

# METAL SPOONS OF THE 14TH–18TH CENTURIES FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGY COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF LITHUANIA: TYPOLOGY, CHRONOLOGY AND PROVENANCE

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## Keywords

Spoons, typology, metal, maker's mark, post-medieval, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

## Abstract

Metal spoons from archaeological excavations in Lithuania are a rare find. Therefore, no research has been done on their shape, chronology or provenance. The aim of this article is to identify what types of metal spoons were owned by the residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whether the spoons were imported or produced locally, and whether the western European spoon trends had any influence on the material culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Only 19 spoons from the archaeology collection of the National Museum of Lithuania are attributed to the 14th–18th centuries. A morphological typology based on the spoons' finials and handles was chosen in the current study. The first type is a spoon with a hexagonal ball finial from the second half of the 14th century. The other five types of spoons, from the second half of the 16th century and the 17th century, are characterised by a strawberry-shaped finial, an apostle figure, a twisted handle, a flat handle, and a hexagonal handle, respectively. The last type — a spoon with a rounded top — belongs to the end of the 17th century and the 18th century. The spoon types and their chronology correspond to the types of spoons produced in northern, western and central Europe during the same period. This indicates that residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania not only followed the trends of the European cutlery fashion but also reacted promptly to changes. Although there is insufficient data to say with certainty whether non-precious metal spoons were produced in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it can be shown at least that the goldsmiths there produced silver spoons which were popular in the region at the time.

## Introduction

In the 14th–17th centuries it was common to eat the majority of dishes with one's fingers. It was also common for guests to bring their own cutlery to a meal, as the tradition of having tableware for guests had yet to develop. Spoons are one of the most mentioned cutlery items in the inventories. They were irreplaceable for eating soups and porridges and were also used for eating pies and desserts. However, spoons were not only used for utilitarian purposes; they were given as gifts for weddings and baptisms or as a sign of friendship, used in liturgical and coronation ceremonies, and, most importantly, kept as an investment (Marekowska 1954; Marquardt 1997; Brown 2001). The

number of precious metal spoons owned by a person indicated their wealth and socioeconomic status.

In Lithuania, unlike in western European countries, metal spoons are a rare find in archaeological excavations. Therefore, there is a lack of research in type analysis, chronology and provenance of metal spoons in the historiography of Lithuanian archaeology. There is only one study dedicated to the analysis of non-precious metal spoons. The present author in her article 'Spoons with apostle figures in Lithuania' (Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018) discusses identification, material, context and provenance of spoons with an apostle figure and tries to refute the common perception that this type of spoon was made exclusively as a christening gift.

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A similar yet slightly different tendency can be observed in the work of researchers from other countries. In western Europe, particularly in England, non-precious metal spoons are quite a common find. However, the key form of literature where finds are categorised and summarised is catalogues rather than research papers (Benker 1978; Amme 1994, 2002, 2007, 2012; Brown 2001; Marquardt 1997). Moreover, catalogues are mostly limited to a brief description and general overview of the spoons. The dating of the material in these catalogues is often based on outdated and/or non-expansive research. In addition, the spoons often originate from private collections that were transferred at some point to a museum. Consequently, this leads to a lack of context, as the spoons are without a proper record of the location and circumstances of the find. These factors and also the lack of consistent research complicate the interpretation and further analysis of the non-precious metal spoons. There is only one comprehensive monograph on spoons made from non-precious metals. Emery (1976) in his monograph *European spoons before 1700* presented extensive research on both non-precious and precious metal spoons from various European museums in order to determine the provenance and chronology of different types of spoons.

The surviving inventories of the nobility, both higher and lesser, and wealthy townspeople of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (henceforth GDL) from the 16th–18th centuries indicate that representatives of different social strata owned a varying number of spoons of different materials. Inventories of the lesser nobility contained brass, tin and wooden spoons, whereas the inventories of the higher nobility consisted of tin, silver or gold coated spoons, and on rare occasions wooden spoons (Dambrauskaitė 2019, p. 96; Ragauskas 2002, p. 405). However, unlike the inventories of other nations, those of residents of the GDL contain no information on the types of these spoons. This might also be a reason why spoons and cutlery in general have never been discussed in articles and monographs by Lithuanian historians in more detail beyond stating their quantity and material.

The archaeology collection of the National Museum of Lithuania (henceforth LNM) was chosen for the research of metal spoons as it contains one of the largest assemblages of archaeological material from all over Lithuania. Of the 51 metal spoons held in the museum's collection, 19 are from the period of the 14th–18th century, and they were found in five different locations (Fig. 1). Most of them are fragments, therefore, a morphological typology based on the spoons' finials and handles was chosen in the current study. In this paper, the type, chronology and provenance of the metal spoons will be analysed and interpreted. Thus the paper will try to address the following: what types of metal spoons were owned by the residents of

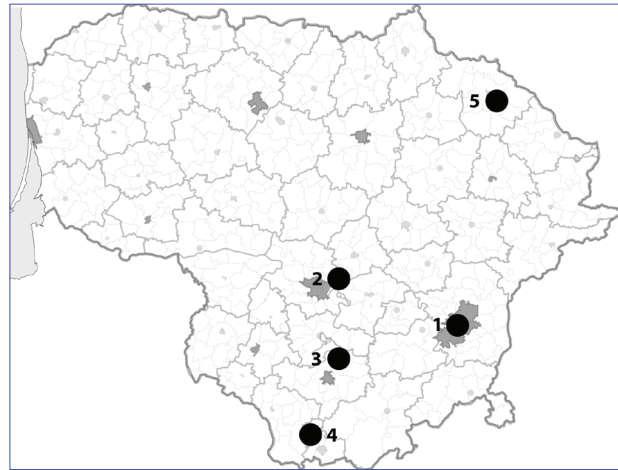


Figure 1. Find locations of metal spoons from the archaeological collection of the National Museum of Lithuania: 1. Vilnius, 2. Jakštūnys, 3. Punia, 4. Leipalingis, 5. Skemai (drawing by S. Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė).

GDL, whether the dominant types of spoons were of local craftsmanship or were imported, and whether the western European spoon trends of the 14th–18th centuries had any influence on the GDL material culture.

## 1. Typology and an overview of the metal alloys of the spoons

The few articles and books on non-precious metal spoons from the 14th–18th centuries present several different ways of creating typologies of the spoons. For example, Jackson (1892), Price (1908) and Homer (1999) based their typologies on the shape of the spoon's finial, on which the naming of spoons in the British inventories of the 14th–17th centuries was partially based. Baart, for his morphological typology of spoons found in Amsterdam, used two different attributes to distinguish a type. The key attribute of tin spoons was their shape, and the main attribute of brass spoons was their finial (Baart 1977, p. 294). Emery created a slightly different typology for spoons from various European countries. It was primarily based on the shape of the spoon, the method of production and the proportions between the handle and the bowl, but also included the shape of the finial (Emery 1976, p. 147). Marekowska noted that the finial shapes of silver spoons can also be found on different types of spoons. Therefore, she based her typology of silver spoons on the shape of the spoon's bowl and the shape and decoration of the spoon's handle (Marekowska 1954, p. 129). It should be noted that the mentioned typologies relied on fully preserved spoons.

