centuries, but they might also be younger. His chronology is mainly based on grave no. 9 of the Tuukkala burial ground. The ring brooch found in the grave was discovered together with a pair of oval tortoise brooches and a silver plate brooch. Moreover, graves nos. 2 and 3 of the Kekomäki burial ground in Kaukola revealed ring brooches in connection with large Karelian penannular brooches of silver. Grave no. 3 seems to be contemporary with the Tuukkala grave.¹⁶⁹⁵ The youngest datable burial ground without ring brooches is Patja in Sakkola, which has revealed a Swedish silver coin not older than the mid-13th century.¹⁶⁹⁶

Ring brooches appear to occur in West Finland in the early 13th century and perhaps a century later in East Finland. The situation is, however, complicated by a small group of brooches, which

¹⁶⁸⁵ Leimus 2001; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 62–63, 66–67, 68–69.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Blomqvist 1948, 132–138.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Blomqvist 1948, 132.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Nordman 1924, 176–178.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Sarvas 1971, 59.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Purhonen 1998, 134–135, 260–261 lists 42 ring brooches found in the Crusade Period graves.

¹⁶⁹¹ Sarvas 1971, 61; Hirviluoto 1985, 32.

¹⁶⁹² Kivikoski 1939, 14–17.

¹⁶⁹³ Sarvas 1971, 61; Purhonen 1998, 134.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Sarvas 1971, 54; Talvio 2002, 192 no. 259.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Nordman 1924, 9–10, 177–178, 196.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Kivikoski 1943, 87.

Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen interprets as evidence of ring brooches occurring already in the 12th century. He bases his claim on the radiocarbon dates of contexts from which such brooches have been found in Novgorod. Moreover, an example of the group was found in connection with a penannular brooch of Salmo's group 16 in grave no. 25 of the Myllymäki cemetery in Nousiainen (Cat. 19:1). Taavitsainen considers the grave to be from the 12th century, and the youngest coin in the burial ground is from grave no. 7 and dated to 1167–1196.¹⁶⁹⁷ Purhonen points out, though, that burials were made into the cemetery even later, since it includes one cremation burial of which the youngest coin has a *terminus post quem* date of c. 1210/1220. She concludes that Taavitsainen's earlier dating has no real basis.¹⁶⁹⁸

The brooch from the Myllymäki cemetery has later been misplaced from the museum collections, but a photograph of it survives.¹⁶⁹⁹ The documentation reveals that the find is a very small, cast ring of silver with transversely decorated arcs. There are three other similar finds among the Late Iron Age material and one from Lempäälä Church. One brooch from a Late Iron Age context was discovered in grave no. 44 of the C cemetery in Köyliö (Cat. 19:2). The brooch is small and rounded with transversely grooved arcs. It was found in connection with beads, a pendant brooch, a ring, jointed chain, pieces of bronze chain and small bronze spirals. Nils Cleve, who published the excavation results, dates the grave to the 12th century.¹⁷⁰⁰ The second brooch is from grave no. 1 of the Mahittula cemetery in Raisio (Cat. 19:3). Besides the brooch, the grave revealed pieces of beads, small fragments of bronze spirals, a half of a simple-formed, narrow bracelet as well as a pierced coin of Adelheid I (999–1044) minted in Quedlinburg.¹⁷⁰¹

The third brooch with grooved arcs is from the Luistari cemetery in Eura (Cat. 19:4). The brooch of grave no. 10 at Luistari was discovered along with two floral-knopped penannular brooches. The brooch is 1.9 x 1.9 cm in size, made of bronze and has the form of penannular brooch with few rounds of bronze band wound around the two tapering ends. The item is ornamented with transverse grooves. Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander suggests that it might originally have been an angular brooch in which the band covered the part where the ends join. The small brooch can be dated with reference to other Finnish parallels to the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century.¹⁷⁰² Moreover, one of the floral-knopped penannular brooches in the same grave belongs to Salmo's group 16, and thus Lehtosalo-Hilander dates the grave to the final phase of the Luistari cemetery, c. 1070–1130.¹⁷⁰³

Lehtosalo-Hilander and Taavitsainen point out parallels for the Luistari brooch among the small silver brooches found in Russia and Scandinavia. The excavations of the Lake Ladoga sites have revealed similar ring brooches which are dated to the 11th century,¹⁷⁰⁴ but the ring brooches with grooved arcs found in the cultural layers of Novgorod are more securely dated. The dating of their find contexts is based on dendrochronological analyses, which show that the objects are from layers that formed from the end of the 12th century to the mid-14th century.¹⁷⁰⁵ The Novgorodian parallels lead Luoto to place the introduction of ring brooches in Finland to around the middle of the 12th century.¹⁷⁰⁶ Moreover, the Estonian hoard found in Pandiküla contained a small penannular brooch with a metal band twisted around the ring. The hoard also included coins which King Henry II of England (reigned in 1154–1189) minted in 1170–1180.¹⁷⁰⁷ Ülle Tamla and Urve Kallavus argue that the two silver bowls in the hoard have their parallels in Scandinavia, and thus suggest that the hoard is an example of trade relations between Estonia and Sweden.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Talvio 2002, 172 no. 221.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Purhonen 1998, 134–135.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Taavitsainen 1990, 209.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Cleve 1978, 51–52, 103 pl. 14:210.

¹⁷⁰¹ Talvio 2002, 173 no. 224.

¹⁷⁰² Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982b, 106–107. She also points out that the ring brooch of Laitila belongs to a child's grave like the Köyliö brooch. Even the grave of the Mahittula cemetery in Raisio with a small ring brooch was possibly for a child.

¹⁷⁰³ Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982a, 53–55, 363; cf. Taavitsainen 1990, 209 note 4.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Malm 1967, 170, fig. 25:7.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Sedova 1981, 89–92.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Luoto 1984, 70.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Tõnisson 1962, 190, pl. XIX:5; Tamla & Kallavus 2003; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 36–37.

Similar brooch finds are also known from Sweden and Norway, but they are often from chronologically problematic find contexts.¹⁷⁰⁸ The two small ring brooches of the Tingby hoard in Dörby, Småland, however, can be dated with the hoard's coins. Most of them are bracteates minted by Knut Eriksson (reigned in 1157–1195/1196).¹⁷⁰⁹ Inger Zachrisson, moreover, writes of the Skar hoard in Nordland, Norway with a similar brooch. She dates the hoard from the Viking Age to the 13th century, and places the occurrence of the brooch type to around 1200, although there are indications of its use even in the late 13th century.¹⁷¹⁰

The fourth parallel for the ring brooch from Myllymäki was discovered in Lempäälä Church in the excavations of 1983 (Cat. 19:5). It is a small silver brooch. The frame is circular in cross-section and decorated with transverse grooves. The item was found in the soil inside the church walls, but the great problem with such finds is the lack of any precise context, as Hiekkänen argues. In fact, the finds of Lempäälä Church include several Late Iron Age penannular brooches and a rock crystal pendant from the latter part of the 11th century.¹⁷¹¹ From which depositional context do the brooch and the prehistoric finds actually originate? They may have been deposited in the soil prior to the building of the stone church and its wooden predecessor(s) and derive from a Late Iron Age burial ground. On the other hand, the soil with the objects might well have been transported to the church as fill taken from some other place in order to cover up old graves and maintain the floor level. The situation being this, it is certain that the find context does not help in providing an age for the brooch. Hiekkänen indeed refrains from dating the find, although he is prepared to regard it to be even relatively young.¹⁷¹²

In the light of the five Finnish finds and their parallels, the dating of ring brooches to the first part of the 13th century seems somewhat too young. In fact, Inga Serning separates a group of 11th- and 12th-century ring brooches from later ring brooches dated to the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁷¹³ The existence of such a group appears likely, and at the same time, they crucially differ from the later examples. Not only are the early brooches relatively small, but also the pin is attached to the frame without a constriction. The frame is circular in section and decorated with transverse grooves. It is even possible that the Luistari brooch, which appears to have an opening instead of being a complete ring, is some kind of transitional form or a very early ring brooch customized to suit older tastes.

Small ring brooches of circular cross-section with grooved ornamentation could be separated as a group dating from the 12th century, although it is arguable that the whole group should be termed brooch/buckle as it lacks constrictions. Also the object found in the Vanhalinna hillfort in Lieto is difficult to date (Cat. 19:6). The undecorated frame is circular in section, and the pin is triangular with two grooves around the pin loop. Jukka Luoto suggests that the brooch is from the 12th century. The suggestion is somewhat plausible, but it remains merely a *terminus post quem* date and far from validated.

Ring brooches with flat frames

Another distinct question is whether the younger type with flat frames and a constriction made its appearance already in the 12th century. The Finnish finds at least do not lend support for this early date. In fact, the only secure evidence of the type in the 12th century is from Novgorod. The cautious conclusion is, therefore, that the first examples of ring brooches with flat frames might already have been made in the late 12th century, but in Finland the type cannot be dated as older than the earlier part of the 13th century.

In addition to burial finds, medieval ring brooches are also known from urban settings as well as castles and hillforts. One of the early flat specimens was discovered in the Kuhmoinen hillfort from the south part of the crest at the site. This brooch made of silver has a flat frame (Cat. 19:19).

¹⁷⁰⁸ Serning 1956, 30 note 4 and 5.

¹⁷⁰⁹ SHM 4858:6–7; Hildebrand & Hildebrand 1878 PL:c.

¹⁷¹⁰ Zachrisson 1984, 30, 34.

¹⁷¹¹ Hiekkänen 1986, 95–99.

¹⁷¹² Hiekkänen 1986, 99–100.

¹⁷¹³ Serning 1956, 30; 1982, 85; cf. Sedova 1981, 87 no. 8, 89–92.

Also excavations at medieval churches have revealed a number of ring brooches besides the ring brooch of Lempäälä Church. The list of such churches comprises, among others, Sastamala, Laitila, Lempäälä, Renko and Tyrvää.¹⁷¹⁴ Ring brooches with flat frames have thus a wide distribution. This was the case throughout Western and Northern Europe, where ring brooches were highly popular until the 14th century. During the 15th century, the custom of wearing ring brooches gradually became rarer, although their use lingered until the 16th century and even to the following centuries in the form of so-called peasant or vernacular types.¹⁷¹⁵ This long period of use creates a problem for dating ring brooches. The difficulty is exemplified by an Estonian ring brooch. The Salevere hoard includes a small flat-framed brooch of silver with a constriction for the pin. The hoard was deposited, on the basis of its coins, some time after 1693.¹⁷¹⁶ Based on purely formal characteristics, the brooch might well be medieval. The dating of some ring brooches with flat frames may, however, be narrowed if the material is divided into groups according to the ornamentation of the frame.

The group B of ring brooches is formed by flat-framed brooches without any decoration. Some of them can be dated according to the find context, which is the case with a silver ring brooch found in grave no. 1938 of the Mikkeli burial ground in Tuukkala (Cat. 19:13). The brooch is 3.8 cm in diameter and without decoration, but it can be dated on the basis of its find context to the Crusade Period. However, if a flat-framed, undecorated ring brooch is found in a context without a precise date, also the brooch remains without a clear chronological position. The excavations of Tyrvää Church revealed one ring brooch of gilt silver (Cat. 19:25) and two of silver-copper alloy (Cat. 19:26–27). Because they lack any definite find context and decoration which could help to narrow the time of their production, they could be medieval, Early Modern or even modern. Olavi Tapio suggests, however, that they might have been made in the early medieval period. Also the excavations of Renko Church have revealed a ring brooch of silver deposited in a small pit with bones (Cat. 19:28). Although ring brooches as a group are characteristic of the Middle Ages, especially the 14th century, there always remains a possibility that such an unornamented brooch was made in the 16th and 17th centuries to be worn by a farmer. This difficulty is also emphasized by the fact that ring brooches are a common find group in rural parish churches, and thus the group of undecorated ring brooches in the present material is probably a markedly under-representative sample.¹⁷¹⁷

If a ring brooch has some engraved relief decorations, it is potentially more datable.¹⁷¹⁸ The group C of flat-framed, decorated ring brooches is formed by ones with half-cabled frames.¹⁷¹⁹ One of the brooches in this group can be provided with a coin dating. The item in question was found in grave no. 4 in the Kirkkailanmäki cemetery (Cat. 19:31). Half of the bronze brooch is cabled, the other half is flat and has engraved triangular motifs. The coin discovered in the grave suggests the *terminus post quem* of 1275. Another bronze brooch with half of the frame cabled and the other half plain was found in grave no. 18 of the same cemetery (Cat. 19:32). The brooch, which was the only find in the grave, was placed on the chest of the deceased. The Kekomäki cemetery in Kaukola has revealed a similar brooch of silver from grave no. 3 (Cat. 19:33). The brooch was part of a double burial which included equipment attributed both to men and women. The excavations of Lempäälä Church have also revealed a brooch of silver of which half of the frame is cabled, while rest of the frame is plain (Cat. 19:36). On the basis of contextual information, Mary B. Deevey dates brooches with simple cable decoration found in the British Isles from the 12th to 14th centuries.¹⁷²⁰ In similar fashion, the few Finnish examples found in datable contexts seem to be from 13th-century and perhaps early-14th-century contexts.

1714 Hiekkanen 1986, 99.

1715 Deevey 1998, 10–11.

1716 Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 76–77.

1717 For flat-framed ring brooches without ornamentation found in parish churches, see e.g. Laitila Church (NM Hist. 67100:1–2, 4–6, 8, 13), Nousiainen Church (NM Hist. 67101:1–4, 6–12, 14–15, 18–20) and Raisio Church (NM Hist. 68051:1–3, 5–7, 10–14, 17–20).

1718 Deevey 1998, 14–15.

1719 Ring brooches with cabled frames are as difficult to date as any other ring brooch type, since their use continued into the Modern Period. See e.g. Hazelius-Berg 1952, 105 no. 129.

1720 Deevey 1998, 15–16.



Fig. 87. Gilt silver brooch found in Finström Church. The flat frame is ornamented with an elaborately engraved acanthus frieze (Cat. 19:37).

Group D comprises only one item, the unique silver brooch found in Finström Church (Fig. 87) (Cat. 19:37). The frame of the object is ornamented with an elaborately engraved acanthus frieze resembling the frieze on the Lammaistenkoski spoon (Cat. 15:1). An unprovenanced ring brooch in the collections of the Statens Historiska Museum has a floral frieze with quatrefoils, but the closest parallel for the brooch is in the Fuchsenhof hoard discovered near Freistadt, Upper Austria, in 1997. The hoard was deposited, on the basis of coins, in the late 13th century.¹⁷²¹ Another acanthus-ornamented silver brooch belongs to the Pritzwalk hoard found in Brandenburg, Germany, in the late 19th century. Stefan Krabath dates the brooch type broadly from the latter part of the 13th century to the latter part of the 14th, and considers it to be a North European artefact form.¹⁷²²

Drejler considers the Finström brooch to have been made in the 13th century, which appears to be a valid dating in the light of parallels and the Lammaistenkoski spoon, but it can be narrowed further to the latter part of the century.

Group E of flat-framed ring brooches has the entire frame or half of the frame ornamented with engraved or high-relief chevrons. Its representatives are known from rural as well as urban contexts. The silver brooch found in grave no. 2 of the Suotniemi cemetery in Käkisalmi has half of the flat frame decorated with triangles made with a dotted double line (Cat. 19:38). Also other burial grounds in East Finland contained similar finds. Grave no. 13 of the Tuukkala cemetery in Mikkeli has revealed a ring brooch of silver. Half of its flat frame has diagonal incised lines imitating chevrons (Cat. 19:39). Furthermore, a bronze brooch with faint remains of triangular decoration on half of the frame was found as a stray find in the area of the Kappelinmäki cemetery in Lappeenranta (Cat. 19:40).

Nor are brooches adorned with chevrons unknown from the cemeteries of West Finland. The cemetery of Kirkkailanmäki in Untila, Hollola, has revealed four such objects, but none of them have any narrowly dated find contexts. Two of them are stray finds (Cat. 19:43–44), although one of them was found in the soil above graves nos. 2–3 (Cat. 19:44). The other two were found in graves with no other objects in them (Cat. 19:41–42).

Urban excavations in Turku, as also for instance in Lübeck,¹⁷²³ have revealed brooches with chevrons. In Turku, one made of bronze was found in the soil dug from the Rettig plot at 17 Hämeenkatu Street. Appelgren gives it a *terminus post quem* dating to around 1300 (Cat. 19:45). Another brooch of bronze with triangular ornaments covering the whole frame was found in the

¹⁷²¹ Prokisch & Kührtreiber 2004, 448–449 no. 38.

¹⁷²² Krabath 2006a, 74 no. 34.

¹⁷²³ Cherry 1980, 176.

same soil context (Cat. 19:46). Sewer excavations in the 1950s revealed another brooch of this kind at the end of Nunnankatu Street at a depth of 2.5 m (Cat. 19:47). Valonen's dating, based on Blomqvist, places the brooch in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the latter century seems more appropriate.

As the burial finds of West Finland can be dated to the 13th century, and those of East Finland to the 13th and 14th centuries, all the Finnish brooches with chevrons are from contexts dated to the two centuries. This may seem to indicate that their use in Finland ended by the 15th century or at least during that century. In Estonia there are, however, more or less similar items which have been dated to much later periods. For instance, a brooch of copper alloy found in the Salevere hoard has the *terminus post quem* date of deposition in 1693. The triangular engravings encircling the frame display some resemblance with the Finnish medieval finds, but the pin is attached to a hole in the frame instead of a constriction.¹⁷²⁴ Also other ethnographic parallels with chevron ornamentation display some minor but important differences compared with the medieval brooches.

Group F of flat-framed, decorated ring brooches consists of those with other geometric ornamentation. The frame of the bronze brooch found in grave no. 3 of the Kirkkailanmäki cemetery has two grooves following its outer and inner edges (Cat. 19:54). The pin was attached to a hole perforated through the frame. The grave did not reveal any other artefacts. Olavi Tapio points out a similar ring among the finds of Tyrvää Church (Cat. 19:61). The brooch is made of pewter-lead alloy, and its slightly convex frame has a dense and narrow band of horizontal lines on the outer rim and a row of circular pegs on the inner rim. Tapio does not give any precise date for the brooch, but suggests that it might be early medieval. Also the silver brooch found in the Kappelinmäki cemetery in Lappeenranta is adorned with geometrical motifs (Cat. 19:57), but otherwise its ornamentation does not display similarities with the Kirkkailanmäki and Tyrvää brooches. The frame of the brooch is divided into seven segments with sets of three parallel lines. Each segment has a circle and inside it a cross with circular cross-ends.

Flat-framed ring brooches with inscriptions constitute group G. Eliel Aspelin made a sketch of a (16th- or 17th-century?) ring brooch in Nauvo Church in 1871, but the object has subsequently been lost. According to the drawing, the name *.INGRI[D].LARS.DOTER* was engraved on its surface along with a floral frieze.¹⁷²⁵ Another fascinating example of such objects was discovered as a stray find in the area of the Tuukkala cemetery in Mikkeli (Cat. 19:63). The frame of the silver brooch has an inscription set in Gothic majuscules: ☩ *ABCDEFGHIJ-KLMNOA(?)*. The last half of the inscription is difficult to read, but the first part is the beginning of the alphabet, a not uncommon magical formula and related to the power of letters, literacy and the written word. This brooch remains unique, since all the other items in the group have the same Angelic salutation as the silver brooch found in grave no. 1 of the Kekomäki cemetery in Kaukola, which has a nielloed inscription set in Gothic majuscules: *AVE MARIA G[RA]T[IA]* (Cat. 19:64). Another bronze brooch found in a rural setting and inscribed with the Hail Mary evocation was discovered in the garden of the parsonage of Perniö in 1865, but has subsequently been misplaced.

Also the medieval finds of Turku include Ave Maria brooches. One of them was found in the heart of the town by the Aurajoki River.¹⁷²⁶ The brooch of bronze bears the inscription *AVE MARIA*, but unfortunately it has also been misplaced and lacks proper documentation. Another surviving example with the same inscription was discovered by the west bank of the Aurajoki River during the construction work on the Tuomiokirkkosilta Bridge in 1897 (Cat. 19:65). A third ring brooch of pewter-lead alloy and with the inscription ☩ *AVE MARIA G[RATIA]* ☩ *SVM* set in Gothic majuscules was found in the excavations at the Åbo Akademi plot. Its find context has been dated to the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century (Cat. 19:66). The last three letters of the inscription are difficult to interpret. They could be a reference to the Latin word *sum*. Another more likely possibility is that the text is an abbreviation of *sancta virgo maria*, 'the Holy Virgin Mary', an expression occurring during the Middle Ages.

¹⁷²⁴ Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 76–77.

¹⁷²⁵ I wish to thank Markus Hiekkänen for bringing Eliel Aspelin's sketch to my attention. Cf. Nikula 1973, 166.

¹⁷²⁶ NM Hist. 600; PMSWF 6801.



Fig. 88. Brooch with a pair of clasped hands found in the excavations at Kyrksundet in Kemiönsaari (Cat. 19:68).

item to the 14th century.¹⁷²⁸ Another ring brooch with two pairs of clasped hands was unearthed in grave no. 1 of the Suotniemi cemetery in Käkisalmi (Cat. 19:67). Apart from the hands, the brooch of silver was left plain. Lastly, one brooch with a pair of clasped hands was unearthed in the excavations at Kyrksundet in Kemiönsaari (Fig. 88) (Cat. 19:68). It is made of gilt silver, and Torsten Edgren dates it to the 13th century, but considering its parallels in the Swedish material, including one brooch of the Amunde hoard deposited in 1361, the brooch of Kyrksundet was made in the earlier part of the 14th century.

All the Finnish examples of brooches with clasped hands can be dated to the 14th century. In her survey of Irish brooches, also Deevey distinguishes a group of brooches with clasped hands. Although in her material the hands project from the frame as in prayer and are not placed along the frame, Deevey nevertheless dates the group according to contextual information and English and French wills to the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁷²⁹

Brooches with bosses or boss-like ornaments constitute the group I, although it consists of only one item. This ring brooch found during the fieldwork at Kyrksundet (Cat. 19:72) was made of bronze, and the frame was fitted with six collets mounted with blue and turquoise pieces of glass. The item has few parallels in the Nordic material, but similar personal ornaments seem to have been rather common in more southern regions of Europe. On the basis of these items, the brooch

Brooches with Hail Mary evocations are common in the medieval find assemblages of North Europe. Such items are known, for instance, from other Nordic countries and Germany.¹⁷²⁷ Based on their contexts of discovery and the style of Gothic lettering, the group can be dated in Finland to the 14th century.

Clasped hands are a feature which is shared by group H of ring brooches. There are, however, brooches which combine inscriptions and clasped hands in their ornamentation. An example of such a brooch was found in a 14th-century context near Turku Cathedral in 2005. Made of brass, it has clasped hands but also the inscription *AVE MARI[A]* on its frame (Cat. 19:70). Another brooch with both clasped hands and an inscription was found at a depth of 2.2 m in plot no. 396 near the Auransilta River Bridge in Turku (Cat. 19:71). This brooch of pewter has two pairs of clasped hands and the inscription *IAI IVI IANR* set in Gothic majuscules. With reference to Hildebrand and Blomqvist, Niilo Valonen dates the object to the 14th century. The inscription seems to be an illegible set of arbitrary letters, although the interpretation poses difficulties, because a similar brooch with a similar inscription is known from Novgorod, and Marîa Sedova dates also this

¹⁷²⁷ A ring brooch of bronze with the inscription + *AVE MARI[A]* · in the collections of the St. Annen Museum; Cherry 1980, 176; see also Heindel 1986.

¹⁷²⁸ Sedova 1981, 91 fig. 33 no. 1.

¹⁷²⁹ Deevey 1998, 23–24.

of Kyrksundet dates to the 14th century.¹⁷³⁰

The last group of brooches, J, consists of those which are of other than circular shape. The excavations of Finström Church have revealed fragments of a lozenge-shaped filigree brooch which has its closest parallels in the 14th-century hoards of Amunde and Badeboda in southern Sweden and hoards of the German-speaking region (Cat. 19:74). On the basis of these southern parallels, the brooch from Finström was made in the earlier part of the 14th century. In Turku, the sewer excavations of 1953 unearthed a brooch of bronze of hexagonal shape with a small ball on each of the six points. It was found in Runeberg Park at a depth of 3.6 m (Cat. 19:75). Valonen dates the find, again following Hildebrand and Blomqvist, to the 14th century, but in the light of more recent studies, the dating can perhaps be narrowed to the latter part of the century. Another exceptional brooch find was discovered from the Åbo Akademi plot (Cat. 19:76). It is a quatrefoil-shaped brooch made of pewter-lead alloy and ornamented with stamped cloverleaves. The brooch was found in a context dated to the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, but its date of production was likely in the former century.

The wooden altar screen of Naantali Nunnery Church has a small pewter brooch which is attached with a rectangular-headed nail to the heraldic right side of Christ's cape (Cat. 19:78), as Hiekkanen points out. The hole on the left side of Christ's chest shows that the brooch had a now-missing pair. In addition to the figure of Christ, the figures of God and the Virgin Mary in the same altar screen have similarly placed pairs of holes on their chests.¹⁷³¹ The only surviving brooch has a flat frame forming a hexagon with an openwork six-pointed star inside. On the basis of the dating of the wooden altar screen it can be concluded that also the brooch was made in the late 15th century.

Also brooches with octagonal frames are known from Finland. The find assemblage of the Vanhalinna hillfort includes such a brooch made of copper alloy (Cat. 19:77). Its frame has a series of engraved semicircular arches adorned with floral ornaments. The parallels which Luoto presents for the octagonal brooch and its ornamentation suggest a dating to 1150–1400 for the brooch, but the dating can be narrowed to the 13th and 14th centuries.

The use of ring brooches continued even during the 16th century, although brooches dated to that century are rare in Finland. The abundance of ring brooches from over the centuries in the Finnish ethnographic collections, however, shows that the tradition survived well into the Modern Period. Moreover, Sarkkinen, on the basis of pattern combinations occurring in stone moulds, dates some of the patterns for casting ring brooches to the 17th century or even younger periods.¹⁷³² In Southeast Finland and Häme, the use of ring brooches did not end as an accessory of women's dress until the latter part of the 18th century and of men's dress until the 19th century. In Karelia, traditional folk costume remained in use even longer, and the ring brooches remained part of women's dress up to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁷³³

The development of the design of ring brooches did not cease with the end of the Middle Ages. As a general rule, the frames of Early Modern brooches became wider. A case in point is the special type of ring brooch present in the Karelian ethnographic material dating from the 18th and 19th centuries. This type consists of large, rounded chest brooches, which have a very small inner opening. The pin is attached to a hole made in the frame near the opening. The convex frame is usually filled with engraved decorations. Uuno Taavi Sirelius argues that these Karelian rounded chest brooches are descendants of large circular plate brooches occurring in the Crusade Period. The small opening and a pin were just added to these older discs. The model for these brooches, Sirelius continues, was adopted from Estonia, where the wide-framed brooches were already introduced in the Late Iron Age.¹⁷³⁴ Sirelius' argumentation is outdated, and for instance, Kivikoski

¹⁷³⁰ Sirelius ([1915] 1990, 254 fig. 322) claims that a small brooch, c. 23 mm in diameter, found in Vähäkyrö, Ostrobothnia, is medieval (NM Hist. 2877:25). While resembling some medieval ring brooches (cf. Alexander & Binksi 1987, 485–486 no. 651), it is actually from the 18th century (Kirme 1986, 144 fig. 268; Fagerström 1989, 78).

¹⁷³¹ Hiekkanen 2008c.

¹⁷³² Sarkkinen 1998, 52.

¹⁷³³ Sirelius 1915a, 176, 253; Kaukonen 1985, 111; Lehtinen & Sihvo 2005, 154–155 fig. 216.

¹⁷³⁴ Nordman 1924, 56–69.

disagrees with his conclusions. There is no link between wide-framed brooches and Karelian circular plate brooches, which according to Nordman were adopted from Gotland.¹⁷³⁵ Instead, Kivikoski concludes, the model was provided by the medieval ring brooches.

The oldest datable wide-framed brooches of the Podbolotje cemetery in Russia were deposited in 900–1100. In Latvia, the oldest wide-framed brooches date from the 13th to the 15th century, while in Estonia they appear in the 16th century. A ring brooch of this kind was discovered in the Kablima hoard with the *terminus post quem* date of 1565. The item in question was made of silver and has a wide frame. The pin is attached to a hole in the frame.¹⁷³⁶ Another wide-framed ring brooch with the inscription *KVNTER MATZ* is known from the Otiku hoard. The coins in the hoard suggest a *terminus post quem* of 1568.¹⁷³⁷ The Finnish parallels developed in a similar manner from medieval ring brooches, or they were a local innovation. These Early Modern and Modern pieces were part of women's costume, placed on the chest to close the slit of the dress. Despite the development outlined here, the division between the smaller brooches and the larger, wide-framed ones is not as clear-cut as presented, and a number of brooches display features of both groups.¹⁷³⁸

Brooches in written sources

Brooches are not uncommon objects in medieval and Early Modern written documents, but the frequency and dating of references to brooches do not match the number and chronological distribution of the actual items in the material. Two Swedish terms are used for brooches in the sources, and according to Pylkkänen they also designate different kinds of objects. The word *sölja* refers to a ring brooch, while the term *spänne* means a bipartite cope brooch. It is difficult to discern, however, whether the terms were used in such a strict manner or whether they partly overlapped. She adds that small brooches used in blouses were often too small to be recorded in the inventories of the nobility,¹⁷³⁹ and indeed the majority of dress fasteners mentioned in the sources are cope brooches.

Lucia Olofsdotter left her golden cope brooch to St. Henry's altar of Turku Cathedral in her first and second wills made in 1449 and 1452, but in her third will written in 1455 the cope brooch is bequeathed to the Birgittine Nunnery of Vadstena.¹⁷⁴⁰ In 1484, squire Kort Hartviksson left an undefined number of cope brooches along with a deer horn for giving Masses for his soul. The will also informs that Jomala Church has his pawn of four silver spoons and two cope brooches, one of gold and the other one of silver.¹⁷⁴¹ The records of Tyrvää Church reveal that Ericus Sakalaynen pawned money for a silver brooch in 1488.¹⁷⁴²

In the records of the Stockholm town council related to Finland, a cope with silver brooches is mentioned in 1491¹⁷⁴³ and in 1494, a silver cope brooch was stolen from Hinrich Ericsson along with silver needles and items called *maljor*.¹⁷⁴⁴ The last term refers to a fastening device made of metal and shaped like a ring or hoop. A pair of *maljor* was attached on both sides of a slit, and a cord passed through them was used to fasten the garment. The other occasion in which *maljor* are mentioned was in 1563, when during the conflict between King Eric and Duke John, six pairs of gilt *maljor* was stolen from Walborgh Innamaa. She also lost two ring brooches and three pairs of gilt cope brooches. Moreover, a ring brooch of silver and a pair of cope brooches were stolen from matron Beritta, and a pair of gilt cope brooches from Staffan muremester.¹⁷⁴⁵ In 1582, Ursilies, the widow of Måns, inherited six pairs of gilt *malier*.¹⁷⁴⁶

1735 Kivikoski 1941, 3.

1736 Leimus 2001; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 62–63.

1737 Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 68–69.

