# BANUCKU UUNK PAH





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В № 20 «Записок ИИМК РАН» публикуются научные исследования, представленные на российско-финляндском симпозиуме «Торговля, обмен и взаимовлияния в доисторическое время и средневековье/ историческое время». В разделах «Новейшие открытия и разработки ИИМК РАН» и «Из истории науки» представлены статьи Н. Ф. Соловьёвой и А. В. Полякова, посвященные полевым открытиям на Йылгынлы-депе в Южном Туркменистане и анализу данных радиоуглеродного датирования фёдоровской культуры на Енисее, а также работа С. О. Ремизова, обобщающая информацию об изучении памятников каменного века Волгоградской обл.

Издание адресовано археологам, культурологам, историкам, музееведам, студентам исторических факультетов вузов.

The  $20^{\rm th}$  issue of the "Transactions of IHMC RAS" contains the Proceedings of the Russian-Finnish Symposium "Trade, Exchange and Contacts in Prehistory and in the Medieval/post-Medieval Times". The sections "Newest discoveries and developments" and "From the history of science" present the papers by N. F. Solovyova and A. V. Polyakov devoted to field discoveries at Ilgynly-depe in South Turkmenistan and to the analysis of radiocarbon dates obtained for the Fyodorovo culture on the Yenisei river, respectively, as well as the work by S. O. Remizov who summarizes the information about the Stone Age sites of the Volgograd oblast.

The volume is intended for archaeologists, culturologists, historians, museum workers, and students of historical faculties.

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#### "FRUIT" KNIVES IN SAAMI HOUSEHOLDS

#### C. CARPELAN<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** Finland, "fruit" knives, Juikenttä (a Saami settlement site), Lapland, Middle Ages, Nukkumajoki (a Saami settlement site), religious rituals, Russia, Saami, table knives.

This paper gives a short review of the "fruit" knives discovered in the Saami contexts, compared with the similar knives known from the agrarian and urban contexts along the Gulf of Finland.

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#### Introduction

In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Christian Carpelan carried out archaeological excavations in Finnish Lapland at Saami settlements dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (also including earlier materials, c. 1000 BC — 300 AD). The work resulted in a large set of important observations and finds, now stored at the National Museum of Finland (part of the Finnish Heritage Agency, earlier the National Board of Antiquities). The finds include artefacts of bone, wood, stone, and metal in addition to waste of animal and plant origin. While most of the material relates to everyday life, there are objects and finds telling about religious practices. Many objects are imported from remote regions. There are, for example, heavy Russian iron axes, while the finds also include graceful "fruit" knives from Western Europe. Among the Saami hunters and fishers, the use of these knives was probably not the same as that of peasants and townspeople, but, like axes, they were apparently objects, suitable for ritual deposition.

#### What is a "fruit" knife?

The term "fruit" knife was coined a long ago by archaeologists who thought these knives resemble the knives they used as fruit knives. However, the archaeological knife of the kind examined here was not a special fruit knife, and no finds connect these knives primarily with peeling or cutting fruits. Of course, from the beginning it was understood that these knives were table knives used during meals. In this paper, these knives are called "fruit" knives just for the fun of it. The relevant terminology is adopted from Jane Cowgill (1987: 25–27, 32).

The structure of a "fruit" knife differs from that of an "ordinary" knife with a nail-like, pointed whittle tang fitted into a massive handle of wood or horn. In a "fruit" knife, the blade continues as a flat extension, a scale tang. In order to make it a handle, a scale of

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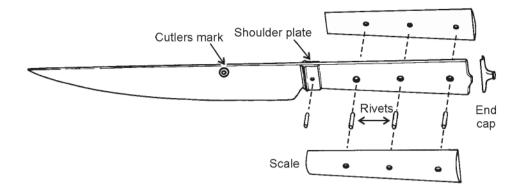


Fig. 1. The structure of a "fruit" knife (after Cowgill 1987)

Рис. 1. Структура «фруктового» ножа (по Cowgill 1987)

wood, bone or horn is fastened with rivets of copper alloy or iron on both sides of the flat tang. In other words, a "fruit" knife is a knife with a laminated handle. In addition, such handles normally have an end cap in the shape of a plate or a moulded knob, usually of copper alloy (Fig. 1; 2).