After assessing all 14th- to 18th-century spoons and their fragments from the archaeology collection of the LNM, a morphological typology based on the shape of the spoon's finial and the shape of the handle was chosen for the current study. Both attributes reveal similarities and

Table 1. Summarised data of typologised spoons from the archaeology collection of the National Museum of Lithuania

Fig. No.	Type of spoon	Site	Chronology	Material	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Museum Inv. No.
3a	with a hexagonal ball finial	Dainų valley, Vilnius	second half of the 14th century	iron	Scandinavia, Netherlands or Germany	10.5x4.7	VPM 21
3b	with a strawberry-shaped finial	Skemai, Rokiškis district	17th century	brass	England	17.5x5.7	AM 3:17
3c		Arsenalo St. 3, Vilnius	end of the 16th–17th century	brass, tin coating	England	8.2x1.3	AV 50:3
4a	with an apostle finial	Skemai, Rokiškis district	17th century	brass, tin coating	England	11.1x1.3	AM 3:18
4b		Leipalingis, Druskininkai municipality	17th century	brass	England	4.2x1.5	AM 57:6
4c		Jakštonys, Kaišiadoriai district	17th century	copper alloy	England or German-speaking regions	6.4x1.2	AM 71:1
4d		Pylimo St. 56, Vilnius	17th–18th century	brass, tin coating	German-speaking regions	5.6x1	AV 75:1
4e		Šventaragio St., Vilnius	17th century	lead and tin alloy	unknown	4.7x1.9	AV 76:1
5a	with a twisted handle	Pylimo St. 7A, Vilnius	17th century	copper alloy, tin coating	unknown	17.7x5.3	AV 78:1
5b		T. Vrublevskio St. 3, Vilnius	second half of the 16th–17th century	copper alloy, tin coating	unknown	14.3x5.1	AV 1:192
6a	with a flat handle	Augustijonų St. 6, Vilnius	second half of the 16th–17th century	silver	German-speaking regions, Poland or local	18x5.4	AV 94:1
6b	with a hexagonal handle	Punia, Alytus district	first half of the 17th - beginning of the 18th century	silver	German-speaking regions, Poland or local	9.5x1.4	AM 20:10
6c	with a flat or hexagonal handle	Punia, Alytus district	first half of the 17th - beginning of the 18th century	silver	German-speaking regions, Poland or local	7.8x5.1	AR 388:253
7	with a rounded top	Arklių St. 18, Vilnius	18th century	tin and lead alloy	unknown	19x4.1	AV 77:1
8a	with an unidentified finial	Bishop's palace, Vilnius	16th– mid-17th century	copper alloy	Germany, the Netherlands or local	7.7x4.9	AV 15:633
8b		Šventaragio St., Vilnius	second half of the 17th century	brass, tin coating	England	9.5x5.5	AV 76:2
8c		Didžioji St. 10, Vilnius	17th century	brass	England	11.1x5.3	AV 7:1
8d		Kazbėjai, Vilnius	17th century	copper alloy	unknown	16.2x5.2	AV 43:32
8e		Trakų St. 2/24, Vilnius	17th century	copper alloy	unknown	6.6x5.4	AV 33:108

Table 2. Results of X-ray fluorescence analysis of spoons (concentration given in wt%)

Type of spoon	Site	Museum Inv. No.	Examined parts	Cu	Zn	Sn	Pb	Fe	Ag	Au
with a hexagonal ball finial	Dainų valley, Vilnius	VPM 21	bowl	0.78	0.38	–	–	98.62	–	–
			handle	0.83	0.38	0.17	–	98.49	–	–
with a strawberry-shaped finial	Skemai, Rokiškis district	AM 3:17	bowl	80.73	13.77	1.04	3.68	0.56	0.1	–
			handle	80.26	14.84	1.76	2.38	0.49	0.14	–
	Arsenalo St. 3, Vilnius	AV 50:3	finial	75.16	18.08	0.97	4.19	1.4	0.14	–
			handle	75.3	18.73	0.87	3.83	1.04	0.13	–
with an apostle finial	Skemai, Rokiškis district	AM 3:18	finial	83.77	9.95	2.23	2.87	0.75	–	–
			handle	77.71	11.06	7.36	2.72	–	–	–
	Leipalingis, Druskininkai municipality	AM 57:6	front finial	73.37	14.1	0.65	8.64	3.23	–	–
			back finial	79.35	12.42	0.6	6.01	1.63	–	–
	Jakštonys, Kaišiadoriai district	AM 71:1	finial	91.87	3.65	0.73	1.11	2.64	–	–
			handle	89.89	3.45	0.65	2.77	3.23	–	–
	Pylimo St. 56, Vilnius	AV 75:1	finial	74.92	18.84	1.6	3.29	1.22	–	–
	Šventaragio St., Vilnius	AV 76:1	handle	1.94	0.42	34.67	61.72	1.19	–	–
with a twisted handle	Pylimo St. 7A, Vilnius	AV 78:1	handle	94.67	3.2	0.88	0.88	0.37	–	–
			bowl	85.64	6.8	5.13	1.68	0.5	–	–
T. Vrublevskio St. 3, Vilnius	AV 1:192	bowl	95.05	–	2.72	1.16	1.07	–	–	
with a flat handle	Augustijonų St. 6, Vilnius	AV 94:1	bowl and handle	5.13	–	–	–	–	93.87	1
with a hexagonal handle	Punia, Alytus district	AM 20:10	handle	9.98	–	–	–	–	90.02	–
with a flat or hexagonal handle	Punia, Alytus district	AR 388:253	bowl	6.18	–	–	–	–	93.82	–
with a rounded top	Arklių St. 18, Vilnius	AV 77:1	bowl	0.23	–	69.26	28.13	2.2	–	–
with an unidentified finial	Bishop's palace, Vilnius	AV 15:633	bowl	86.9	3.52	3.03	4.9	1.41	0.1	–
			handle	83.33	2.44	8.06	4.94	0.85	0.26	–
	Šventaragio St., Vilnius	AV 76:2	bowl	74.07	19.7	1.06	4.23	0.67	0.09	–
			handle	74.75	18.06	2.88	3.32	0.73	0.11	–
	Didžioji St. 10, Vilnius	AV 7:1	bowl	85.09	11.14	0.92	0.96	1.64	0.16	–
			handle	88.73	7.53	1.08	0.74	1.71	0.2	–
	Kazbėjai, Vilnius	AV 43:32	bowl	90.58	2.43	–	5.5	1.25	0.24	–
			handle	87.3	4.71	2.02	4.4	1.15	0.28	–
			plate	76.26	7.8	3.36	10.81	1.53	0.14	–
	Trakų St. 2/24, Vilnius	AV 33:108	bowl	96.69	0.53	–	1.22	0.87	0.37	–

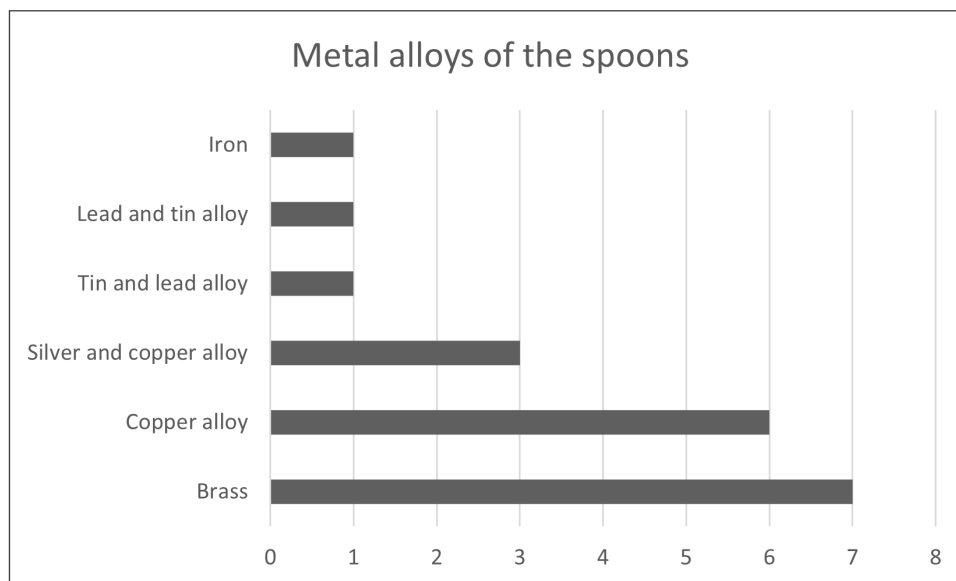


Figure 2. Metal alloys of the spoons from the archaeology collection of the National Museum of Lithuania.

differences between spoons in their distinct types and can be compared to similar types of spoons from other European countries. The types are partially based on the types from the previously mentioned typologies. The non-precious metal spoons and their fragments were grouped by their attributes into five morphological types: with a hexagonal ball finial, with an apostle figure, with a strawberry-shaped finial, with a twisted handle and with a rounded top. Silver spoons were categorised into two types: with a flat handle and with a hexagonal handle (Table 1). Spoons of which only the bowls and part of the handle remain were not typologised due to the complexity in establishing the shape of the finial they might have had. However, they were put into a separate group to complement the research.