1738 Kivikoski 1941, 2–3.

1739 Pylkkänen 1956, 313.

1740 FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

1741 *de spennen och stenbockehornet, som en lödig mark sölfwer är uppå, thet skall förötrats i reda penningar och gifwas äth ährs mässor mine siäl [...] et gullspenne och et sölfwerspenne; FMU 4010.*

1742 BFH 1, 389.

1743 *en mwsterfilij twedoblat kapa met silff spennen; FMU 4358.*

1744 *et sölfspan aff Hinrich Ericsson, var höffvitzmans her Sten Stures smasven, met nagre malior och sölffnalar; FMU 4565.*

1745 BFH 4-206.

1746 STb N2:6, 488.

In 1510, the priest Jakob of Porvoo left a silver spoon and a belt buckle for his housekeeper.¹⁷⁴⁷ Six years later, Birgitta and Anna Hansdotter Tott, the widows of Knut Bitz and Henrik Bitz respectively, were fighting over a cope brooch among other items.¹⁷⁴⁸ The inventory of items which Jens Mattsson brought from Hämeenlinna Castle to Stockholm in 1521 lists several cope brooches, some of them made of gold and fitted with precious stones and pearls.¹⁷⁴⁹ In 1530, Elin of Högsar in Nauvo was accused of taking some of the possessions, which included ring brooches, belonging to the prosecutor's late grandmother.¹⁷⁵⁰ Two years later Knut Eriksson Kurck gave a cope brooch of silver to his nephew Erik Arvidsson Stålar.¹⁷⁵¹

The records of confiscations of church silver in Finland mention cope brooches only once, in 1558 when the church of Eurajoki delivered 30 small cope brooches along with a crown.¹⁷⁵² The large number of these items combined with the fact that it is the only occasion when brooches are mentioned in the Finnish confiscation documents leaves the function of the brooches rather mysterious. Were they part of somebody's donation? The list of Catherine Jagellon's dowry includes some copes with pairs of silver brooches,¹⁷⁵³ while Hans Larsson donated a cope brooch of silver and other personal ornaments to his daughter in 1567.¹⁷⁵⁴ In 1568, Jakob Henriksson's mentions a pair of gilt cope brooches in his will.¹⁷⁵⁵ Lastly, Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming had, according to the inventory made after her death, a cope brooch of gold mounted with an axinite(?) gem, a chrysolite, two pearls, two small rubies and five black diamonds.¹⁷⁵⁶

The overwhelming majority of brooches in written sources were cope fasteners, while ring brooches are mentioned only a few times in connection with thefts or other judicial matters. This seems to support Pylkkänen's idea that ring brooches were not valuable enough to have left written traces. Moreover, brooches of any kind appear in the written records relatively late, and mainly in documents drawn up in the 16th century. This could suggest that apart from being of little value, ring brooches were also objects more often used by burghers and farmers than members of the nobility, and indeed ring brooches are never mentioned in connection with the nobility. However, cope brooches are frequently listed in pairs also in the records related to the highest social ranks, and the most luxurious of the pieces were made of gold and fitted with precious stones.

The use and users of ring brooches

Although the gender attribution of bodies buried with grave goods on the basis of the accompanying object assemblage can be considered problematic,¹⁷⁵⁷ the traditional attributions nevertheless show that ring brooches were most likely worn both by men and women as ornaments to affix the cloak or shawl or to fasten the neck opening of a shirt or dress. Since there is no clasp for the pin in ring brooches, they had to be fastened in a particular manner. According to Ronald W. Lightbown, in the case of a neck opening, the pin had to be thrust through the lower edges of the vertical split, and then the edge was pulled slightly through the frame in order to get the pin manoeuvred.¹⁷⁵⁸ In a similar vein, Geoff Egan points out that when the two edges were pulled through the opening of the brooch and fastened with the pin, the pin was held in place against the opposite side of the frame by the drape of the fabric.¹⁷⁵⁹ Richard Hattat, in turn, shows that the opposing edges of the vent at the neck might be furnished with a sewn-on cord. A gap was left in the stitching to leave a small section free, which could be lifted to insert the pin.¹⁷⁶⁰ Lastly, John Bryan Ward-Perkins

¹⁷⁴⁷ *j fibulam balteariam*; FMU 5495.

¹⁷⁴⁸ FMU 5901.

¹⁷⁴⁹ FMU 6055.

¹⁷⁵⁰ FMU 6559.

¹⁷⁵¹ BFH 3:595.

¹⁷⁵² Källström 1939, 314.

¹⁷⁵³ Palmén 1903, 349.

¹⁷⁵⁴ BFH 4:337.

¹⁷⁵⁵ BFH 4:368.

¹⁷⁵⁶ *En gulspan medh jaxsintt, crisolitus, tua perler, tua små rubiner och 5 mörcke demanter*; BFH 5:308.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Cf. e.g. Kuokkanen 2008.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Lightbown 1992, 138.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Egan & Pritchard 2002, 247.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Hattat 1985, 223.

argues that the pin might have been passed through two prepared slits at the edges of the vent at the neck of the garment.¹⁷⁶¹

At the time when ring brooches were introduced to the Nordic countries in the 12th and 13th centuries, they were mainly used in gowns, which had a slit at the neck. The slit enabled the garment to be pulled on over the head, and the ring brooch closed this slit. In this task a ring brooch is depicted in the earliest surviving wooden sculpture in Finland, the 13th-century Madonna of Korppoo Church carved in the Romanesque style.¹⁷⁶² She seems to wear an odd, semicircular pendant decorated with a row of dots on her chest, as Karl K. Meinander described the object. However, Nordman, referring to the circular brooch around the neck of the Madonna of Helmern in Westphalia, argues that the so-called pendant is in fact a ring brooch, but only a half of the brooch is visible under the folded collar. Also af Ugglas interprets semicircular objects on the chests of Romanesque Madonnas as ring brooches.¹⁷⁶³

A change gradually occurred in the fashion of dress during the 14th and 15th centuries. Clothes became tighter and they began to be fastened with buttons and laces. Ring brooches lost some of their previous function, although they were still worn with looser dresses, but now they were used more to fasten a cloak across the chest.¹⁷⁶⁴ Moreover, besides garments, ring brooches could fasten a purse or items such as sheaths, keys, rosaries and aprons to the dress. They could even function as plain decorative jewellery attached, for example, to rosaries.¹⁷⁶⁵

This change in fashion and the use of ring brooches is also apparent in ecclesiastical art. The wooden sculpture of the Virgin Mary in Isokyrö Church dated to the second quarter of the 15th century has a flower-like pendant fastening the cloak.¹⁷⁶⁶ Similarly, the statue of St. John in Hattula Church has a four-petalled flower brooch securing the cloak. The sculpture is dated to the latter part of the 15th century.¹⁷⁶⁷ Further quatrefoil-shaped brooches are depicted in the Ascension of the Virgin scene painted on the wall of the church of the Franciscan Convent in Rauma in 1510–1522. The Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles gathered around her grave have brooches fastening their cloaks.¹⁷⁶⁸ Another plain ring brooch is depicted on the mid-15th-century wooden sculpture of St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and the Child in Vehmaa Church.¹⁷⁶⁹ St. Anne has a ring brooch on her chest to secure her cloak. A ring brooch is also depicted on the sculpture of St. Barbara in the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland. This brooch, however, is of disc-like appearance instead of having a circular frame. The form could be caused by the highly stylized nature of the representation or the piece is actually disc-shaped. Such a disc brooch is depicted on the Virgin Mary in the altar screen of Akaa Church, where she wears a golden brooch. The screen was made in Lübeck at the end of the 15th century.¹⁷⁷⁰ Another altar screen, from Urjala Church, depicts the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel both fastening their cloaks with similar disc brooches. The same altar screen, which was most likely made in Sweden around 1500, also contains a depiction of Beatus Hemmingus with a large disc brooch placed on his chest. The brooch is used to fasten the pluvial, the most important liturgical garment worn by a bishop.¹⁷⁷¹

It is commonly held in European studies on personal ornament that ring brooches were used at all levels of medieval society.¹⁷⁷² Notwithstanding the general consensus, Ildikó Lehtinen suggest that in Finland the use of ring brooches might not have been a custom of the highest social ranks. She bases her argument on the lack of ring brooches with semi-precious or precious stones in the Finnish material. Most of the medieval ring brooches in Finland are made of base metals, although items of silver also occur. This is in contrast with the Baltic countries, where luxurious brooches

¹⁷⁶¹ Ward-Perkins 1940, 274.

¹⁷⁶² Nordman 1965, 24–26.

¹⁷⁶³ af Ugglas 1915, 137.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Deevey 1998, 58.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Lightbown 1992, 138–139; Deevey 1998, 60–62.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Nordman 1965, 249.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Nordman 1965, 446–447; Edgren 1997, 33.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Ahlström-Taavitsainen 1984, 69–70; Riska 1990b, 57–58.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Nordman 1965, 511–513; Lehtinen & Sihvo 2005, 252.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Linder, Meriluoto-Jaakkola & Taitto 2000, 234–235.

¹⁷⁷¹ Hiekkanen 2003a, 138.

¹⁷⁷² E.g. Deevey 1998, 64–67.

are attested, possibly because of the influence of the Teutonic Knights.¹⁷⁷³ Lehtinen is, at least partly, correct in her conclusions, as indeed no sumptuous medieval ring brooches are known in Finland, and in written sources ring brooches appear in the contexts of burghers and farmers. Although there are some pieces made of silver and even gilt silver among the finds from rural churches and cemeteries, their ornamentation reveals that even those brooches were far from luxurious items. Moreover, the finds of medieval silver brooches are restricted mostly to hillforts, early medieval graveyards and churches. The common European types of ring brooches have also been found in urban areas, but they are all made of base metals. The only exception is the pin of a silver brooch found in Koroinen which, however, cannot be categorized as an urban site (Cat. 19:25).

Even if ring brooches were not part of garments worn by the local elite, their use was widespread among the farmers and burghers. The custom of wearing such personal ornaments continued especially in the rural areas long after the Middle Ages. The widening of the frame began perhaps in the 16th century and had certainly occurred by the 18th century. This formal development might be connected with the narrowing social base for using ring brooches. They became part of the material culture of farmers. Sirelius and Toini-Inkeri Kaukonen argue that the older, narrow-framed brooches remained the fasteners of shirts used by men, while the gradual widening of frames occurred in fasteners used by women.¹⁷⁷⁴ The argument is valid if 18th- and 19th-century Karelian chest brooches are implied, but unsubstantiated if older ring brooches are considered.¹⁷⁷⁵

Buttons, fastening hooks and dress needles

Both buttons and various hooks can be used as ornaments as well as functional implements to keep two pieces of cloth together, and often their popularity has no connection with their functional use at all. In Finland the oldest buttons survive from the Bronze Age,¹⁷⁷⁶ and they remained in use throughout the Iron Age.¹⁷⁷⁷ The buttons of the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages were of the eastern type which has the shape of a more or less flattened sphere attached to a hoop. The type spread to the western Baltic Sea region during the Viking Age, and examples of it are known, for instance, from burial grounds in the Åland Islands as well as Köyliö and Masku.¹⁷⁷⁸ Some Crusade Period male graves in Masku and Teuva have revealed tintinnabula in a position indicating that they were used as buttons.¹⁷⁷⁹

The number of button finds decreases at the turn of the Crusade Period and the Early Middle Ages, partly because of diminishing grave goods in general, but also partly due to the international trend of using less buttons in clothing. The fashion culminated in the 14th century and the use of buttons increased. Tighter garments became fashionable during the century, and they needed a more functional fastening method than buttons. This led to the increasing popularity of using hooks in garments. Dress hooks were not intended to be seen in a similar way as ornamental buttons, and thus, although they are rather common in archaeological finds,¹⁷⁸⁰ they rarely were made of precious metals. Especially hooks made of bronze wire are an abundant group of finds at historical sites. Buttons remained in use but mostly for decorative reasons.¹⁷⁸¹

One of the earliest elaborated buttons of precious metal was found in the excavations of the medieval Pyhäjoki Manor in Perniö in 1995 (Cat. 20:1). The button is made of silver and is 1.3 cm wide and 1.7 cm high. Despite its small size, the button shaped like a small round bell comprises as many as six different parts soldered together. The top part forms an openwork punched octofoil, while the semicircular bottom piece has a small hoop for attaching. A unique technical feature is

¹⁷⁷³ Lehtinen & Sihvo 2005, 252, 256.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Sirelius 1915, 253; Kaukonen 1985, 111–112.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Sarkkinen 1998, 56.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Kivikoski 1943, 25–27; Huurre (1979) 2000, 101–102.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Kivikoski 1973, 39, 57, fig. 349–357, 123, 146.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Pälvi 1928, 77; Kivikoski 1973, 123, 146, fig. 938, 1210.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Kivikoski 1961, 241.

¹⁷⁸⁰ E.g. Majantie & Uotila 2000, 64–65; Hiekkänen 2003a, 100, 103; Majantie 2007, 46; Hiekkänen 2008c.

¹⁷⁸¹ Hinton 2005, 223, 228–229.

Fig. 89. Pair of silver buttons discovered in Raasepori Castle (Cat. 20:3–4). The two buttons are semicircular in profile. They seem to consist of three pieces soldered together. The hoop is attached to a circular, unornamented disc which is soldered with a convex cover piece. The cover has a ten-petalled openwork rosette. The buttons seem to be of younger age than the Perniö button, but perhaps still from the 14th century.



the application of some organic glue for fastening the thick gold leaf around the button. Stylistically the button is Late Gothic. It has no exact parallels, but closest examples resembling it date from the 14th century, which probably is also the century when the button of Perniö was produced. As Teemu Mökkönen concludes, the button could have been used as part of a row of buttons on the front of a person's dress, but also decorative pieces on sleeves. Such highly ornamental buttons could also be worn in a chain as a necklace.¹⁷⁸²

Another filigree button in the material was discovered as a stray find in Lentiira, Kuhmoniemi in North East Finland (Cat. 20:2). Moreover, a similar but much simpler pair of silver buttons has been discovered in Raasepori Castle (Fig. 89) (Cat. 20:3–4). The two buttons are semicircular in profile. They seem to consist of three pieces soldered together. The hoop is attached to a circular, unornamented disc which is soldered with a convex cover piece. The cover has a ten-petalled openwork rosette. The buttons seem to be of younger age than the Perniö button, but perhaps still from the 14th century.

The buttons of Perniö, Kuhmoniemi and Raasepori are rather ornate in comparison with the four gilt silver buttons found in the excavations of the Valmarinniemi, Keminmaa cemetery and foundations of a church in 1981. The finds are of the same type which is produced from two hemispherical pieces soldered together. The upper part has a hoop for suspension, while the lower one has a small knob in the centre. Although they are of the same form, the size of the buttons varies. The two buttons unearthed in grave no. 39 belonging to a 12-year-old child are rather small, c. 1.1 cm in length and 0.8 cm in diameter (Cat. 20:5–6). The third and the fourth button are slightly larger (Cat. 20:7–8). All these finds have parallels in the Swedish material, most importantly in the Amunde hoard, which was deposited in 1361. The parallels show that the buttons from Valmarinniemi can be dated to the late 14th or early 15th century.

The use of buttons declined in the 15th century and they thus remain rare in late medieval finds. A button of gilt copper alloy, however, has been unearthed in the excavations of the medieval town of Ulvila (Cat. 20:9). It is a flat dome in profile with a hoop, and ornamented with a spiralling net-like ornament. On the basis of parallels, the button was made in the 15th century. The Spanish dress which became fashionable in Europe in the earlier part of the 16th century made the use of buttons again popular. Now they were almost singularly applied to men's clothes. According to Olaus Magnus, the men of the Nordic nobility used silver buttons to fasten their garments,¹⁷⁸³ and

¹⁷⁸² Mökkönen 1997, 79.

¹⁷⁸³ Olaus Magnus 2:23.

buttons of precious metals were particularly associated with men. Buttons of the female dress were more often not visible.¹⁷⁸⁴

The 16th-century buttons were smaller than the earlier ones but still had a rather high profile shaped as a hemisphere or a cut pyramid. Ray-like grooves are typical of their ornamentation.¹⁷⁸⁵ However, the spherical buttons of the medieval type continued to be in use as is revealed by two such buttons found in Salla, North Finland and Johannes, South Karelia. The former was part of objects unearthed in a grave dated to the end of the Middle Ages (Cat. 20:10), while the latter was found as part of a hoard with the *terminus post quem* date of 1593. Although buttons were originally used as dress fasteners, in the 16th century a row of buttons did not necessarily have any functional value any more. The actual attachment was done with hooks, cords and belts.¹⁷⁸⁶ With the growing demand for buttons in the latter part of the 16th century, their production became semi-industrialized. A very luxurious button was found in excavations in the town of Tammissaari, but the object was made in the 17th century.¹⁷⁸⁷ In addition to these buttons of precious metals, medieval and Early Modern buttons of base metals have been found in the medieval and Early Modern layers of urban Turku¹⁷⁸⁸ and Helsinki¹⁷⁸⁹, the castles of Turku¹⁷⁹⁰, Hämeenlinna¹⁷⁹¹ and Kuusisto¹⁷⁹², and a number of medieval churches.¹⁷⁹³

Buttons appear rarely in written sources. The first occurrence is the silver button in Henrik Klasson Dieken's first will made in 1449, in which the item is bequeathed to the bishop.¹⁷⁹⁴ His wife, Lucia Olofsdotter, lists seven gilt buttons in all of her three wills, bequeathing them to St. Anne's altar in Turku Cathedral for making a chalice.¹⁷⁹⁵ The remaining references to buttons are from the 16th century. The inventory of Anders Slatte's widow Margareta in Brödtorp, Pohja, made in 1530 mentions five 'chest buttons'.¹⁷⁹⁶ Buttons appear only twice in Gustavus Vasa's confiscation documents. The first reference is in connection with Nauvo Church which had to give up a gilt button¹⁷⁹⁷ and also Rauma Convent Church delivered a button.¹⁷⁹⁸ In both cases the button was possibly used in a liturgical garment, and according to Källström, they might have actually been clypeus pendants.

According to written documents, Klaus Holst, bailiff of Kastelholm Castle, had 16 silver buttons in 1556,¹⁷⁹⁹ while the list made in 1563 of property lost in the conflict between King Eric and Duke John tells that Bartill Hinersson had four gilt silver buttons of 6 marks and one scent button, made of gilt silver. Moreover, Hinndrick Ram lost four gilt buttons weighing c. 26 g, and Lasse Månsson three gilt ones.¹⁸⁰⁰ Also the lady of Yläne Manor, Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming, owned a luxurious button, a gilt scent button and eight small gilt ones. She even had a brooch and strap-end with a purse and four gilt buttons and a needle box.¹⁸⁰¹ However, the highest number of buttons was recorded in the inventory of Karin Hansdotter. She had 300 gilt silver buttons strung on a thread and three gilt buttons with 'leaves', which most likely refers to the Gothic buttons which were fitted with vegetative pendants.¹⁸⁰²

In addition to buttons, also hooks, *hakar*, for fastening mantels are mentioned in the written sources. Hooks were already sewn to medieval dresses as fasteners,¹⁸⁰³ but the first written

1784 Pylkkänen 1956, 314–315.

1785 E.g. Niukkanen 2002, 58–59.

1786 Pylkkänen 1955, 165.

1787 The circular button has a diameter of 10.2 mm, is 5.1 mm in height, and weighs 0.5 g (Majantie 2000, 33, 35).

1788 Seppänen 1999, 58; Jokela 2006.

1789 Niukkanen 2002, 58–59.

1790 Rinne S. 1930, 68, 70 fig. 27–33.

1791 Mikkola 2005, 33.

1792 Taavitsainen 1980, 16–17.

1793 E.g. Hiekkänen 1988, 66.

1794 FMU 2817, 2908.

1795 FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

1796 FMU 6557.

1797 Källström 1936, 151; 1939, 317–318.

1798 Arwidsson 6:329; Källström 1939, 320.

1799 Hausen 1934, 58 note 2.

1800 *definans knap*; BFH 4:206.

1801 *desme knap*; BFH 5:308.

1802 Pylkkänen 1956, 315.

1803 Pylkkänen 1956, 314.

occurrences of such items are from the post-medieval sources. In 1563 Sven Bertelsson is said to have hooks in his mantel,¹⁸⁰⁴ while the dress of Lars Larsson's wife had 11 pairs of gilt silver hooks. Each pair was formed from a heart-shaped and a rose-shaped hook.¹⁸⁰⁵ Valburg Innamaa lost six pairs of gilt hooks in the conflict between the King and Duke John in 1563, while the wife of Staffan muremester was missing six pairs of hooks.¹⁸⁰⁶ Lastly, the inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming lists eleven pairs of silver hooks.¹⁸⁰⁷ Hooks were also among the products imported to Finland in the 16th century.¹⁸⁰⁸

As stated earlier, a pearl wreath and three gilt silver pins were confiscated from Nauvo Church in 1558. Källström interprets them as part of bridal jewellery.¹⁸⁰⁹ In Pre- and Early Modern Finland, pins were used in fastening married women's headgear, but they could also attach other pieces of folded cloth around one's garment. Needles were even used to bind shrouds in which bodies were laid in graves. Of course, pins with holes or more precisely needles were tools for sewing. Although the use of pins and needles must have been very common in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, they are seldom mentioned in written sources. Among the movable property of Catherine Jagellon, a needle case of velvet is mentioned,¹⁸¹⁰ while also Philippa Fleming had a needle case fitted with her belt.¹⁸¹¹ Pins and needle cases were even imported to Finland in the 16th century according to trade records.¹⁸¹² The scarcity of the objects in the written documents is probably explained by their relatively low value, even if made of precious metals, and their connection with the female sphere.

The needle case attached to Philippa Fleming's belt was perhaps rather a metal tube covering a thread or cord on which the needles were pinned. The tube was held in place by a small metal mount fitted to the end of the cord. When the needles were needed, the tube was pulled upwards and they were revealed. Such a tube of bronze along with other belt accessories has been unearthed in a late-medieval grave in Salla, North Finland.¹⁸¹³ The tube is approximately five centimetres in length and half a centimetre in diameter. It has profiled ornamentation in three places, at the ends and just below the middle. A similar bronze tube with three sets of profiled ornaments was discovered at Suojärvi, Hyrsylä in the easternmost part of Finnish Karelia during the digging of a foundation for a new chapel in 1931. In addition to the tube, a triangular bronze plate used together with the tube, a bronze finger ring, and some human bones were found.¹⁸¹⁴ Another tube of similar dimensions and profiled decoration but made of silver was discovered in the excavations of the Åbo Akademi main building plot in Turku in 1998 (Cat. 21:1). The fourth similar item of bronze was found at the excavations of the Sámi settlement site of Nukkumajoki in Inari.¹⁸¹⁵

Pins and needles of base metals and organic materials are not an uncommon group of finds in archaeological excavations, for instance in Turku.¹⁸¹⁶ These archaeological objects, however, pose a two-fold problem. Firstly, the identification of their material is often difficult, if not impossible, with the naked eye due to the corroded state of the small articles, and secondly, the simplicity of pins and needles as artefacts means that their dating has to be based on the find context instead of their form. Pins and their fragments of precious metals are not very typical finds, and usually they are from churches which constitute a highly problematic find context. The Valmarinniemi excavations in Keminmaa in 1981, however, revealed a pin possibly of silver with a spherical head. The head had broken into two halves.¹⁸¹⁷ On the basis of coin finds, the cemetery was in use from

1804 BFH 4, 202.

1805 BFH 4, 200, 209, 217.

1806 BFH 4, 200, 209, 217.

1807 BFH 5:308.

1808 Grotenfelt 1887, 159.

1809 Arwidsson 6, 332; 8, 158; Källström 1936, 151; 1939, 317–318.

1810 Lösegendom 76.

1811 BFH 5:308; Pylkkänen 1956, 302.

1812 Grotenfelt 1887, 160.

1813 NM Hist. 3577:4–5; Sirelius (1915) 1990, 152–157; cf. Graudonis 2003, Table 18:14–15.

1814 NM Hist. 9936:1–3; Kuujo 1965, 41, 64–65 figs. 3–5.

1815 Carpelan 2003, 75.

1816 Ikäheimo 1989, 160, 162; Niukkanen 2002, 58–59; Ahola et al. 2004, 149 no. 7; Majantie 2007, 46.

1817 UOA VN-1981:71. The object is 55.1 mm in length. The spherical knob is 8.0 mm in diameter. The pin weighs 0.6 g and the loose half of the knob 0.2 g.



the 1320s to the 1460s.¹⁸¹⁸ The pin cannot be dated more precisely than this. Similar halves were also discovered in the excavations of Jomala Church in 1961 (Fig. 90),¹⁸¹⁹ but the finds may also be fragments of beads or buttons, and moreover, their dating remains vague. In general, pins and needles used for fastening shrouds are a very typical find group in excavations of churches.¹⁸²⁰

Scent lockets and buttons

As mentioned above, Bartill Hinersson owned a scent button, made of gilt silver,¹⁸²¹ and Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming a gilt scent button.¹⁸²² They are the only references to such objects in the written record. Also the number of surviving scent lockets in the material is two. Although the use of scent ointments carried in small containers of precious metal was introduced in Europe in the 14th century, indications of their use in Finland are not attested before the 16th century. The scenting substances were impregnated in wax or some greasy ointment and placed inside the container. Although the contemporary image of Pre- and Early Modern times might emphasize the unavoidable and constant presence of foul odours and the consequent indifference to smells, scents were highly significant and people were sensitive to them. For instance, plague and other diseases were considered to germinate and spread in bad smells, and thus one had to protect oneself against such odours.¹⁸²³ The same sensitivity to smells is also related to the use of incense in the liturgy and the religious connotations borne by sweet aromas.¹⁸²⁴

Scent lockets were carried either fastened to belts or necklaces, but they could also be carried in the hand, which seems to be the case with the most luxurious scent locket attested in Finland (Fig. 91) (Cat. 22:1). The locket, a highly elaborate piece of goldsmithing, was found in a field at Liuksiala Manor in 1887 and purchased by the State Historical Museum in the same year. Already at the time of its discovery the find was associated with Katarina Månsdotter (1550–1612), the widow of King Eric, because she lived in Liuksiala Manor from 1577 until her death. The ring on the end of the chain might have been attached to a belt or worn on the user's finger, while the locket itself was carried in the palm. All three parts are made of gold. In addition to the precious metal, the locket has white grey enamel on the outside surfaces and black enamel in the inscriptions. Presently six,

Fig. 90. Two halves of pin heads discovered in the excavations of Jomala Church. Both pieces are 0.7 cm in diameter, but the one on the left is 0.3 cm in height and weighs 0.1 g (ÅM 353:544), while the one on the right is 0.4 cm in height and weighs 0.2 g (ÅM 353:244).

¹⁸¹⁸ Jylkkä 2006.

¹⁸¹⁹ ÅM 353:244, 544.

¹⁸²⁰ In addition to the problems of dating, excavations of churches pose methodological problems related to representativity; see Alén 1998; 2001.

¹⁸²¹ BFH 4:206.

¹⁸²² *desme knap*; BFH 5:308.

¹⁸²³ Le Guéner 1992; Classen, Howes & Synnott 1997.

¹⁸²⁴ Cf. Hiekkänen 1996a, 78–79; 2003a, 146.



Fig. 91. Luxurious scent locket found in a field at Liuksiala Manor in 1887. The locket is three cm in diameter, while the length of the chain for suspension is 11 cm and the diameter of the ring on the other end of the chain is 1.7 cm (Cat. 22:1).

Fig. 92. A gold plaque divides the locket of Liuksiala into two halves. The plaque is also divided into four segments on both sides and has inscribed the names of scent substances in German. The names are Schlag against heart attack, Canel for cinnamon, Negelen for cloves and Rosen for rose. The names listed on the other side of the plaque are Müssche for beauty spots, Rüten for potency, Rosmar for rosemary and Citronen for lemon (Cat. 22:1).



originally ten, red table-cut rubies imported from Myanmar are mounted on one side of the locket.

The locket is shaped like the shell of a gastropod with a larva peeking out from it. According to Leeni Vilpas, the gastropod resembles the fossil of an ammonite, which was common about 250 million years ago during the Mesozoic Era. The spiralling form of the shell of the locket is only present in the upper surface, as in actual ammonite fossils.¹⁸²⁵ The hinge of the locket is placed near the larva, opening the object into two halves. Both halves are divided into four segments, and a gold plaque between them functions as a lid for both. The plaque is also divided into four segments on both sides and has inscribed the names of scent substances in German (Fig. 92).

The use of German in the inscriptions could suggest that the locket was made in the German-speaking area or at least by a German goldsmith. However, as German was a widespread language in the Baltic sphere, and it is possible that the terms for scent substances were borrowed from German into other languages,¹⁸²⁶ the place of the production of the scent locket cannot be pinpointed. Because it is a unique piece, the locket might be locally produced or imported. The other, more modest scent locket or rather button in the material has parallels in Swedish material and thus was likely produced somewhere in the kingdom. It was donated by Carl Henrik Asp (1779–1846) in 1842 (Cat. 22:2), and at that time, he was living in Vaasa which consequently might be also the region where the locket was found. The heart-shaped locket is small and has a hinge and a suspension loop on top. The heart has five star-shaped holes through which the scents spread to the surroundings. The container is divided into four compartments (Fig. 93). On the basis of the Swedish parallels, the locket was made around 1600 and probably worn as a button or part of a chain. In Finland, scent lockets are a phenomenon of the 16th century, unlike finger rings, which have been used since prehistoric times.

Finger rings

Finger rings before the early medieval period

When Duke John and King Sigismund I the Old, the father of Catherine Jagellon, parted in Livonia in 1562, the king gave a ruby ring to the duke who in return presented him with a valuable diamond ring.¹⁸²⁷ They lived in an era of finger rings. Using British wills and inventories, Charles Oman argues that the stage of the most extensive use of rings in the historical period was from the mid-14th century to the mid-17th century. He asserts that the accumulation of rings is partly due to the different functions which rings served in the period.¹⁸²⁸

Prehistoric finger rings are for the most part found in burials, and they make their appearance in material culture in the Bronze Age. In the Early Roman Iron Age, spiral finger rings were introduced and are a common find group in the Late Roman Iron Age contexts.¹⁸²⁹ These finger rings of the Early Iron Age are of rather simple construction, mostly undecorated and constructed



Fig. 93. Scent locket donated by Carl Henrik Asp (1779–1846) in 1842. The heart-shaped locket is c. 3.3 x 2.0 cm in size and has five star-shaped holes through which the scents spread to the surroundings. The container is divided into four compartments (Cat. 22:2).

¹⁸²⁵ Vilpas 2001; 2002.

¹⁸²⁶ Pyökkänen 1956, 302 note 106.

¹⁸²⁷ Palmén 1903, 340.

¹⁸²⁸ Oman 1974, 6.

¹⁸²⁹ Salmo 1952, 161. For an overview on Iron Age finger rings, see Lönnberg 2008.

of wire twisted into spirals.¹⁸³⁰ According to Fritze Lindahl, for example, these early rings were made as miniatures of contemporary neck and arm rings.¹⁸³¹ Occasionally the middle part of the spiral ring is widened into quasi-bezels.¹⁸³² They were typical of spiral rings in Finland, the Baltic countries and Russia, but not in Scandinavia.¹⁸³³ Spiral rings were popular even during the Late Iron Age, but their use began to decrease in the course of the 11th century, and they are rare in the graves of the Crusade Period.¹⁸³⁴

The third main type of Iron Age finger rings consisted of items with wide bezels, which according to Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander developed from spiral rings with quasi-bezels.¹⁸³⁵ The bezel was ornamented with punched triangular or circular motifs along with patterns of lines and braids, and in the Crusade Period rings, even with crosses and figures of saints.¹⁸³⁶ The origin of the type is traced to 11th-century Gotland and the Baltic countries, whence they were adopted to Finland in the late 11th century,¹⁸³⁷ and they became popular in the Crusade Period.¹⁸³⁸

Päivi Lönnberg points out that the Late Iron Age burial finds include also silver rings with single, braided hoops.¹⁸³⁹ Such rings are known, for instance, from the graves in Luistari, Eura and Osmanmäki, Eura.¹⁸⁴⁰ Twisted rings or their cast imitations were common in Southwest and Central Russia, while also being used in Scandinavia and the British Isles as well as the Baltic countries.¹⁸⁴¹ Their use continued to the early medieval period. In Finland, the hoard found in Lipanmäki, Voipala, Sysmä has one braided silver ring. The coins of the hoard provide it with the *terminus post quem* date of 1009.¹⁸⁴² In Denmark, some of the twisted rings have been dated into the 1130s and the Lark Hill hoard found in England contains similar rings dated to the 1170s, and in Eastern Europe the type was used longer still.¹⁸⁴³ In Scandinavia, hoop and spiral rings were usually made of gold or silver, but in Finland finger rings are only rarely made of precious metals. Here bronze is more common raw material.

Early and high medieval finger rings

Due to the diversity characteristic of finger rings combined with the fact that their basic forms can be very simple, small stylistic changes can be very difficult to discern from the shape and the decoration of rings.¹⁸⁴⁴ Moreover, in many cases the form of the finger ring developed at a different pace with the iconographic motifs applied on it or even the choice of production techniques. It is partly this which leads Charles Oman to declare that ‘it is not possible to deal with this subject in a completely logical manner’.¹⁸⁴⁵ Here finger rings are mainly presented following chronological changes in their form and production techniques, while closer classification is based on certain iconographic motifs reappearing especially in the group of so-called iconographic rings.