#### Saami sites with "fruit" knives

The excavated Saami sites with "fruit" knives, examined in this presentation, are *Jui-kenttä* in the municipality of Sodankylä and four sites along the small River *Nukkumajoki* in the municipality of Inari. The discovery of such knives in archaeological Saami contexts of Finnish Lapland was completely unexpected.

*Juikenttä*. Juikenttä is a piece of dry land surrounded by wide fens or mires. In 1961–1962 and 1964–1965, Christian Carpelan carried out excavations at the site, which was to be severely affected by the regulation of the regional drainage system. The excavations covered a total of 468 m² and revealed simple stratigraphy: turf, humus, sand (all as thin layers), and basal moraine. The sand and humus produced Early Metal Age and Iron Age material (c. 1000 BC–AD 1050), while the humus and its transition to turf contained medieval and early modern finds (c. 1050–1650 AD). The excavation results indicate that at least for 600 years this place had been used as a summer and early autumn site (Carpelan 1962; 1963; 1965; 1966; 1987).

The excavations revealed, among other things, the floors of four tent-like dwellings and a Layer interpreted as the remains of offerings connected with the cult and ritual; very likely also the floor of a fifth tent-like shelter was discovered in the middle of the Layer. The Layer consisted of botanical and zoological waste in addition to a remarkable number of objects made of antler, bone or metal. The selection of metals was limited to iron and copper alloy (Carpelan 1987). The iron finds include as many as ten scale-tanged "fruit" knives, all of them discovered in the Layer, and none in the dwellings.

*Nukkumajoki*. The municipality of Inari is the northern neighbour of Sodankylä. Running from south-west to north-east in a landscape dominated by pine-covered hills, the small River Nukkumajoki flows into Juutuanvuono, the westernmost gulf of Lake Inari, c. 3 kilometres south-east of the Inari village. In 1909 and 1910, amateur archaeologist Ilmari Itkonen located no less than eight ancient Saami settlement sites along the river, within c. 7 km from its outlet. Starting from the river mouth, he numbered the sites

from 1 to 8. At the sites 2 to 8, floors of stationary dwellings were visible (Itkonen I. 1910: 21–25; 1913: 6–7).

In 1966, Carpelan surveyed the Nukkumajoki valley in order to locate the settlement sites discovered by Itkonen and to plot them on an up-to-date topographic map. In addition to Itkonen's sites, he discovered three new settlement sites (Carpelan 1979a).

The Nukkumajoki 1 site was practically destroyed in 1909, when the land owner cleared the area to create a meadow. The settlements 2–8 are located on the bank of the river. They consist of 10–16 dwellings arranged in rows of 100–170 m along the riverside; the entrances of the dwellings face the open ground in front of the row (and away from the river). The sturdy and heavy stationary construction of the Nukkumajoki dwellings differs radically from the light and movable structure of the Juikenttä dwellings, as well as from those that covered the rectangular hearths of the Late Iron Age and medieval period. The stationary dwelling of Nukkumajoki is an innovation that, in combination with the traditional 800-year-old stone-laid rectangular hearth, represents the new sedentary winter village (Carpelan 1979b; 2003: 71–73, 76; Halinen 2016).

At Nukkumajoki 6, in 1912, forest workers searched a dwelling out of curiosity and discovered two "fruit" knives, probably the first ever found in Finland. Unfortunately, these items were never delivered to the museum. At Nukkumajoki 5, the following day, two of the workers searched the floors of three more dwellings and discovered, i.a., one scale-tanged "fruit" knife. These finds were taken care of by Itkonen, who sent them to the State Historical Museum (later the National Museum of Finland) (Itkonen I. 1910: 23–24; 1912; Itkonen, T. I, 1914; 1948: 199, Fig. 52, 458, Fig. 243).