All spoons in this article were analysed using qualitative and quantitative methods in order to identify the metal alloys they were comprised of. Microchemical analysis was carried out by Renata Prielgauskienė in the Conservation Centre Laboratory at the LNM. X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis was carried out by Dr Laima Grabauskaitė at Pranas Gudynas Centre for Restoration within the Lithuanian National Museum of Art. The analysis of metal alloys was carried out on the surface of the spoons by a portable XRF spectrometer Expert Mobile (Ukraine). The results are shown in Table 2.

Seven spoons and their fragments were made from brass. The percentage values of metal within the alloy were determined as follows: around 74%–85% for copper, 10%–20% for zinc and minor traces of tin, lead and iron. Six spoons were made from copper alloy, where 92%–96% of the alloy consists of copper with minor traces of zinc, tin, lead and iron. One spoon and two fragments of spoons were made

from silver alloy, with silver amounting to 90%–94% in the alloy. Three spoons were determined to be comprised of lead and tin alloy, tin and lead alloy (pewter) and iron, respectively. Traces of a silver-coloured metal that was on the surface of six brass and copper alloy spoons was identified as tin. Hence, it was concluded that those spoons were originally coated in tin. In summary, thirteen spoons and their fragments were made from copper alloy with various amounts of zinc, lead and tin in the alloy, three spoons were made from silver, one from iron, one from tin and lead alloy, and one from lead and tin alloy (Fig. 2). The composition of the copper alloy spoons is typical of all other cast or wrought post-medieval objects from copper alloy in Europe (Dungworth 2005). Therefore, the metal alloy of a spoon is not used as an attribute in the forming of the typology.

## 2. Typology of spoons

### 2.1. Spoon with a hexagonal ball finial

The earliest spoon from the whole 14th–18th century group of metal spoons was found in the Dainų valley, Vilnius. The excavated area contained wooden constructions, believed to be the remains of homesteads (Tautavičius 1956, p. 47). Within one of the homestead buildings, named the 'little barn' due to burned skeletal remains of an animal, an iron spoon was found. The spoon is 10.5 cm in length with a fig-shaped bowl, a short octagonal handle and a hexagonal ball finial (Fig. 3a). The homestead is dated to the second half of the 14th century with an estimated end of existence in 1390 when crusaders burned down the Crooked Castle (in historical sources also known as *Curvum castrum*) and the surrounding





Figure 3. Spoon with a hexagonal ball finial and spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial: a) Dainų valley, Vilnius, b) Skemai (Rokiškis district), c) Arsenalo Street 3, Vilnius (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

homesteads (Tautavičius 1956, p. 47). The finds from surrounding homesteads, such as fragments of brass vessels and iron locks, indicate that wealthy individuals lived there. Therefore, based on this context and the other finds from the excavation site, the spoon with a hexagonal ball finial is from the second half of the 14th century.

An iron spoon of almost identical shape and size, albeit with a flat handle and a trifid finial was found in the River Thames, London. It was attributed to Dutch workshops and dated to the mid-16th century (Brown 2001, p. 72). A similarly shaped bowl of an iron spoon from the first half of the 16th century was found while excavating the entrance areas in the east and north buildings of the Vilnius Lower Castle (Blaževičius and Bugys 2012). Within the same area, another fully preserved iron spoon with a rounded cone finial was found, which was dated to the threshold between the 15th and 16th centuries (Steponavičienė 2007, p. 196).

## 2.2. Spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial

Spoons of this type are mentioned in 15th-century English written sources, where they are named as spoons *de*

*fradelett* or *cum fretlettez*, i.e. spoons with finials shaped as a bunch of grapes or other fruit. Their designation was replaced in the 16th-century inventories; since then the finial of the spoon has been referred to as a strawberry (Jackson 1892, p. 122). The naming of this type of finial is still debatable to this day, as many different shapes, such as berries, pineapples, bunches of grapes, buds or pinecones, are used to define it (Price 1908, p. 37; Baart 1977, p. 316; Graudonis 2003, p. 21; Amme 2002, p. 223). The author decided to use the term strawberry-shaped finial here, as it was used in the English inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries.

There are two brass spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial in the LNM archaeology collection. The first one was found in Skemai (Rokiškis district) during the excavation of a refuse pit near a manor (Ivanauskas 1995). The spoon is 17.5 cm in length, with a round bowl and a hexagonal handle with a groove (Fig. 3b). The spoon's bowl has a maker's mark within a circular border in the form of three spoons, the middle one of which is inverted. It was found in a pit underneath a pile of stove tile fragments from the end of 16th to the mid-17th century alongside a 1661 shilling, which indicates that the stove tiles were dumped into the pit in the second half of the 17th century (Ivanauskas 1995, p. 10). Therefore, based on the stove tiles and the coin, the spoon in question can be dated to the 17th century.

The second spoon, or more specifically, a spoon handle with a strawberry-shaped finial, was found in Arsenalo Street 3, Vilnius, during the excavations of the southwestern part of the Arsenal (Striška 2007). The handle is hexagonal with a shallow groove towards the edge (Fig. 3c). The layer in which the spoon fragment was found was formed in the first half of the 17th century by using the earth from the surrounding area (Striška 2007, p. 43). Based on the archaeological finds in this layer and the numismatic material, this spoon handle with a strawberry-shaped finial can be dated to a period between the end of the 16th century and the end of the 17th century.

Fragments of the same type of spoon were found in the territory of Vilnius Lower Castle (Rackevičius 2003; Ožalas 2001; Abaravičius and Remecas 1997). Spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial have also been found during archaeological excavations in Latvia, Poland, Germany, England and other European countries, where this type of spoon is dated to the mid-16th to 17th century (Amme 2002; Baart 1977; Graudonis 2003; Emery 1976; Marquardt 1997).

## 2.3. Spoons with an apostle figure

Spoons with an apostle figure were first made in western Europe from the second half of the 15th century.



Figure 4. Spoons with an apostle finial: a) Skemai (Rokiškis district), b) Leipalingis (Druskininkai municipality), c) Jakštonys (Kaišiadoriai district), d) Pylimo Street 56, Vilnius, e) Šventaragio Street, Vilnius (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

However, the highest demand for such spoons was in the 17th century (Homer 1999; Emery 1976). The apostles on the spoons are identified by the specific attributes, which they hold in their right hand, and an open or closed book (the Gospel), which is held in the left hand.

The first spoon with an apostle figure was found in Skemai (Rokiškis district). During a small-scale archaeological excavation at Skemai Manor, a local resident brought a handle of a brass spoon with an apostle figure together with 17th-century coins which, as documented, he had found on the surface of the earth in the territory of the manor (Ivanauskas 1995, p. 10). The handle is trapezoidal with visible remains of tin coating and with an apostle figure as its finial (Fig. 4a). The left hand of the figure holds a book. Due to the poor casting quality, it is not exactly clear what the figure's right hand is holding. Judging from the shape, it could be a flaying knife, an attribute of St Bartholomew. The finds from an archaeological excavation nearby showed that the manor was probably built in the

first half of the 17th century and stood until the mid-18th century (Ivanauskas 1995, p. 11). Therefore, taking into consideration the various household ceramics, stove tiles with coats of arms and numismatic material, in addition to the finds collected from the ground surface level, this spoon handle with an apostle figure can be dated to the 17th century.

Another fragment of a brass spoon with an apostle figure was found in Leipalingis (Druskininkai municipality) during the survey of the site of a manor with a metal detector (Ivanauskas 2001). The spoon handle fragment is hexagonal with a groove in the middle and has an apostle figure as its finial (Fig. 4b). The left hand of the figure holds an open book. The object that used to be held in the right hand is lost. However, judging from analogues, the apostle was likely holding a long item, such as a stick, a sword, a cross or a similar object. Since it is unclear what was supposed to be in the figure's right hand, it is impossible to clearly identify the represented apostle. According

to historical data, Leipalingis Manor in the 16th and 17th centuries belonged to the noble Sapięga family (Miškinis 1999, p. 372). Judging from the 17th-century ceramics and a coin which were found during a small-scale excavation nearby, the spoon fragment with an apostle figure can be dated to no earlier than the 17th century.