Throughout the Late Iron Age and the Middle Ages, also plain and simple hoops were used as finger rings, but their dating is very difficult if the find context does not provide any help. Although the cross-section of rings varies from circular to oval and flat, these variations as such do not help to date rings more securely. An example is a bronze ring, or rather a band of oval cross-section bent into a hoop, found in Saltvik Church.¹⁸⁴⁶ Because the ring has no special features, and it was found in the soil under the church floor, a mixed context, the ring cannot be dated. An exception

1830 Kivikoski 1973, fig. 33–35, 122–127, 263–269, 465–468, 753–758, 1088–1098.

1831 Lindahl 2003, 11.

1832 Kivikoski 1973, 7, 104, 146, fig. 465–466, 754, 1089.

1833 Serning 1956, 39, 40; Kivikoski 1973, 7, 104, 136; Bäcksbäcka 1975, 97–98.

1834 Kivikoski 1939, 184.

1835 Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982b, 124.

1836 Purhonen 1998, 55–56.

1837 Salmo 1952, 336; Cleve 1978, 146–147.

1838 Cleve 1978, 146; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982b, 124.

1839 Lönnberg 2008.

1840 NM Arch. 22346:1013, 25480:227, 4633:174^f. Another braided finger ring with no provenance information is NM Hist. 41001:1280.

1841 Salmo 1953, 17; Bäcksbäcka 1975, 99; Kivikoski 1973, 136.

1842 NM Arch. 12400:20; Bäcksbäcka 1975, 20–23, 99; Talvio 2002, 159 no. 138.

1843 Lindahl 2003, 11–12.

1844 Fagerström 1989, 153.

1845 Oman 1974, ix.

1846 ÅM 302:219.

to the rule is the simple finger ring which was found with the bones of a finger in Renko Church. The item is from a grave dated to the 17th or 18th century, and Hiekkänen suggests that it was a wedding ring.¹⁸⁴⁷

In some cases the simplest decoration can give some orientation for the dating of hoop rings. For example, Juhani Rinne found a bronze ring of oval cross-section inside the Sibbesborg hillfort in Sipoo on the southern side of the site in 1909. The only ornamentation of the ring comprises two grooves on the outer surface, one following the lower edge and the other the upper edge.¹⁸⁴⁸ Similar rings have been dated to the 13th–15th centuries, a dating that seems to suit this particular ring, since the current interpretation is that Sibbesborg was built in the late 14th century.¹⁸⁴⁹ One early hoop ring of perhaps lead bronze was recently discovered at the Junkarsborg hillfort in Karjaa.¹⁸⁵⁰ In cross-section, the hoop is shaped like the letter D, and two grooves follow the edges of the outer surface. Moreover, the surface has the engraved or rather incised Gothic majuscules *SA[NKTA] MARIA*. The closest Scandinavian parallels for the ring date from the 14th century.¹⁸⁵¹

Despite these grave difficulties in dating plain hoops, from the point of view of goldsmithing the problem seems rather minimal considering the medieval and Early Modern finger rings. During that period rings with plain hoops were not usually made of precious metals, but of copper alloys and even iron – a particular visual impression was sought when gold and silver were used. Even if without bezels or other additions, valuable rings usually have engraved inscriptions on the inside or outside surface of the hoop. The plain engagement or wedding rings of precious metals without further embellishments are a relatively young phenomenon.

With finger rings with ornamental bezels and engravings, as with other early medieval archaeological material, drawing a clear line between Iron Age and early medieval objects is not an easy task – and perhaps not even possible. A case in point is a silver gilt ring found in the excavations at Koroinen in Turku (Cat. 23:1). The high, conical-shaped bezel of the ring and the clearly engraved palmettes on the sides of the bezel have numerous parallels in rings found mainly in Gotland, though scattered finds are also known from Småland, Öland, and Östergötland. Bengt Bengtsson has dated these rings to the 12th or preferably the 13th century based, for instance, on the Amunde hoard,¹⁸⁵² and thus the ring of Koroinen can also be considered a product of the 13th century. The basic form, a cut pyramid, of these Gotlandic rings was widespread in late-12th and 13th-century Europe, and Sandra Hindman associates it with the forms of large-scale stonework, or more precisely with the abacus, the upper section of a late Romanesque capital or a corbel.¹⁸⁵³

Koroinen became the see of the bishop of Finland in or after 1229, but a parallel to the ring is from a Crusade Period grave in the Visulahti cemetery in Mikkeli (Cat. 23:2). The bezel of the fragmented ring from the grave is of cut pyramid shape with the sides ornamented with palmettes, but unlike in the Koroinen ring, the central area served as a collet for a now-missing stone. The closest parallels to the ring are from 14th-century Swedish hoards, but on the basis of a bracteate found in the grave, the burial is dated to the late 13th century. This also provides a *terminus ante quem* date for the ring. The grave in which the fragmented ring was found belongs to a female 130 cm tall, perhaps a girl.¹⁸⁵⁴ A similar ring but without a collet was also found in another grave of the same burial ground (Cat. 23:3), and one ring of the same type is known also from the burial ground of Kekomäki in Kaukola (Cat. 23:4).

Even another finger ring found in the burial ground of Kekomäki in Kaukola (Cat. 23:6) displays interesting associations across Europe. The ring of copper alloys comprises two main parts, the quatrefoil bezel and the hoop. An oval mount for the missing stone was placed in the centre of the bezel, and large granules grouped in clusters of four adorn each of the four lobes. The ring has

1847 Hiekkänen 1993b, 78–78.

1848 NM Hist. 5454:33.

1849 Suhonen 2002.

1850 NM Hist. 2007135; Leena Tomanterä, an email to the author 13.12.2007; Päivi Maaranen, an email to the author 7.5.2008.

1851 Lindahl 2003, 82 nos. 37–38.

1852 Bengtsson 1974, 50.

1853 Hindman 2007, 110–111.

1854 Taavitsainen 1990b, 329; Purhonen 1997, 247–248. Another ring of the same type, but made of bronze was discovered at the excavations of a settlement site in Lapsen Puisto Park in Hanko in 2007 (NM Hist. 2007 054:1). I thank Georg Haggrén for bringing this find to my attention.

parallels in Novgorod as well as Western Europe, where most similar rings of precious metals are from episcopal graves. Like ecclesiastical rings in general, they are usually fitted with blue sapphires. Blue is the colour of the robe of the Virgin Mary. A dozen such rings have been found in the graves of medieval bishops in the British Isles. Also elaborate pontifical rings, worn by bishops for the Mass, frequently included sapphires.¹⁸⁵⁵ One parallel ring is even attested in Sweden, and on the basis of the datable parallels, the ring from Kekomäki was made in the latter part of the 13th century.

Somewhat older is the large bezel of a finger ring found in grave no. 2 of the Suotniemi burial ground in Käkisalmi (Cat. 23:5). The quatrefoil-shaped bezel has engraved ornamentation comprising a rectangular space in the middle, inside which a standing human figure is depicted. The figure wearing armour holds a spade in one hand and a shield in the other. The head of the soldier is surrounded by an arch, which could indicate a war helmet or a nimbus which would make the person a warrior saint of the Eastern iconographic type. Indeed the parallels for the ring are in the Russian material, which also broadly seems to date the ring of Käkisalmi to the 12th and 13th centuries.

Besides the ring of Gotlandic type, another 13th-century silver ring is known from Koroinen. The item, found somewhere in the excavation site and lacking half of its hoop, comprises a 0.4 cm high metal hoop and a lozenge bezel (Cat. 23:7). The bezel is decorated with five engraved crosses surrounded by dark metal. The fragments of the hoop have the Gothic majuscule letters || A || V || [...] A, which probably are the first two and the last letter of the inscription 'Ave Maria'. An almost identical ring with an Ave Maria inscription was part of a hoard found in Kastellegården at Ytterby in Bohuslän, Sweden. The other artefacts and coins date the hoard to the latter part of the 13th century.¹⁸⁵⁶ The other Swedish parallels, two from Varnhem Monastery and one from Alvastra Monastery, support similar dating for the ring type.¹⁸⁵⁷ This makes the ring of Koroinen the earliest inscribed finger ring in Finland. In Scandinavia, the first inscriptions, magical in nature, appear on Danish finger rings already in the 11th century.¹⁸⁵⁸

The number of inscribed rings increases in the 14th century, and among them is the silver ring found in Hämeenlinna Castle (Cat. 23:8). It has two hands holding a heart, which as a motif is not atypical but appears in several similar rings known as *fides* rings. The unique feature of the Hämeenlinna ring, however, is the French verse or posy engraved on its hoop: *amoure vanit toute coce*, 'love conquers all'. The letters are divided into segments by one small and five larger five-petalled flowers. Although this ring is the only surviving example of a French or any other kind of posy in the material, in the late medieval secular culture it was fashionable to carry and wear posies or small poetical love verses written on rings, clothes and love-gifts. Finger rings with posies are quite common especially in Central Europe.¹⁸⁵⁹ Amorous verses, in addition to such motifs as (winged) hearts, flowers, and love-magic in general were associated especially with courtly culture and love games played at courts.

In addition to the rings made as one piece, there is a group of 14th-century finger rings with separately produced and attached bezels. Two of them were discovered in the same hoard in Pattijoki. In addition to the rings, the hoard comprised 627 coins. The youngest of them was minted by Olav Håkansson in 1380–1387.¹⁸⁶⁰ The larger one of the rings has a large pentagram-shaped bezel with an oval mount in the centre (Cat. 23:10). The mount is set with a rectangular pink stone cut in cabochon. The central mount is surrounded by five circular mounts in the middle of each side of the pentagram. Two green and two colourless stones cut in cabochon have survived in these smaller mounts. The bezel of the other ring has a serrated edge and a mount for a colourless stone cut in cabochon (Cat. 23:9). A red stone set in a circular mount was placed on both sides of the central stone. The smaller mounts are adorned with six petals. A rather similar ring was discovered among other hoarded artefacts and coins dated from the late 13th to the mid-14th century in Kyrkoköpinge

1855 Kyriacou, Mee & Rogers 2004, 156–157.

1856 SHM 3207:1; Thordeman 1936, 68.

1857 SHM 16770:1; 18393:678; 21855:1.

1858 Lindahl 2003, 14.

1859 Jones 2002, 196–225, esp. 199–200.

1860 Malmer 1980, 208 no. 212.

Church, Skåne.¹⁸⁶¹ The ring appears to be somewhat older than the other piece, from the earlier part of the 14th century, although the other ring cannot be dated more precisely than the 14th century.

The next example of inscribed rings is an early excavation find from Turku (Cat. 23:11). It has a convex upper surface with an engraved inscription set in Gothic minuscules: *help got*, 'Help God', a vegetative motif at the end of both words and a piece of vine, perhaps a reference to the Eucharist and Christ. The vegetative motifs as well as every other letter was filled with enamel now brown in colour. On the basis of parallels, the ring was made in the 15th century.

The inscribed gold ring found in the plot of Åbo Akademi in 1998 was made in the 15th century (Cat. 23:14). The simple hoop has an engraved inscription with the names of the Three Magi set in Gothic minuscules: *baltazar iaspar melch[ior]*. The letter r in the name of *iaspar* has a small, engraved leaf. The three names of the Magi are separated with small crowns, which are emphasized by small triangular cuts made on their corners. The names of the Magi refer to the popular cult of the Three Kings of Cologne. According to Oman, the three names were carried in rings against cramp and epilepsy.¹⁸⁶² Another inscription asking for help and protection is engraved with Gothic minuscules on a crosshatched background in a ring found in Saltvik (Cat. 23:16): *help got unde maria*, 'Help God and Mary'. The phrase begins with a sexfoil and its words are separated with a vertical bar. The ring is from the 15th century.

The excavations of the Åbo Akademi main building plot also revealed another unusual ring, made of copper alloy (Cat. 23:12). It has a simple band hoop with a six-pointed star as the bezel. Despite its uniqueness in the Finnish material, it has parallels in the Estonian material. Another atypical ring found at the plot is a plain ring with a circular collet (Cat. 23:13). The ring made of copper alloy is plain and has a circular bezel and a mount for a hemispherical stone made of blue glass. Somewhat younger is the gilt silver ring discovered during the excavations of the Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova Museum (Cat. 23:15). A blue sapphire cut in cabochon and set with four nails on a rectangular bezel adorns the ring. The blue stone is flanked on both sides by two small and circular mounts with one surviving stone. The ring appears to be made in the 15th century.

The assemblage of the Åbo Akademi plot includes many very simple hoop rings. One of them, made of copper alloy, is of flat cross-section (Cat. 23:17). The inner surface of the ring was left without decoration, but the outer surface has a groove following both edges. The main frieze is placed between the grooves and consists of a row of sets of three vertical lines. The same basic form is repeated in the ring found in the excavations of the Convent of Kökar (Cat. 23:18). In this artefact the central frieze consists of a series of rectangular shapes with lozenge-like forms inside them.¹⁸⁶³

In contrast to the earlier rings, the number of surviving finger rings begins to substantially increase during 15th century. At the same time, the dating of individual finger rings also becomes difficult, because the overall form of finger rings remains rather constant during the latter part of the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th century. Hence it seems more appropriate to classify late medieval and Early Modern rings on the basis of the main motif applied to their bezels. The transition from early to late medieval finger ring forms is exemplified by the so-called vernicle rings.

Vernicle finger rings

In Scandinavia, the first examples of a ring with a bezel depicting Christ's face, *Facies Christi*, date from the 14th century, but in Finland the oldest rings with the motif are from the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. In the Middle Ages, the vernicle or the representation of the suffering face of Christ impressed upon the veil of St. Veronica featured also in a special finger ring type. The motif occurs in two kinds of finger ring shapes. The earlier form type dating from the 14th and 15th centuries has a hoop and attached to it a circular collet about one centimetre wide while the width of the hoop is about two centimetres. The vernicle was engraved on a disc which was then

¹⁸⁶¹ SHM 2972:5.

¹⁸⁶² Oman 1974, 58.

¹⁸⁶³ Gustavsson 1997, 21. Cf. a ring from Turaida Castle; Graudonis 2003, Table 5 no. 6.

mounted on the collet of the ring. The surface of the hoop is smooth or sometimes decorated with leaf and braid motifs or ridges. Occasionally, inscriptions were engraved on the hoop. The raw material of the earlier vernicle rings was usually gilt silver, but also plain silver, bronze, or even iron could be used.¹⁸⁶⁴ The later form type, typical of the late 15th and early 16th century, has a steeply but seamlessly widening hoop, where the *Facies Christi* motif is integrated in the wider, frontal part of the ring, which is cast as one piece.

Eight vernicle rings are known from Finland and seven of them belong to the earlier type. In late medieval Scandinavia, the vernicle rings were the most popular ring type together with Calvary rings depicting the crucifixion on Golgotha.¹⁸⁶⁵ About 30 vernicle rings are known from Denmark,¹⁸⁶⁶ and six from Norway.¹⁸⁶⁷ In Sweden, the National Museum has 15 vernicle rings in its collections, and the collections of the Kulturen museum in Lund have several rings, two of which are made of gold.¹⁸⁶⁸ Two vernicle rings have been published from Estonia.¹⁸⁶⁹

All seven earlier vernicle rings from Finland are of gilt silver and appear quite similar at first glance, but each has distinctive features and they have been found in very different contexts. The two northernmost rings were discovered in the excavations of the Valmarinniemi cemetery in Keminmaa in 1981 (Cat. 23:19–20). The find material comprises altogether three finger rings, two of them having the *Facies Christi* motif. The rings are made of gilt silver and have circular bezels about one centimetre in diameter. In the first ring the bezel was made as one piece, and it depicts the face of Christ inside a cross nimbus (Cat. 23:19). The hoop has no other ornamentation except a pair of vertical grooves on both shoulders. The second ring has a bezel with four globules fitted symmetrically around the shoulders (Cat. 23:20). In contrast to the first ring, here Christ's face inside a cross nimbus was engraved on a separate disc which was mounted on the bezel. Moreover, the bezel as well as the shoulders have simple geometrical, engraved ornamentation. Pentti Koivunen suggests that the two rings were from the graves of priests and acted as symbols of their profession. He further compares them with known medieval bishops' graves with their festive garments and liturgical equipment.¹⁸⁷⁰

Towards the south, the next two vernicle rings are known from the municipality of Ulvila. One is a stray find from 1922 from a field owned by a primary school in the village of Suosmeri (Cat. 23:23). The ring's most distinctive features are the moulded shoulders, the rest of the hoop having been left smooth. The other ring is a find from archaeological excavations in 1973 at Isokartano, or the site of the medieval town of Ulvila (Cat. 23:24). Also this ring has a smooth hoop except for the shoulders, which are decorated with a quatrefoil and what appears to be an engraved plant motif. The ring was found near the remains of a wooden building, which has been dated on the basis of ceramics to the younger phase of the site, the 16th century.¹⁸⁷¹ However, the excavated cultural layer was very thin and relatively mixed,¹⁸⁷² which undermines the possibility of dating the ring with the aid of stratigraphy or even ceramic chronology.

Two other vernicle rings have also been found in archaeological excavations, but their contextual information is even weaker than that of the ring from Ulvila. The earlier find is from a small islet called Kirkkoluoto ('Church islet') in the municipality of Köyliö, where in 1904–1905 Vicar Viktor Salminen excavated the remains of a small chapel dedicated to the memory of St. Henry.¹⁸⁷³ Within the foundation of the structure were found fragments of a vernicle ring (Cat. 23:21). The disc with the engraved vernicle was found unattached to the broken collet and bezel (Fig. 94). Salminen suggests that between the bezel and the disc there had been a space for a small relic. He may have got the idea from the medieval pilgrimage badges representing the vernicle, since some of them

1864 Sjölund 1980, 169; Reinholdt 1986.

1865 Backman 1963, 50, 59–61.

1866 Lindahl 2003, nos. 159–88.

1867 Hammervold 1997, 51.

1868 Bengtsson 1974, 56–57.

1869 Buchholz 1892, 24; Kirme 2002, 79–80.

1870 Koivunen 1997b, 44, 46.

1871 Excavation area I, structure 3a (Pihlman 1981, 114–115).

1872 Pihlman 1982, 102, 109–111.

1873 Salminen 1905; Jaakkola 1911; Rinne 1911; Hiekkänen 2007, 229 with references; 2008a.

were made by joining two circular discs protecting a relic between them.¹⁸⁷⁴ However, no vernicle rings containing relics are known, and there are no written sources to support the interpretation. The shoulders of the Köyliö ring are decorated with four knobs. Encircling the hoop of the ring there is a groove with a pair of silver braids soldered onto it. The foundations of the chapel of St. Henry revealed a number of 15th-century coins, two of which can be dated to the earlier part of the 15th century.¹⁸⁷⁵ The youngest coins found were minted during the reign of Adolf Frederick (1751–1771).

In the heart of medieval Turku, in front of the Katedralskolan school building by the Aurajoki River, two small areas were excavated in 1972.¹⁸⁷⁶ One of the areas revealed a golden ring (Cat. 23:25). Unfortunately, since no excavation report has been filed, more detailed information on the excavations is not available. The ring has been badly damaged, perhaps in a fire, and the engraved image on its collet is beyond recognition. The collet is circular and 12 millimetres in diameter. There are four knobs around the collet, and the disc is mounted on the collet with a rivet, which is faintly visible on the back of the bezel. The ring is undoubtedly medieval in form, and it is likely that the disc was decorated with the face of Christ. On the other hand, some Calvary rings are very similar to the vernicle rings, the only difference being within the collet.¹⁸⁷⁷ In Calvary rings, however, the Golgotha scene was usually engraved in much higher relief, and thus its contours should be more prominent in the surviving ring.¹⁸⁷⁸ Additionally, on the shoulders of the Turku ring, one can detect traces of engraved decorations similar to the decorations on the vernicle ring found in Ulvila (Cat. 23:24). Bearing this in mind, it is likely that the Turku ring is indeed a vernicle ring.

The seventh vernicle ring was found in Sorkkinen in the municipality of Eura at an unknown date (Cat. 23:22), and was later, in 1911, deposited in the Rauma Museum by Arne Europaeus. The ring is a stray find from a potato field of the Ranta-Anttila farm situated by the Eura River. The ring has later been stolen from the Rauma Museum,¹⁸⁷⁹ but photographs and drawings show that the hoop was decorated with a pair of braids as in the Köyliö ring; also the knobs on the shoulders resemble those of the Köyliö and Turku rings. Jari Sjölund dates the ring to the 15th century.¹⁸⁸⁰

In Scandinavia, vernicle rings have been dated mainly on the basis of their stylistic characteristics,¹⁸⁸¹ since there is only one published Scandinavian vernicle ring which can be dated with any certainty by its archaeological context. This ring is from the excavation of Specksrum 1–2 in Visby and was found in a latrine that had collapsed inwards. The cultural layer in the latrine revealed 15th-century ceramics, and the vernicle ring was found in the upper part of the cultural layer. It is decorated with acanthus ornamentation and enamelling, of which only traces remain. Eric Swanström has dated the ring to the 15th century.¹⁸⁸²

Generally speaking, the stylistic characteristics of the ring type have been interpreted as pointing to the 15th and 16th centuries. Hildebrand dates the ring type on the basis of its decoration to the 15th century.¹⁸⁸³ Carl af Ugglas is on the same lines as Hildebrand and dates the vernicle motif to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries when discussing the dating of two silver bowls found near Stockholm.¹⁸⁸⁴ Both bowls have a medallion on the bottom representing the face of Christ.¹⁸⁸⁵ Af Ugglas compares them to the *Agnus Dei* capsule from Närke dated to the beginning of the 16th century with a representation of the face of Christ on the reverse, and the Late Gothic monumental



Fig. 94. Disc from the vernicle finger ring found in the remains of a small chapel dedicated to the memory of St. Henry in Kirkkoluoto, Köyliö (Cat. 23:21).

1874 van Beuningen & Koldewey 1993, 133–134.

1875 Tuukka Talvio pers. comm. 7.8.2002.

1876 Pihlman 1995, 340.

1877 Cf. Kirme 2000, 30.

1878 Cf. Tamm 2002, 113.

1879 Virpi Nurmi pers. comm. 20.5.2002.

1880 Sjölund 1980, 168–173.

1881 Backman 1963, 49.

1882 Swanström 1978, 105–106.

1883 Hildebrand 1884–1898, 415.

1884 af Ugglas 1951, 178–84, 191.

1885 Cf. Andersson 1983, 48–49, 65–66.

crucifixes known from Swedish churches.¹⁸⁸⁶ At least some of these crucifixes were made by North German craftsmen. On the basis of the medallions and crucifixes, af Ugglas dates the bowls around the year 1500.

Pierre Backman, however, prefers to date the characteristic features of the vernicle rings to the 14th century if not to an even earlier period. Firstly, he argues, the vernicle engraved on the rings has a cross nimbus around the face of Christ, which was replaced in representations of Christ by a radiating nimbus by the beginning of the 15th century. Secondly, lily decoration on the shoulders of the rings, rich leaf ornamentation and elaborate engraving, all typical of 15th- and 16th-century rings, are absent from vernicle rings. Thirdly, the *émail champlevé* technique used for decorating the nimbuses was typical of German goldsmiths of the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁸⁸⁷

Despite its complexity, Backman's argumentation is not plausible upon closer examination. Firstly, when he discusses the nimbus of Christ he ignores the lily cross behind the face of Christ on the Närke *Agnus Dei* capsule,¹⁸⁸⁸ the Birgittine treatment of the vernicle motif combining the lily cross and Christ's face,¹⁸⁸⁹ and Northern German wooden sculpture from the end of the 15th century,¹⁸⁹⁰ which had a cross in the nimbus around Christ's face. Also a wooden fragment of a choir-stall found in Hollola Church and dated to around 1500 depicts the face of Christ with a cross nimbus.¹⁸⁹¹ In the illustrations of the *Missale Aboense*, a missal printed in 1488, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are pictured with a cross nimbus.¹⁸⁹² Secondly, in the general development of rings, Passion motifs, including the vernicle, became more and more widespread during the 15th century.¹⁸⁹³ Furthermore, although Backman states that vernicle rings do not have lily decorations or leaf ornamentation, the Finnish vernicle rings do have quatrefoils and plant motifs engraved on their hoops.

One of the rings which Backman dates to the 14th century is the ring from Suosmeri in Ulvila. The moulding of the shoulders of the ring and the simplicity of the hoop have parallels in three Calvary rings found in excavations of the Birgittine Nunnery of Piritä in Estonia.¹⁸⁹⁴ There are, of course, major differences in the Crucifixion scene that is represented, and, unlike the Suosmeri ring, the Piritä rings have four knops on their collets. It has not been possible to date the Piritä rings on the basis of their find contexts, but on stylistic grounds they have been dated to the 15th century, or rather around the year 1500.¹⁸⁹⁵ With reference to these three rings, the ring from Suosmeri, Ulvila, can be regarded as an artefact of the 15th or even the 16th century, which, again, contradicts Backman's arguments.

Backman's third argument for giving an early date to the vernicle rings is based on the use of enamelling. Indeed, Andreas Oldeberg states that the art of enamelling achieved its peak during the 14th century in the liturgical silverware of the church, i.e. patens and chalices, which had rich decorations of enamel.¹⁸⁹⁶ However, while the art of enamelling lost its significance in 15th century liturgical silver, it was still used on a smaller scale in the decoration of buttons, book-clasps, brooches and rings. The enamels used in vernicle rings were mainly blue, red and bluish grey, but there is one important exception from Norway. This ring has been dated to the 14th century independently of Backman. The ring has a conspicuously large disc with an engraved face of Christ and an enamelled nimbus. Here, the colour of the enamelling is green. Thor Kielland bases his early dating on a comparison with an illustration from the Icelandic model-book.¹⁸⁹⁷

Instead of using their iconographic characteristics, Alf Hammervold attempts to anchor the dating of medieval rings to the general development of the ring forms.¹⁸⁹⁸ Unfortunately, his

1886 Hildebrand 1884–1898, 403–408.

1887 Backman 1963, 60–64.

1888 Hildebrand 1884–1898, 403–408.

1889 Nordman 1956a; Riska 1978.

1890 af Ugglas 1951, 181–185.

1891 Hiekkänen 1997; 2007, 299–300.

1892 Parvio 1984, 181.

1893 Andersson 1959, 266–267; Oldeberg 1966, 136–137.

1894 Raam 1980, 50–52.

1895 Tuulse 1938, 55–56; Raam 1980, 50–52; Kirme 2000, 30; Tamm 2002, 113–114.

1896 Oldeberg 1966, 207–209.

1897 Kielland 1927, 156–158; cf. Lindahl 2003, 160–161.

1898 Hammervold 1997, 43–48.

typology is not very useful for the dating of the Finnish vernicle rings, as all seven Finnish rings belong to Hammervold's group IIA1, dated to the period from the end of the 13th century to the 15th century. His datings show,¹⁸⁹⁹ however, that it may be unnecessary to try to date all vernicle rings to a specific century. The ring type may well have been in use from the end of the 13th century all the way to the 16th century. Still, judging by the style of their decoration, it seems more likely that at least the Finnish rings were produced mostly in the 15th century. The only exception might be the finger ring of Valmarinniemi without globules. The face of Christ depicted on it resembles more those Scandinavian vernicle rings which, for example, Lindahl dates to the 14th and 15th centuries. As for the other rings, the second of the Valmarinniemi rings as well as the Köyliö ring and their stylistically closest parallel, the Eura ring, are stylistically contemporary. In them, the curls of Christ's hair and beard and the cross in the nimbus resemble the 14th-century Norwegian vernicle ring more than in the other rings. The two rings from Ulvila and probably also the ring from Turku are younger than the Köyliö and Eura rings, since the find context of the ring from the town of Ulvila and the moulding and the leaf decorations on the shoulders of the Suosmeri ring point to the latter part of the 15th century, or even to the beginning of the 16th century.

Iconographic rings

The St. Veronica motif appears also in one finger ring of the later 'iconographic' type. The item in question is a gilt silver ring in the Karl Hedman silver collection of the Museum of Ostrobothnia (Cat. 23:26). Its provenance remains unknown, although the main part of the silver collection originates from Ostrobothnia.¹⁹⁰⁰ The rather coarsely cast ring has a hoop widening from back to front. The face on the front is narrow and remains of a ray nimbus can be detected above the forehead. Around the face there are four knobs and some sort of floral motifs and a rope motif circling around the edges of the hoop. The ring has the typical form of late medieval iconographic rings dating to the late 15th and early part of the 16th century.¹⁹⁰¹

In the course of the 15th century religious motifs began to be depicted on a ring type called iconographic. The term was originally created by Victorian antiquarians to refer to a silver or gold ring type found only in England and Scotland decorated with religious engravings.¹⁹⁰² However, in the Scandinavian context the term has a different definition.¹⁹⁰³ It refers to a silver gilt ring with a steeply but seamlessly widening hoop. The widening from c. 0.3 cm to c. 3.0 cm in height gives the ring a triangular profile.¹⁹⁰⁴ Usually the central figurative motif is depicted in a circular or more rarely rectangular area in the middle of the bezel. The circular form is perhaps a remnant from earlier bezels, as in the vernicle rings, which consisted solely of a disc.

Alf Hammervold suggests that in the course of the 15th century and the early 16th century the motifs used in rings became more abstract and the use of symbols and allegories increased. This can be seen for instance in the use of lilies and monograms referring to the Virgin Mary. Also combining several motifs into one ring became common.¹⁹⁰⁵ These developments are clearly present in the iconographic ring. Its main motif is usually surrounded by a floral garland,¹⁹⁰⁶ but in some cases, by a crown of thorns,¹⁹⁰⁷ or a garland of vine leaves and grapes¹⁹⁰⁸. The shoulders have been decorated with leafage, cruciates or garlands borne by crowns, or human and angelic figures, which can reach around the hoop.¹⁹⁰⁹ Hence the count of visual areas is at least three, or even four, if the hoop presents one further motif. Iconographic rings are either assemblages of elements cast

¹⁸⁹⁹ Hammervold 1997, 51.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Airola 1990.

¹⁹⁰¹ Cf. Lindahl 2003, nos. 186–187.

¹⁹⁰² Oman 1974, 54; Scarisbrick 1994, 23.

¹⁹⁰³ E.g. Backman 1963, 49.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Fagerström 1989, 161–162.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Hammervold 1997, 61.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Andersson 1959, 268.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Hildebrand 1898, 416.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Backman 1963, 48–49.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Hildebrand 1898, 417.

separately and soldered together, or rings cast as whole, all elements formed by the same mould at once. Very often the motifs on the latter kinds of rings are blurred, occasionally to the extent that they are no longer recognizable, and it is likely that they were cast with moulds made with the former ones as models. Possibly in the earlier iconographic rings, the main motif was made separately and attached to the bezel and in the later rings it was cast with the whole ring. Whatever technique was chosen, due to the number of pictorial elements present in iconographic rings, they formed a complex medium with many layers of representation brought together, thus forming a complex semiotic entity.

Typical of iconographic rings is the application of religiously inspired motifs.¹⁹¹⁰ Most common scenes are, in addition to the face of Christ, Calvary scene, and Madonna with the Child,¹⁹¹¹ though the motif representing Madonna with the Child appears into the Scandinavian rings already as early as the 13th century, the Calvary scene sometime in the 13th and 14th centuries as well as the St. Veronica motif.¹⁹¹² One of the motifs, the Calvary scene, was transformed in iconographic rings from representing solely Christ to include Virgin and St. John.¹⁹¹³ There also appeared new religious motifs. Depictions of various saints and especially the image of St. Anne *Selbdritt* was added into the repertoire. Hearts and other symbols or the *Arma Christi* referring to Christ's passion became represented on the iconographic rings as well as animals such as eagles and harts with Biblical associations.¹⁹¹⁴ Although the abundance of pictorial motifs, it is not common to find inscriptions engraved on the iconographic rings in the same extent as in the earlier, simpler hoops,¹⁹¹⁵ partly probably because the abundant relief decoration did not leave room for them. As a group, iconographic rings constitute the most common Late Medieval ring type in Scandinavia. They are thought to have been imitated from the northern German silversmithing.¹⁹¹⁶

The rings realized in Gothic style were popular based on the number surviving to the present-day, and their motifs were adopted into the folk art, where they were applied well into the 19th century. Already Hildebrand notes that iconographic rings were made long after the Middle Ages for rural consumption.¹⁹¹⁷ In Finland, according to Pykkänen, these rings of medieval type were commonly produced as engagement rings in the modern period.¹⁹¹⁸

Iconographic finger rings with depictions of Christ and other holy persons

Although five of the Finnish Golgotha rings are of the iconographic type, the sixth conforms to the earlier form with a hoop and a separately made circular bezel. Fanny Pajula acquired this ring from Northern Ingermanland in 1894 or 1895 (Cat. 23:27). The ring's hoop has a band of circular embossing between two pairs of ridges. Some of the lobes have been punched through as holes. A separately cast bezel has been soldered to the hoop. The openwork bezel depicts Christ on the Cross surrounded by the Virgin Mary on the heraldic right and St. John on the left. The crown of thorns with six cinquefoils frames the scene. The ring was probably made on the latter part of the 15th century, since although the hoop resembles rings of the 15th century, the garland of six flowers around the scene bears more resemblance to iconographic rings of the latter part of the century.