In 1978–1980 and 1982–1985, Carpelan carried out excavations at Nukkumajoki 2 where 3090 m² was uncovered. The area included nine dwellings, and between them were found layers resembling the Layer studied at Juikenttä, consisting of zoological waste as well as numerous objects of antler, bone or metal. The assortment of metals consisted of iron, copper alloy, tin, and silver. The finds included as many as 18 scale-tanged "fruit" knives, several of which were well-preserved. Some of the knives were found inside the dwellings (Itkonen, T. I, 1910: 22; Carpelan 2003: 74–75).

In connection with the excavations at Nukkumajoki 2, Carpelan opened test pits at Nukkumajoki 7, where metal items — among them a "fruit" knife — were discovered, and carried out limited excavations at Nukkumajoki 8, where the finds also included a "fruit" knife (Carpelan, Hicks 1995).

#### Examining the "fruit" knives from the excavated Saami sites

The excavations at Juikenttä and Nukkumajoki brought to light a total of 28 whole or defective scale-tanged "fruit" knives, which will be tentatively examined here. The analysis and classification of the "fruit" knives start from the basic structure, as follows (Fig. 2):

- 1) The combined back contour of the blade and the scale tang, which is a continuation of the blade, is an unbroken straight line;
  - 2) The blade back is:
  - B1 entirely straight;
  - B2 gently curving down towards the tip;
  - 3) Some blades show a makers/cutlers mark;
- 4) A pair of shoulder plates of copper alloy, one on both sides, separates the scale tang handle from the blade;

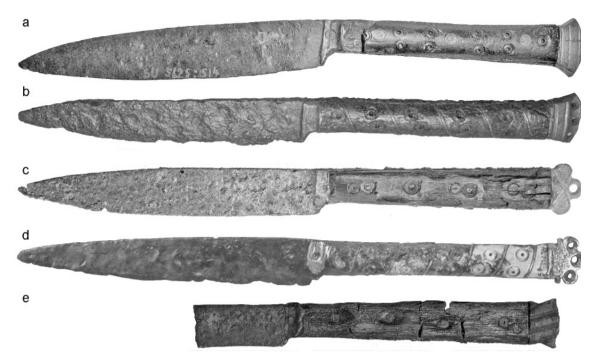


Fig. 2. "Fruit" knives with end knobs of types A1 to A5: a — type A1 from Juikenttä; b — type A2 from Nukkumajoki 5; c — type A3 from Nukkumajoki 2; d — as the specimens of type A4 from Nukkumajoki were found in a poor condition, it is better to illustrate an almost complete knife of this type from Kökar Hamnö (courtesy of Kenneth Gustavsson); e — type A5 from Nukkumajoki 7

**Рис. 2.** «Фруктовые» ножи типов A1–A5: a — тип A1 из Юйкенття; b — тип A2 из Нуккумайоки 5; c — тип A3 из Нуккумайоки 2; d — поскольку образцы типа A4 из Нуккумайоки были найдены в плохом состоянии, лучше использовать в качестве иллюстрации почти целый нож этого типа из Чёкар Хамнё (с любезного согласия Кеннета Густавссона); e — тип A5 из Нуккумайоки 7

- 5) The scale tang:
- T1 has parallel sides
- T2 broadens downwards towards the end:
- 6) The scale tang usually has three or four holes for rivets made of iron or copper alloy for fastening the scales;
  - 7) The end of the scale tang is:
  - E1 simply-shaped;
  - E2 with an end cap of copper alloy (medieval knives only);
  - E3 with a moulded knob of copper alloy;
- 8) It appears to be possible to create a typology for the knobs of varying shape (see below);
  - 9) The scales:
  - D1 do not have:
  - D2 have decoration;
  - 10) It appears to be possible to create a typology for the ornamental composition.