The third fragment of a copper alloy spoon with an apostle figure was found in Jakštonys (Kaišiadoriai district) during surveying of the manor's cultural layer which was washed away by the Kaunas Lagoon (Ivanauskas 2003). The remaining fragment of the spoon's handle is oval, and has an apostle figure as its finial (Fig. 4c). The figure is holding an open book in its left hand, has a flask on the right side of its waist and a hat on its back. Although the main apostle attribute, which was held in the right hand, is missing, secondary attributes such as the hat and the flask indicate that the figure is St James the Greater. The main attributes of St James the Greater are a pilgrim's staff and a hat, and he is the only one who is depicted wearing a pilgrim's hat (Immonen 2005, p. 189). Since the fragment of the spoon was found together with coins from the second half of the 17th century, it can be dated to the 17th century.

A slightly different fragment of a brass spoon with an apostle figure was found in the filling of a ditch of Vilnius's defensive wall during archaeological excavations at Pylimo Street 56 (Ostrauskienė 2018). The remaining fragment of the spoon's handle is hexagonal with a groove in the middle and has an apostle figure as its finial (Fig. 4d). There are traces of tin coating in the groove (see Table 2). The figure is represented in proper proportions, with its body turned slightly to the left. The right hand holds a rectangular object, which could represent either a book or a scroll. The attribute held in the left hand is difficult to identify due to its unclear shape. It might be a tied rope, which is a secondary attribute of St Andrew. Alternatively, it might be a money bag, which is a secondary attribute of St Matthew, or a key, which is a secondary attribute of St Peter. Therefore, the apostle is yet to be identified. The spoon was found in a disturbed cultural layer together with coins from the second half of the 17th century and stove tiles and ceramics from the 16th–17th centuries (Ostrauskienė 2018, p. 9). The styling of the apostle figure suggests that it was made in the 17th century. However, it is important to consider that townspeople poured their waste into this ditch up to the 19th century, so the usage period of this spoon could have been longer and might extend up to the first or even second half of the 18th century.

Similar spoons with apostle figures were also found while excavating the territory of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius (Ožalas 2003; Rackevičius 2003), during excavations at Kaunas Bernardine friary and as stray finds in Kaunas and Akmenė or Mažeikiai districts (Balčiūnas 2017; Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018). They

all are attributed to the 17th century and might have been used until the first half of the 18th century (Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018, p. 188).

Probably the most enigmatic fragment of a lead and tin alloy spoon with an apostle figure is the find from Šventaragio Street, Vilnius, which was found in the filling of a ditch outside the wall of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (Veževičienė 2014). This fragment of a spoon with an apostle figure is different from the previous ones because the apostle figure is not a finial but rather a part of the handle, which connected with the spoon's bowl. The finial of this type of spoon might originally have been a crown, baluster, mascarón or some other figure or shape (Marekowska 1954). The remaining fragment of the spoon's handle is hexagonal with a two-sided plate (Fig. 4e). In the front part of the plate an unidentified apostle is depicted. The figure is holding a book in its left hand and an unidentified attribute in the right. Underneath the apostle is a woman's head, and below it is a mascarón. The other side of the plate is blank. The blank space was meant to be engraved with the coat of arms of the spoon's owner after purchase of the spoon. However, if the spoon or a set of spoons were ordered specifically, the coat of arms was cast together with the whole spoon (Marekowska 1954; Avižinis 2017). The spoon fragment was found together with ceramics from the 16th–17th centuries and coins from the second half of the 17th century (Veževičienė 2014). A spoon of the same type with an identical depiction of the apostle is one of the 17th-century silver spoons with Szeliga and Przeginia coats of arms in the National Museum in Krakow, Poland (Kilijańska 2018). Therefore, based on the dating of the cultural layer and analogous spoons from Germany, Poland and Latvia, the fragment of the spoon with an apostle figure can be dated to the 17th century. Judging from the location of the find, this spoon could have belonged to a resident of the nearby palace or a manor. This type of spoon was only made from precious metals. The weight and colour of the lead and tin alloy is similar to that of a silver alloy, so there is a possibility that the spoon was a forgery. Alternatively, the spoon maker could have cast a prototype spoon from a much cheaper alloy before using the more expensive silver (Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018, p. 183).

#### 2.4. Spoons with a twisted handle

There are only two spoons of this type in the LNM archaeology collection. As one of the spoons is missing its finial, it is impossible to determine whether both spoons had the same type of finial. One of the spoons with a twisted handle, made of tinned copper alloy, was found during archaeological excavations at Pylimo Street 7A, Vilnius (Antropikaitė 2013). The length of the spoon is 17.7 cm,





Figure 5. Spoons with a twisted handle: a) Pylimo Street 7A, Vilnius, b) T. Vrublevskio Street 3, Vilnius (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

and it has a fig-shaped bowl (Fig. 5a). The bottom part of the handle is triangular, transitioning into a twisted stem, which terminates with a double cone-shaped finial. The spoon was found outside of the Vilnius city defensive walls in the domain inhabited by evangelical reformers together with 17th-century ceramics and stove tiles from the second half of the 17th century (Antropikaitė 2013, p. 26). Therefore, based on the historical and archaeological data of the site, this spoon could be dated to the 17th century.

The other tinned copper alloy spoon with a twisted handle was found at T. Vrublevskio Street 3, Vilnius (Raškauskas, 1989). The length of the spoon is 14.3 cm and it has a fig-shaped bowl (Fig. 5b). The bottom part of the handle is triangular, transitioning into a twisted stem. The finial is missing. The triangular part of the handle has an attached band with a groove in the middle. Although the triangular plate is badly damaged by corrosion, the inscription of gothic letters 'IAI' can be seen. A 16th-century spoon mould of the same spoon type with gothic letters 'MARIA' inscribed on the triangular part of the handle was found in Krakow (Marekowska 1954, p. 132). A different type of spoon, dated to the 17th century with the inscription 'MARIAT' in gothic letters on the triangular part of the handle was found in the old town of Riga (Caune 1984, p. 40). Therefore, it is possible that originally the gothic

inscription 'MARIAT' was present on the triangular part of the handle of the spoon under discussion. Due to the poorly preserved inscription and lack of analogues, such an assumption can neither be confirmed nor rejected. The spoon with a twisted handle was found on the inside of the Vilnius Lower Castle defensive wall beside the northern gates, in a gutter, near a stone pavement from the second half of the 16th century together with a horseshoe and a nail (Raškauskas 1989). The finds could have ended up in the gutter later than the pavement was built. Hence, the spoon can be dated to the second half of the 16th to the 17th century.

Silver spoons with similar handles and a variety of finials were produced in Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands from the 16th century (Emery 1976; Homer 1999). However, due to the lack of spoons of this type made from non-precious metals, it is hard to determine exactly when they were made.

#### 2.5. Spoons with a flat and a hexagonal handle

Spoons made of precious metals have certain characteristics which are distinct from non-precious metal spoons. Unlike with non-precious metal spoons, the same finial could be found on silver spoons regardless of their type or date. Hence, differentiating between the types of such spoons and identification of their place of production is dependent on the traits of the handle and the bowl of the spoon. Although some types of precious metal spoons were made during a set period, their usage period is often way longer, because they were also considered as portable wealth assets. In the LNM archaeology collection, there are two different types of silver spoons.