A ring from the Karl Hedman collection, possibly found in Ostrobothnia, depicts Christ on the Cross with the Virgin Mary and St. John (Cat. 23:28). The scene was cast along with a surrounding circular frame, and this element was then soldered to the body of the ring. The central motif is further surrounded by a garland with five cinquefoils. Two knops are placed below and above the garland. Vegetative motifs encircle the bezel, and they are connected to each other with three

¹⁹¹⁰ Fagerström 1989, 153.

¹⁹¹¹ Backman 1963, 50, 59.

¹⁹¹² Hammervold 1997, 61.

¹⁹¹³ Lindahl 2003, 31.

¹⁹¹⁴ Lindahl 2003, 36.

¹⁹¹⁵ Lindahl 2003, 34.

¹⁹¹⁶ Kjellberg 1939, 88; Lindahl 2003, 34.

¹⁹¹⁷ Hildebrand 1898, 417.

¹⁹¹⁸ Pykkänen 1955, 306.

ridges around the hoop. The hoop and the bezel have also a small circling rope-like ornament near the two edges. Based on parallels, which however also lack firmly grounded datings, the Golgotha ring could have been made in the latter part of the 15th or early 16th centuries.

Although rather badly darkened and eroded, the Golgotha ring found in the excavations of Lemland Church in 1957 seems to have a separately made central motif which is attached to a garland adorned with five-petalled flowers (Cat. 23:29). Also the vegetative motifs on both sides of the central motif present some resemblance with the ring of Karl Hedman's collection which suggests the find dates also to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The last of the Golgotha ring's with more than one soldered element was found among other artefacts from the 'shaman's grave' at the Mukkala burial ground in Savukoski (Cat. 23:30). The ring is made of gilt pewter, and it appears to be cast in two parts, after which the inner frame and the outer ornamental parts were soldered together. The central scene on the front is surrounded by a circle with twelve triangular protrusions resembling rays and perhaps symbolizing the twelve apostles. The shoulders around the central area depict a vegetative motif. On the basis of coins found in the same burial, the deceased was laid there sometime after the 1590s.¹⁹¹⁹

The rest two Finnish Golgotha rings have been cast as one piece. Both of them are also from Ostrobothnia, one belonging to the Karl Hedman collection and the other to the National Museum of Finland to which it was donated by an antiques dealer in 1939. In the former ring, though badly worn, the central motif is clearly a Golgotha scene framed by a circle (Cat. 23:31). The scene, however, is surrounded by very ambiguous and unidentifiable motifs, possibly a garland. Four knops have been placed symmetrically around the bezel. The very high front combined with the use of knops and casting technique connects the item to parallels dated to the 16th century. Almost a similar description can be applied to the other Ostrobothnian Golgotha ring (Cat. 23:32), which, however, has two knops instead of four, placed above and below the central motif. Despite these small differences, the ring was also made during the 16th century. Lastly, the first art-historical expedition of the Finnish Archaeological Society in 1871 made a sketch of an iconographic silver ring with the Golgotha motif at the Dalsbruk Manor, Kemiönsaari, but its present whereabouts is unknown.¹⁹²⁰

The Virgin Mary and the Child is another typical religious theme in the Scandinavian iconographic rings, and three such items are also attested in Finland. In some of the late medieval rings, the Virgin Mary is depicted as a full standing figure, but all the Finnish examples represent her from the waist upwards. The most impressive of the three rings was found during the dredging of the Aurajoki River in front of Turku Castle in 1860 (Fig. 95) (Cat. 23:33). Carefully executed in gold, it places the Virgin Mary and the Child inside a band of clouds surrounded by rays of light which refer to the apocalyptic vision in the Book of Revelations.¹⁹²¹ Two angels holding hearts flank the central motif. Both of the figures appear from a flower and carry two cinquefoils above their heads. Furthermore, the hoop has a small rope-like ornament circling near the contours of the body. The exact dating of iconographic rings is frustratingly complex, but the year 1500 around which Johan Reinhold Aspelin dates the ring seems appropriate.¹⁹²²

The Apocalyptic Madonna reoccurs in the two other Finnish rings along with flanking angels. In contrast to the ring of Turku, though, the central scene is not surrounded by a belt of clouds but instead by a garland with five cinquefoils in both rings. Moreover, a crescent moon is depicted underneath the Virgin and the Child. The first of the two rings was discovered in the field of Heikkilä farm in the village of Kaloila in Hauho (present-day Hämeenlinna) in summer 1951 (Cat. 23:34), when foundations for a house were dug. The site is about two kilometres from Hauho Church. The other one of the two was found while ploughing a field near Lake Pyhäjärvi in Nuoliala village in Pirkkala in 1892 (Cat. 23:35). They might both be contemporary with the ring from Turku or slightly younger. The motif appears also in the seals of Archdeacon Niklis Mulle in 1457 and of the Turku Chapter in 1507.¹⁹²³

1919 *Leppäaho 1937, 140–143.*

1920 *I wish to thank Markus Hiekkänen for bringing the sketch to my attention; NM neg. 180565.*

1921 *Rev. 12:1.*

1922 *Aspelin 1883.*

1923 *FMS 32, 40.*

Fig. 95. Finger ring of gold found during the dredging of the Aurajoki River in front of Turku Castle in 1860. The central motif depicts the Virgin Mary and the Child inside a band of clouds surrounded by rays of light (Cat. 23:33).



The Virgin Mary and Child are also present in one iconographic ring of the Karl Hedman collection, but this time on the lap of St. Anne (Cat. 23:36). The central motif of St. Anne *Selbdritt* is once again surrounded by a garland and placed between vegetative motifs encircling the hoop. St. Anne *Selbdritt* is a rather common motif among Finnish medieval wooden sculptures and other ecclesiastical art. Anu Vuorela lists fourteen St. Anne *Selbdritt* depictions in ecclesiastical wall paintings, wooden sculptures, altar screens and glass paintings.¹⁹²⁴ A unique feature of the ring, however, consists of the unusually large knobs above and below the central motif and especially pieces of spiral wire on both sides of them. The use of wire is a feature reminiscent of modern vernacular adaptations of medieval motifs, and thus it is plausible that the ring is rather young among the iconographic rings and dates from the 16th century.

The last ring in the Finnish material with a depiction of Christ is the ring from Nousiainen (Cat. 23:37). This artefact is highly worn, but the central motif seems to depict the Seat of Mercy, or God receiving the sacrificed Christ on the cross. Also the Holy Spirit is present in the form of a dove, but not visible in the Nousiainen ring. The scene is surrounded by a sexfoil and placed between geometrical motifs resembling the letter B and its mirror image. Two large knobs are placed above and below the central scene. Although the blurred contours of the ring might raise doubts about the identification of the motif as the seat of mercy, the ring found in Grythytte in Central Sweden supports this conclusion (Fig. 96). It has preserved the contours of its decorations much better; they have a similar elongated sexfoil surrounding the figures and even knobs above and below the central scene as in the Finnish piece, but instead of geometrical forms, the motifs flanking the main scene depict flowers with stems.¹⁹²⁵ As in finger rings, the motif of Seat of Mercy is not very common in Finnish medieval art. Wooden sculptures depicting the motif are known from six churches: Isokyrö in Ostrobothnia, Somero and Hattula in Häme and Rusko, Lokalahti and Jurmo in Southwest Finland.

In contrast to the figures of Christ or other members of the holy family, depictions of other humans as the main motif are relatively rare in Finnish iconographic rings. This is rather

¹⁹²⁴ Vuorela 2002.

¹⁹²⁵ SHM 27067; Helger 1945, 26, 29.

surprising bearing in mind the importance of saints in medieval devotional life, in the surviving ecclesiastical wooden sculptures, and the corpus of medieval seal impressions. Backman suggests that the rarity of human figures is an effect of the Reformation and its negative attitude towards the devotion of saints.¹⁹²⁶ There are, nevertheless, five finger rings in the Finnish material, which probably have an image of a saint as their main motif. A ring found in the fields of the Pyömi or Björn farm in Lappi (present-day Rauma) was deposited in the Rauma Museum but was subsequently lost (Cat. 23:38). Based on photographs and Jari Sjölund's description, its main motif consisted of a garland with six five-petalled flowers framing a disc with a serrated edge and a wreath surrounding a human bust. Unfortunately the central motif was already so badly worn at the time of documentation that the figure remains unidentified. Sjölund suggests, however, that it probably depicted a saint.¹⁹²⁷



Fig. 96. A finger ring found in Grythytte in Central Sweden has a depiction of the Seat of Mercy. The outer diameter of the object is 2.5 cm, and the inner 2.1 cm. The height of the front is 2.3 cm and that of the back 0.7 cm (SHM 27067).

The Lappi ring remains unique in the Finnish material, because the other four rings share astonishingly similar appearance depicting a standing human figure. The first of the rings belongs to the Bergman collection without further provenance information (Cat. 23:42), and the second is part of the Karl Hedman collection with equally weak details of its background (Cat. 23:41). Fortunately, one of the rings is recorded to have been found in Kiikoinen (Cat. 23:39) and the other in Ikaalinen (Cat. 23:40). All four rings are cast as one piece and are of late form, probably dating from the mid-16th century. They have pointed bezels with badly worn contours, which cannot be identified with certainty, although it is clear that the main motif depicts a human figure with a large head and a straddling posture. The figure has stretched his, or less likely her, right arm to a vertical position. Some remnants of further elements are visible below the waist on both sides of the figure. Finally, the scene is framed by a six-petalled form, perhaps a flower, as in the Seat of Grace ring from Nousiainen.

The human figure in these rings could be St. George, who stands on the dragon and plunges his lance into the beast's mouth. At least in this manner the motif is depicted in the Sámi brooch in which the saint wears full armour and raises his right arm to pierce the dragon with a lance. The beast raises its head to St. George's knee-level, and the tail swirls upwards on the right side of the saint at the level of his hips. Depictions of the saint are rather common among medieval ecclesiastical wood sculptures, although complete St. George groups with the saint, the dragon and the princess are somewhat fewer. Moreover, in addition to the Sámi brooch, the motif of St. George slaying a dragon is also known from some Scandinavian finger rings, such as the one in the collections of the Kulturen Museum in Lund lacking further provenance information,¹⁹²⁸ or the ring in the National Museum of Denmark.¹⁹²⁹

The four rings with the same motif also present other similarities. They have very pointed bezels with deformed knobs. Also the motif flanking the central scene, comprising three pits, is a shared similarity. Because of these reoccurring features, one cannot avoid wondering whether the rings

¹⁹²⁶ Backman 1963, 67–69.

¹⁹²⁷ Sjölund 1980, 163–169.

¹⁹²⁸ Bengtsson 1974, 62.

¹⁹²⁹ Lindahl 2003, 131 no. 222.

are of the same origin. This indeed could be the case as the two rings with provenance information are from the Upper Satakunta region. Moreover, the ring of the Karl Hedman collection could well have been acquired from that area.

The last item to be discussed in connection with finger rings with human figures is a gilt silver ring found in Alastaro (present-day Loimaa) (Cat. 23:43). It is a typical late iconographic ring with hoop widening towards the front. The central motif depicts a bearded male face framed with a row of small balls, while four larger balls are placed in the four corners of the bezel. There are further decorations around the bezel but they have eroded and remain unidentifiable. The male face could point to the *Facies Christi* motif, but in this case, the face is plump and the nose pointed, whereas the beard and hair make somewhat a shaggy impression. It is not a face of Christ, but of a Wild Man, a popular figure or motif in late medieval, Renaissance and even Baroque art. Hence, the motif itself does not help dating of the ring. The form of the ring seems to be rather late as well as the style of depicting the face, but since the ring has no parallels in the Scandinavian material, it can be dated only broadly to the 16th century, preferably to the latter part of the century.

Iconographic finger rings with depictions of animals

The rest of the Finnish iconographic rings do not depict human figures except occasional angels flanking the central motif. Of four legged-creatures, a deer facing to the heraldic left has been depicted in a ring of a hoard found in Laihia, Ostrobothnia (Fig. 35) (Fig. 36) (Cat. 23:44). The animal is framed by a partly damaged garland with five flowers. Symmetrical vegetative decorations, perhaps an acorn and leaves of oak, are placed on both sides of the central scene. The ring was part of a hoard which contained a silver spoon and coins. Unlike the coins, the spoon was never acquired for the National Museum. The youngest coin in the hoard dates from the reign of John III, and the finger ring seems to date from the latter part of the 16th century.

Another animal of the same species is present in the ring donated by the vicar of Uusikaupunki Church in 1886 (Cat. 23:45). In contrast to the deer of the Laihia ring, it faces to the heraldic right, but is also framed by a garland with five flowers. The ring is sturdier and has two knobs below and above the central scene. The vegetative motifs flanking the central scene are more schematic, but could also refer to acorns and oak leaves. The last ring with a deer as the main motif is from Koukkuniemi, Tampere (Cat. 23:46). The object was cast as one piece, is badly eroded and has four rather large knobs placed symmetrically around the animal.

The unicorn fantasy animal has found its place as the main motif in two finger rings in the material. The hoard discovered in Törmäsenlahti, Kuusamo contained along with coins and a spoon, a finger ring of silver (Cat. 23:47). The central motif of the iconographic ring depicts a unicorn framed by a crown of thorns with six cinquefoils. The other ring with a unicorn is also from a hoard found in Kaskinen (Cat. 23:48), and again the central motif is surrounded by a garland with six cinquefoils. Moreover, two angels have been placed around the bezel as caryatids.

Another kind of four-legged creature is present in the ring possibly found in Sysmä (Cat. 23:49). The beast is a goat with spiralling horns. Unlike in other rings, the motif is placed on the same axis as the hoop, but nevertheless, the scene is framed with a garland with cinquefoils. The goat on the ring seems to be raising one of its forelegs. A similar act is performed in the ring found at the parsonage of Iisalmi (Cat. 23:50), but the animal does not have a horn as in the Sysmä ring. In fact, its species is difficult to identify. The creature has some kind of a collar or ring around its neck and an arching tail, but even another arch is depicted above its head. The beast could be a canine or most likely a lion as the cataloguer identified it.

In two rings, the main motif depicts a bird, or rather an eagle. First one of them, found in a field at Talala village in Punkalaidun, was composed of several parts soldered together (Cat. 23:51). The central motif, an eagle spreading its wings, is surrounded by a garland with five five-petalled flowers. The two sides are decorated with angel figures. The other ring with a bird was possibly

found in Turku and donated to the State Historical Museum of Finland in 1894 (Cat. 23:52). The ring, cast as one piece, has a large eagle spreading its wings. The animal is surrounded by remnants of a garland with five-petalled flowers and four symmetrically placed knops. The flanking motifs are also worn but they were probably vegetative.

Although the ring of Turku was probably a stray find, it is noteworthy that three of the nine iconographic rings with animals were discovered in caches. The ratio might seem poor, but they are the only iconographic rings in Finland found in hoards, if the ring from Mukkala is not taken into account. The latter ring was found in a grave among other artefacts and coins. Another interesting point is that all the creatures depicted on these finger rings are also animals present in contemporary heraldic devices.

Iconographic finger rings with depictions of hearts, flowers and other motifs

Hearts and flowers are ambiguous motifs. On the one hand, they may have Christian connotations while the other hand, they can be references to secular love or be merely decorative ornaments. A pierced heart might indicate Christ and His sacrifice, and it may well be a sign of earthly lovers. According to Malcolm Jones, it is difficult to distinguish between the courtly and religious use of the love motifs in some cases, but the context and other motifs associated with the motifs can help to discern the intended meaning.¹⁹³⁰ Although hearts are depicted as secondary motifs in some rings, as the main figure, the heart appears in only one ring found near the church of Linnamäki in Kivennapa, the southeasternmost parish of ceded Karelia (Cat. 23:53). The heart is framed by a garland and two angel figures, which suggest that the heart is indeed the symbol of Christ and divine love, although the same motif, a heart inside a garland, is depicted in a coat of arms attributed to the Gyllenhjerta family.¹⁹³¹

As a secondary motif, the heart is applied in a ring that was found when raking the garden of Iso Villilä farm in Uusikaupunki (Cat. 23:63). Hearts appear in decorations flanking the central scene and are pierced by an oak branch with two leaves and an acorn. The main motif is the Gothic majuscule letter *S* with contours emphasized with engravings.

A hemispherical bulge or knop is used as the main motif in few finger rings as in the one found in the field of Jussila Farm in Ähtäri (Cat. 23:54). The central motif depicts a hemisphere surrounded by a belt of 17 small knops. The scene is framed by a garland with five cinquefoil flowers. Three-branched vegetative motifs have been placed on both sides of the central scene. A similar ring was found in the sieving of the soil removed from inside Perniö Church (Cat. 23:55). In this item, the rounded central motif is surrounded by a row of 16 small knops. Four larger knops on the four corners of the bezel surround the central motif. The backs of these four knops as well as the back of the central motif were made hollow.

Although the number of iconographic rings adorned with the hemispherical bulge remains only two, the motif itself seems to have been popular, at least based on its repeated use in younger vernacular rings. Perhaps a vernacular appropriation of the motif is present in a ring possibly from Pori, which has the shape of an iconographic ring (Cat. 23:56). It has a clearly articulated lozenge bezel with a knop in each corner and a ridge following the outer edge. The central motif consists of a bulging rectangle surrounded by eight small flower-like pits. Based on its shape, the ring could be from the late 16th, early 17th century, but most of the rings with a bulging main motif are much younger. In them, the front has become taller, but also leaner and instead of knops, the central motif is surrounded by rings. They are characteristic of modern vernacular and Sámi jewellery.

Flowers are present in the ornamentation of almost every surviving iconographic ring, but as the central motif it is present in a small group of rings. Two rather similar rings with a six-petalled flower surrounded by a garland with five five-petalled flowers have been found, one probably

¹⁹³⁰ Jones 2002, 210–211.

¹⁹³¹ Vapensköldar 340.

in Joutsa (Cat. 23:57) and another in Hämeenkoski (Cat. 23:58). The Joutsa ring is, moreover, decorated with a pair of oak branches with acorns, while the ring of Hämeenkoski has a pair of wingless human figures raising their hands.

One unprovenanced ring in Karl Hedman's collection resembles the two rings, though its contours have blurred (Cat. 23:60). Like the Hämeenkoski ring, it seems to have a pair of human figures on its shoulders, but its central motif has also a knop above and below. A six-petalled flower is also depicted on a gilt ring of unknown provenance. There the flower has a cone-shaped centre and a rose-like appearance. In a similar vein, the five flowers in the garland around the central motif appear to be roses.

Also the ring found in Saltvik Church has a rose-like central motif, which is possibly surrounded by a garland (Cat. 23:61). The ring, however, is stylistically younger than any of its counterparts, since it has four volutes arching over both shoulders. The Renaissance characteristics place its production to the late 16th or early 17th century. Though not necessarily younger than the ring from Saltvik, the unprovenanced gilt silver ring in the Karl Hedman collection displays the adoption of the motif to the vernacular jewellery (Cat. 23:62). It still has the shape of an iconographic ring, but the motif itself is made with six tear-shaped pits arranged as petals of a flower and marked to the casting model. The ring has no other ornaments except remnants of two knops on the tips of the front and ridges around them.

Decorative finger rings with stones in the 16th century

Despite the popularity and numbers of iconographic rings in the late 15th century and the entire 16th century, other kinds of rings were also in use. One group, though not very numerous, consists of decorative rings, or rather rings with mounted stones. Mounted rings might borrow their general form from iconographic rings like the two mounted items in the material. The first one is currently in private ownership, but documented in the archives of the National Museum (Cat. 23:65). The ring has a mounted, circular red garnet as its main motif surrounded by a garland with five flowers. The garland is held by two hands on both sides. According to archive records, the ring has belonged to Carolin Grels/Gregorius Haartman (Uskela 1684–1760 Nauvo) which might indicate that the ring originated from Southwest Finland. The other ring was found as part of a hoard in the village of Sunnavik in Siuntio (Cat. 23:64). The treasure consisted of 26 silver coins, a piece of silver and two finger rings. The ring in question has a circular bezel with a four-nailed mount for a missing stone. A rope-like band encircles the mount. The mount and the band are framed by eight flower petals. A vegetative motif with three leaves was placed on both sides of the bezel.

Riitta Pylkkänen suggests that the decorative rings mentioned in the late-16th-century testaments of Philippa Fleming and Karin Hansdotter were probably similar to the surviving Renaissance rings in Sweden. These rings have their prototypes in the decorative drawings of Continental European ornament carvers, which made the fashionable jewellery stylistically unified in different parts of Europe. In addition to the stylistic uniformity and the abandonment of composing rings from a pool of iconographically laden motifs, the finger rings generally became increasingly ornamental objects motivated by the sole purpose to be shown and seen. This was enhanced by the custom of attaching rings to hats or garments as decorative elements.¹⁹³²

In stylistic terms, the Reformation made the use of religious symbols and religious inscriptions unfashionable. These were replaced classical motifs of volutes and herms. The shoulders of finger rings gained more importance and were used as decorative elements and not just functional necessities bearing the collet.¹⁹³³ The Renaissance style aspired to achieve symmetry, and decorative stones were no longer scattered over the ring. Instead, they were substituted by one central stone, which often was emphasized with rich enamelling. Precious stones that were commonly set were

¹⁹³² Pylkkänen 1956, 308; Lindahl 2003, 55.

¹⁹³³ Fagerström 1989, 31, 154.



Fig. 97. Fides ring of gilt silver from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries found in Kuninkaanoja, Raisio. The inscription set in Roman majuscles reads *KH*L*M*D (Cat. 23:69).

garnets, turquoises, sapphires, rubies and emeralds, which were usually table-cut or cabochon-grind or, less often, in pyramid shape. The stone setting was closed inside the collet or bezel and usually base was decorated with enamel.

Finger rings with knot and fides motifs

Engagements and weddings gave a central ceremonial position to rings, which also affected their ornamentation of chains and hands referring to creating and maintaining liaisons. Despite the apparent popularity of the holding hands motif, there survives only one ring with the chain motif (Cat. 23:66). It was discovered as a stray find in Sääksmäki, Valkeakoski and is privately owned. The main motif of the ring depicts two hoops or chains twined together. Moreover, the outer surface of the hoop has an engraved frieze of triangles, whereas the inner surface has an engraved inscription set in Gothic minuscules: *maria hilf mir daz ich kann*, 'Mary, help me, [so] that I can'. Based on the style characteristics as well as Scandinavian parallels, the ring can be dated to around 1500.

Fides rings are much more common than the unique knot ring, although the mid-14th century fides ring found in Hämeenlinna is only one of those dating from the High Middle Ages. All other rings point to the late 15th but mostly to the 16th century. Hence, based on Finnish material, although used in the Middle Ages, fides rings achieved their highest popularity during the 16th century. A ring of bronze made in the 16th century, as revealed by the ornamental fillets on the shoulders, was recovered from the ruins of the Kökar Convent. It depicts two hands holding a heart (Cat. 23:67). Similar Renaissance ornamentation with volutes was applied to the shoulders of a gilt silver ring found in Kuninkaanoja, Raisio (Fig. 97) (Cat. 23:69). Further confirmation of its young age is given by its inscription set in Roman majuscles: *KH*L*M*D. The first two letters KH could refer to the groom and the latter three letters LMD (-dotter?) to the bride. Not too far from Raisio, a fides ring of gilt silver was found in the excavations of Mynämäki Church in 1959 (Cat. 23:70). Another silver ring with a fides motif and Renaissance ornaments was discovered in Sarkalahti, Luumäki in East Finland in 1939 (Cat. 23:71).

In addition to fides rings of precious metals, there are further examples of the motif applied to base metal rings. The excavations in Saltvik Church revealed a ring made of copper alloys, which has two hands holding possibly a crowned heart (Cat. 23:72). Also the ring found in Lemland Church depicts a similar motif despite being worn almost beyond recognition (Cat. 23:73). The fourth fides ring of copper alloy is from the Åland Islands (Cat. 23:74). Half of the Finnish fides rings are thus from Åland Islands, while two are from Southwest Finland, one from Hämeenlinna Castle and one is from the eastern part of the country. Chronologically they concentrate in the 16th century, although the rings of Hämeenlinna Castle and the Kökar Convent are older than the rest.

Late-16th-century hoop finger rings

As predecessors of modern traditions, some of the Early Modern rings were of rather simple design with plain hoops and engraved inscriptions. An example of this type was discovered in a field at Tenhola farm in Hattula (Cat. 23:75). It has a flat, rather high hoop with a pair of ridges encircling the hoop on its edges. The area between the ridges of the Hattula ring has an engraved inscription set with Roman majuscules stating *O *HELPH *IHESU *CHRISTUS, 'O Help, Jesus Christ'. Although its design signals that the ring was made in the late 16th century or even in the 17th century, the lamentation echoes the medieval tradition of petitioning to holy persons through objects.

An Early Modern hoop ring invention, or perhaps reinvention, is represented by a gilt silver ring purchased for the collection of the National Museum and lacking further information on provenance (Cat. 23:77). The hoop does not form a complete circle, but spirals two and a half times counter-clockwise. The outer surface has no ornaments, but an inscription with Roman majuscules stating *I *I *S [-son?] *M *M *D [-dotter?] * was engraved inside the hoop. It is not probably apparent that the form of the spiralling ring is referring to snakes, but this association can be made on the basis of other Nordic parallels. The snake is much more recognizable in a gilt silver ring discovered inside Hämeenlinna Castle (Cat. 23:78) and in two other possible gold rings found in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 23:79). In these rings, the hoop with its engraved scales forms a circle with the tip of the beast's tail curling towards the neck. The thicker end of the hoop is formed into a face which seems to be carrying a crown or other ornament on its head. In general, snakes became a Renaissance style feature favoured in the jewellery of the latter part of the 16th century.

The distinctive finger ring group of spiral and serpent rings was created in the late 16th century and crafted in the Renaissance style. These rings resemble the prehistoric rings in their spiral form, but often the spiral has the appearance of a serpent. Serpent rings were popular among the nobility and burghers, which can be seen from the 16th century epitaphs and the jewellery depicted in them. Although the serpent ring was introduced in the 16th century, its heyday was nevertheless the 17th century. Since the serpent ring cunningly shares its appearance with the prehistoric Scandinavian rings, and the Early Modern ring type is not common outside Scandinavia, Lindahl considers it possible that the type was actually an antiquarian imitation of prehistoric finds. Furthermore, the prehistoric spiral rings were interpreted as signs of 'bride-buying', and indeed, the serpent motif was especially popular in engagement and wedding rings.¹⁹³⁴ Besides the Nordic prehistoric examples, the serpent as the symbol of eternity was already used in Antiquity, which made it an appealing motif to resurface in Renaissance arts.¹⁹³⁵

The excavations in the Kökar Convent area have also revealed a ring of bronze (Cat. 23:76). Although its hoop spirals two times counter-clockwise, the ring actually does not appear to belong to the group of snake finger rings. Most of the hoop is flat and plain in cross-section, but the middle coil has been twisted. Similar rings are frequent in the 16th-century hoards and rural cemeteries of Southern Estonia.¹⁹³⁶ For instance, a ring of silver and of the same design was discovered among the artefacts of the Palutaja hoard. On the basis of its coins, the cache was deposited during the Livonian War (1558–1583).¹⁹³⁷

¹⁹³⁴ Lindahl 2003, 46–47.

¹⁹³⁵ Oman 1974, 26–27.

¹⁹³⁶ Valk 1991, 186–187, 190–192.

¹⁹³⁷ Valk & Jonuks 2007.

As revealed by inscriptions engraved on rings, a relatively large portion of the late medieval and Early Modern finger rings can be interpreted as engagement or wedding rings. Hence it is probable that many of the plain and simple hoops were used for the same purpose, but their dating remains in many cases dubious and thus they are left underrepresented in the research material. Notwithstanding the problems of dating individual pieces, the datable Early Modern finger rings with plain hoops seem to have a rather tall body and a cross-section in the shape of the letter D. This form, however, remained in use all the way to the 18th century. By the 17th century, engagement rings had established their position, and in the latter part of the 17th century, the simple hoop rings with smooth surface and inscriptions engraved on the inner surface became the convention.¹⁹³⁸

Signet finger rings

A special group of finger rings is formed by signet rings, used as their owner's signatures or signs of allegiance. In the Old Testament, Joseph is said to have a royal signet as an insignia of his authority.¹⁹³⁹ In Pre- and Early Modern society, the transfer of signet rings from one person to another signified the transfer of power.¹⁹⁴⁰ Rings were used as signets in Western and Southern Europe since Roman times, and they were adopted also in the North.¹⁹⁴¹ In Scandinavia, signet rings were in use from the Viking Age onwards and throughout the Middle Ages, but they did not gain popularity until towards the end of the medieval period,¹⁹⁴² and it was not until the 15th century that heraldic signets became popular among the nobility.¹⁹⁴³ By the 17th century, however, noblemen adopted the signet ring as their insignia and the first written accounts of rings being used even by the Sámi were recorded, although it is considered likely that rings were used among the Sámi long before the written evidence.¹⁹⁴⁴

During the Middle Ages signet rings had an obvious connection with seal matrices and literary culture. Indeed Bengt Bengtsson states that signet rings were owned by people associated with literary culture, and their growing popularity at the Late Middle Ages was due to the growing literacy in society. Moreover, rings as such were already symbols of standing and might. Many bishops and elder ecclesiastical men were buried with their signet rings, because the value of the objects was so intertwined with their person that the finger rings could not be passed over as inheritance.¹⁹⁴⁵

Heraldry spread rapidly in Europe from the 13th century onwards, not only in the ranks of kings and nobles, but also among churchmen and merchants. Some merchants used a coat of arms or identification marks for marking their goods.¹⁹⁴⁶ Oman even points out that the need for signet rings, in fact, did not affect the nobility as much as the lower levels of social ranks since the latter were more frequently involved in authentication of various documents related to business. In the British Isles, seal impressions based on the owner's initials were popular in the Middle Ages, but using matrices was not very practical and required care when making an impression. Hence merchants often preferred signet rings with their product mark on them.¹⁹⁴⁷

In Scandinavia, signet rings begun to gain popularity among the yeomen during the 15th and 16th centuries. The burgher and peasant signet rings were usually inscribed with an identification mark and made of such base metals as bronze or even iron. They have rather large shoulders with decorations including Moresque, acanthus, volute and herm motifs in relief. During the 16th century, the shoulders of the rings were occasionally decorated with garnets or sapphires, less commonly with rubies.¹⁹⁴⁸ Their motifs are usually engraved directly on the bezel of metal, while the use of a stone was exceptional, limited to the higher social ranks. Where these late signet rings

¹⁹³⁸ Lindahl 2003, 45.

¹⁹³⁹ Gen. 41:42.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Jones 1890, 1–3; Scarisbrick 1994, 6.

¹⁹⁴¹ E.g. Bengtsson 1974, 49.

¹⁹⁴² Kjellberg 1939, 86.

¹⁹⁴³ Oman 1974, 30.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Fjellström 1962a, 137–138; Itkonen 1948a, 370–371.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Bengtsson 1974, 49, 51.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Scarisbrick 1994, 15–16.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Oman 1974, 30.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Fagerström 1989, 168.

bear an initial or an identification mark instead of a coat of arms, they are often surmounted by a crown and flanked by palm branches.¹⁹⁴⁹

The common type of signet ring of metal in the 16th and 17th centuries was a plain hoop with an oval bezel. The defining feature of one type of signet ring is the widening of the shoulders seamlessly into a bezel, although they might be ornamented with a series of vertical grooves. In another type, the difference between the shoulders and bezel is clearly articulated and both have elaborate Renaissance motifs such as volutes. The coat of arms or crest is engraved on the bezel possibly within in a roped border.¹⁹⁵⁰ In addition to the form of shoulders, signet rings of metal can be divided into further groups according the way the identity of their bearer is marked, whether there is a coat of arms or an identification mark placed on the shield.