Based on the above properties, two typological groups can be distinguished from the "fruit" knives. Group *A*, examined here, is defined as follows: B2, T1 (slight widening accepted), D2, and E3. Group *B*, not examined here, is defined like this: B1, T2, D1, and E1.

Classification of the "fruit" knives of group A from the excavated Saami sites. A total of 11 "fruit" knives with a preserved end knob were recovered in Juikenttä and Nukkumajoki 2, 5 and 7. These knobs fall in five types as follows: A1 — two from Juikenttä (SU 5606:313; SU 5625:514); A2 — one from Nukkumajoki 5 (SU 4909:2); A3 — four from Nukkumajoki 2 (KM 20837:1; KM 20837:18; KM 21583:18; KM 21986:82); A4 — three from Nukkumajoki 2 (KM 21583:46; KM 21986:76; KM 22896:64); and A5 — one from Nukkumajoki 7 (KM 22449:125) (Fig. 2).

"Fruit" knives of types A1–A5 from excavated sites in South Finland. Since the 1980s, excavations carried out on the coastal strip at the following medieval to early modern village sites and towns have revealed group A "fruit" knives: 3 — Kökar Hamnö (Gustavsson 1990; 1995); 4 — Turku Mätäjärvi (Ikäheimo 1989); 5 — Espoo Mankby (Haggrén et al. 2011; Harjula et al. 2016); 6 — Vantaa Lillas (Väisänen 2016); 7 — Vantaa Pappila (Koivisto A. 2015; Väisänen 2016); 8 — Vantaa Gubbacka (Koivisto R. 2010; Väisänen 2016); 9 — Helsinki Forsby/Old Town (Heikkinen 1994); 10 — Vyborg (Caκca 2015; Saksa 2016) (numbering of the sites refers to Fig. 3).

"Fruit" knives with knobs of types *A1–A5*, as found in Juikenttä and Nukkumajoki 2, 5 and 7, have been recovered in Hamnö, Mankby, Pappila, Forsby/Old Town, and Vyborg. My knowledge of the 'fruit' knives of the southern coast of Finland comes from the publications mentioned above, but for Forsby/Old Town there was also an illustrated catalogue, and for Vyborg — a photograph of knives in a local museum (Uino 2017).

Two knives with an *A1*-type knob were found in Juikenttä, and one knife with a knob of type *A1* was recovered in Pappila (Fig. 2, *a*). However, the decorative festoon motif applied to the scales of the latter differs completely from the decoration based on pointed circles of the Juikenttä knife. A knife handle with an identical festoon, but missing the knob, was found in Forsby/Old Town — perhaps this knife originally had an identical knob, too.

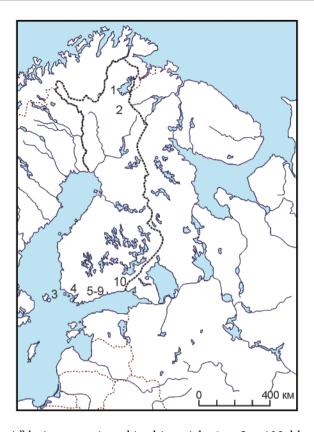
The A2-type knob of the single knife from Nukkumajoki 5 has no direct counterparts among the published knobs from South Finland. However, the shape of the knob is identical to type A1, while the decorative motif with three holes along the edge of the knob somehow corresponds to type A4. A typological hybrid, perhaps? As for the scales, the decoration of the Nukkumajoki-5 knife is identical to some of the Forsby/Old Town knives and the published Hamnö knife, all with a knob of type A4, described below (Fig. 2, b; cf. Figs. 2, a, d).

Four knives with a knob of type A3 were found in Nukkumajoki 2, while only one loose knob of this type was excavated in the South, at Forsby/Old Town (Fig. 2, c).