The spoon with a flat handle was found during archaeological excavations at Augustijonų Street 6, Vilnius, in an undated layer above the cultural layers of the 14th–17th centuries which contained primarily 16th-century artefacts (Vaitkevičius 1979). The spoon is 18 cm in length and has a round bowl and a flat trapezoidal handle (Fig. 6a). The finial is missing. The handle is decorated with an engraved cartouche with the inscription 'HIESVS MARIA'. At the junction of the bowl and the handle there is a soldered plate with two grooves, the top of which is ornamented with a zigzag. According to the shape, this spoon is of the same type as Marekowska's (1954) first group of silver spoons from Poland, which is dated to the second half of the 16th and the threshold of the 16th–17th centuries. A similar spoon, dated to the 17th century, was discovered during excavations at Dubingiai Palace (Molėtai district), which belonged to the Radziwiłł (in Lithuanian: Radvila) family (Kuncevičius et al. 2011, p. 115). Spoons of the same type, which are dated to the 17th century, were

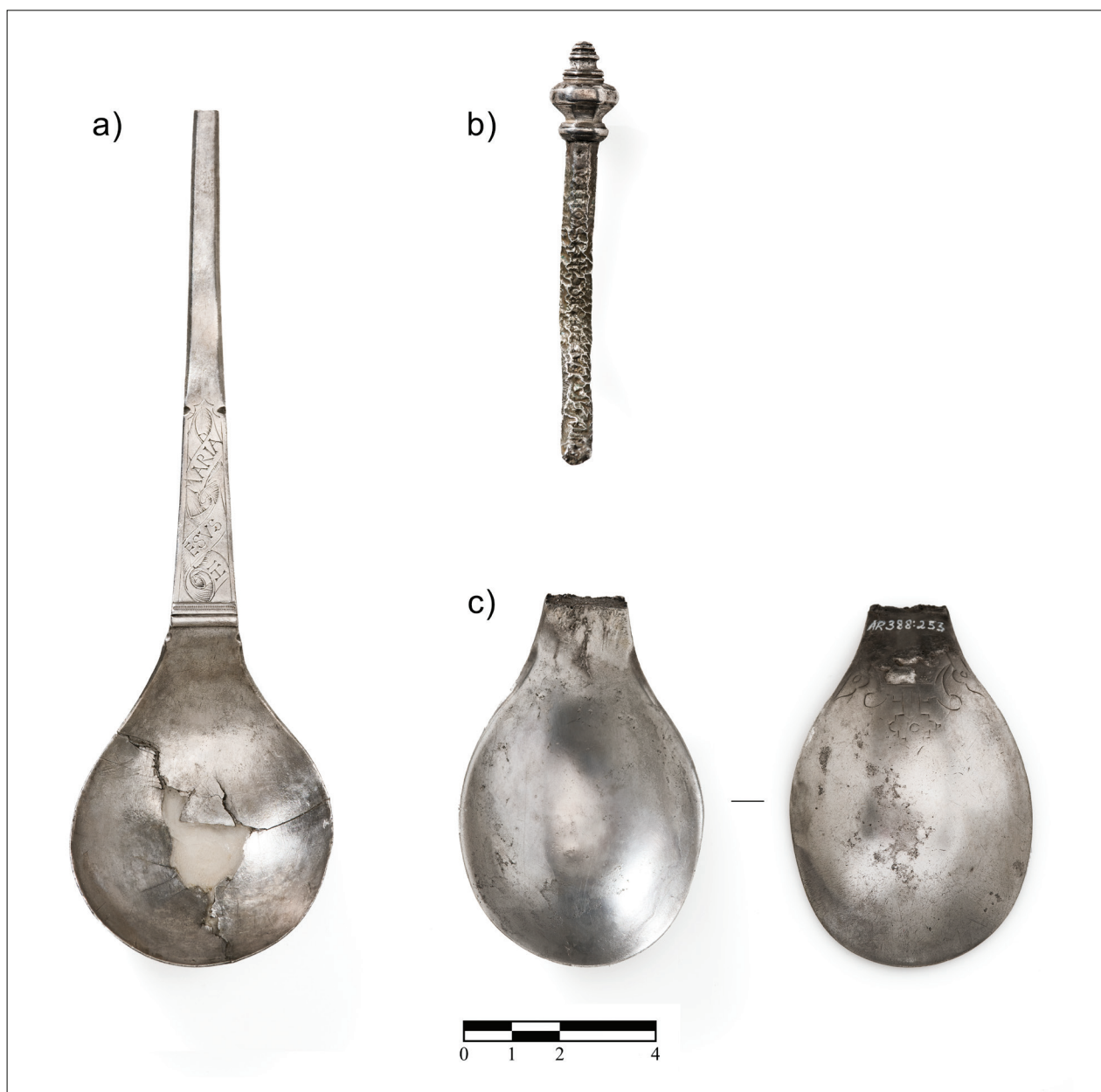


Figure 6. Silver spoons with a flat and a hexagonal handle: a) Augustijonų Street 6, Vilnius, b–c) Punia, Alytus district (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

found in the Nasvyčiai (Šilalė district) treasure (Zabiela 2004, p. 59). Therefore, based on the archaeological context and analogues, the spoon with a flat handle could be dated to the second half of the 16th century to the 17th century.

Two silver spoon fragments, the bowl and a part of the handle, were found during archaeological excavations in Punia hillfort (Alytus district) (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1974; Kliaugaitė 2000). The handle is hexagonal with a crown-shaped finial (Fig. 6b). A barely visible part of an aphorism in Polish can be discerned on the handle: ‘... IEM\*IA\*RADZIE\*BOCZIE\*SVOI IEM\*’. The bowl of the spoon is round, and its back is decorated with an engraved crown with a cross on top (Fig. 6c).

Both spoon fragments were exposed to high temperatures, especially the handle, which is deformed by heat. From archaeological and historical data, it is known that in the second half of the 16th century and at the end of 17th century the palace and homestead buildings on the Punia hillfort had burned down but were quickly rebuilt (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1974, p. 47). The palace was burned down again in the 18th century (Miškinis 2002, pp. 371–372). The cultural layers in which both spoon fragments were discovered date back to the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 18th century and cover both periods when the palace was burned down, therefore making it difficult to determine exactly when either of these spoons were used and subsequently damaged by

fire. However, based on the shape of the spoon fragments and analogous spoons from catalogues, the date can be narrowed down. The spoon bowl, in terms of its shape and size, is similar to silver spoons of the first half of the 17th century that were made in western Europe, Poland and Latvia (Marekowska 1954, p. 129; Marquardt 1997, p. 47; Vilite 1991, p. 54). Although the handle is missing, the wide junction on the bowl shows that the handle either could have been flat or, judging by its width, thickness and comparisons with equivalent spoons, hexagonal: flatter at the bottom part, transitioning into a hexagonal form. The handle of the spoon, with its crown-shaped finial and the inscribed aphorism, is typical of 17th-century spoons (Marekowska 1954, pp. 135–136). Therefore, it is possible that both spoon fragments actually belong to a single spoon, which was made in the first half of the 17th century and could have been used until the beginning of the 18th century when the palace was burned down. The palace on Punia hillfort, based on the historical records and archaeological finds, such as stove tiles with coat of arms, belonged to the noble Korwin Gosiewski family from the second half of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century (Miškinis 2002, p. 371; Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1974, p. 72). Therefore, it is possible that the spoon with a hexagonal handle (or spoons) belonged to members of this family.

## 2.6. Spoon with a rounded top

From the second half of the 17th century, the shapes of spoons began to change in Europe. The handles became wider, ornate finials were replaced with wide rounded tops, and the bowls became oval. In addition, on the back of the spoon, at the junction between the handle and bowl, an elongated triangular tongue, commonly referred to as a rat's tail and previously usually encountered only on silver spoons, became more frequent on non-precious metal spoons (Emery 1976; Amme 2002).