All the surviving Finnish signet rings are from the late medieval and particularly the Early Modern Period. The oldest Finnish signet ring, made of brass, was found in Lempäälä in the late 19th century (Cat. 24:1). Its form is typical of the late medieval signet rings: the shoulders around the oval bezel are decorated with a pair of engraved rhombs while the rest of the hoop is plain. The bezel bears an engraved mirror image of the *yhs* monogram. The monogram and the form of the ring suggest that the object was made in the late 15th or early 16th century. Although the motif, referring to the cult of the Holy Name of Christ, was popular in the late medieval period, no exact parallels for the ring exist.

Besides the ring of Lempäälä, four signet rings in the material belong to the first type of signet ring with a plain hoop widening into a bezel. The first one, found somewhere in the Hämeenlinna region (Cat. 24:2), has two grooves engraved on its shoulders and one circling them along with bezel. The bezel is oval in shape and has engraved initials *CL* above a large shield with a tiered bendwise with three saltires. Another signet ring of unknown provenance is very similar to the one found in Hämeenlinna, though instead of grooves it has faint floral motifs engraved on the shoulders (Fig. 98) (Cat. 24:3). The oval bezel has the initials *I*O* and below them, a shield of Renaissance type with an identification mark. Another ring of the same type has a slightly different form than the other two (Cat. 24:4). The ring of gilt copper has an oval bezel. Its shoulders are ornamented with a frieze of three depressions in the shape of the letter U, and below them a row of vertical lines. The bezel is worn, but probably contains the engraved letters *HF* and a Renaissance shield with an identification mark. Based on their parallels, the three rings of this type can be dated to the 16th century, preferably to the middle and latter part of the century.

The last example of the signet rings of the first type has no provenance information (Cat. 24:5). Made of brass, this ring is plain except for the octagonal bezel with the initials *IBS* and a Renaissance shield with an identification mark. Moreover, excavations in the area of earliest urban settlement in Helsinki revealed, apart from several rings of brass, one signet ring with the initials *SW* as well as a pendant signet matrix with the initials *MO* and an identification mark resembling the staff of Mercury.¹⁹⁵¹

The three surviving examples of precious metals of the second signet ring type, in which the shoulders and bezel are more clearly articulated as separate elements, are somewhat younger than the items of the first one. They date most likely from the latter part of the 16th and early 17th century. The first item of the type was found in Porvoo (Cat. 24:6). Its shoulders have engraved volutes around something which appears to be a human figure. The oval bezel has an engraved Renaissance shield with letters *DC*, resembling, for instance, the coat of arms of the Hordeel family. Moreover, the initials *I·I* were marked above the shield.

The Porvoo ring cannot be associated with any particular person, whereas the ring unearthed in Perniö Church can be attributed to a man known from written sources (Cat. 24:7). The shoulders of the ring have Renaissance volutes and also the shield on the bezel is of Renaissance type. The shield with two six-point mullets and a sable is surmounted by the initials *C·E*. The coat of arms belongs to the Sabelstierna family, which was raised to the nobility in 1609, and as Fagerström suggests, the

¹⁹⁴⁹ Oman 1974, 30; Scarisbrick 1994, 16.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Oman 1974, 32.

¹⁹⁵¹ Heikkinen 1994, 240–242.



*Fig. 98. Signet ring of unknown provenance with faint floral motifs engraved on the shoulders. The oval bezel has the initials I*O and below them, a shield of Renaissance type with an identification mark (Cat. 24:3).*

initials refer to Knut Eriksson Sabelstierna, the master of Hämeenkylä Manor in Perniö.¹⁹⁵² Based on written records, he had died by 1622, and was probably buried in the church. Hence the ring does not seem to date from the 16th century, but from the first decades of the following century. The last example of the second type was found in Sällvik, Pohja in 1910 and remains in private ownership, although exhibited in 1961 (Cat. 24:8). Like its parallels, it has Renaissance volutes on its shoulders. The oval bezel bears the initials *IE* and a shield of Renaissance type.

In addition to signet rings made entirely of metals, some of the signet rings are fitted with a precious stone on which the seal was engraved. This type of signet ring is much rarer in Finland, and only one such item is present in the material. It was found in a field 300 metres from the main building of Myrskylä Manor, Myrskylä in 1935 (Cat. 24:9). The gilt silver ring has a plain hoop widening into an octagon collet. It has a stone of jet with an engraved coat of arms. The seal depicts a Wild Man holding a club surmounted by a helmet and a handsome mantling. The letters *NM* and *HH* are engraved above the shield. This ring form is rather common but combined with the style of the engraving, it suggests a dating to around 1600.

According to Lindahl, signet rings of the nobility were made of gold, and it was often foreign artists and entrepreneurs who made the engravings of these refined seals. Farmers and burghers, especially merchants, in contrast, adopted the use of signet rings of silver and even more typically of bronze. Moreover, the signet of a yeoman did not have a coat of arms, but an engraved identification mark, perhaps accompanied by initials.¹⁹⁵³ Of the Finnish signet rings, only the gilt silver rings of Porvoo, Perniö and Myrskylä were made for the members of the nobility on the basis of their material, their refined execution and depictions of coats of arms. The rest of the rings belonged to burghers and farmers. Since the body of such rings could be cast as one piece and engravings were possibly added later, Lindahl suggests that some goldsmiths or other craftsmen produced prefabricated rings in large quantities. These half-finished items were sold at fairs and on other similar occasions. The customer selected a ring after which the initials and other commissioned marks were engraved on the piece and finally handed over to the buyer.¹⁹⁵⁴

¹⁹⁵² Fagerström 1989, 168.

¹⁹⁵³ Lindahl 2003, 50, 52.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Lindahl 2003, 53.

Finger rings of the Sarvas type

In the late 16th century, a very abundant ring group appeared which in earlier studies has commonly been termed ‘the pictorial finger ring group’ (Fi. kuvasormusryhmä).¹⁹⁵⁵ Here the term Sarvas type has been adopted instead, because the earlier name is very ill-chosen in view of how many other medieval and Early Modern finger ring types have various pictorial motives but still do not belong to the ‘the pictorial finger ring group’. Pekka Sarvas was the first to treat the ring type as a whole in an article published in 1973, and thus he has been chosen to be eponymous for the type, although Jukka Ervamaa’s article published in 1972 pointed out two rings of the type and launched the discussion.¹⁹⁵⁶ However, the rings of the Sarvas type have been part of scholarly discussion since the early 20th century, unlike many other objects in the present study, and a summary of the history of research helps to understand the complexity of issues related to the type.

Finger rings of the Sarvas type are made of iron, bronze and less frequently of silver. They comprise a plain hoop with an oval bezel. The motifs engraved on the bezel closely resemble the yeomen rings with incised, highly stylized representations of human figures, lions, birds and hatching.¹⁹⁵⁷ In the early 20th century, the ethnologist Uno Taavi Sirelius discussed a group of bronze and silver rings of the type as part of his studies of peasant costumes and material culture. He found similar rings in the material published from Ingermanland,¹⁹⁵⁸ which even included some rings, depicting human and bird motifs, found in a burial ground and published by Aleksander A. Spitsyn. Spitsyn dates the rings, in one publication, to the 15th century and to the 17th century in another.¹⁹⁵⁹ Partly this led Sirelius to suggest that similar rings were already produced in the Late Iron Age.

Sirelius discussed the ring group again in relation to the Sámi shamans and their graves. In addition to the drum, the shaman also needed a token (Fi. *arpa*) which could be a brass figure of an animal or a ring of copper. Often artefacts given to the shaman as payments or sacrifices were used as tokens, and some of them might have been finger rings, Sirelius suggests on the basis of finds discovered in shamans’ graves. One such burial is known from Kaakkurilampi in Sallansuu, Salla (Cat. 25:36, 39, 40) and one from an island in Lake Pöyliönlampi in Kuusamo (Cat. 25:5, 6, 14, 26, 27, 34, 35). The Kuusamo burial contained a copper coin minted during the reign of Queen Christina giving the burial a *terminus post quem* date to the mid-17th century. In addition to shamans’ hammers and copper rings, both burials included finger rings. The burial of Salla revealed nine finger rings and the Kuusamo burial seven. Sirelius concludes that these rings must be considered drum tokens.

Later similar rings were found from another shaman’s grave discovered as part of the Mukkala burial ground in Savukoski (Cat. 25:4, 12, 29, 37, 41, 42).¹⁹⁶⁰ In an article describing the Mukkala graves, Jorma Leppäaho compared the rings with 29 Estonian rings from Tartu Museum published by H. E. Hartmann in 1871. One of the Estonian rings had been found in a hoard consisting of 16th- and 17th-century coins.¹⁹⁶¹ As a matter of fact, already in 1902 Axel Olof Heikel had bought four similar bronze bezel rings with lion and bird motifs from Tartu and published them in 1909. However, the provenances of Heikel’s rings remain very poor. The only information available is that they were found somewhere ‘around Tartu’.¹⁹⁶²

All the rings from the shamans’ graves are of the Sarvas type representing human figures and birds but the finds included also a ring with engraved net-like ornamentation. Sirelius points out two further rings with similar motifs. One is a stray find from Huiskuniemi in Hiitola with a human figure engraved on the bezel (Cat. 25:1), while the other was found in grave no. 2 of the Crusade Period burial ground of Suotniemi in Käkisalmi (Cat. 23:5).

Jorma Leppäaho and Kustaa Vilkuna associated the Käkisalmi ring with representations of warriors or knights in Finnish folklore,¹⁹⁶³ but Ervamaa disagrees with them in his 1972 article. He

¹⁹⁵⁵ Ervamaa 1972; Sarvas 1973.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Ervamaa 1972.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Fagerström 1989, 168.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Sirelius (1915) 1990, 267–277; (1921) 1989b, 425.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Spitsyn 1896; 1903.

¹⁹⁶⁰ See also Carpelan 2003, 75.

¹⁹⁶¹ Hartmann 1871, 105–109, Table XI.

¹⁹⁶² Heikel 1909, 60, Table XXVII.

¹⁹⁶³ Leppäaho & Vilkuna 1937, 188–190.



Fig. 99. Finger ring of the Sarvas type found in an ancient stone cairn in the village of Rasvaniemi, Parikkala. The circular bezel depicts a standing human figure holding an S-shaped artefact in his right hand along with two birds and seven dots (stars?) above him (Cat. 25:7).

suggests that the figure is not a Crusade Period warrior but a warrior saint. Ervamaa goes even further and regards them to be warrior saints of Byzantine art and thus the Eastern Orthodox Church. He considers the shape of the bezel of the ring as having direct analogies among Byzantine rings.¹⁹⁶⁴ Moreover, the archaeologist Ella Kivikoski associates the ring from Huiskunniemi with the ring found in Käkisalmi,¹⁹⁶⁵ but Ervamaa interprets the two rings as representatives of two different traditions. He underscores that the figure in the Hiitola ring lacks a nimbus and appears to carry some kind of staff in his left hand instead of a shield as in the Käkisalmi ring. After comparing the figure with images represented on the surfaces of shaman drums, Ervamaa places the figure of the Käkisalmi ring in the tradition of Christian art and the Hiitola figure in the tradition of Sámi pre-Christian art. He concludes, however, that both rings share the same function. They were used as amulets.¹⁹⁶⁶

Pekka Sarvas criticizes Ervamaa for treating the two, very differently datable rings in one scheme of interpretation, and focuses instead on the ring found in Hiitola.¹⁹⁶⁷ The site where it was discovered also revealed, though without any direct association with the ring, a silver coin from the reign of Charles XI of Sweden (reigned in 1660–1697). The coin links the finger ring to the 17th century rather than the Early Middle Ages. Sarvas points out further simple rings with bezels engraved with human figures, but also other similarly shaped rings with such motifs as circles, birds, lions and so on, which suggests that the ring from Hiitola should be approached as part of this large group. Moreover, he dates the group on the basis of specimens found in graves and hoards with coins. The rings of the type seem to have been deposited in the last decades of the 16th century or in the earlier part of the 17th century. Lastly, Sarvas divides the group into subgroups according to the motifs engraved on bezels. There are seven subgroups: humans (Fig. 99), lions, centaurs, birds, net ornament and rings engraved with various abstract motifs such as swastikas, triangles, circles and bezels without any engravings. The last, seventh, group contains three rings with unrecognizable motifs which, however, might relate to previous groups. The same classification has been retained in the present study, but with one addition, i.e. the rings with depictions of horsemen, although only one such Sarvas ring is known. It was found in a potato field in Suojärvi, Rautavaara in 1981 (Cat. 25:23).

The distribution map of the finger rings presented in Sarvas' study includes the Finnish finds but it also incorporates Estonian rings. On the basis of the eastern concentration of the type, Sarvas

¹⁹⁶⁴ Ervamaa 1972, 32–33.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Schwandt 1893, 106, 144; Kivikoski 1973, 137 fig. 1098.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Ervamaa 1972, 34–38.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Sarvas 1973, *passim*.

argues that the ring type has been derived from more elaborate signet rings and ultimately the Novgorodian lead seals which were manufactured from the 10th century onwards. The older seals represent religious motifs derived from contemporary Byzantine coins and devotional imagery in general. Seal impressions from the 13th century include, for instance, warrior saints such as St. Theodore. Such seals could very well be the visual source for the Late Iron Age rings like the one found in Käkisalmi. However, later lead seals depict more generally lions, birds and centaurs. Although the seals explain many of the motifs, they could not have provided all the motifs present in the rings. To explain them, Sarvas refers to another pictorial source – coins minted and circulated in 14th- and 15th-century Russia. He concludes that the Russian coins are likely the visual source for the ring type as a whole. Notwithstanding the importance of the Novgorodian lead seals, they represent many religious motifs of Eastern Orthodox art which are lacking from the coins and finger rings. Sarvas points out that for example depictions of St. George as a standing man carrying a lance gained popularity from the late 15th century onwards, with the increasing influence of Muscovy, but the motif is almost lacking in the contemporary finger rings. Sarvas suggests that this avoidance of overtly religious imagery in rings was intentional and could explain the large number of finger rings found in the ‘pre-Christian’ or ‘semi-Christian’ shaman graves of Lapland.

There is, however, a problem with establishing a link between the Russian coins and the rings. The coins were minted and used in the 14th and 15th centuries, whereas the rings are dated to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Although the chronological mismatch can be explained by the circulation of old coins and seals and continuous use as visual source, there nevertheless remains the question why they were copied in certain areas rather than others. Sarvas bridges this spatiotemporal gap by analysing the distribution map of the rings. They concentrate in East Lapland, the northern shores of Lake Ladoga and eastern Estonia between the Lakes Võrtsjärvi and Peipus. Sarvas explains the assemblage of East Lapland by the taxation and administrative status of the area. It was utilized by both the Swedes and the Russians until the 19th century. The concentration around Lake Ladoga and the subsequent lack of rings in West Karelia could be caused by the border which cut Karelia into two parts between 1323 and 1617 or between the treaties of Schlüsselburg and Stolbovo.

Sarvas relates the concentration in East Estonia to changes in the control of the region. In 1561, Livonia came under the rule of Muscovy, but already in 1582 Sweden established its rule over North Estonia and parts of southern Estonia were submitted to Polish authority. Sarvas considers that this brief era of rule by Muscovy as the most likely period when the rings of the Sarvas type were distributed. Because there are no known specimens of the ring type in North Estonia, Sarvas suggests that the few rings found in South Finland were not imported through trade contacts but brought back by soldiers returning from the battlefields of Estonia.¹⁹⁶⁸

Sarvas compiled his distribution map by combining the information published by Hartmann¹⁹⁶⁹ and provided by Jüri Selirand via correspondence. After the publication of the article, several new discoveries of rings of the same type have been made in Estonia,¹⁹⁷⁰ which support the conclusion of their concentration in Southern Estonia and their importance for the material culture of the region in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, on the part of Finland, the distribution map has to be supplemented with many new finds. In Sarvas’ map, the finds of Western Finland comprise four rings found in Hauho (present-day Hämeenlinna) (Cat. 25:19), Laukaa (Cat. 25:15), Lohja (Cat. 25:25) and Perniö Church (Cat. 25:2). Jari Sjölund published an article in 1980 which adds three new rings to West Finland.

Firstly Sjölund discusses the ring found in the urban area of Rauma or more precisely in a plot named Haukka at the southwest corner of the market square in 1907 (Cat. 25:32). The ring was probably an alloy of tin and silver or bronze and 2.0 cm in height and 1.7 cm in width. The oval bezel, placed along the hoop, has an engraved depiction of some kind of an animal. The creature is encircled by an oval line. Sjölund associates the ring with the Sarvas group, although the pictorial motif has no

¹⁹⁶⁸ Sarvas 1973, 54–55.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Hartmann 1871.

¹⁹⁷⁰ E.g. Kiudsoo & Ratas 2005, 113; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2005, 66–67.

parallels among the Finnish items. Sjölund claims that the best model for the animal is a heraldic eagle. Due to its uniqueness, the object is difficult to date, although there are some indications of its age. Firstly, the Haukka house is mentioned for the first time in the written sources in the mid-16th century. Secondly, the area where the ring was found was probably not settled before the 16th century, and thirdly, Sarvas dates the ring type to the late 16th and 17th early centuries. Sjölund concludes that on these grounds the signet ring of Rauma cannot be older than the 16th century.¹⁹⁷¹

In addition to the ring found in Rauma, Sjölund mentions one ring found in Multakota, Naantali (Cat. 25:50) and another discovered on the lands of the Tott family in Sundby, Eurajoki (Cat. 25:49).¹⁹⁷² Both rings are made of brass, have oval bezels and display rather indefinite engravings. A further five finds can also be mentioned. The first of them was found on the banks of the Kymijoki River in the parsonage of Pyhtää in 1908 (Cat. 25:30). The second ring was discovered in the excavations of Espoo Church in 1981–1982 (Cat. 25:33), while the third was found in an anonymous grave in Turku Cathedral (Cat. 25:17). The westernmost Sarvas ring in Finland was discovered in the soil from the parsonage of Finström Parish (Cat. 25:18). The last one was found among other artefacts using a metal detector in the port of the historical centre of Vaasa in 1983 (Cat. 25:21).¹⁹⁷³

These new additions to the distribution map show that Sarvas rings are, if not common, at least unexceptional also in the coastal areas of west and south Finland. Moreover, the western rings have been discovered in such socially esteemed places as the cathedral, a church, two parsonages and one noble estate. In the light of these new finds, Sarvas conclusion that the western rings were brought by returning soldiers has to be questioned. The rings of the Sarvas type were probably not used only on the lowest levels of the social spectrum.

Sarvas argues that although the ring group derives from signet rings, it is unclear, whether all rather crudely engraved bronze rings of the type have been used as signets. He considers this unlikely. Sjölund concurs that the finger rings found in graves in Lapland, in addition to the wide distribution of the type in Finland and Estonia, seem to confirm that they were not used as insignia of identity.¹⁹⁷⁴ This conclusion is supported by two factors. The first is the lack of identifying marks on the bezels of Sarvas rings, since without them the engravings are too similar to differentiate one owner from another. The second factor is the orientation of engraved motifs which in many of the Sarvas rings are in line with the hoop. The design makes their use as signets difficult when pressing the ring into wax. The orientations of the hoop and the engraved central motif on actual signet rings are juxtaposed which facilitates the motion of stamping the ring into wax.

Sarvas' and Sjölund's argumentation is not as sound as it appears. Among the 16th- and 17th-century seals published by J. W. Ruuth, there are three impressions depicting a bird along with a man holding a sword,¹⁹⁷⁵ a motif resembling some of the Sarvas rings, but more importantly three impressions with a heraldic beast, possibly a lion, which is clearly a motif appearing in the Sarvas rings.¹⁹⁷⁶ The impressions date from 1599 to 1629 and one with a lion belongs to the vicar of Nousiainen Church. Moreover, the impressions have no initials – they merely represent the main motif. Despite some of the Sarvas rings thus indeed being used as signets, however, many Sarvas rings have so poorly engraved or rather incised markings that their use as seals seems improbable. These crudely produced, non-luxurious items seem, in a way, to be borrowing the social aura endowed to seals, signet rings and literary culture.

Finger rings in written sources

Material traces of finger rings in the Pre- and Early Modern written documents might well be abundant, if it were signet rings that were used in pressing seal impressions on wax. However, considering the high number of finger rings in the material and among archaeological finds

¹⁹⁷¹ Sjölund 1980, 173–176.

¹⁹⁷² Sjölund 1980, 174.

¹⁹⁷³ There is also at least one bronze ring of the Sarvas type in the collections of the Statens Historiska Museum, but its provenance is unknown. The bezel has an engraved figure of a bird (SHM 21139:42).

¹⁹⁷⁴ Sjölund 1980, 174.

¹⁹⁷⁵ Ruuth 1891, nos. 76–78.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Ruuth 1891, nos. 79–81.

in general, the textual traces they have left are relatively few and featureless. Excluding the hagiography of St. Henry, the earliest reference to a finger ring is in Henrik Klasson Dieken's will written in 1449, in which he leaves a gold ring to Magnus Gren.¹⁹⁷⁷ The nobleman bequeathed another gold ring to the Franciscan Convent of Viipuri in his third will made in 1453.¹⁹⁷⁸ However, Henrik Klasson Dieken's wife, Lucia Olofsdotter, mentions a dozen finger rings of gold in her three wills. She gave one of them to St. Henry's grave in the church of Nousiainen, and one gold ring fitted with a sapphire was donated to the nunnery of Naantali and the bishop.¹⁹⁷⁹

Finger rings are also mentioned in other late medieval wills. In 1508, squire Måns Frille left a gold ring to Pålwall,¹⁹⁸⁰ while Klemet Hogenskild bequeathed as many as nine rings in 1512. All of them are golden, but one is fitted with three spangles.¹⁹⁸¹ The confiscation documents of Gustavus Vasa reveal that only one church in the diocese delivered finger rings. Vöyri Church had to give five gold rings, which one Lars had bequeathed in 1546.¹⁹⁸² These finger rings in wills are, nevertheless, outnumbered by the objects mentioned in connection with judicial cases. The earliest of the references in a court case was made in 1482, when Lucia, the widow of Claus skrivare, defended herself against the accusation of Katerin, the wife of Olaff Taweste, that Lucia had taken a ring of hers. Lucia claimed that she did not know from where the ring came, and eventually she was freed of suspicions.¹⁹⁸³ In 1490, two rings were stolen from Erich j Kysta, one of silver and one of gold,¹⁹⁸⁴ whereas Thomas Persson stole gold rings in Turku in 1492.¹⁹⁸⁵ Moreover, finger rings were stolen or otherwise mentioned in court documents in 1493, 1508, 1509, 1526, 1550, 1577 and 1588.¹⁹⁸⁶

Finger rings changed owners also in the conflict between King Eric and Duke John in 1563. Karin Hansdotter's losses included 30 gold rings with stones, and many of them are specified to be wedding rings.¹⁹⁸⁷ Altogether 26 finger rings were stolen from various members of the higher social ranks.¹⁹⁸⁸ Moreover, rings are mentioned in some inventories. The inventory made in 1521 of the objects that Jens Mattsson brought from Hämeenlinna Castle to Stockholm lists four finger rings of gold.¹⁹⁸⁹ In 1530, Margareta, the widow of Anders Slatte, is said to have one gold finger ring with four pearls, one with three pearls and two other gold rings.¹⁹⁹⁰ Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming's inventory, in turn, lists twelve gold rings with precious stones and one broken gold ring.¹⁹⁹¹ Lastly, only once is a finger rings is described as a gift – apart from the two items of jewellery exchanged between king Sigismund I the Old and Duke John in 1562. In 1469, a gold ring, 22 öre in value, was a friendship gift presented in connection with a real estate transaction.¹⁹⁹²

Although not finger rings, thimbles are worn on the fingers, and the inventory of Philippa Eriksdotter Fleming shows that she owned one such item made of silver.¹⁹⁹³ Thimbles were imported to the country in the 16th century.¹⁹⁹⁴ However, no such object of silver has survived to the present day, but medieval and Early Modern thimbles of base metals have occasionally been found in excavations, for instance in the urban area of Turku,¹⁹⁹⁵ Turku Castle,¹⁹⁹⁶ Kuusisto Castle¹⁹⁹⁷ as well as Laukko Manor.¹⁹⁹⁸ This emphasizes the luxurious nature of Philippa Fleming's thimble.

¹⁹⁷⁷ FMU 2817.

¹⁹⁷⁸ FMU 2918.

¹⁹⁷⁹ FMU 2818, 2886, 2970.

¹⁹⁸⁰ FMU 5309.

¹⁹⁸¹ FMU 5622.

¹⁹⁸² Källström 1939, 150; 1939, 324.

¹⁹⁸³ FMU 3939.

¹⁹⁸⁴ FMU 4290.

¹⁹⁸⁵ FMU 4399.

¹⁹⁸⁶ FMU 4476; BFH 1, 193–194; FMU 5417, 6288; AST, 41; BFH 5:186; BFH 2, 244.

¹⁹⁸⁷ BFH 4:205.

¹⁹⁸⁸ BFH 4:206.

¹⁹⁸⁹ FMU 6055.

¹⁹⁹⁰ FMU 6557.

¹⁹⁹¹ BFH 5:308.

¹⁹⁹² FMU 3394.

¹⁹⁹³ BFH 5:308.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Grotenfelt 1887, 159.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Ahola et al. 2005, 231 no. 30; Majantie 2007, 35.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Rinne S. 1930, 72.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Taavitsainen 1979, 30–31, fig. 16.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Majantie & Uotila 2000, 64–65.

The magic of finger rings

The discovery of two vernicle rings in the graves of the Valmarinniemi cemetery and especially the Calvary ring in the shaman's grave in Mukkala as well as the inscriptions on the finger rings suggest that they were not used merely as decorative accessories but also as protective or magical amulets.¹⁹⁹⁹ The inscription *amourc vanit tout coce* (Cat. 23:8) has a courtly connotation, but phrases such as *help got* (Cat. 23:11), *baltazar iaspar melch[ior]* (Cat. 23:14), *help got unde maria* (Cat. 22:16) and * O * HELFH * IHESU * CHRISTUS (Cat. 23:75) are clearly of a religious or magical tone. The view is furthermore supported by the iconography used in rings. For instance, the vernicle motif appearing on finger rings had a special function in the nunnery of Vadstena. The Holy Face was their protection against accidents.²⁰⁰⁰

Although the Finnish rings do not have any seemingly nonsensical magical formulas like the alphabet on the ring brooch found in Tuukkala (Cat. 19:63) or such phrases as *buro berto beriora* appearing on Scandinavian rings.²⁰⁰¹ These three words are vaguely reminiscent of Latin, but neither their origin nor their exact meaning is known. Olof Kolsrud suggests that the beginning *ber-* could be associated with the name Βερενκη/Berenice/Veronica.²⁰⁰² Sometimes this formula is accompanied by the word *ihesu*. These two formulas appear inscribed on the hoops of other medieval ring types as well. Olof Kolsrud has shown their connection with stopping the flow of blood,²⁰⁰³ and indeed it is often particularly blood which is mentioned in connection with ring magic.

Kolsrud states that since Antiquity it has been important on which finger a ring is placed.²⁰⁰⁴ The *digitus medicus* or the ring finger of the left (or right) hand was very significant, since it was considered to have a nerve or vein leading straight to the heart. However, Carl af Ugglas criticizes Kolsrud for forgetting the important question of why bleeding and blood were so central to late medieval finger ring magic.²⁰⁰⁵ Heart symbolism referring to blood was richly applied in the decoration of rings (Cat. 23:33, 63), and there was even a special type of ring with a heart on its bezel like the iconographic finger ring found in Kivennapa (Cat. 23:53).

Af Ugglas connects the *digitus medicus* belief to the heart symbolism present in the late medieval rings. The use of magical rings in the ring finger made them transmitters of a kind with a direct line into the core of the user's soul. Furthermore, the heart symbolism is part of late medieval blood mysticism and the cults of the Holy Body and the Sacred Heart, which inspired the images where a nun and Christ are partaking of the Eucharist inside a large heart.²⁰⁰⁶ According to Miri Rubin, one could carry a small piece of paper with a drawing of the five wounds of Christ or the figure five. This talisman protected the owner and stopped bleeding.²⁰⁰⁷ The symbolism of the number five is recurrently present in late medieval iconographic finger rings with five flowers placed around a garland which frames the central scene. Moreover, especially the connection between St. Veronica and blood symbolism is strengthened by the biblical story of the woman suffering from an issue of blood.

When the dense network created by the iconography and theology around the Calvary, Apocalyptic Madonna, vernicle and other types of rings is considered, the artefacts appear to have magical as well as religious meanings. This characterization, however, is inappropriate for describing the late medieval spiritual and devotional sphere in which the concept of magic referred to witchcraft and the devil.²⁰⁰⁸ To classify something as magical was, and to some extent still is, to simultaneously classify it as marginal, the notion of marginal being historically determined. In the late medieval world, to believe in Christ's power to help was not magic. It was characteristic of medieval thought to fuse various traditions and ideas into a single phenomenon:²⁰⁰⁹ the legend of the Passion, the pilgrimage tradition, the Eucharist, the avoidance of the issue of blood,

1999 Cf. e.g. Backman 1963, 64; Sjölund 1980, 171.

2000 Riska 1978, 240.

2001 E.g. Buchholz 1892, 24; Lexow 1955, 81.

2002 Kolsrud 1943, 168. On the development of the name see e.g. Solin 2000.

2003 Kolsrud 1943, 170–175.

2004 Kolsrud 1943, 188–193; cf. Hildebrand 1884–1898, 417–418.

2005 af Ugglas 1951, 191–195.

2006 Nordman 1956; Hamburger 1997, 137–175.

2007 Rubin 1991, 305.

2008 Jolly 2002, 22–23.

2009 Thomas 1991, 33, 46–57.

protection against evil and classical medicine were simultaneously and seamlessly present. The strict demarcation between the religious and magical spheres in the modern sense began only with the Reformation, which did not approve of the dogma of transubstantiation or of the miraculous power of images associated with St. Veronica and other Passion motifs. Thus, all that Martin Luther saw when looking at the vernicle was a cloth hanging on a board.²⁰¹⁰ This kind of transformation in the conceptions of the church undoubtedly changed the position of the iconographic rings in contemporary material culture. In Finland, however, this change was slow. In the writings and illustrations of the Finnish church reformer Michael Agricola, significant traces of Passion mysticism remain.²⁰¹¹ Even the rather crude remakes of iconographical rings, although impossible to date precisely, may suggest that these rings with St. George and other Catholic motifs continued to be produced throughout the 16th century.

Pendants with heraldic devices, and seal matrices

The excavations in Koroinen revealed several tombs with brick-laid walls. One of them contained, among other things, an odd silver artefact (Cat. 27:1). It was made of two octagonal metal pieces soldered together. One piece has a hook for its attachment, while the other bears an engraved coat of arms. The device has a 14th-century shield partitioned per fess. The lower partition is adorned with lozengy. Juhani Rinne, who conducted the excavations, suggests that the object was part of a necklace. In addition to the piece, the grave also contained six coins from the 13th and 14th centuries.²⁰¹² Rinne, however, points out that one of the coins might belong to a secondary burial and four coins might have been deposited with soil fill. A fragment of an unidentified coin was found between the two silver pieces.²⁰¹³ Taavitsainen dates the object to the 14th century and finds no parallels for it.

No exact counterparts for the item can be pointed out. The urban excavations of Turku have unearthed a mount of gilt bronze shaped like a shield of the end of the 13th century (Cat. 27:2). The shield is divided into six parts or burely per pale counterchanged. Such pendants or mounts were used in armour or in horse harnesses.²⁰¹⁴ On the basis of these examples, it is likely that also the silver object from Koroinen is such a dress accessory, and not a piece of a necklace.

Signet rings and pendants with heraldic devices are both closely related to a third artefact group formed by seal matrices. A typical medieval and Early Modern seal matrix comprises a flat surface on which a coat of arms is engraved as well as a handle from which the stamp is held. In early medieval stamps the handle is rather low, but it gradually became higher. Often the handle, especially in the later pieces, is perforated, leaving a hole for suspension. The matrix could be attached to a chain or strap held around neck or joined to a belt or dress. Often a small, engraved cross mark was engraved on the handle. It facilitates the use of the seal by indicating the upper corner of the seal image, i.e. the correct orientation of the matrix.