Three knives with a knob of type A4 were recovered in Nukkumajoki 2, while elsewhere ten knives with knobs of type A4 are known: Kökar Hamnö (one), Forsby/Old Town (seven), and Vyborg (two). The simple decoration of the scales of the Nukkumajoki-2 knives with A3 and A4 knobs can be found also in Forsby/Old Town and Vyborg (Fig. 2, d).

The knob of A5 type on the knife from Nukkumajoki 7 does not find an analogue among the published knives from South Finland. On the other hand, the decoration of the scales of this knife represents the common simple design, repeated on many knives with a knob of type A3 or A4 (Fig. 2, e).

All the knobs described here, in addition to many other shapes, are found in the Netherlands, England, and Germany. However, it is not possible to go further into this topic within the present frame.



**Fig. 3.** Find spots of "fruit" knives mentioned in this article. 1 — Inari Nukkumajoki; 2 — Sodankylä Juikenttä; 3 — Kökar Hamnö; 4 — Turku Mätäjärvi; 5 — Espoo Mankby; 6 — Vantaa Lillas; 7 — Vantaa Pappila; 8 — Vantaa Gubbacka; 9 — Helsinki Forsby/Old Town; 10 — Vyborg

Рис. 3. Места находок «фруктовых» ножей, упоминаемых в статье. 1 — Инари Нуккумайоки; 2 — Соданкиля Юйкенття; 3 — Чёкар Хамнё; 4 — Турку Матаярви; 5 — Эспоо Манкби; 6 — Вантаа Лиллас; 7 — Вантаа Паппила; 8 — Вантаа Губбака; 9 — Хельсинки Форсби/ Старый город; 10 — Выборг

#### **Dating**

Established in the years 1453–1457, the Franciscan Convention on the Hamnö Island of Kökar, Åland, was closed in 1536, and the brothers may have had to leave the place in a rush (Roelvink 2012: 257–258). This gives a *terminus ante quem* for the period of use of the "fruit" knives found at the site, one of which, with a knob of type *A4*, is published. But when did the knife arrive on Hamnö?

In the Saami winter village of Inari Nukkumajoki 2, the finds of dwelling 10 included a "fruit" knife with a knob of type A4, and a coin, which, according to Dr Tuukka Talvio, is a kopeck minted in the period 1535–1547 by Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan Vasilyevich (later known as Ivan the "Terrible", Czar of Russia) (Carpelan 2003: 76). With reference to the date of Hamnö, it is possible to assume that the knife arrived at Nukkumajoki 2 rather before than after the coin.

The village of Espoo Mankby (first mentioned in 1458) was deserted in 1556, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the remains of 18 "fruit" knives found at this site. However, the material published so far does not present "fruit" knives with preserved knobs or scales of the types found in Juikenttä or Nukkumajoki (Haggrén et al. 2011: 14–16).

At Vantaa Pappila (i.e. vicarage) the remains of 11 "fruit" knives were recovered, including a specimen with an end knob of type A1. An excavated building with structural elements already from the early  $14^{th}$  century, must have been later, around 1525, the residence of two wealthy vicars boasting trade connections with the town of Tallinn on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. If true, this provides an approximate dating for an excavated "fruit" knife with a knob of type A1 (Koivisto A. 2015; Väisänen 2016: 177–179, Figs. 105, 106).

Helsinki Forsby/Old Town (excavated 1930–1931, 1989–1993) was established in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century by the mouth of the River Vantaa. The agrarian village of Forsby (first mentioned in 1417) developed into a prosperous community and also kept up trade connections with Tallinn. In 1550, Gustav Vasa, King of Sweden, founded the town of Helsinki within the territory of Forsby, and the building of new streets and houses started directly. The 1989–1993 excavation project, conducted by Markku Heikkinen, revealed a rich material, including 23 "fruit" knives with end knobs and/or scales that can be classified.