One of the pewter spoons of this type was found while excavating the territory of a Basilian monastery complex in Arklių Street 18, Vilnius (Poška 2013). The length of the spoon is 19 cm and it has an oval bowl and a widening handle which terminates with a rounded and outwardly bent top (Fig. 7). The back of the handle is decorated with embossed oblique stripes and a heraldic shield. Although the front of the handle was also decorated, the ornament is barely visible. The back of the bowl has an elongated triangular tongue. The spoon was found in the disturbed cultural layer together with a small number of ceramics and stove tiles belonging to the second half of the 17th century and finds from the 18th and 19th centuries (Poška 2013, p. 6). Since the layer has been disturbed, it is difficult to narrow down the date range of the spoon. The shape of the spoon indicates that the earliest date of production is



Figure 7. Spoon with a rounded top from Arklių Street 18, Vilnius (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

not earlier than the late 17th century. However, the usage date range could encompass the entire 18th century period, and potentially even the first half of the 19th century. A pewter spoon of similar form and size, dated to the 18th century period, was discovered during excavation of the site of Kurtuvėnai Manor (Šiaulių district) (Salatkienė 2012, p. 284). Pewter spoons of the same type discovered in Amsterdam are also dated to the 18th century (Baart 1977, p. 324).

## 2.7. Spoons with unidentified finials

Spoons of which only the bowls and part of the handle remain were separated into their own group due to the complexity of establishing the shape of the finial they might have had. For example, spoons with a fig-shaped or round bowl could have had a strawberry-shaped finial, an apostle figure, a geometric (e.g. triangular, hexagonal or any other shape) finial, or a zoomorphic- or anthropomorphic-shaped finial, or they might not even have had a finial to begin with. However, the shape of the bowl and the maker's mark on them at least allow the identification of their possible production date and provenance.





Figure 8. Spoons with an unidentified finial: a) former Bishop's Palace, Vilnius, b) Šventaragio Street, Vilnius, c) Didžioji Street 10, Vilnius, d) Kazbėjai, Vilnius, e) Trakų Street 2/24, Vilnius (photographs by K. Stoškus, National Museum of Lithuania, modified by the author).

A thin copper alloy spoon was found during excavations in the craftsmen's quarters of the former Bishop's Palace in Vilnius (Luchtanienė 2000). The spoon is 7.7 cm in length, with a fig-shaped bowl and a triangular handle (Fig. 8a). It was found together with a fragment of a stove tile near a 16th- to 17th-century stove. The stove was destroyed

during the 18th-century construction works (Luchtanienė 1999, p. 14). The craftsmen's quarters existed from the 16th century until the middle of 17th century, when they were burned down during a war and never rebuilt (Luchtanienė 2000, p. 41). A 15th-century spoon of very similar shape and dimensions but with a fully intact apostle figure at



the end of the handle is attributed to Dutch manufacturers (Amme 2002, pp. 68–69). An identical 16th-century spoon was found during excavations at the castle at Puck in Poland (Kruppé and Milewska 2014, p. 92). Other similar short spoons with a variety of finials presented in various catalogues are dated to the 15th century to the second half of the 16th century (Brown 2001, p. 72; Emery 1976, p. 109). Although such spoons are dated to an earlier period, the spoon from the craftsmen's quarters, based on the archaeological context, can be attributed to the 16th to the mid-17th century.

A bowl of a tinned brass spoon was found in Šventaragio Street, Vilnius (Veževičienė 2014). The bowl is round, and the remaining part of the handle is oval with a groove in the middle (Fig. 8b). Inside the bowl there is a maker's mark within a circular dotted border in the form of a spoon and initials 'R. S.'. The spoon, together with 17th-century ceramics and coins of the second half of the 17th century, was found in a cultural layer, which was formed after the liberation of Vilnius Castle in 1661 (Veževičienė 2014, p. 18). Therefore, the spoon can be dated to the second half of the 17th century and likely belonged to one of the residents who occupied the partially destroyed palace after the war with Moscow. Spoons with an identical maker's mark are found throughout England, where they are dated to the second half of the 17th century (Price 1908, pp. 40–42).

A similar bowl of a brass spoon was found at Didžioji Street 10, Vilnius (Poška 1993). The bowl is round and the remaining part of the handle is oval (Fig. 8c). The spoon's bowl has a maker's mark within a circular border in the form of three spoons, the middle one of which is inverted, and two illegible initials. The courtyard where the spoon was found belonged to the noble Radziwiłł family from the second half of the 16th century until the 19th century (Čaplinskas 2002, p. 202). The spoon was found together with mid-17th-century coins and 17th-century glass and ceramics (Poška 1993, p. 28). An identical maker's mark is commonly found on various types of brass spoons made in the 17th century in England (Price 1908, pp. 58–59). Thus, based on the available data, this spoon bowl can be dated to the 17th century.

A copper alloy spoon (LNM, inv. No AV 43:32), together with various other 17th- and 18th-century metal artefacts, was brought to the museum by a man who reported that he had found all the artefacts buried underground in the same place in Kazbėjai, Vilnius. The length of the spoon is 16.2 cm. It has a fig-shaped bowl and an oval handle with a decoration of three parallel grooves (Fig. 8d). The finial is missing. The spoon is distinct from the other spoons held in the collection because it was repaired: the bowl and the handle were soldered together using two copper plates. In terms of the shape of the bowl, this spoon is similar

to spoons with a twisted handle. However, the handle is different. Therefore, it is possible that this spoon was put together by using two different types of spoons. However, it could also be a separate type of spoon. The Kazbėjai settlement dates to the first half of the 17th century, when Grand Duke Vytautas the Great established Tatar settlements next to the River Vokė (Vitkauskienė 2012, p. 54). The Tatars who lived there practised various crafts. Therefore, the metal artefacts found along with the spoon could have belonged to one of the Tatar craftsmen and been hidden during some sort of event. Based on the history of the find location and the overall context, the spoon might be assigned to the 17th century.

A deformed bowl of a copper alloy spoon was found during excavations in Trakų Street 2/24, Vilnius (Girlevičius 2003). The bowl is round and, judging by the connecting part and analogues of similar types of spoons, either the whole handle or just a lower half of it was flat (Fig. 8e). The spoon bowl was found in the late 16th- to 17th-century gutter near the Vilnius city defensive walls together with ceramics and stove tiles from the 16th–17th centuries, suggesting that the spoon could be dated to the 17th century.

### 3. Provenance and discussion

The earliest spoon in the LNM archaeology collection is an iron spoon with a hexagonal ball finial. It is dated to the second half of the 14th century. A similar spoon associated with Dutch workshop production was found in England (Brown 2001, p. 72). The early type of short spoons with a fig-shaped bowl and various types of finials on the handle were made in France. However, during the same and an even earlier period they were also made in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Germany (Emery 1976, p. 107). Therefore, the spoon with a hexagonal ball finial could have originated from any of those locations.

Three different types of non-precious metal spoons from the second half of the 16th century and the 17th century were classified as follows: spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial, spoons with an apostle figure and spoons with a twisted handle. The majority of the spoons in the LNM archaeology collection have an apostle figure. Three of them were found in the vicinity of manors, and two of them were found in the ditch fill of Vilnius's defensive wall. This particular type of spoon is commonly found during archaeological excavations in castles, manors, monasteries and towns in many European countries (Amme 2002; Baart 1977; Graudonis 2003; Emery 1976; Marquardt 1997). The dating of spoons with apostle figures from the LNM archaeology collection coincides with the period when such spoons were popular in Europe during the second half of the 16th century and the 17th

century. The apostle figures on the spoons are different, so based on their stylistic features and analogies, it can be argued that apostle spoons came into the households of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from several European countries. The spoons from Leipalingis and Skemai originated in England, whereas the spoon from Jakštonys came from either England, Germany, the Netherlands or Switzerland (Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018, p. 180). The apostle spoon from Pylimo Street 56 has a well-proportioned and statue-like figure. These characteristics are associated with the workshops of German-speaking countries and their production (Emery 1976, p. 124; Homer 1999, p. 10). Therefore, the Pylimo Street 56 spoon could have been made there. A similar type of spoon with an apostle like the one from Šventaragio Street, although exclusively from precious metals, was made by Polish, Latvian and German goldsmiths (Marekowska 1954, p. 136; Marquardt 1997, p. 46; Avizinis 2017, p. 38). Therefore, this lead and tin alloy spoon with an apostle figure could have been made in one of those locations or, alternatively, been made by goldsmiths who arrived in the GDL from these countries. There is also a possibility that this spoon was made by a local goldsmith who had tried out a newly acquired spoon casting form with a cheaper metal, or the spoon could simply have been a forgery (Ardavičiūtė-Ramanauskienė 2018, p. 183).