Although the production of seal matrices became a specialized profession in Central Europe already in the Middle Ages and later periods, there were no preconditions for such differentiation in craftsmanship in Sweden. Here Pre- and Early Modern seal matrices were made by goldsmiths as evidenced by contemporary written sources as well as stylistic comparisons between seal stamps and other products of goldsmithing. Nevertheless, seals were also commissioned from abroad, especially from Italian and French craftsmen, even before the mid-14th century.²⁰¹⁵

The surviving medieval and Early Modern Finnish seal matrices constitute a very small group which has been published on several occasions. This is in stark contrast to present-day Sweden where medieval seal matrices form a large object group. For instance, the Statens Historiska Museum has 250 such pieces in its collection. They are made of silver, bronze and copper along with a few items of brass, lead and pewter. The difference between the Finnish and Swedish

²⁰¹⁰ Lewis 1986, 100.

²⁰¹¹ Parvio 1984, 192–198.

²⁰¹² *NM Hist.* 52100:667; Taavitsainen 1981, 216–217.

²⁰¹³ Koivunen 1979, 103.

²⁰¹⁴ E.g. Rose 1929–1931.

²⁰¹⁵ Norberg 1970a, col. 192.

situations is partly explained by the Swedish state's interest in collecting matrices as fragments of the national past since the 17th century.

Like the Finnish seal matrices, also the corpus of medieval seal impressions has been thoroughly published. The fundamental work is Reinhold Hausen's publication which comprises 377 seals. After the publication of the corpus, Hausen published three more seals in *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*,²⁰¹⁶ and later Eric Anthoni two seal impressions in a small note.²⁰¹⁷ Together these publications include five seals of the dukes of Finland from the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, 26 seals of bishops, 50 of other ecclesiastical officials, eight of ecclesiastical institutions and four of their representatives, eight towns and five provinces, one guild and 213 seals of nobles of whom eight are of women, and finally 62 other men of whom 33 are burghers. The earliest seal belongs to Bishop Bero I and was stamped in 1253,²⁰¹⁸ but the main body of the impressions is from the 15th century. The youngest ones date from 1530. Seals from the latter part of the 16th century are much more unsystematically published. J. W. Ruuth presents a number of 16th century seals in his publication of 1891, and also Torsten G. Aminoff's article from 1978 includes a large group of early modern seals but still no real corpus of modern seal impressions exists.

The oldest discovery of medieval seals in Finland was made as early as the 1670s, when a stamp of copper was found in an unknown location in Finland. The matrix was acquired to the collection of the Antiquities Collegiate before 1693, and is currently deposited in the Statens Historiska Museum (Cat. 26:7).²⁰¹⁹ The circular stamp bears the coat of arms of the Province of Dalecarlia, and the inscription around the central motif states that the stamp was made in 1435. The reasons why the stamp of another province ended up in Finland are puzzling, but in 1676 Johan Hadorph associates the matrix with the war Sweden fought against Muscovy in 1495–1497, and suggests that the seal of the province was taken along with the troops in case some of the fighters needed to contact their home province.²⁰²⁰

The collection of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland includes an unnumbered stamp of bronze with an oval seal which Taavitsainen published in 1981 (Cat. 26:5). The matrix depicts St. Catherine of Alexandria and a man kneeling in prayer. Taavitsainen interprets the majuscule inscription of the matrix as *S FR---CHOLM SANCIS ORD[o] PRED[icatorum]* which means that the seal belongs to the Dominican Convent of Stockholm. On the basis of its majuscule lettering, he dates the production of the seal to the 14th century.²⁰²¹ Talvio supplements Taavitsainen's reading with the interpretation that the beginning of the inscription should be read as *S[igillum] FR[atris] [Ni]CHOLAI*, 'the signet of the Confraternity of Nicholas'.²⁰²²

Taavitsainen associates the matrix with the museum's inventory number 5006 recorded in the late 19th century. The object is described as a 'medieval seal from Naantali'. In 1889, however, a seal matrix was found on the southern slope of the hill on which the ruins of the Naantali Nunnery are located. Karl Leinberg describes the matrix as round and flat and made of bronze or brass. The main motif of the seal was an identification mark surrounded by a circular frame of pearls. The inscription on the seal read: *s'iohan gunnichvelt*. Leinberg associates the seal with Courland in Latvia on the basis of the name.²⁰²³ He points out Godekin von Gynnikelde who is mentioned in written sources in 1349, while Godekin Gunningvelt was a burgher in Goldingen in 1352.²⁰²⁴ Leinberg does not tell what happened to the matrix, but it would seem possible that it was donated to the museum in Turku. The find, however, is no longer present in the collection.

Another early matrix discovery was made in Hattula (Cat. 26:6) from where a bronze stamp was acquired for the collections of the National Museum. The matrix is oval in shape and depicts a *crux nuda* with the accompanying inscription *S' LAVRENCII NICOLAI PRESBITERI*. Based on the inscription as well as the place of discovery, the stamp's most likely owner was Laurens

²⁰¹⁶ FMU 487, 1060, 1488.

²⁰¹⁷ Anthoni 1955.

²⁰¹⁸ FMS 6.

²⁰¹⁹ Tegnér 1997b.

²⁰²⁰ Svärdröm 1951, 114.

²⁰²¹ Taavitsainen 1983.

²⁰²² Talvio 2002, 22–23.

²⁰²³ Leinberg 1890, 438 note 1.

²⁰²⁴ LECU 3:891, 944.

Fig. 100. Seal matrix discovered in the area of Kōkar Convent and later parsonage. The matrix dating from the mid-16th to the late 16th century has a handle formed into an arching dolphin, a typical Renaissance motif (Cat. 26:12).



Fincke, a priest of Hattula Church who died in 1426.²⁰²⁵ The last 19th-century matrix find was possibly discovered somewhere in the Southwest Finnish archipelago and purchased for the museum collections in 1862 (Cat. 26:8). The inscription on the seal, *s'andree elau presbiteri*, has been attributed to Andris Elifson. He was the representative of St. Anne's altar in Turku Cathedral in 1438.²⁰²⁶

The excavations of Koroinen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries revealed two seal stamps of bronze. The first one is circular in form and depicts a shield round in base, quarterly sectioned (Cat. 26:1). The seal bears the text *ARALDI:LE (or C) C (or E) NI*, which according to Taavitsainen, could refer to Nils Kyrning or Lekr Ofradsson or his son.²⁰²⁷ The other matrix is also circular in form, but badly eroded and broken into three fragments (Cat. 26:2). The contours of an engraved heraldic shield might be visible on the matrix, but the coat of arms remains unidentifiable. The inscription accompanying the seal reads *S'M ... NI : OLHWS*, which could indicate that the stamp belonged to one Magnus Olofsson.²⁰²⁸ Taavitsainen dates both seal stamps of Koroinen to the 14th century.

The only seal stamp made of silver originates from Hämeenlinna Castle (Cat. 26:4). It was discovered in the floor fill of room no. 25 during the restoration of the castle in the 1950s. The stamp is circular in form and depicts St. Margaret the Virgin with the dragon of her legend. The scene is accompanied by the inscription *S'VRW BEDNTA (BEGNTA)*. Knut Drake identifies the name with Bengta Bengtsdotter, the wife of Magnus Kase. He was stationed at the castle in 1370–1386.²⁰²⁹

Two seal stamps of bronze were unearthed in Perniö Church in 1962. Both are circular in form, but the first is only a small fragment of a whole object (Cat. 26:10). The other, however, is well

²⁰²⁵ Neovius 1901, 14; Knapas 1997, 23; Talvio 2002, 20–21.

²⁰²⁶ Aspelin 1900, 65; Neovius 1901, 14.

²⁰²⁷ Taavitsainen 1981, 215–216.

²⁰²⁸ Taavitsainen 1981, 216.

²⁰²⁹ Taavitsainen 1981, 218; Drake 1997.

preserved (Cat. 26:9) and depicts the face of St. John the Baptist and has the inscription *S JOHES TORGILLI*. The name of Johannes Torkilsson cannot be attributed with certainty to any person known from written sources, but based on a stylistic comparison, the matrix was made before the 15th century.²⁰³⁰

Excavations at Högholmen in Kemiönsaari in the late 1970s revealed a circular seal stamp of bronze (Cat. 26:3). The matrix depicts an identification mark and has the inscription *S' WERNER ESBERNI* referring to the German name of Werner and the Danish name of Esbern. Because the matrix is without datable features, it can be dated only broadly to the 14th century on the basis of archaeological material found at the site.²⁰³¹

Two seal stamps have been discovered in the Convent area of Kökar. The first one is a forged lozenge seal stamp of bronze. Another seal stamp of bronze was found in the excavations at the site in 1995 (Fig. 44) (Fig. 100) (Cat. 26:12). The object was unearthed in the eastern part of the Convent area. Unlike the other medieval seal stamps, it is octagonal in shape and depicts a chalice inside an oval panel. The central motif is surmounted by a swirling crest. The initials *CE* accompany the coat of arms. The handle of the stamp is formed into an arching dolphin, a typical Renaissance motif.²⁰³² Also the crest on the matrix has a Renaissance appearance lending further support for dating the stamp to the mid-16th century or the latter part of the century.

The depiction of a chalice in the seal suggests that it belonged to a priest.²⁰³³ Since its find context is in the area of the parish church, its owner was probably one of the chaplains or priests serving there. During the Middle Ages, the Franciscan Convent and its church functioned as the gathering place for parishioners, but after the Reformation and the closing of the convent, the parishioners joined the chapel parish of Föglö. The chaplain of Föglö probably moved to the buildings of the convent already in the 1540s.²⁰³⁴ Although there are no priests with names matching the initials *CE* in Föglö, there is one man, Carl Ekroth, with matching initials among the chaplains of Kökar. Unfortunately, he was born as late as 1719 and served as a chaplain from 1759 to his death in 1763.²⁰³⁵ That is too late in view of the matrix.

Notwithstanding the absence of an exact match, written sources mention two 16th-century chaplains in Kökar with surnames starting with the letter E. No certain record of their first name, however, survives. Master Erich is mentioned in 1590 and 1603 as the chaplain. Karl G. Leinberg has associated him with Ericus Martini who, in turn, was also mentioned in 1603. This would indicate that his initials do not match the ones on the seal matrix. The other chaplain, Master Eschill, is referred to as the chaplain of Kökar in 1578.²⁰³⁶ A man named Eskil is also mentioned as the priest of Föglö in 1544,²⁰³⁷ but Eschill and Eskil might be two different persons. Whatever the case, although his first name is not known, Master Eschill remains the most likely candidate to be associated with the seal stamp.

In addition to seal stamps found in Finland, there is one medieval Swedish seal stamp in the collections of National Museum of Finland (Cat. 26:11).²⁰³⁸ The matrix depicts a shield with a sword and a cartwheel, the attributes of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and bears the inscription *S' SVENONIS OLFS'*. The object is part of the Antell seal stamp collection, and is thus without any further provenance information. Moreover, in addition to the matrixes found in Finland, there are some items relevant for the Finnish material in foreign collections.²⁰³⁹ One medieval seal stamp is presently part of collection of the Statens Historiska Museum. It is the oval bronze seal of the

2030 Taavitsainen 1981, 217–218.

2031 Edgren 1977, 419–420.

2032 Jacobsen & Rogers-Price 1983.

2033 Cf. Papunen 1972, 419, 425, 426, 431.

2034 Hausen 1916, 63–64; Hiekkänen 2007, 397.

2035 Strandberg 1832, 18–21; Leinberg 1895, 101.

2036 Leinberg 1903, 61–62.

2037 *her Eskil*; BFH II, 28; Leinberg 1895, 101.

2038 NM Hist. 5974:596. In addition to this stamp, there are a dozen foreign medieval seal stamps in the collection of the National Museum (Talvio 2002, 19).

2039 Hausen thought that the surviving seal matrix of the Dominican Convent in Viipuri depicting St. Dominic standing and holding a monstrance and book was based on the convent's original medieval seal, but this has later been shown to be from the 17th century (FMS 84; Hallberg, Norberg & Odenius 1961, 39; Gallén 1990, 629).

sisters of the Naantali Nunnery.²⁰⁴⁰ The provenance information is incomplete, but at least from the 1820s onwards the seal was in the possession of the Aurivillius family, who donated it to the museum in 1970. Also the National Museum of Denmark has a medieval Finnish seal. The item in question is a circular bronze stamp of the Guild of Knut which operated in the Åland Islands.²⁰⁴¹ Finally, a circular seal stamp of bronze was found in the excavations of the Kransen quarter in Uppsala. It is the seal of St. John's guild in Saltvik, Åland Islands. Göran Tegnér dates the item, which was found in a 15th-century context, to the 14th century with regard to style.²⁰⁴²

While the number of seal stamps in the Finnish museum collections is extremely small, their range is still quite varied. They include stamps of nobility, but also of yeomen as indicated by the use of identification marks. In addition, seals of churchmen and ecclesiastical institutions are represented. Even one stamp of a noblewoman survives, and moreover, it stands out as the single matrix made of silver among stamps of bronze. As Bengta Bengtsdotter's matrix shows, it was not impossible for a woman to have her own seal, but they rarely appear in written documents. Moreover, only the abbess of Naantali Nunnery was entitled by her position to use the seal of an institution. Usually, if a woman needed a seal, she borrowed that of her husband or some other male relative.²⁰⁴³

Conclusions on dress accessories and identity markers

The initial differentiation between prehistoric and historical dress accessories is rather varied and depends on the object type. Ring brooches, typical of the medieval and Early Modern periods, are clearly an artefact group that was established in the late Crusade Period, replacing the earlier penannular brooches, whereas such a clear-cut break cannot be pointed out in the case of finger rings. Their formal development and subsequent use seems to change only gradually. The spiral rings that were so typical of the Viking Age disappear from the archaeological record during the early Crusade Period, while braided rings are attested in both Viking Age and the early medieval contexts. Moreover, bezel rings, a typical form for the medieval and Early Modern finger rings, begin to appear in the material during the Crusade Period. The division between the prehistoric and historical rings is further blurred by the Gotlandic finger rings with bezels shaped like cut pyramids. Such rings are known from the area of the bishop's see in Koroinen but also from Crusade Period burials. The ring with a quatrefoil bezel and a mount for a stone found in a grave of the Kekomäki cemetery (Cat. 23:6) has parallels in European episcopal rings. In contrast to brooches and finger rings, belts of precious metals are attested in the Crusade Period burials and at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, but absent in the intermediate period which makes an analysis of the transition from prehistoric to historical belts impossible.

In general, dividing objects into categories of prehistoric versus historical or equally pre-Christian versus Christian appears to be a rather complex issue which deserves a lengthier discussion than is possible to present here. For instance, Sarvas is correct in his observation that finger rings of the Sarvas type found in so-called shaman's graves do not have Christian motifs which are, indeed, known from other find contexts. However, the grave in Mukkala, interpreted as that of a shaman, includes besides the rings of the Sarvas type, one depicting the Golgotha scene – the central motif of Christianity. The grave should not have contained such an artefact, if scholarly assumptions on the Christian/non-Christian divide were correct.²⁰⁴⁴

It is nevertheless obvious that devotional themes constitute the central visual cues in the finger rings and even to some extent in the brooches and belts of the medieval and Early Modern periods. The inscriptions appearing in the material – except for the brooch with the beginning of the alphabet, the fides ring of Hämeenlinna Castle and the rings inscribed with initials – are lamentations and vocations directed at holy persons, mainly to the Virgin Mary. They were at least

2040 SHM 28995; Gottlund 1864, 43–46; FMS 80.

2041 DNM 5635; FMS 299; Lamm 1984, 172 no. 5.

2042 Tegnér 1978; Ehn & Gustafsson 1984, 109 fig. 132; Lamm 1984, 161 no. 4.

2043 Lahtinen 2001, 9.

2044 For more on the shaman graves of Northern Finland, see Purhonen 1996.

partly used as amulets for protecting the wearer's body against bleeding as well as other injuries and threats. The French posy in the ring of Hämeenlinna Castle is, in contrast, a remainder of late-medieval courtly culture, but along with the Renaissance snake ring discovered in the castle, it remains an isolated phenomenon. The finger rings and brooches with the fides motif, however, can also be associated with the themes of love and weddings, though not especially with the elites of courts. Moreover, some of the Early Modern spiral rings commemorate weddings.

In addition to the different prehistoric and historical traditions, there are further chronological variations among various artefact types. The Finnish finds of ring brooches are mainly from the early and high medieval periods. They have mostly been discovered in Crusade Period burials and in urban contexts, although there are also some finds from rural contexts. Importantly, sumptuous brooches known from Central and Western Europe are lacking, and moreover, the items of precious metals have mainly been found in the early burials. Interestingly, the single brooch with bosses or quasi-bosses is not from a burial. A similar pattern emerges in 15th- and 16th-century written sources where ring brooches are mentioned only a few times. The bipartite cope brooches are, instead, more commonly referred to, though no actual objects of the kind survive. The written and visual sources from this period show that brooches were owned and used both by men and women, which was also the case also finger rings.²⁰⁴⁵

The Finnish material of late medieval and Early Modern finger rings is more abundant and diverse than realized in previous research,²⁰⁴⁶ although in absolute numbers the assemblage does not come near the Swedish or other Nordic collections. The number of finger rings begins to grow in the latter part of the 15th century. The first examples of this growth are the rings with the *Facies Christi* motif, dating from the late 14th to the 16th century. Two of them are from graves of the Valmarinniemi cemetery, one from St. Henry's chapel in Köyliö, two from an urban setting and two have been discovered as stray finds in Eura and Köyliö. The last ring of the group belongs to the late medieval and Early Modern type of iconographic rings and lacks clear provenance information.

An unusually high number of the vernicle rings have been recovered in archaeological excavations, while most of the iconographic rings, in contrast, are stray finds or unprovenanced pieces. Rings with the Golgotha scene are found in Ingermanland, Lemland and Mukkala. The Madonna and Child motif appears in rings found in Turku Castle, Hauho (present-day Hämeenlinna) and Pirkkala, while the single example of St. Anne *Selbdritt* is possibly from Ostrobothnia. The Seat of Mercy is depicted only once in a ring found in Nousiainen.

Finger rings with standing human figures, interpreted here as St. George, are known from Ikaalinen, Kiikoinen, Lappi (present-day Rauma) and perhaps Ostrobothnia, while a Wild Man is depicted on an iconographic ring found in Alastaro. The heart motif appears on rings found in Hämeenkoski, Joutsa, Kivennapa, Perniö, Saltvik and Ähtäri, while the single ring with the letter S is from Kalanti. A unique ring with a knot motif has been found in Sääksmäki (present-day Valkeakoski). Of the distributions of these finds, only the rings with St. George could be seen to have a focus of their own in Upper Satakunta and Ostrobothnia. Another kind of pattern is shown by the distribution of finger rings with heraldic animals: three of the nine iconographic rings with animals were discovered in caches. This ratio might seem poor, but they are the only iconographic rings found in hoards in Finland. However, of the finger rings with mounts for stones, three are from hoards in Pattijoki (present-day Raahe) and Siuntio, while one is an archaeological find from Turku. Another ring found in the town has a mounted piece of glass imitating precious stones.

In broad terms, of the find contexts from which finger rings have been discovered, the urban setting has produced the most varied assemblage including plain hoop rings and iconographic rings, but also finger rings with inscriptions and stones. Hoards, instead, have revealed some finger rings with stones and a few iconographic rings with heraldic animals. The third distinct find context of stray finds consisting of iconographic rings and plain as well as inscribed hoop rings.

The distribution of finger rings in various find contexts as well as their overtly devotional imagery raises the question of the importance of religious iconography for the users of the rings,

²⁰⁴⁵ Lindahl 2003, 67.

²⁰⁴⁶ For Finnish medieval finger rings in museum displays, see e.g. Häkli 1988, 173.

and more specifically, whether they were churchmen and nuns. Andreas Lindblom argues that in the Swedish Brigittine nunneries, the Calvary ring was given to a novice by a bishop as the symbol of her engagement to Christ.²⁰⁴⁷ The Calvary ring of silver found under the floor of Vadstena convent church, the three rings found in the Birgittine Convent of Maribo²⁰⁴⁸ and the three Calvary rings found in the ruins of the Pirita convent in Estonia support this argument.²⁰⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Backman considers the conclusion based on eight Calvary rings too hasty considering the total number of surviving Calvary rings. According to him, the wide and scattered distribution of all Calvary rings in Norway, Denmark and Sweden undermines Lindblom's conclusion.²⁰⁵⁰ However, such a distribution might be the outcome of the convents' economical distress after the Reformation. The convents may have been forced to sell the precious rings.²⁰⁵¹

Armin Tuulse and Ella Vende interpret the function of the Calvary rings differently. They suggested that the Calvary rings of the Pirita convent did not belong to the Birgittine sisters but were the signet rings of the priests and monks serving there.²⁰⁵² This interpretation is hardly tenable when comparing the Calvary rings with medieval signet rings,²⁰⁵³ which have flat bezels with clear engravings and much less decorations. Furthermore, the idea does not lead much further than the assumption that the Calvary rings were the sisters' engagement rings. Although the male members of the Bridgettine communities had better opportunities to travel outside the convents, which would explain the distribution of the rings, there is no further evidence to support the interpretation.

Although Calvary rings cannot be conclusively labelled as the engagement rings of the Bridgettines, they do have some kind of association with the material culture of Birgittine convents. Perhaps the association is on the one hand religions and, on the other, related to the social background of the Birgittines. Although the material culture of nunneries has not been examined thoroughly enough, it seems to parallel the contemporary material culture of upper-class women outside nunneries.²⁰⁵⁴ Thus, Calvary rings could be connected with the devotional life of medieval women as a wider group. The Finnish finds with the Golgotha scene, however, do not give any support to idea that they might have belonged to nuns or monks.

Another enigmatic finger ring group is the finger rings with the depiction of St. Veronica's cloth or the *Facies Christi* motif. However, only one vernicle ring has been found in a medieval nunnery in Scandinavia. The unusual vernicle ring was found at excavations of the ruins of the Benedictine Ring nunnery near Skanderborg in Denmark.²⁰⁵⁵ The hoop of the ring is formed of twisted bands of gold, silver and iron, and the face of Christ is shown with a radiating nimbus. One ring is hardly enough to support the conclusion that all vernicle rings were owned by nuns, but the connection between the vernicle rings and devotional life remains. Eucharistic piety was not confined to the female communities, and Birgittine art had great impact on Late Medieval European imagery.²⁰⁵⁶

Although the find contexts of the Finnish vernicle rings do not have an obvious connection with nuns or monks,²⁰⁵⁷ they do strengthen the association of the rings with devotional life. Sjölund argues that the Finnish vernicle rings have been found at major Catholic shrines.²⁰⁵⁸ The Köyliö ring is from the ruins of a chapel to St. Henry, and there are indications that Ulvila was a significant place for the worship of St. Olaf.²⁰⁵⁹ From Sorkkinen in Eura, where one of the rings was found, there is a record of a barn destroyed by fire in 1830. It was claimed that St. Henry had preached in the barn,²⁰⁶⁰ which could be interpreted as the last traces of a medieval devotional tradition. It

2047 Lindblom 1956.

2048 Nørlund 1933.

2049 Tuulse 1938, 55–56; Raam 1980, 50–52; Tamm 2002, 113–115.

2050 Backman 1963, 56–59.

2051 Lindblom 1956, 34–35.

2052 Tuulse 1938, 55–56; Vende 1967, 44.

2053 Tamm 2002, 113.

2054 Klockars 1980, 71; Tamm 1993; Gilchrist 1994, 185, 188–189; Tamm 2002.

2055 Reinholdt 1986.

2056 Nordman 1956, cols. 577–578.

2057 *The lack of finger rings from Naantali Nunnery might well be caused by the methodological choices made during its excavations* (Alén 1998; 2001).

2058 Sjölund 1980, 171–173.

2059 Suvanto 1973, 184–187, 370–373.

2060 Suvanto 1973, 384.

is impossible to connect the Turku ring to any specific religious context, but its find spot is not far from the cathedral or the site of the Dominican convent of St. Olaf. Lastly, the two rings of Valmarinniemi were discovered in graves which Koivunen interprets as priestly, although the only actual support for his argument is the special character of such rings.

The vernicle rings display a correlation with devotional life and sites, but connecting all of them with ecclesiastics seems far-fetched. Nevertheless, the rest of the iconographic rings with Christian themes do not have such suggestive find contexts. Hence it seems appropriate to conclude that finger rings were used as expressions of faith and devotion by laymen as well. Besides overtly Christian motifs, profane imagery was applied in the form of fides and love motifs, but importantly also in the form of heraldic animals and coats of arms. Signet rings are mainly stray finds known from Porvoo, Pohja (present-day Raasepori) and Myrskylä, but one is an archaeological find from the Church of Perniö, possibly originating from a grave.

The rings of the Sarvas type form an example of the power of coat of arms and seals. Despite some of the items in the material being elaborately engraved and finished products of skilful goldsmiths, the majority are rather crudely made and non-luxurious. They still point to the social aura of seals and signet rings. The Late Renaissance gilt silver belts and the vernacular moulds carved for producing imitations of them embody a rather similar phenomenon of imitation and appropriation. Also the belt made of pressed copper plate of Kökar Convent belongs to the same ensemble. They are faint traces of the popularity of belts in Early Modern material culture as revealed in the written documents. The same discrepancy between the surviving material and the textual evidence involves Early Modern chains and bracelets.

The imposition of sumptuary legislation in the Swedish realm, though relatively late in the latter part of the 16th century, was partly a state-machinated attempt to control the social hierarchy or rather to solidify and clarify the material articulation of ranks as well as to maintain tangible differences between individuals. Interestingly, the legislation began to emerge during the same period from which the first material traces of imitating dress accessories survive. Although the imitations of belts and finger rings might have been provoked by the social power of the luxurious products, it remains questionable how much of the effectiveness of the originals they could have appropriated, because the difference between the imitated pieces and the imitations is so visible. However, if mere visual appearance is abandoned in the favour of the material practices in which objects were involved, perhaps the visual difference of the artefacts was, in fact, less significant than the use which they implied. The belts, chains and other dress accessories visually structured the body and affected the movements and conduct of the wearer even if their workmanship was crude. Despite the unrefined outcome, these imitations must to some extent have been successful in utilizing technologies of forming social visibility and identity through the material culture of luxury. Hence, in general, the invention of new luxuries is not only a creation of new artefacts but essentially involves reshaping and redefining the conduct and habitual practices of their users. This is most clearly seen in the change of mealtime customs during the late medieval and Early Modern Periods, and the effects of this it on related material culture.

In contrast to over-interpreting the social emulation of luxuries, or the so-called trickle-down effect, it might be worthwhile to remember Colin Campbell's warning that imitations do not automatically imply the presence of emulative ethos. Instead, emulation can have a range of motives. Luxuries may be desired and appropriated for their own sake for the material satisfaction they provide, as opposed to intentions to attain any prestige attached to them. Equally, a passion to dress fashionably may not be motivated by a drive for social equality or the adoption of a certain life-style but merely rivalry in fashionableness.²⁰⁶¹ Campbell is in indeed correct in pointing out the complexity of intentions, wishes and desires that may trigger social emulation, but importantly, this does not lessen the fact that new luxuries, like any novel form of objects, reconfigure the movements of their users, or in the case of dress accessories, their visual appearance. The trickle-down effect is essentially a phenomenon with material and practical effects.

²⁰⁶¹ Campbell 1993, 40–41; see also Berry 1994, 31.

Precious Moments

12 Medieval and Early Modern Artefacts of Precious Metals as Products of Luxury Consumption

From declarations of rarity to the social processes affecting the survival of the material

The sarcophagus of St. Henry is a unique medieval monument in Finland and in fact no parallel tomb structures are known in Europe. The singular nature of the sarcophagus may to the critical observer highlight the poverty of the surviving Finnish medieval material, and a similar modest attitude seems to characterize the study of Pre- and Early Modern artefacts of precious metals. This sort of meekness, however, leads easily astray especially when it is combined with the scholarly tradition of studying silver artefacts. Ultimately, notwithstanding the virtue of modesty, it hinders the comprehension of the surviving body of silver and gold objects. Hence analysis of the previous scholarly tradition and its fundamental assumptions and attitudes is an elemental part of the research process when seeking a new comprehension of luxury consumption based on the concepts of artefact biography and materialization.

Scholars writing of Finnish and Scandinavian silver have mainly been employed by museums and they consequently tend to concentrate on the collections at hand, while those with an academic affiliation and broader perspectives are a minority. This is reflected in the fragmented, museum-centred views and descriptive attitude of many studies. Another unifying characteristic of the research tradition is the apparent attraction that relatively large, visually impressive silver artefacts such as cutlery and dishes have for scholars, in contrast to smaller artefacts like jewellery. The interest of Carl Axel Nordman and his predecessors in large objects of ecclesiastical use has dominated the picture of medieval silversmithing in general. Thirdly, the production of silver artefacts has been recognized as the specialist domain of silversmiths. Hence the profession has been treated as a unified phenomenon in the monumental biographical catalogues of silversmiths and their signatures, hallmarks. These compilations covering craftsmen from the Middle Ages to the 20th century still constitute the backbone of silver studies. Fourthly, the study of artefacts of precious metals has found an uneasy and potentially instable position between art history and archaeology. Nordman had a background in both, although his analysis of medieval communion vessels is rather art-historical in disposition.

Basically the discourse of silver scholarship has been built on three concepts: style history, production conceived as artistic agency, and consumption seen in terms of functionality. The three concepts form a triangle where each side is defined by the other two, although style history has had the most influential role in the triad. Despite their importance, the concepts of style and style history have rarely been defined or analysed in studies of silver. However, their effects can be traced in the history of research and in the ways in which silver artefacts are seen as material objects. The focus of scholars has been on dating artefacts and distilling local products from imports. Especially the latter has provided means for the belittling comments of Finnish scholars on the quality of local production and blinding one's eye to more pertinent issues. For instance, despite the importance of the stylistic analysis of chalices and patens, their design programmes and semiotic complexities have been bypassed without a note. On the other hand, the material as a whole has been neglected. No synthesis has been published on communion vessels after Aspelin's

descriptive articles or Nordman's brief texts in which the most attention was placed on identifying local products as examples of Finnish workmanship.

If the material is considered in its entirety, the poverty of the Finnish material is not as grave as previous studies have claimed, although in both absolute and relative numbers, the objects of precious metals in the country do not come near Scandinavian collections. The main body of the material is preserved in the National Museum of Finland, but a number of relevant objects are also scattered in provincial museums, other museum collections and churches. Whether the statement of poverty is justified or not, the main difficulty with clinging to the issue is the absence of any further interpretations of the reasons which have led to such an unfortunate situation. The repetition of the lack of material and crudeness of the craftsmanship empties artefacts of their social meanings and cuts them off from their biographies and the formation processes affecting the material. Similarly, little of value is said of the uniqueness of St. Henry's sarcophagus, unless it is placed in the socio-economic and administrative context in which it was commissioned, produced and placed in the Church of Nousiainen.²⁰⁶² If gold and silver artefacts are really as rare as claimed, what were the reasons for this scarcity and *vice versa*, why have any objects of precious metals survived at all?

The answer to such questions is not easily provided, since the provenances of the objects in the material are very varied. Some of the museum pieces lack any information on their origins, but there are also stray finds, treasure finds and items still present in churches, and even a small fraction of objects discovered in archaeological excavations. Each of these provenance categories poses specific difficulties and possibilities for the study of material culture. The most problematic group of artefacts are those without any note on their discovery or owner prior to the museum collection. At a minimum, such artefacts may be approached as examples of a certain style, ornamentation etc., but their dating as well as contextualization rests on the information provided by other, provenanced artefacts.

The survival of ecclesiastical and secular silver in modern times

The remarkable contrast between the number of silver and gold objects known from written sources and the rarity of surviving pieces can partly be explained as the result of both the material qualities of silver and gold and the social processes affecting the use and reuse of artefacts made of the metals. Because of their value, the artefacts were probably rarely mislaid or lost, and even if such an accident took place, it was worthwhile to invest time and effort to find the item. Perhaps this is the simple reason for the rarity of silver and gold artefacts in archaeological excavations. The value of such luxurious objects has also granted them prominence in the written sources, which were mainly concerned with issues related to property as well as defining the rights and duties of various parties. The nature of the precious metals has made them ideal for preserving capital and hence for use in financial transactions.