Interestingly, the finds from Forsby/ Old Town include eight end knobs of types A3 and A4, also known from Nukkumajoki 2, in addition to nine other types. The knives in general, among them those with a type A3 or type A4 knob, were found at various levels of excavations, starting right below the present-day surface and continuing down to the very bottom. Clearly, the cultural layer was largely disturbed. However, a slight majority of the "fruit" knives, some with knobs of A3 and A4 types, found around and at the level of remains of the "house DK" indicate that such knives originally belonged to the deeper, pre-urban part of the cultural layer representing the Forsby-village period. A radiocarbon date (SU-2127,  $460 \pm 30$  BP; cal AD 1423-1445) suggests that the house had been built of timber cut a little more than a century before the building of Helsinki Old Town started (Heikkinen 1994). On the other hand, the residents of the new town moved in from other towns, bringing with them their movable property, which could include "fruit" knives. Perhaps some of these were recovered from the upper parts of the cultural layer during the excavations. Of course, the production of such items had also antedated 1550 AD.

Taken under Swedish rule in 1323, the medieval Karelian community in the north eastern corner of the Gulf of Finland developed into an active trading locus, and in 1403, King of Sweden, Eric XIII of Pomerania, declared Vyborg a town with the privileges to carry on foreign trade. Excavations conducted by Aleksandr Saksa in 1998–2012 in the medieval and early modern layers of Vyborg, now Russia, brought to light the remains of at least seven group-*A* "fruit" knives (Cakca 2015: phc. 11; Uino 2017 adds two knives of group *A* to the selection), two of which represent type *A4*, also known from Nukkumajoki 2, Forsby/Old Town, and Hamnö. So far, no detailed chronological studies have been published based on the specified stratigraphic locations of the knives. Only a general view is given, according to which an important portion of the finds, including the knives, represent the 16<sup>th</sup>-century period of prosperity (Cakca 2015; Saksa 2016 with references to the excavations in Vyborg).

On the other hand, the stratigraphy of Novgorod, ending before 1500, does not include "fruit" knives with moulded end knobs. This suggests a *terminus post quem* for the group *A* (and group *B*) "fruit" knives. In addition, it is equally important to notice that there are no group *B* knives in Espoo Mankby, nor in Forsby/Old Town, but in Vyborg group *B* is present.

Summing up the available chronological data, it appears that the "fruit" knives of group A with moulded end knobs are an archaeological marker of the initial early modern

period, beginning around the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The period of use of the group-*A* "fruit" knives seems to have been short and intensive and must have ended before 1550.

#### **Conclusions**

The idea of the scale tang developed around 1350 in western Europe — the Netherlands and/or southern England –starting a long tradition (Cowgill 1987: 25, Table 7, 26). Not going into details, it is evident that the "fruit" knives with group-A knobs found at the Saami settlements and along the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland originated in western Europe, where precise counterparts for each group-A knob types discovered in Finland are found. The Hanseatic trade brought knives, among other things, as far as Vyborg, from where the Karelian traders took merchandise, possibly including "fruit" knives, to Lapland along an eastern route. But there was also a western route that began in Stockholm and followed the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia up to the market town of Tornio, from where the Birkarl-traders delivered goods to Lapland. Knives with A3-type knobs may have travelled this route to Inari.

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#### «ФРУКТОВЫЕ» НОЖИ В СААМСКИХ ДОМОХОЗЯЙСТВАХ

#### К. КАРПЕЛАН

**Ключевые слова:** Финляндия, «фруктовые» ножи, саамское поселение Юйкенття, Лапландия, средние века, саамское поселение Нуккумайоки, религиозные ритуалы, Россия, саамы, столовые ножи.

В статье дается краткий обзор «фруктовых» ножей, найденных в саамских комплексах, и проводится их сопоставление с похожими ножами из сельских и городских комплексов побережья Финского залива.