The second type of spoon is characterised by a strawberry-shaped finial. Comparison with equivalent spoons from the archaeology collection of the National Museum — Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania suggests that this type was at least as popular as the spoons with apostle figures. The popularity of these spoons grew in the second half of the 16th and the 17th century and they are found in many European countries (Baart 1977; Graudonis 2003; Emery 1976; Marquardt 1997). Typologically comparable spoons with a round bowl and a handle with a groove, albeit made of silver, were produced in Norway, Denmark and Sweden during the mid-17th century (Emery 1976, p. 119). It is important to note that brass spoons with a strawberry-shaped finial were made in England from the 16th century and are typically considered to represent England's production, especially if they have a maker's mark punched in the bowl of the spoon (Price 1908, p. 38; Homer 1999, p. 40). The spoon from Skemai has one such mark — three spoons inside a circle, with the middle spoon inverted.

Emery proposed the hypothesis that spoons with a round bowl and a handle with a groove in the middle were produced in England by craftsmen who arrived from mainland Europe or were made in mainland Europe specifically for the English market. This hypothesis was substantiated by the fact that the form of the spoon's bowl was not characteristic of those produced in England (Emery 1976, p. 84). He also argued that this type of spoon, which is found

all over Europe, was made for English troops present in mainland Europe. However, as he himself admitted, he had no proof to substantiate this particular hypothesis (Emery 1976, p. 85). It is important to note that the round shape of the bowl is indeed not typical of spoons produced in England. However, the same makers' marks that also occasionally contain an inscription 'DOVBLE WHITED' (meaning that the spoon is coated with tin) are found on various types of copper alloy and pewter spoons that were undoubtedly produced in England (Price 1908, p. 43). A brass spoon with a round bowl and a maker's mark, of which only a part of the inscription '...T LILLY' inside a round circle is visible, was found in the English merchants' settlement in Šventoji (Ubis and Urbonaitė-Ubė 2016, p. 219). Therefore, it is not clear where the spoons with round bowls were produced, but, taking into consideration the English origin of the makers' marks and the lack of data on the spoons' production sites to confirm Emery's hypothesis, the current position remains that spoons with round bowls, which have makers' marks of English origin were produced in England.

The third type of spoon is characterised by a twisted handle. Both of these spoons have fig-shaped bowls and twisted handles. The spoon from Pylimo Street 7A has a double cone-shaped terminal. The finial of the spoon from T. Vrublevskio Street 3 did not survive. Since there are currently no known spoon equivalents in non-precious metals, it is not possible to evaluate whether both spoons had the same finials. Silver spoons with similar handles were produced in Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands from the 16th century (Emery 1976, p. 107; Homer 1999, p. 19). The data collected at the time of writing this article does not provide sufficient evidence to claim either that the spoons were made in the GDL or that they were imported from one of the previously mentioned countries.

There are three silver spoons in the LNM archaeology collection, and they represent two types — a spoon with a flat handle and a spoon with a hexagonal handle. The spoons are not marked with a maker's mark and don't have a hallmark. A silver spoon from Dubingiai Palace and eleven silver spoons from the Nasvyčiai treasure are also without hallmarks or makers' marks (Kuncevičius et al. 2011; Zabiela 2004). The lack of any marking can be attributed to the fact that only the production of the goldsmiths' guild that was meant to be sold was marked. Other production, which was made from material provided by the client, was not typically marked, and only on rare occasions would the goldsmith use his mark or the guild's hallmark on it (Mažeikienė 1982, p. 6). Likewise, this tendency to not use makers' marks or hallmarks on silver spoons extends to most of the spoons from 16th- to 17th-century Poland, Latvia and, to an extent, Germany (Marekowska 1954; Apala 2000). Whether the silver spoons from Augusti-

jonų Street 6 and from Punia hillfort were imported or of local origin remains unclear. They correspond in shape, ornamentation and chronology to the spoons produced in Latvia, Poland and Germany from the same period. This indicates that these silver spoons have either been imported from neighbouring countries and then purchased or were made by the local goldsmiths who used the material provided by their clients. A silver spoon that is held in the collections of the National Museum of Krakow has a hallmark belonging to the Vilnius Goldsmiths' Guild (Laucevičius and Vitkauskienė 2001, pp. 135–136). The shape of the spoon, its ornamentation and dating show that the local GDL goldsmiths were up to date with the dominant spoon trends.

A pewter spoon with a rounded top from Arklių Street 18 represents a completely new spoon type that appeared in Europe at the end of the 17th century. However, due to the popularity of this type in Europe, it remains impossible to determine the spoon's provenance. By the end of the 18th century, spoons with oval bowls and wide flat handles with rounded tops replaced the previously dominant types of spoons with various finials (Emery 1976; Baart 1977; Amme 2002). Several pewter spoons dating back to the 18th century according to their archaeological context are also found in the collections of other Lithuanian museums, which indicates that the residents of the GDL followed the trends of the European cutlery fashion and swiftly reacted to changes.

Three spoon bowls and two spoons without a finial were not typologically distinguished. However, considering the shape of the bowls and the makers' marks, the region of production or influence on the local craftsman can be traced. For example, the spoon bowls from Šventaragio Street and Didžioji Street 10 are round and both have a punched maker's mark of English origin. The spoon from the craftsmen's quarters in the territory of the Bishop's Palace is very similar in shape and dimensions to spoons produced in Germany and the Netherlands in the 15th and 16th centuries (Amme 2002; Brown 2001; Emery 1976). However, similar spoons represented in catalogues are dated to an earlier period, making it difficult to determine whether the spoon was imported or made by a craftsman working at the Bishop's Palace. The spoons from Kazbėjai and Trakų Street 2/24 also cannot be associated with either local or imported production due to a lack of comparative material. Since the spoon from Kazbėjai had been repaired, it remains unclear whether the handle is from the original spoon or taken from another broken spoon. If both parts originate from the same spoon, this could form a separate type and further expand the list of spoon types used by the residents of the GDL. On the other hand, if the spoon was repaired using two separate items, the shape of the bowl and its size suggest that it could have had a twisted handle. The spoon from Trakų Street 2/24 either had a

twisted handle or, by comparison with the Kazbėjai spoon, a round handle that becomes narrower towards the top.

Pewter spoons are of particularly great interest, as they were primarily oriented towards the internal market and its demand (Homer 1999, p. 5). Although in 17th-century Vilnius there were 25 pewterers in the Guild of Pewter Casters, it is not known whether they also made spoons (Indriulaitytė 1996, p. 16). Pewter spoons are often mentioned in the surviving 16th- to 18th-century inventories of the nobility, both higher and lesser, and wealthy townspeople of the GDL (Dambrauskaitė 2019, p. 96; Ragauskas 2002, p. 405). However, the absence of them in Lithuania's archaeological material is apparent. Due to the lack of data, it is unclear what types of pewter spoons were purchased and used by residents of the GDL in the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, the question of whether their shape was influenced by foreign countries or had a distinct shape typical only of the GDL remains unanswered.

It is important to acknowledge the small number of analysed spoons as a potential limitation of the present research. The discussed spoons do not represent the entire spectrum of spoon types the residents of GDL could have used. The present research relied more on the analysed material and published literature where the spoons from the period in question were mentioned. Hence, it is not precisely known how many medieval and post-medieval spoons are present in the archaeological collections of museums in Lithuania. Nevertheless, the collections of three museums have been analysed and confirmed. There are thirteen non-precious metal spoons and fragments from the 16th and 17th centuries in the archaeology collection of the National Museum — Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, Vilnius: four with an apostle finial, three with a strawberry-shaped finial, one with a hoof-shaped finial, one with a rounded cone finial, one with a mitre finial and three bowls of spoons with an unidentified finial. Akmenė Regional Museum (Akmenė district) holds one copper alloy spoon bowl and two copper alloy fragments of spoons with an apostle figure which were found as stray finds in Kaunas district and in Akmenė or Mažeikiai district. There are thirteen silver spoons from the Nasvyčiai treasure (Šilalė district) in the collection of M. K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art, Kaunas. Ten of them have a flat handle and the finials are of three subtypes: an acorn, a sceptre and a crown. Two of the remaining spoons are of two different types: with a seal top and with a slip-end finial. Lastly, there is also one spoon bowl with a rat's tail. Besides silver spoons, there are five pewter spoons from the 17th–18th century in the collection. However, they were bought from a collector and no data on their find location is available.