Objects made of gold and silver are relatively easy to melt down, and thus old-fashioned artefacts can easily be recast into new shapes. Among those social groups in which the fashionable appearance of artefacts is a key element in the display and creation of distinction, the reusability of silver objects is an important benefit. For others, the option of recasting old forms into new ones was probably not as central as such, although it guaranteed the reparability of broken artefacts and converting the stored-up capital. In sum, the passing of old silver artefacts to the present day, instead of them all being simply melted down and reused, is partly a sign of the appreciation and value attached to them during the ages. This is most evident in cases where an artefact is still present in a church or was acquired as a family heirloom.

The secular objects of silver and gold and their provenances draw a very vivid picture of the factors affecting their survival. The large objects, beakers and tankards, are mainly from hoards or part of the patrimony of farmer families, with a few stray finds. The majority of spoons are

²⁰⁶² Cf. Hiekkänen 2007, 121.

either stray finds or were discovered as part of a hoard, while the single sumptuous table-knife of silver is a find from a medieval trading post. Dress accessories, in a similar vein, have rather varied provenances. Ring brooches are mainly archaeological finds from early and high medieval graves or urban contexts, while finger rings are for the most part either archaeological discoveries or stray finds. The single silver belt with provenance information was part of a farmer's inheritance until donated to a museum collection. Hence, no simple pattern or common denominators can be pointed out as the reason for the survival of the secular material available. The complexity of the survival is probably a consequence of the varied social background of the users of the artefacts – they were members of the nobility, the church and crown administration, but even burghers and farmers had access to objects of precious metals. The spectrum of people who potentially might have come in contact with the artefacts during the Modern Period is also wide, and thus their actions concerning the objects have been equally manifold. Unlike in the case of ecclesiastical equipment, no institutional continuity has ensured the survival of secular vessels, cutlery and dress accessories until from the 19th century onwards with the establishment of museum organizations.

It is certain, though, that wars and other periods of crisis have taxed the surviving body of material, since they were situations in which precious objects changed owners and were hoarded, robbed or transported to other areas. On the other hand, the wars the Sweden fought in Northern Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries also moved artefacts of mainly German origin to Finland when Finnish soldiers returned home with their booty. The phenomenon is well documented in connection with communion vessels, but as a matter of fact, almost any and all of the silver artefacts which are not archaeological finds or otherwise well provenanced, may have been brought to Finland in the Modern Period.

The trajectories affecting the survival of medieval and Early Modern ecclesiastical objects are more easily articulated. A major factor was the Reformation and the confiscations that Gustavus Vasa machinated during the 16th century. In principle, churches were left only with the bare necessities, one chalice and one paten per church, though there was a legion of exceptions both ways. The confiscations were especially devastating for artefacts deemed exclusively part of the Catholic liturgy, such as reliquaries, monstrances and ciboria. In all, the confiscations produced about 6,500 kg silver from the entire kingdom, which, however, was relatively not very significant for the state's finances as a whole – the state obtained the same amount silver from its silver mines in one year.²⁰⁶³ Nevertheless, the Reformation affected not only the public ecclesiastical sphere, but also private consumption and collections of precious artefacts. The gold and silver objects of private devotion related to the Catholic faith were recast into new object forms. No private reliquaries or devotional figurines have survived. Also the spoons and finger rings with depictions of saints are absent in the material passed on to us except the items with images of the Virgin Mary, Christ and possibly St. George.

After the fervour of the Reformation, a long silence was cast upon the majority of the ecclesiastical artefacts besides communion vessels which continued to be used in services. In many cases they were, though, amended to meet the new requirements set by the Lutheran faith. In written sources, communion vessels, crosses, ciboria and censers appear as items listed in modern church inventories along with silver corn-ears and fish or 'the oblate casket of silver with an angulated lid' mentioned in the 1730 inventory of Pohja Church.²⁰⁶⁴ The object may have been medieval, but it has not survived to the present day.

Ciboria, monstrances and censers do not seem to have attracted scholarly interest until the antiquarian attention of the late 19th century, whereas medieval patens and chalices with inscriptions indicating dates and people were taken into academic discussion earlier. Elias Brenner documented the coat of arms and historical inscriptions on the paten and chalice of Naantali Church. The same vessels drew the interest of another early antiquarian, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, who published a drawing of the paten with a commentary.²⁰⁶⁵ The selective nature of the interest

²⁰⁶³ Forssell 1869, 221.

²⁰⁶⁴ cf Hällström 1959, 177.

²⁰⁶⁵ Porthan 1783, 159.

of the 17th- and 18th-century antiquarians on certain objects instead of others is also revealed by the description of the parish of Somero, written in 1760–1772 by Gustav Adolph Bökman. The work mentions the now-lost corn ear of silver as the only ‘ancient artefact’ in the parish church,²⁰⁶⁶ but no note is made of the ciborium surviving to the present day.

Although the surviving body of medieval liturgical equipment represents only a small fraction of all such items present in the country even after the confiscations, it can be asked why they have survived at all. Why were they not melted and reused? One reason is juridical and canonical. All artefacts in a church are part of its property, which cannot be removed without the proper process of authorization. Another aspect of the survival of the medieval objects is perhaps their value as ancient artefacts and symbols of traditions belonging to the church and its chests and cupboards, although no historical value seems to have been given to medieval metal artefacts as such. If old communion vessels were in need of repair, their parts could easily be replaced or the items could be melted altogether and recast to follow contemporary taste. Old medieval chalices could even be sent to more peripheral, poorer parishes as a gesture of goodwill, like the chalice in Kempele Church. A third aspect contributing to their endurance is the value of exoticism which medieval heirlooms could signal after the Reformation. Moreover, the two ciboria made originally of coconut shells were of material rare in Northern Europe. They might have been kept as curios long after the Middle Ages.

The first evidence of medieval artefacts having historical value and potential to produce an emotional reaction in contemporaries is from the late 19th century. These emotions could be scornful, when medieval artefacts were seen as signs of Catholic ideology foreign to the Finnish people as in the booklet *Kirkolta Kirkolle* intended for a general readership and published in 1897. It describes some Finnish churches and bluntly states: ‘Among the medieval Catholic mementoes, which to a large extent are foreign to our people, it is refreshing sometimes to meet *Finnish* mementoes from the Lutheran Age.’²⁰⁶⁷ Usually medieval artefacts are treated, however, in a more positive manner. In the course of the 20th century, medieval liturgical implements are increasingly seen as valuable fragments of the past and new sources for scholarly work.

The first images of medieval liturgical objects after Porthan were published in the late 19th-century antiquarian surveys of parishes and their monuments. After the first wave of antiquarian interest, images and descriptions of medieval objects have appeared in histories of churches, parishes and municipalities throughout the 20th century, and the objects themselves have been exhibited in several museum displays.²⁰⁶⁸ All ecclesiastical medieval artefacts do not have similar trajectories, however, due to their different potential for use in the Lutheran church.

Medieval patens and chalices still remain to a large extent in parishes. The exceptions are the vessels of Maaria Church (Cat. 2:2) which are deposited in the Turku Cathedral Museum, the chalice and paten of Seili Church (Cat. 2:10) which actually originate from St. George’s Hospital Chapel in Turku, and the vessels of the churches of Nauvo (Cat. 2:20), Hauho (Cat. 2:25) and Mietoinen (Cat. 2:31). The chalice and paten of Hollola Church (Cat. 2:18) were taken into the collections of the National Museum in the 19th century, but returned to the parish in the 20th century. The medieval communion vessels found use in Lutheran communions and are being used in some parishes even today. For instance, in Honkilahti Church the medieval chalice was used in confirmation ceremonies until it was deposited in the Turku Cathedral Museum in 2006 when the parish was merged with the parish of Eura. On special occasions old chalices, patens and even censers were used, for example, in the churches of Pernaja, Saltvik and Rymättylä. Medieval chalices and patens have even inspired folktales in the Modern Period.²⁰⁶⁹

Unlike chalices and patens, ciboria do not have any apparent use in contemporary ecclesiastical life, and all of them except the one in Porvoo Cathedral have been deposited in museums. Inventory numbers painted in red on the bottoms of ciboria are very concrete traces of this process. The four ciboria from Turku are on permanent display in the Turku Cathedral Museum. Moreover,

²⁰⁶⁶ Alanen 1986, 29.

²⁰⁶⁷ *Kirkolta kirkolle* 1897; italics in the original.

²⁰⁶⁸ E.g. Pylkkänen 1976; Linder, Meriluoto-Jaakkola & Taitto 2000; Ahola et al. 2005.

²⁰⁶⁹ E.g. the folktale of the chalice in Rusko Church (Aspelin 1887, 205–206).

no modern folk tales connected with ciboria have been recorded. The situation is rather similar with censers. There are 14 items in the material of which only the thuribles of Rymättylä (Cat. 7:2) and Rauma (Cat. 7:10) are still owned by their respective parishes, while the censers of Mynämäki (Cat. 7:4) and Köyliö (Cat. 7:13) have been stolen from the churches.

The chronological and social distribution of products of precious metals

Phase 1: Emerging church organization

Instead of examining each artefact group separately, as has been done so far, the corpus at hand can also be studied as a whole to distinguish different chronological phases. The temporal distribution of objects of gold and silver begins with the transition from the Crusade Period to the Early Middle Ages. It comprises the period of establishing the church organization and the administration of the crown from around the late 12th century to c. 1300. The objects of silver and gold in this period are mainly from three find contexts: burials, hoards and central locations such as Koroinen – the bishop's see in the 13th century – and hillforts. The burial finds, however, are already waning in Southwest Finland at the beginning of the phase, and they are mostly from the eastern parts of the country where the Crusade Period continued a century longer or so.

In the west, the hoard of Halikko with its cross pendant (Cat. 11:1) and beads of silver, the spoon of Lammaistenkoski (Cat. 15:1) and the finds of Koroinen are highly exceptional items even in the Baltic Sea region. In addition to the earliest communion vessels attested in Finland, found in the graves interpreted to belong to bishops (Cat. 1:1–2), the assemblage includes such other gold and silver artefacts as finger rings (Cat. 23:1, 23:7). Even the Limoges enamels of Rusko (Cat. 8:1) and Salo (Cat. 8:2) and perhaps the spoon of Lammaistenkoski are items which can be related to the bishop and the emerging church organization – they are the first signs of an institutional need for luxuries, ecclesiastical rarities. Also the first impressions of seals, a totally new artefact form introduced in the Middle Ages, date from the late 13th century and belong to the highest church officials in the diocese, i.e. the bishops.

None of these luxury items are considered to be local products but instead imports from Gotland, other southern areas of Scandinavia and Central Europe, from where the Limoges enamels originate. Also some of the dress accessories unearthed in burial grounds might be imports from Western Europe – like the finger rings with bezels shaped as cut pyramids (Cat. 23:2–4) – as well as from the east (Cat. 23:5). Besides finger rings, burials as well as hillforts of the period have revealed a number of ring brooches (Cat. 19:6, 19, 77). Although made of precious metals, none of them can be considered especially sumptuous. Along with other small items, these brooches might well have been produced locally, and there are indeed some early traces of fine metal work, for instance from Koroinen, in the form of tools for casting and punching. However, no real evidence of professional goldsmithing survives.

In Cathy Lynne Costin's scheme of craft specialization, the *context* of production describes the nature of control over production and distribution or the degree of elite sponsorship. In the early medieval period, the most important sponsors must have been the church and its officials and possibly local leading figures. The secular leaders may have even privately founded some of the first churches and furnished them with necessary items. Considering the number of luxurious items from the period, the opportunities of the emerging church and local elite for amassing surplus to channel into luxury consumption were still probably poorer than in the following centuries.

The second parameter in Costin's scheme considers the relative regional *concentration* of production facilities, or how craftsmen were distributed across the landscape. Since there is no evidence of specialized goldsmiths working in this early period, the concentration of assumed professionals must have been very scattered, and they were heavily involved in other kinds of activities, such as producing artefacts from base metals, along with working with precious metals.

The third of Costin's parameters describes the *scale* of production which in the case of early medieval Finland must have been small and kin-based. The fourth parameter, the *intensity* of production, probably did not reach more than part-time activity in the first phase of goldsmithing in Finland, since even in the following centuries goldsmiths were also involved in other trades.

Phase 2: Urban spaces as new arenas of luxury consumption and established ecclesiastical needs

The early phase of goldsmithing ends around 1300 when the large administrative network of the crown, based on castles, and the parish system of the church had emerged. During the second phase, dating from 1300 to the early 16th century, the ecclesiastical and secular power structures functioned throughout the diocese, and the first towns were established in the eastern province. As a consequence of the foundation of Turku, at the regional level of the Aurajoki River Valley the loci of luxury consumption shifted from Koroinen and Vanhalinna hillfort in Lieto to Turku Castle and the town.

The two funerary chalices and one paten of the first phase are followed by nearly a century of silence, until the first actual communion vessels of silver and gold appear around the mid-14th century. The 14th-century chalices and patens concentrate in the Åland Islands (Cat. 2:1, 4, 6) and the oldest parishes in Western Finland (Cat. 2:2, 3, 5). Also the oldest ciboria in the church of Viipuri (Cat. 4:1) and Turku Cathedral (Cat. 4:2–4) were made in the 14th century.

The number of communion vessels and ciboria begins to increase significantly in the earlier part of the 15th century, although the culmination is in the latter part of the century. The processional crosses of the churches of Lempäälä and Masku (Cat. 9:1–2) were also produced during the same century, whereas the two monstrances in the material, in contrast, date from the early 16th century (Cat. 6:1–2). If approached from the point of view of stylistic influences, the closest parallels for the communion vessels and early ciboria are in Sweden, especially when the 14th-century items are considered, but the importance of international Gothic style with Hanseatic or German accents becomes notable in the following century and continues to the 16th century.

The spatiotemporal distribution of liturgical equipment of precious metals can be related with the construction of stone churches in the diocese of Turku. The underlying assumption here is that the consumption of liturgical paraphernalia and construction of stone churches requires a surplus of economic resources. Markus Hiekkänen has divided Finnish stone churches into three generations,²⁰⁷⁰ and the comparison between the architectural monuments and the portable objects outlines broad similarities. The oldest stone churches and liturgical equipment are in the Åland Islands and Southwest Finland. Moreover, the highest number of churches and vessels date from the 15th and 16th centuries. However, there are also marked differences, the peak of stone church building activity occurring in the 16th century, whereas the largest group of communion vessels dates from the latter part of the 15th century.

After 1300, finds of finger rings and ring brooches in burials cease, and the find context is replaced by stray finds and discoveries made in urban areas. Especially the emergence of urban spaces created a new social setting for the consumption of imports and luxuries. In Finland, Turku is the most studied of the medieval towns. Mika Kallioinen has reconstructed the topography of wealth in Turku on the basis of the fragmentary written sources.²⁰⁷¹ The town was divided into four quarters during the late medieval period, and according to the sources, the actual burgher settlement was concentrated in two quarters, the Kirkko ('Church') Quarter between the Cathedral and the Market Square, and the Luostari ('Monastery') Quarter between the Market Square and the Dominican Convent. Kallioinen assumes, like all previous scholars, that the clergy had residences in the Kirkko Quarter and the burghers in the Luostari Quarter. The inhabitants of the Mätäjärvi ('Rotten Lake') Quarter were the least wealthy on average, and indeed the quarter is considered to

²⁰⁷⁰ Hiekkänen 2007, 24–28.

²⁰⁷¹ Kallioinen 2000, 148–149.

have been mainly populated by craftsmen. In contrast to the three quarters on the eastern side of the Aurajoki River, the Aninkainen Quarter on the western riverbank was settled during the 14th century, and its inhabitants were probably of lower social standing than in the Mätäjärvi Quarter.²⁰⁷² If based only on written sources, the topography of wealth cannot be examined in a more detailed manner, since the plots mentioned in written records usually cannot be identified more precisely than at the level of the quarters.

On the basis of archaeological assemblages, within the urban area of Turku material culture in the Luostari and Kirkko Quarters and even near the cathedral in the Mätäjärvi Quarter seems quite homogenous.²⁰⁷³ However, a distinction can nevertheless be noted between the Market Square area and the Åbo Akademi plot, which situated at the ancient Mätäjärvi Quarter, in the assemblage of luxury products. A luxurious child's shoe,²⁰⁷⁴ an ornate Hanseatic jug of pewter,²⁰⁷⁵ a gold ring with enamel (Cat. 23:11), a blue-sapphire ring (Cat. 23:15), and three coin hoards have been recovered around the Market Square, while similar finds are absent in the Åbo Akademi site. On the other hand, the gold ring with the names of the Three Magi (Cat. 23:14) was unearthed there. Ring brooches are known from several parts of the town, but none of them are made of precious metals.

Some differences between the quarters are further noticeable when the ceramic assemblage between the Market Square and the Mätäjärvi excavations further away from the Cathedral are compared. The Mätäjärvi assemblage comprises less elaborate imports than the Market Square assemblage.²⁰⁷⁶ Furthermore the exclusive glass vessels of Georg Haggrén's first phase have been discovered only in Koroinen and the Rettig plot in the Luostari Quarter. It is in the second phase during the late 14th century that glass vessels begin to be found also in other parts of the town, but at the same time, glass vessels appear to become less exclusive.²⁰⁷⁷ In general terms, the material culture of medieval Turku, especially when luxuries are considered, does not seem to differ from other Northern European towns. Local influences can only be seen in building and production techniques which seem to continue traditions of the Late Iron Age, but, importantly, were not used in producing luxuries.

Besides the condensed social topography, another new aspect of the urban social structure was the ethnic background of the burghers. Turku was never a member of the Hanseatic League, while its trade partners mostly were. The written records show that apart from Stockholm, which had a significant German minority, Turku's most important trade relations were with the Hanseatic towns of Tallinn, Danzig and Lübeck. On the basis of burgher names, Kallioinen has compiled an estimate of their ethnic background in different times.²⁰⁷⁸ The data suggests that the relative number of German merchants was highest during the 14th century, particularly between the 1360s and 1380s. After that their numbers seem to steadily decrease. During the 15th century, the number of German merchants remained at 20–30 percent, but it plummeted during the reign of Gustavus Vasa. The same picture emerges when Kallioinen examines the composition of the town council. Although the distribution of wealth among burghers in Turku was very uneven, the financial condition of a burgher does not seem to have correlated with his ethnic background.

To assess whether different ethnic groups actively maintained a division into two distinctive groups, Kallioinen analyses marriages between burgher families. In Tallinn, marriages between the German and non-German population were prohibited in 1483, and although this was not the case in Turku, there are very few indications of marriages between the groups. Marriages took place within one burgher group or the other, indicating closed social ranks. Kallioinen concludes that nationality or ethnicity separated the two groups more than belonging to the same burgher community drew them together.

²⁰⁷² Hiekkänen 2003b, 47; Ahola et al. 2004, 93.

²⁰⁷³ Cf. Seppänen 2001, 31.

²⁰⁷⁴ Harjula 2008a, 107–108.

²⁰⁷⁵ Taavitsainen 2003a, 12.

²⁰⁷⁶ Pihlman 1995.

²⁰⁷⁷ Haggrén 2003.

²⁰⁷⁸ Kallioinen 2000, 137–142, 152–153, 162–163.

The archaeological material does not easily submit itself to the distinction of German versus local owners,²⁰⁷⁹ and the only possible way to analyse the situation is to analyse the style and inscriptions appearing on objects, though interpreting the result is not at all straightforward. Nevertheless, among of the finger rings found in the urban area, one has an inscription in German (Cat. 23:11) while the second inscribed one has the names of the Three Magi (Cat. 23:14). Urban ring brooches with inscriptions repeat the Angelic salutation in Latin. Of the spoons in the material, one without clear provenance has an inscribed German phrase (Cat. 15:11). Lastly, the chalice made for St. Henry's altar in Turku Cathedral has a German dedication (Cat. 2:7). Also the donor, Heyne Watmal, has a German name. The second chalice relevant here is the vessel of St. George's Hospital Chapel, which is furnished with a German inscription (Cat. 2:10). Lastly, the chalice of Ulvila is inscribed with German expressions (Cat. 2:12), while most of the inscriptions appearing on communion vessels, in contrast, are in Latin. Only the chalice of Rusko Church has a Swedish inscription (Cat. 2:23). Although the small articles do not provide any easy answers, the concentration of chalices with German inscriptions in urban areas tempts one to link them to Germans, but the material is still perhaps too limited to draw such a conclusion. German phrases as well as the conformity of object forms with the Hanseatic style are not necessarily ethnic indicators. The choice of a certain style or language has possibly more to do with broader socio-economic strategies than simple ethnicity.

If the early phase with the emerging ecclesiastical demand for artefacts of gold and silver was not yet a suitable context for professional goldsmithing, the situation changes after 1300. Several professions are known to have been pursued in medieval Turku, but the most important group of craftsmen in view of luxury production was indeed goldsmiths. Probably because of their high social status among craftsmen, goldsmiths are the best-represented group of professionals in the medieval and Early Modern written sources. Before the year 1500, the names of ten goldsmiths are known from the town, the first of them from 1371. The earliest continuous references to goldsmiths, however, are not from until the following century.

The material evidence of goldsmiths' activities still remains scanty. The first hallmark of a local silversmith on a communion vessel is possibly from the 15th century and on non-ecclesiastical silver from as late as the 1560s. No remains of a goldsmith's workshop have been found. Nevertheless, there are some artefacts related to goldsmithing such as the 14th-century bronze matrix recovered in a field in the village of Nummi approximately one kilometre from Turku. The matrix, which probably originally came from the town, is unfinished, but it would have been used to forge jewellery pieces and mounts. A similar find is a mould from the Rettig plot dated to the 14th century and used for casting small metal mounts with human and animal figures. In spite of the meagreness of the archaeological record, combining it with the written evidence supports the conclusion that the first professional goldsmiths began their work in the diocese during the 14th century. By then, urbanization and the supra-regional administrative structures of the church and the crown with their elite consumption created a sufficient social context for specialized production.

On the basis of written sources, the concentration of goldsmiths emphasized urban settings. The majority of goldsmiths mentioned in the written sources worked in Turku, although some pursued their profession in other towns. In addition to the urban goldsmiths, there are also a few indications of them working in the countryside. The labour intensity of medieval goldsmiths was probably highly varied. Some were full-time workers, while others were heavily involved in trade and other businesses. These other ventures may in fact have been more intensive than the actual goldsmithing. In Finland, the scale of production was probably never high and it was based on the family of a craftsman with perhaps an occasional apprentice, while in some towns of Northern Europe, goldsmithing reached a semi-industrial scale.

The corpus of surviving secular gold and silver products from the 14th century comprises the finger ring of Hämeenlinna Castle (Cat. 23:8) with courtly connotations. The seal matrix of Bengta Bengtsdotter made of silver (Cat. 26:4) is also from the same place and century. Additionally, the

²⁰⁷⁹ Immonen 2007b.

luxurious button found in Perniö (Cat. 20:1) exemplifies the consumption of the high elite. The rest of the finger rings and buttons dated to the century, in contrast, cannot be so easily connected with the nobility. The hoard discovered at Pattijoki includes two decorative rings of the 14th century (Cat. 23:9–10), but most importantly, several finger rings have been found in the urban layers of Turku. The oldest of the vernicle rings (Cat. 23:19) might also date from this century, while the majority of the vernicle rings were made in the following centuries. Lastly, the spoon discovered in the vicarage of Vöyri (Cat. 15:2) and the table-knife of Kyrksundet (Cat. 16:1) with an ecclesiastical inscription date from the 14th century. In the next century, the increase in finger rings continues, especially in the latter part of the century, while no spoons can be dated to that period.

The users of the 14th- and 15th-century dress accessories and cutlery seem to have belonged to three groups. Firstly, there are the members of the high nobility with their European courtly ideals and material culture. This is reflected in the distribution of some luxurious finds as well as abundant references to sumptuous pieces of silver and gold in the written documents. Secondly, the officials of the church, as well as nuns and monks, might have owned a number of the finger rings and cutlery in the material. Especially the finger rings depicting the vernicle motif would seem to be the most likely ones for ecclesiastics, but since the devotional imagery had impregnated the material culture of luxuries of both sacred and secular spheres, full certainty cannot be reached. The third social group consuming artefacts of precious metals were burghers with whom the finger rings found in Turku can be associated.

Phase 3: The century of the Reformation and the consumption of courtly culture and farmers

If the second phase of consumption of gold and silver artefacts was characterized by the establishment of towns and solidification of the ecclesiastical demand for liturgical equipment and the private consumption of its highest officials, the third phase is, firstly, the century in which the Reformation and consequent economic depression shook the church. This is reflected in the number of the surviving communion vessels. The churches of Hauho, Pernaja and Rusko had chalices and patens made in the early decades of the 16th century after which the next communion vessels were made for the churches of Houtskari, Mietoinen, Untamala and Viipuri in the last years of the century. There are no traces of communion vessels being made in the middle of century at all. Moreover, in these late communion vessels, the stylistic change from the Late Gothic towards the Renaissance is apparent along with the theological changes which affected the practices of communion. A symptom of these changes is the lengthy inscription engraved on the foot of the chalice of Untamala (Cat. 2:29). In contrast to the main part of the medieval communion vessels, it is written in Swedish.

The diminishing resources of the church also meant a depression for goldsmiths, at least at the beginning of the 16th century. In the middle of the 16th century, however, the court of Duke John had a major impact on the stylistic development and the use of secular silverwork. Renaissance-style spoons, beakers and tankards as well as jewellery became very common among the nobility, although traces of the international Gothic style remain present in artefacts throughout the century. On the basis of surviving inventories, many noble women had great jewellery collections in Finland. Especially the astonishing number of luxuries in the court of Duke John and Catharine Jagellon was unprecedented in the eastern province. Not surprisingly, the duke with his court constituted an important client for the goldsmiths of Turku. Notwithstanding the importance of the duke's luxuries for changes in fashion in the country and the wealth and power that the court displayed, next to nothing of the duke's sumptuous material culture has remained to the present day. In fact, there are only a handful of 16th-century artefacts which can be associated with the consumption of the secular elite with certainty. Such objects include the scent locket found in a field at Liuksiala Manor (Cat. 22:1) and the late snake rings of Hämeenlinna Castle and Turku

Cathedral (Cat. 23:78–79) along with some wedding rings.

The lack of courtly items in the material does not mean a small number of artefacts. On the contrary, the number of finger rings and spoons explodes in the course of the 16th century. Even all the belts in the material date from the late 16th century. The distribution of the beakers, tankards and spoons in the material reveals that they have been obtained from hoards and stray finds outside Southwest Finland or from farmer families around Turku. Although the geographical distribution of the 16th-century finger rings is much more scattered, a large quantity of them are from a rural setting, especially when the rings of the Sarvas type are considered. There are problems related to representativity, but nevertheless, the pattern of the distribution of these secular objects seems to reflect a different kind of consumption than the pieces mentioned in the written sources. The social setting of the 16th-century secular vessels, cutlery and dress accessories seems to unfold differently than that of the liturgical artefacts, or the secular vessels of the nobility attested in the written documents.

The agrarian consumption of precious metals gains a prominent position in the latter part of the 16th century. The boon of agricultural silver products is easily equated with the contemporary price revolution, when European inflation reached the Nordic countries. Ingrid Hammarström does not doubt these economic developments in general, but argues that a more complex course of development should be seen behind the price changes than a simple causality between the influx of silver and the inflation. She begins her argument by stating that the prices of foodstuffs show the greatest degree of conformity with changes in population size. Hence, with the rising populations in the Nordic countries in the 16th century, also the price of foodstuffs grew. This increase in the population size increased the income of agricultural producers to the same degree that they could increase their surpluses.

Early Modern farmers were the social group which had the highest propensity to save in order to enlarge their holdings. ‘The new silver spoons in the peasant’s houses of the later 16th century may have functioned as stores of value just as much as they indicated a greater refinement in taste’, Hammarström continues. Moreover, the statistics of prices in Stockholm and its district, she states, show that the first half of the 16th century was characterized by a general rise in commodity prices, but what is even more important, the value of agricultural products, barley and butter, rose more than the prices of semi-manufactured industrial goods. She explains this development in prices with the extension of the area of arable land under cultivation and, in parallel, an overall increase in the rural population during the reign of Gustavus Vasa.²⁰⁸⁰

The significance of Hammarström’s ideas is difficult to evaluate in the context of the eastern province mainly because of the lack of appropriate statistics from the 16th century. Since the Middle Ages, the social structure of landownership in Finland was rather exceptional in comparison with other regions of Europe. Farmers, rather than the nobility and the ecclesiastical institutions, owned the majority of land. This peasant landownership was not, however, equally distributed. There were wealthy farmers with large estates and small farms which did not necessarily provide even enough to support the peasant families cultivating them. Although the overall situation of farmers was relatively good and the effects of the Black Death seem to have been minimal, the taxation of farmers was quite heavy. Moreover, the Swedish social and economic system became more rigid with the emergence and solidification of class society at the end of the Middle Ages and during the 16th century.²⁰⁸¹

Gustavus Vasa began the unification and centralization of land taxation and policies in the early 16th century. The strengthened state control most likely increased the taxation imposed on farmers.²⁰⁸² In the late 16th century, there were additionally several parallel developments affecting agricultural production. On the one hand, increasing taxation, unfavourable climate change and diminishing output lowered the absolute price of land and subsequently led to the establishment of larger estates. The depopulation of farms did not thus necessarily mean a depression in the scale of farming. On the other hand, the size of the rural population seems to have increased, and

²⁰⁸⁰ Hammarström 1956, 137–138, 140–141, 144, 147, 151.

²⁰⁸¹ Orrman 2003, 120–122, 128–129.

²⁰⁸² Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003, 183–187.

vast areas of new land were taken under cultivation in Central, Eastern and Northern Finland.²⁰⁸³ In sum, there is no clear pattern to be matched with Hammerström's argument – there are factors that oppose it but also factors supporting it.

Despite the difficulties posed by the fragmentary picture of the social and economic position of agricultural producers in Finland, Hammarström's argument fits well with the significantly increasing numbers of surviving secular silver and gold artefacts in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The phenomenon parallels the appearance of stone moulds carved for casting imitations of silver belts and the high popularity of iconographic rings and the rings of the Sarvas type which imitated actual signet rings. The rings of the Sarvas type are part of the process in which seals became more widely used in various social strata and the number of identification marks placed on silver objects increased.

If the organization of goldsmiths' work during the 16th century is examined closer, neither Karl Bücher's nor Peter Carelli's linear models describing the scale and intensity of the workmanship provides tools for analysing its changes. The parameters of Bücher's and Carelli's models are based on the assumption that any craft production has an internal aim to widen its scale and intensity. The production of luxuries, however, is by definition confined and aims to serve only a certain kind of clientele. Otherwise it would no longer possess the stance of exclusivity and social status, and thus it cannot be described in terms of a linear progression. Moreover, Finnish goldsmithing remained low in scale and unindustrialized until the late 19th century, when the first mechanical devices were introduced to enhance the production process. Despite technological changes, even today luxurious and esteemed silverwork is done by goldsmith-artisans by hand. The aspect of genuine handicraft is heavily underscored in modern marketing as a sign of luxury, and a contrast is sought with the serially produced articles of silver and gold.

Costin's scheme of craft specialization with its four parameters, however, is capable of analysing the organization of craftsmanship better as it includes the social context in which the work took place. The social context implies the effects of social control. Although no medieval laws covering the whole kingdom prohibited the work of craftsmen in the rural setting and the crown's direct orders on goldsmiths' work seem more wishes than actual control, the king and his administration expressed intentions to govern the work of goldsmiths and force them into towns. The Stockholm guild for goldsmiths as an association of craftsmen was confined to the capital, and no traces of such guilds are attested in Finland.

Metal and use values of silver and gold artefacts

Gold and silver objects belong to the register of luxury consumption in several ways depending on the perspective taken. One obvious point of departure is their raw materials which establish artefacts of precious metals *per se* as depositories of value. They could be used as a way to collect and store surplus which neither diminished nor increased, even if the objects were broken into pieces, melted and cast into new objects. When an artefact of precious metal is mentioned in the written sources, the weight of the object is given if it is described at any length.²⁰⁸⁴ Further support for the idea of silver artefacts serving as units of value is provided by wills which usually group artefacts of precious metals clearly as a special category of movable property.²⁰⁸⁵

Numerous scholars have argued that many of the secular objects of precious metals, particularly spoons, were never meant to be used for the purpose their form implied – they were purely investments. Farmers and other non-elite consumers are usually referred to as the social groups using gold and silver in this manner.²⁰⁸⁶ The outline of the idea of using objects as ways to store capital is rather easy to grasp, but there still remain two issues deserving a more detailed analysis. The first comprises the actual practices of using objects as items of exchange and storage of surplus.

²⁰⁸³ Nummela 2003, 137–149.