Most types of spoons from the collections of the mentioned museums correspond to the types of the analysed



spoons. Five additional spoon types correspond to types produced and used in northern, western and central Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, the collection of spoons from the National Museum of Lithuania is quite representative of the types of spoons the residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania used in at least the 17th century. The distribution of the types of spoons, especially those with an apostle figure, encompass nearly all the territory of Lithuania. The only exception are spoons found during archaeological excavations in the old town of Klaipėda (Masiulienė 2008; Songailaitė 2012). Klaipėda was not a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was settled by Germans. The types of spoons found in the old town of Klaipėda reflect the common types of spoons made and used in Germany and the Netherlands in the 17th century.

## Conclusions

Of the 51 metal spoons held in the LNM archaeology collections, only 19 are attributed to the 14th–18th century period. Seven of them were made from brass and six of them were made from a copper alloy. Traces of tin coating can be observed on six spoons or their fragments. One spoon and two fragments of spoons were made from silver. The rest of the spoons and their fragments were made from iron, pewter, and lead and tin alloy.

The non-precious metal spoons and fragments in the LNM archaeology collection were grouped by their characteristics into five morphological types: with a hexagonal ball finial, with an apostle figure, with a strawberry-shaped finial, with a twisted handle and with a rounded top. Silver spoons were distinguished according to two types: with a flat handle and with a hexagonal handle. The dominant type is considered to be a spoon with an apostle figure. Non-precious metal spoons of which only the bowls with a part of the handle remain were not typologised, and were put into a separate group to complement the research.

The earliest spoon in the collection is an iron one with a hexagonal ball finial from the second half of the 14th century. The other four types of spoons fall into the period of the second half of the 16th century to the 17th century. Spoons with an apostle figure belong exclusively to the 17th century. A pewter spoon with a rounded top, which represents the beginning of a new type of spoon in Europe, is dated to the end of the 17th century to the 18th century.

Pewter spoons, together with wooden, brass and silver spoons, are often mentioned in the surviving inventories of the 16th–17th centuries. However, the lack of them in Lithuania's archaeological material is evident. Therefore, it remains to be determined what types of pewter spoons were made, purchased and used by residents of the GDL in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The lack of data on spoon makers in the historical sources, along with the fact that most of the spoons discovered during archaeological excavations were imported, makes it difficult to establish whether in the 16th–18th centuries in the GDL there were craftsmen producing non-precious metal alloy spoons. Nevertheless, based on the silver spoon with a Vilnius Goldsmiths' Guild hallmark that is held in the collection of the National Museum of Krakow, it is known with certainty at least that the goldsmiths of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania produced silver spoons which were popular in the region at the time.

While the limitations of this research due to the small number of typologised spoons should be considered, preliminary conclusions can still be made. The types of spoons and their chronology correspond to the types produced in northern, western and central Europe. This indicates that residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania not only followed the trends of the European cutlery fashion but also reacted promptly to trend developments.

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## Abbreviations

Archaeol. Baltica – *Archaeologia Baltica*

ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje .... metais / Archaeological Investigations in Lithuania in ..., Vilnius

NMLDKVR ATA – cipher of unpublished archaeological excavations reports stored in National Museum – Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, Vilnius

LII f. 1, b. – cipher of unpublished archaeological excavations reports stored in Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius

LNM VINLAS ARMA – cipher of unpublished archaeological excavations reports stored in the Department of Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology, National Museum of Lithuania, Vilnius



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## XIV–XVIII A. METALINIAI ŠAUKŠTAI IŠ LIETUVOS NACIONALINIO MUZIEJAUS ARCHEOLOGIJOS KOLEKCIJOS: TIPOLOGIJA, CHRONOLOGIJA IR KILMĖ

### SKAISTĖ ARDAVIČIŪTĖ-RAMANAUSKIENĖ

#### Santrauka

Lietuvoje, skirtingai nei Vakarų Europos šalyse, archeologinių kasinėjimų metu šaukštų randama gana retai. Lietuvos archeologijos istoriografijoje nėra darbų, skirtų metalinių šaukštų ir jų tipų analizei, chronologijai ir gamybos vietų nustatymui. Nors metaliniai šaukštai minimi Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės (toliau LDK) gyventojų inventoriuose, tačiau, skirtingai nei daugelyje kitų Europos šalių, LDK gyventojų inventoriuose beveik visais atvejais nėra nurodoma, kaip šie šaukštai galėjo atrodyti. Šiame straipsnyje bus išskirti ir analizuojami metalinių šaukštų tipai, chronologija ir, atsižvelgiant į šaukštų radimo kontekstą bei analogus, bandoma atsakyti į šiuos klausimus: kokio tipo šaukštų įsigydavo ir naudodavo LDK gyventojai, kokie šaukštai – ar vietos meistrų pagaminti, ar importuoti – dominavo vietinėje rinkoje, ar XIV–XVIII a. LDK materialinėje kultūroje atsispindėjo šių stalo įrankių Vakarų Europos mados ir jų kaita? Tyrimo objektu buvo pasirinkti Lietuvos nacionalinio muziejaus (toliau LNM) archeologijos rinkiniuose saugomi šaukštai, rasti archeologinių kasinėjimų ir žvalgymų metu įvairiose Lietuvos vietose (1 pav.). Iš penkiasdešimt vieno Vilniuje ir Lietuvos dvarvietėse rastų šaukštų ir jų fragmentų tik devyniolika yra skiriami XIV–XVIII a. laikotarpiui. Įvertinus, kad daugelis jų išlikę tik fragmentiškai, buvo pasirinkta sudaryti morfologinę (aprašomąją) šaukštų tipologiją pagal jų kotelio figūrinę buoželę ir kotelio formą. Buvo išskirti septyni šaukštų tipai ir apibūdinta jų metalo sudėtis (1, 2 lentelės; 1–8 pav.).

Pirmasis tipas yra XIV a. antrosios pusės šaukštas su šešiakampio rutulio formos buožele (3a pav.). Kiti penki tipai, kurie apima XVI a. antrąją pusę – XVII a., yra šaukštai su braškės formos buožele (3b–c pav.), su apaštalo figūra (4 pav.), su tordiruotu koteliu (5 pav.), su šešiakampiu koteliu ir su plačiu koteliu (6 pav.). Populiariausias tipas, sprendžiant pagal turimus šaukštus ir jų analogus kituose Lietuvos muziejų rinkiniuose, yra šaukštai su apaštalu figūromis ir su braškės formos buoželėmis. XVII a. pabaiga – XVIII a. datuojamo šaukšto su užapvalintu galu tipas (7 pav.) yra kol kas vienintelis, reprezentuojantis visiškai naują šaukštų formą, kuri XVIII a. pakeitė iki tol kelis šimtmečius dominavusį metalinių šaukštų su figūrinėmis buoželėmis tipą.

LNK rinkinyje esančių šaukštų tipai ir jų chronologija atitinka Šiaurės, Vakarų ir Vidurio Europoje gamintų šaukštų tipus. Tai rodo, kad LDK gyventojai ne tik įsigydavo ir naudodavo tuo laikotarpiu Europoje gamintus populiarios formos šaukštus, bet ir operatyviai reaguodavo į jų formų kaitą. Ir nors nėra pakankamai duomenų, kad būtų galima tiksliai atsakyti, ar netauriųjų metalų šaukštai buvo gaminami LDK, tačiau, sprendžiant pagal Krokuvos nacionaliniame muziejuje saugomą sidabrinį šaukštą su Vilniaus auksakalių cecho kontroliniu įspaudu, bent jau LDK auksakaliai gamino tuo laikotarpiu regione populiarius sidabrinis šaukštus.