²⁰⁸⁴ E.g. Vänskä 1998, 135.

²⁰⁸⁵ E.g. Axel-Nilsson 1989, 36, 64.

²⁰⁸⁶ Norberg 1933, 83; Pylkkänen 1947, 6; Fagerström 1983, 43.

The second question concerns the relationship between the function of being a unit of value and the form which the artefact was given. If secular gold and silver objects were mere depositories of metal, why were they processed into vessels, cutlery or dress accessories in the first place and not simply into bullion?

When the social practices of amassing silver objects are examined, it is usually only in the situations of rupture, i.e. in the circumstances in which the owner's hold on the capital is threatened, that the objects of silver and gold became visible to present-day scholarship. In Finnish written sources, this can be seen in wills which are preparations for passing on the fortune, administrative documents describing calamities or lootings, and various judicial documents describing thefts of gold and silver from private individuals or institutions. Usually administrative documents are not very precise in describing the looted and destroyed items in detail, while the surviving Pre- and Early Modern wills are confined to higher social strata, and thus it is often only judicial records that provide a glimpse of the objects owned by other social groups, such as burghers and farmers. Silver spoons in particular are objects that are mentioned in connection with farmers in court cases, and this view is supported by Samuel Kiechel's description of his journey to Scandinavia in 1586.

In the archaeological record, the identification of silver and gold used as capital in contrast to other purposes is rather difficult. In fact, the only certain find context which relates to amassing surplus are hoards. Discussing 18th-century hoards in Finland, Sarvas suggests that those hoards which have produced other artefacts in addition to coins, have datings linking them with wars and other unsettled times and thus were deposited by farmers. Of course there were also other motives for hoarding objects not related to wars or disturbances.²⁰⁸⁷ When considering the hoards with spoons or other objects from the Early Modern Period, an important aspect of their distribution is the concentration not in the heartland of the urban and rural settlements in Southwestern Finland but on the fringes. If this pattern is considered an indication that farmers also deposited these hoards, it shows the importance of silver artefacts for them as a means of storing wealth. This idea is further supported by the evidence of the Kaitainen family treasure as well as the distribution of beakers and tankards.

In connection with objects of precious metals used as a means of storing surplus, the phenomenon of giving or exchanging them deserves some thought. The transactions done with gold and silver can be analysed through a model with two extremes. One pole is the act of giving gifts in a spirit of reciprocity, whereas the opposite pole is the purely financial transaction aiming to create profit for the parties involved. The gift-giving phenomenon is actualized on occasions such as banquets or other festivities and ceremonies for reinforcing business partnerships, political alliances, and family relationships. In gifts, the market value of the given artefacts is not articulated as such, or at least the articulations are hidden from the public act. For instance, it is known from accounts of Sámi engagement and wedding ceremonies, documented in the 17th to 19th centuries, that silver spoons were common gifts, which actually were obligatory payments in disguise.²⁰⁸⁸ However, in the Pre- and Early Modern written sources the act of giving silver and gold artefacts is very rare. This probably does not reflect the infrequency of the custom, but is perhaps better explained by the nature of the surviving written sources, which are concerned with financial and property transactions, not the social institution of gift giving, though this argument remains only a suggestion. Although spoons of organic materials or base metals might have been given as gifts among a wide social spectrum, the use of precious artefacts with fashionable shapes and ornamentation as noble gifts at the same time strengthened the horizontal social networks and emphasized vertical differences between social groups and their means of consumption.

Both ecclesiastical and profane objects of silver and gold show marks of having being given as gifts, whether to private persons or institutions. Several communion vessels have inscriptions declaring them to be gifts presented to the church, whereas only one ciborium is known to have been donated. The containers of wafers were probably not artefacts with prominent gift status.

²⁰⁸⁷ Sarvas 1968a, *passim*.

²⁰⁸⁸ Klein 1923, 65–66; Mauss (1924) 1999, 31.

In the case of profane silver, the material lacks inscriptions declaring the objects to be gifts, but especially spoons and tankards with names and possibly the coats of arms of couples might well have been gifts given at their weddings. Furthermore, spoons with only one engraved name or year could be gifts given at christenings or at some other important festivities. On the other hand, they might also simply be personalized spoons. Lastly, corn-ears and fish made of silver might be interpreted as donations by local parishioners.

In addition to gifts, silver artefacts also appear as objects of exchange in financial transactions, although again this is rarely indicated in the written record. In particular, the rather standardized form of spoons may well have established them as a convenient unit for economic transactions, but at the same time, gilt, engravings on the bowl and ornamental knobs made them showy and customisable items. Olle Källström argues that the conservatism of spoon designs, like the longevity of spherical knobs in the 16th and 17th centuries and their adoption in the 18th and even 19th-century peasant silver is a symptom of their function as depositories of value.²⁰⁸⁹

The second question of the relation between the metal value and the appearance of the objects goes to the heart of the present study. The value of silver and gold artefacts is indeed anchored in their materiality, but from the point of view adopted here, materiality is more than the raw material itself. The concept of materiality denotes the process by which ideology becomes a tangible presence. Hence the forms and appearances given to lumps of silver and gold are not arbitrary and dictated by the necessity of giving them some convenient shape. In his travel account, Samuel Kiechel writes that whenever farmers obtained money they had it made into heavy silver spoons in order to store wealth. Lending heavy spoons to guests combined all the functions of the spoon in one act – the spoon was at the same time a depository of wealth, a piece for showing wealth and hospitality and an implement for eating.

The dichotomy between metal and use values has a certain degree of relevance in describing the multifunctional nature of artefacts of precious metals in Pre- and Early Modern material culture, but ultimately it hinders understanding of the multifaceted nature of these items and the values they exhibited. Perhaps the problem lies in the visually conceived idea of use value. As modern works of art, the value of objects of silver and gold is considered to lie in their appearance or in the visual impression which they give, which is easy to distinguish from the concrete and raw nature of the metals. However, metal and use values are not as clearly distinct as seems to be assumed. The two forms of value share at least one common characteristic. Both have certain effects on the social and physical worlds. This kind of understanding of value as effectiveness also changes the view of the use value of silver and gold objects. Rather than in being luxurious tools to pour drink down one's throat or shovel food inside one's mouth, their use value is in the complex material and social practices in which the objects were involved.

Objects of silver and gold in the Pre- and Early Modern register of luxury consumption

Binding the concept of value with materiality, conceived as effectiveness, leads to the main questions of the present study. The first question, of what kinds of artefacts of gold and silver were made for what purposes, is dealt with in the analysis of the material. The second point of concern is the meaning of objects of precious metals as luxuries in their contemporary culture. This issue has been approached, with the help of Arjun Appadurai, by considering luxury as a register of consumption analysed through five features which do not constitute them as sumptuous items but make them socially and materially effective artefacts. In other words, the silver and gold artefacts are luxurious, they have certain value which affects their surroundings in one way or another. This effectiveness, in turn, positions them in the register of luxury consumption, which can be approached through the five features suggested by Appadurai.

²⁰⁸⁹ Källström 1941, 116–118; Bengtsson 1979, 53–54.

Restriction of luxury consumption to the elite

The first of the five characteristics of the register of luxury consumption is its limitedness to the elite by means of price or legislation. Also a third method of restriction should be added, namely decorum, or the socially conceived appropriateness defined by one's social position and the situation in question. Decorum as such is trickier to pinpoint in the written or archaeological record, but it has nevertheless affected the distribution of objects as well as their production. An example of the latter are the names of goldsmiths which were never engraved on the visible surfaces of communion vessels, although craftsmen punched their hallmarks on the bottom surfaces or marked their products in some other way. The coats of arms of donors and even their figurative representations, in contrast, were placed on the most visible parts of chalices and patens. The fourth method for restricting the consumption of silver and gold objects was controlling the producers. State control over goldsmiths remained loose and vague until the early 17th century, and goldsmiths themselves were also involved in controlling and organizing their craft. Nevertheless, the control of their work did harden throughout the 16th century with the introduction of hallmarking and attempts to force goldsmiths into urban areas. In sum, of the four ways of limiting the consumption of luxuries, price and decorum were the most important ones in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Sumptuary laws were introduced in the Swedish realm fairly late towards the end of the 16th century, and they remained relatively ineffective.

Understanding the decorum related to the correct consumption of luxuries was not, however, shared throughout society, as the angry comments of Gustavus Vasa and John III on the too lavish consumption of burghers show. Similar transgressions can be sensed in the late-16th-century imitations of silver belts and finger rings produced in base metals. Although they could not match their models, the imitations of belts, chains and other dress accessories nevertheless visually structured the body and channelled its movements. To some extent they were successful in utilizing technologies of forming social visibility. The most clear case of imitating the forms of luxurious objects are dining vessels and cutlery which, in turn, reflected changes in mealtime customs during the late medieval and Early Modern Period. However, the most concrete form of reclaiming luxurious objects, if one lacked other means of acquiring them, was to steal such articles, a transgression repeatedly occurring in judicial documents.

Intriguingly, the imposition of sumptuary legislation occurs in parallel with the vernacular imitations of luxurious silver objects. A similar development also seems to occur in other fields of material culture. The local production of stove-tiles, another form of luxurious consumption, began in Turku and Finland in the latter part of the 16th century.²⁰⁹⁰ The ceramic assemblage of Turku is much more complex to interpret. According to Aki Pihlman, the relative numbers of German stoneware vessels in Turku began to decrease during the fifteenth century, and between 1450 and 1550 the largest group of ceramics were glazed and unglazed red wares. Red wares may have been imported from various sources, but from the early 16th century onwards, the majority of the red wares glazed inside were locally made, Pihlman estimates. This local production did not, however, continue the older peasant tradition, but had adopted the use of the potter's wheel.²⁰⁹¹ German stoneware still continued to be used after the mid-16th century, and faïence was introduced into the country in the earlier part of the 17th century.²⁰⁹² These more or less parallel developments are part of the transition to the modern system of production and consumption, the so-called age of transition which lasted from around 1400/1450 to 1600/1650,²⁰⁹³ but could all these appropriations of technologies for producing luxuries, or rather their imitations, be also interpreted as symptoms of the emergence of a class society and its sensitivity to the social differences articulated in material culture. Was the emergence of social emulation in material culture, or at least intensification of it, part and parcel of the process of the age of transition?

²⁰⁹⁰ *Majantie* 2003, 188–191.

²⁰⁹¹ *Pihlman* 1995, 207–209; 2002; 2003, 200–201; *Tulikki* 2003c, 208–209.

²⁰⁹² *Hyvönen* 1983b, 30–36; *Pihlman* 1995, 227–228.

²⁰⁹³ *Gaimster & Stamper* 1997; *Haggrén* 2009.

The complexity of acquiring luxuries

The complexity of the acquisition of luxuries is related to the scarcity of such products. Commissioning them from local producers was not necessarily a straightforward matter or luxuries had to be imported, which increased their value. Bishop Magnus Tavast visited Venice around 1420 and had valuables made for Turku Cathedral. In his chronicle, Paulus Juusten clearly esteems highly Tavast's efforts to bring precious artefacts from such a faraway place. Also in Duke John's inventories, pieces imported from France or other European countries are specifically noted. Apart from these two examples, imports from such locations are attested neither in the written sources nor the archaeological record. The surviving body of imported gold and silver artefacts is from the neighbouring areas or from around the Baltic Sea area. For Finland, the most important production sites outside the Diocese of Turku were Stockholm, towns in North Germany and the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic countries. These luxurious imports were brought to the country via personal relations, or they were acquired through merchants or other middlemen and distributors.

If a silver product was commissioned and produced locally, the interaction between lay consumers and goldsmiths seems, in the light of the written sources, to have been concerned with the exchange of materials, finished products and payments for work. The interaction may have involved instructions on the form and appearance of the finished products, but there is no actual evidence of this.

In commissioning liturgical implements, in contrast, the interaction must have been more complex. Judging from written sources, donations of communion vessels or other ecclesiastical items by laymen included the material or other means needed to fulfil them. The commissioning itself was left to the church and its representatives, who were in contact with goldsmiths and negotiated over details of production. The visual complexity of liturgical artefacts required more detailed planning and theological knowledge on the part of the customer.

The semiotic virtuosity of luxuries

Of all the objects of precious metals in the material, the ones used in the liturgy are the most laden with signs and narratives and capable of communicating complex meanings. Liturgical equipment is not, however, uniformly distinguished in its semiotic complexity even when items of the same artefact category are considered. For instance, four or five of the medieval chalices of Turku Cathedral have survived, but apart from the Ejby and Uusikaarlepyy chalices, these vessels are plain without elaborate engravings or attached ornaments. The foot of the Ejby chalice, in contrast, has a carefully made set of coats of arms, while the stem has several Christian symbols referring to the altar on which the chalice served. The chalice of Kalajoki Church, however, displays the most integrated programme among the Finnish communion vessels, forming a semiotic whole pointing to the Christ's sacrifice and resurrection. In all, medieval chalices and patens formed a visual genre of their own differing from wooden sculptures, wall paintings or other elements of the church interior. Fundamentally, the semiotic complexity of the objects and media in churches has underscored the social difference between those who could decode them, i.e. form a comprehensible whole in which everything had its place, and those who were left puzzled by the intricate multitudinousness of it all.

Although Christian motifs are also strongly present in secular silver related to dining – especially in spoons – neither profane vessels nor cutlery seem to have equally integrated pictorial programmes conveying a specific complex idea. They do have elaborate engravings and other ornaments, but a clear narrative or message is missing. Hence, secular items constitute a different kind of medium in which semiotic virtuosity aims at creating an impression of sumptuousness, making them noticeable and passing on the message of the wealth and taste of the owner.

The semiotic separation between sacral and secular material culture, however, should not be overemphasized as the late-medieval technique of miniaturization shows.²⁰⁹⁴ The modification of

²⁰⁹⁴ Cf. Vale 2001, 95.

pictorial motifs from one scale and context to another visually ties the ecclesiastical and profane spheres together. In the Finnish context, especially the scenes on finger rings and Hanseatic jugs can be considered to be miniaturized versions of imagery used in an ecclesiastical context. Especially iconographic rings with several visual layers and relatively large surfaces were favourable for adapting devotional imagery on a small scale. Notwithstanding the simplicity of the technique based on scaling and copying images, its ramifications for the material culture of devotional and social spheres were significant. Although the images were in principle the same as before, they were now implanted into totally different kinds of practices and meanings in dining, dressing and representing oneself in everyday interactions.

Visibility and invisibility to the public at large is central theme in ecclesiastical objects. The sepulchre reliquaries discovered in the churches of Finström and Föglö exemplify this. The former is a rather unimpressive container of lead while the latter is an elaborate gilt silver cross. Hence it seems that reliquaries not intended to be seen were not necessarily less carefully made than those that were placed before the eyes of the devotees, but it is still appropriate to conclude that silver and gold were used when visually impressive objects were produced. Reliquaries were devices channelling and enhancing visual piety towards objects of holiness, and one visual technology to reach this aim was the use of silver, gold and precious stones. Also processional crosses, the dress accessories used on liturgical garments, crosiers, monstrances etc. were all made of the same metals.

In secular material culture the divide between visible and invisible is also fundamental. For instance, the small medallions with figurative depictions soldered on the bottoms of Hanseatic jugs were normally invisible, but when the container became empty, the medallion revealed itself to the user. In profane objects, the role of silver and gold was to visually emphasize the presence of the artefacts themselves as visual cues of sumptuousness, whether it was a question of banquets or self-representation in the form of dress accessories.

Special knowledge required in the consumption of luxuries

At a very general level, the events of baptism, confirmation, engagement, wedding, and burial provided rhythm and boundaries for the lives of Pre- and Early Modern people. All these occasions had an ecclesiastical dimension. Moreover, they involve a special feature of material culture, a set of artefacts emphasizing and enabling the performance of the event.²⁰⁹⁵ Not only the appearance but also the correct liturgical use of ecclesiastical equipment created a connection with the church and the Mass for a large community of Christians. This liturgical use even left its mark on the surfaces of ciboria, as Stina Fallberg Sundmark has pointed out:²⁰⁹⁶ The wear of the gilt on ciboria is concentrated on the node and foot, because they were held with one hand on the foot and the other on the node. Medieval communion vessels as well as other liturgical objects were used in a complex setting of formalized routines, norms and regulations, and they were barely even touched by other persons than priests who were educated to conduct the services correctly.

In secular contexts the rules and knowledge required for consuming the luxurious silver and gold objects were not necessarily as clearly articulated and rigid as in the liturgy, but they existed nonetheless. In courtly value systems, the festive communal eating and drinking in the banquet-hall were central tenets of forging community and communal identity,²⁰⁹⁷ but there existed a social code that was to be followed in order to create these events. In Finland, the actual use of profane silver artefacts as part of festivities, in contrast to liturgical items, is poorly represented in written and other kinds of sources except for the brief descriptions in inventory lists and the iconography on the actual artefacts.

Changes in mealtime customs were part of the social process in which burgher and elite cultures were constantly creating and redefining social differences in relation to other social groups

²⁰⁹⁵ Cf. Mauss (1924) 1999, 35; Jetsu 1996, 212.

²⁰⁹⁶ Sundmark 2004, 43.

²⁰⁹⁷ Bildhauer 2006, 161–162.

through etiquette and criteria of suitable conduct. All the dishes and cutlery used in dining formed relations with humans varying from mere visual perceptions to intimate bodily contact, and thus the paraphernalia follow as well as condition the movements of diners. Hugh B. Willmott's model of the classes of material culture used in dining has been applied to chart relations between the dishes and cutlery and the bodily movements. The drinking horn of Yläne Manor was mobile and communally used like the tankards in the material, while beakers were also mobile, but more tied to one person. Of the objects in the material, spoons and knives are more closely bound with the body and its movements than the dishes. The spoons in the material and the designs they represent can be related to the changes in mealtime customs and the civilizing process in general.

The dress accessories in the material cannot be associated with a particular communal event and its bodily movements, but nevertheless they played a major part in constituting one as a social being and were dictated by one's position in society. Pre- and Early Modern culture was highly sensitive to expressing and creating identities in the visual sphere, and social decorum thus conditioned the jewellery attached to clothes and the sumptuousness of personal appearance.

Relation between luxuries and the consuming body, the individual and personality

The last feature of the luxury consumption, the relation between luxuries and the consuming body, is also the most difficult one to analyse because of the elusiveness of the concept of body. For instance, during any liturgical service with the required objects, corporeality was present on several levels. Firstly, in a metaphysical sense, the body and blood of Christ was present in the Eucharist touching the golden or gilt surfaces of the communion vessels and other *vasa sacra*. Secondly, the body of the celebrant was in interaction with the vessels as he lifted them, said the words of Institution and distributed the consecrated wine and bread. The design of the communion vessels was adapted to these movements – the *signaculum* along with possible inscriptions and other ornaments indicated in which way the vessels were to be positioned, and the node secured a firm hold of the cup with its precious contents. Thirdly, corporeality was also present in the event in the form of a distinction between those who were in contact with the liturgical objects and those who were mere spectators. There was a clear contrast, on the one hand between laymen and churchmen, and on the other hand between males and females, since the liturgical equipment were male-dominated artefacts.

Similarly the secular vessels, cutlery and dress accessories were all involved with corporeality and bodily movements and distinctions made between social groups and individuals. Although some of the secular artefact types such as pins and scent lockets tend to be associated with women, and such items as seal matrices, buttons and banqueting vessels are often interpreted as belonging to the male sphere, no clear-cut gender categorization can be imposed on the material. Probably this is partly due to the small size of the material, but also to the fact that such strict gender groupings are more idealizations than actually present in the object biographies, and many of the object groups – dishes, cutlery and dress accessories – were used by both sexes.

Bodily movements and boundaries are involved even when small artefacts in the material are considered, firstly finger rings and secondly scent lockets. In the medieval finger rings, the aspect of private devotion is strongly present through the inscriptions and pictorial motifs appearing on the articles. The devotional dimension of finger rings can be connected with the belief that there was a direct physiological link between the ring finger and heart. Finger rings were like Morse telegraphs with a line straight to the soul of the user. It is a commonly held scholarly view that medieval and Early Modern finger rings were worn to prevent cramps and especially bleeding which, however, appear rather tame reasons to use such powerful devices. This contrast can be explained by the differing medieval notion of an enclosed body compared with the modern conception of corporeality. According to Bettina Bildhauer, blood concerned people more in terms

of the integrity of the body than in terms of any actual danger to life and health, to the extent that in many European legal systems a bleeding scratch was deemed more serious than concussion, because it meant a danger to the conception of the body as always enclosed. Any bleeding was a terrible threat, a transgression of the rigid but vulnerable limits of the bounded body. The focal position of the Eucharist and the suffering, bleeding body of Christ exemplifies the cultural anxiety invested in the violated boundaries of the body.²⁰⁹⁸ Hence the use of finger rings against bleeding was one of the technologies constructing the idea of one's body and identity.

Another example of maintaining bodily boundaries with the help of gold and silver artefacts is the use of scent lockets. The aromatic substances placed inside them emitted sweet scents, made the life of the wearer more pleasant and left a good impression of him or her on others. At a general level this description is true, but smells in the Pre- and Early Modern culture also constituted a threat to the integrity of the body. Plague and other deceases were thought to spread as stench and thus scents were highly significant and people were sensitive to them like Thomas Aquinas describing the uses of censers in the liturgy.

Scent lockets and finger rings can be considered as technologies related to maintaining the bounded body, but identification marks, coats of arms and seal impressions are more connected with the establishment of judicial and public identity. They all appear in one form or another in artefacts of gold and silver, but identification marks are the oldest of the phenomena in the Nordic countries. In Finnish they are called *puumerkki* and in Swedish *bomärke*.²⁰⁹⁹ The terms refer to marks, usually composed of geometric shapes, placed on objects to show that they are the property or the product of some particular person or social group or to prove some other connection between the marked artefact and the person or persons. They therefore function in the same way as coats of arms, seals and signatures.²¹⁰⁰ In the Nordic written sources, the phenomenon of identification marks appears first in the Icelandic laws compiled in the 12th century, and they can be seen in various artefacts from the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages.²¹⁰¹ References to them gradually become common in many Nordic laws, such the Björkö law of the 13th century, Magnus Eriksson's land law of 1347 and town law of 1350 and King Kristoffer's land law of 1442. The law texts discuss marks as means to identify domestic animals, stolen objects, other possessions and merchandise.

The placement of identification marks on Pre- and Early Modern objects was probably meaningful. Itkonen describes how the 18th- and 19th-century Sámi *kiisa* or transportation caskets had two kinds of identification marks. The maker's mark and sometimes even the year of production were carved on the bottom of the object, whereas the owner's mark was made inside the casket.²¹⁰² A similar distinction can be applied to the identification marks on objects of precious metals. First there are the goldsmiths' marks, or rather hallmarks, which in the 16th century often had the same geometrical appearance as identification marks. These are punched on the bottom of an object or to some other discreetly chosen place. In spoons, the maker's mark is placed on the back of the stem near the bowl as a rule. Secondly, there are other identification marks, usually engraved or even incised with amateurish hand on a visible place visually emphasizing the owner. Such identification marks appear in spoons made of metal, both precious and base, whereas the contemporary wooden and bone spoons are mostly unmarked.

Heraldic devices are a younger, clearly medieval, phenomenon in Finland. According to Dave D. Davis, hereditary emblems are likely to appear in complex societies with unstable systems of social rank. The devices formed a technology or material symbols which originally were socially exclusive and confined to the nobility reinforcing the social claims of the elite. In Europe, heraldry can be traced to early 12th century France, where shield markings used to identify knights spread rapidly after the 13th century with the introduction of armour which concealed the appearance of the person wearing it. They quickly acquired genealogical significance and supported claims

²⁰⁹⁸ Bildhauer 2006, 69–70.

²⁰⁹⁹ Killinen 1896, 17–18; Sirelius (1921) 1989b, 517.

²¹⁰⁰ Sirelius (1921) 1989b, 515–516; Ekko 1948, 242.

²¹⁰¹ Lindholm 1976, 4.

²¹⁰² Itkonen 1948, 306.

of aristocratic ancestry and privilege, and thus confirmation of the right to bear a coat of arms amounted to confirmation of aristocratic birth.

Heraldry began to gain wider social significance in the late medieval period with eroding social exclusivity as a consequence of the increasing economic power of the middle-rank groups. Moreover, heraldic emblems were adopted by towns and other corporate units, which were not kin-based. The spread of heraldic emblems to those of non-noble status began to occur by the 13th century in the form of seal designs adopted by clergy and burghers in France.²¹⁰³ In Finland, the oldest seal impression based on an identification mark was pressed by Bero in 1344, but he was a nobleman and *lagman*.²¹⁰⁴ The first actual non-noble to leave his seal impression was Petri Finvisson who was born in the Åland Islands and served as a member of the town council of Stockholm in 1380.²¹⁰⁵ All other seal impressions belonging to non-nobles and depicting an identification mark date from the next centuries. Of all medieval seal impressions, c. 15 % refer to persons not belonging to the ranks of the nobility.

The urban area of Turku is a good example of medieval material culture related to heraldry. In addition to clergymen and nobles, over 30 seal impressions made by burghers of Turku authenticate medieval written documents. However, no seal matrices have been found in the medieval town area, although two 14th-century seal matrices of bronze and one silver artefact from the 14th century with a coat of arms have been discovered in Koroinen. Coats of arms appear also in the cathedral. The Ejby chalice (Cat. 2:17) is furnished with handsome heraldic emblems. Donors seem to appear in one mural in the cathedral dated to the 1450s. The painting represents three persons of the laity, a man and a woman dressed as burghers, and a man in a knight's armour bearing a shield with his heraldic device.²¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, in 1925 the ruins of a cellar attached to the medieval wall encircling the cathedral were found. Unearthed here were three coats of arms carved on a limestone slabs with some remains of paint. A fourth slab had later been reused as a tile in the floor of the sacristy of the cathedral. A fragment of a fifth slab with a coat of arms was discovered near the cellar in 2006.²¹⁰⁷ The coats of arms appearing on the slabs have been connected with some families of the late 15th century.²¹⁰⁸ It is not known where the slabs were originally placed, but it has been suggested that they hung on a wall of the *domus clericorum* or on the wall of a chapel in the cathedral. Two carved stones with coats of arms are also placed on the wall of Turku Castle. One belongs to Sten Sture and was made in the late 1480s and the second to Duke John.²¹⁰⁹

The material culture of the medieval and Early Modern Period was loaded with coats of arms and heraldic emblems. They decorated church interiors and communion vessels donated by churchmen and laity as well as banqueting tables and halls and were also engraved on sumptuous dishes and cutlery. Moreover, coats of arms were worn as part of one's garments and carried on one's person in the form of seal matrices and signet rings. Hence it is no surprise at all that the temptation to imitate them emerged in the lower social strata, especially among the burghers, who adopted the use of seals. The appropriation of the identity technology may have been even wider, as is proposed by the crudely produced, non-luxurious finger rings of the Sarvas type which borrow the social power invested with heraldic devices and seals.

2103 Davis 1985, 153–158.

2104 Anthoni 1955.

2105 FMS 300.

2106 Kuujo 1981, 52; Hiekkänen 2003a, 206.

2107 Pihlman 2006, 24.

2108 Nikula & Nikula 1987b, 653–657.

2109 Bengtsson 1999, 186–187; Järvi 2002, 109.

Biography and materialization as focuses of research

In 2006, the archaeologist Kari Uotila stated in his review of the history of the Society for Medieval Archaeology in Finland and the future of historical archaeology in the country that

[published] atlases of the artefacts of the various periods can be considered as the cornerstone of archaeological research, although hewing such atlases in stone can also shackle scholarship. In terms of artefact culture, the Middle Ages were a highly international era also in Finland, and it is conceivable that we could use the [published artefact] atlases of neighbouring and distant regions as the basis for our own studies, and one would not have to come up with all classifications by oneself.²¹¹⁰

The basic idea of the argument is sound – there is no sense in studying and publishing the Finnish finds in isolation from international scholarship and to create all typologies and interpretations from scratch. Uotila's remarks, however, also seem to imply a more substantial critique of compiling identical atlases of the Finnish material, a critique which is especially topical from the perspective of luxuries. What is the point of publishing material which has numerous counterparts internationally if the conclusions are mostly such redundant ramblings as 'even we had these and these foreign imports and rarities reflecting the lavish consumption of the elite'?

This study has tried to respond to the critique with reference to three concepts, value, materiality and biography, and the ways in which these concepts are intertwined. The value of objects of precious metals is anchored not only in their rare and exquisite raw materials, but importantly and more broadly in their materiality. In this study, the concept of materiality focuses attention on two things: firstly on the process by which ideology becomes concrete and present in everyday lives, and secondly on the biographies of the artefacts studied. The first describes the social and physical impact of the gold and silver objects in the medieval and Early Modern setting, while the latter is more concerned with individual objects, their cultural and material trajectories from their production to the present day. Artefacts of precious metals have not just accidentally survived, but there are several factors or formation processes influencing their presence today and the ways they represent the past. The material has been divided into three large groups depending on the cultural context which is the most significant for understanding their appearance in the written and archaeological sources as well as uses in the past. The first context is that of the church and its liturgical activities as marked by Christianity and the creation of communality, while the second is formed by the institution of dining with its own material culture. The third context consists of dress accessories which along with heraldic devices contributed to the sphere of personal representation.

The surviving objects themselves are saturated with details on production and use, but their highly limited number makes grasping the overall picture difficult. Hence connecting the artefact material with the written sources has been an important methodological tool for analysing the consumption of luxuries. Despite great difficulties posed by the fragmentary nature of the sources, the distribution of finds also underscores the importance of the church in the register of luxury consumption: it was the focal point in the rituals of one's life and thus artefacts of precious metals made their appearance there. The institutional continuity of the church aided the survival of ecclesiastical silver and even mundane artefacts in the soil under church floors. The second important social group whose consumption of gold and silver is reflected in the material was formed by the noble elite. Notwithstanding the importance of the nobility and the highest church officials in the study, most of the exclusive artefacts found in Finland may in fact have been owned by the well-to-do burghers and farmers.²¹¹¹ Moreover, the evidence of social emulation in the

²¹¹⁰ Uotila 2006, 17.

²¹¹¹ Cf. af Ugglas 1942, 18–19; Bengtsson 1999, 241.

form of luxurious products widens the importance of studying luxury consumption in order to understanding the developments of material culture in general. The study of elites is always partly study of society as a whole.

Local versus foreign production has not been one of the divisions orientating the focus of the present study, but it is still evident that locality is not present in the artefacts of gold and silver in a sense of piquant motifs or styles. There are no local ornament traditions or depictions of any of the Nordic saints or St. Henry in the material. The gold and silver objects, in fact, seem to constitute a medium operating on the international or at least Hanseatic styles. If locality is sought, it is more in the inscriptions engraved on the vessels and in the assemblages of common European saints that were depicted, but also in the chronological and geographical distribution of the artefacts across the country and consequently in the economic circumstances which conditioned the acquisition of luxurious objects. Moreover, locality cannot be identified in the formal development of the artefacts. The European fashions and internationalism of elite material culture signify more than forms and trade contacts, they also involved ideologies and ways of materializing them in consumption.

After presenting all these arguments for the study of artefacts as a field of its own, it can still be pointed out that they may well be acceptable as such, but nevertheless they do not justify the publication of a traditional catalogue of all the material studied. The analytical part would have sufficed. Such a statement, however, reveals that the critique has not tackled the study of artefacts or, in more general terms, material culture. Catalogues of artefacts retain their usefulness even after analyses may have become outdated. They ease the work of future scholars, whether national or international, studying gold and silver artefacts, and are thus like putting money in a piggybank. Moreover, such catalogues might increase the awareness of museums and especially parishes of the treasures that they possess. Lastly, catalogues of archaeological material are ultimately based on striving towards open, transparent scholarship. By presenting the entire material, the catalogue invites readers to suggest new datings and statistics, to reinterpret and to challenge the conclusions given here.

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Golden moments is a study of the consumption of gold and silver artefacts in Finland during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. It presents the corpus of surviving artefacts and discusses their techniques of production, appearance, and survival. Above all, the study approaches gold and silver artefacts as a window on the consumption of luxuries, and places the objects in their contexts of use, discard and cultural significance.

The present work offers a synthesis of existing museum collections and recent archaeological material with the aid of documentary research methods and the theoretical insights of material culture studies. The results are presented in two volumes. The first part analyses the material and its contribution to the understanding of luxury consumption, while the second part is a catalogue of all the artefacts with descriptions, measurements and photographs.