

SWORDS WITH POMMELS OF TYPE N

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The paper makes a record of the swords with pommels denoted Type N (Oakeshott) or XV (Ruttkay) or B2 (Głosek) or 16 II (Geibig). The other sword parts have also been analyzed, cross-guards (Type 1) and blades (types Xa and XIII). Two subtypes have been identified, N-a (9 specimens) and N-b (5 specimens), which is correspondent to Geibig Combination Type 16 II, as well as the swords with pommels of related shapes (types O, B/N and A1). The pommels, blades and guards of all Type N swords are very similar both in type and in size. All swords have hand-and-a-half hilts, whose dimensions are very similar in most cases. Most of the blades are of medium dimensions and show transitional characteristics between Oakeshott's types Xa and XIII, those with predominant features of the former type being more frequent. All guards of Type N swords are straight and slender, belong to Oakeshott Type 1 and are very long (22.5-27.7 cm). So far, only three swords with Type O pommels are known. Some examples are close to Type N swords (guards of Type 1, blades of Type Xa), and some differ (guards of Type 2, blades of Type XVI).

Most finds come from Transylvania, central Romania (5 examples), and Bavaria, southern Germany (three N-b examples, three B/N and one O), and almost all were chance finds. A rare exception is the pommel discovered in a Transylvanian hoard buried in 1241. The only artistic depiction of a sword with that type of pommel occurs on a statue from about 1255 in Naumburg cathedral, central Germany. The dating of N Type swords to the first half of the 13th century is confirmed by the typological characteristics of their blades and cross-guards, and this date has been suggested by most scholars.

In the first quarter of the 13th century the Teutonic Knights (1211-1225) were based in the surroundings of Braşov (Kronstadt) in Transylvania. It is in that area that two N Type finds were discovered, while another two come from Sibiu (Hermannstadt), also in Transylvania, the city which had remained the centre of the German colonists even after the Order's departure. Besides a Type N pommel, the abovementioned hoard from the Sibiu area contained a liturgical vessel (*urceolus*) which is directly analogous with a find from the first half of the 13th century from Thuringia, the region of origin of the Order's grand masters in that period. Under the assumption that the Teutonic Knights brought the swords with Type N-a pommels to what then was eastern Hungary, the swords may be a little more precisely dated to the first quarter of the 13th century, while those of Type N-b would then be a decade or two younger. Based on their typological properties, the swords with Type O pommels have been dated to the second half of the 13th and early 14th centuries, which is also suggested by their sculpted depictions in Freiburg cathedral from about 1300. Considering their morphological resemblance to Type N pommels, they may be interpreted as their slightly younger derivative.

Key words: sword, middle ages, typology, sword pommels, type N, Teutonic order, blades.

The pommel is an essential part of every medieval sword and useful for establishing its chronological framework. Pommels known as Type N share a common shape distinguishing them from most other pommels. The type was first precisely identified and denoted N, by Ewart Oakeshott on the basis of his broader analysis of its frequency. Its front view shows the shape of an inverted half ellipse with its upper edge straight or slightly curved. Its cross-section shows a roughly triangular outline with a convex lower edge, in fact more or less the shape of a segment of a circle. The base may have the form of a nearly regular circle or an oval with pointed ends. On the whole, such pommels may be said to be boat-shaped, as described by Oakeshott, with their upper part gabled and the lower one rounded.

Oakeshott's examples of this pommel type occur on a sword found in the surrounding of Zürich (cat. no 9; pl. IV: 2), on swords from a Romanian private collection, and a sculptured sword in Naumburg cathedral dated to about 1255 (Oakeshott 1981, 98); he subsequently published yet another sword

recovered from an unknown site (Oakeshott 1991, 45, Xa 10). It should be noted, however, that other scholars classified some of the swords with this kind of pommels according to their own typologies. Ada Bruhn-Hoffmeyer assigned the abovementioned Zürich pommel to the younger phase of her Type II (Bruhn-Hoffmeyer 1954, 37-42, 187, pl. IXe). Alexander Ruttkay classified a sword from the area of Komárno, southwestern Slovakia, as the single example of his Type XV (Ruttkay 1976, 258, 259), while Marian Głosek assigned it to his own Type B2 (Głosek 1984, 36). In his study of swords from the territory of former West Germany Alfred Geibig identified three swords as his Combination Type 16 II, which on the whole corresponds to Oakeshott Type N (Geibig 1991, 72, 73, 147-149). Such pommels on the swords from Romania were labelled Type 5 by Karl-Zeno Pinter (1999, 102, fig. 32: 5). Most of the scholars dated Type N swords to the end of the 12th and 13th centuries. While finding direct analogies with examples discovered in other parts of Europe, the swords classified as

Table 1. Morphological and metrological features of some of Geibig pommel types.

Pommel type	Pommel code	PH	PW	PW/PH	PH/PT	PW/PT	Cross-guard type	CL
15 V	15-23-10 15-23-11	4-4.5	6.9-7.6	1.68-1.87	0.73-0.89	1.66 1.35-1.5	14	24.2
16 II	16-19-11	3.3-3.8	7.5-7.8	2.02-2.33	0.52-0.62	1.21-1.37	14, 15	26.6 26.5-23.8
17 II	17-24-10	3.6	9	2.45	0.9	2.45	14	27.5

Legend: PH - pommel height; PW - pommel width; PT - pommel thickness; CL - cross-guard length.

Geibig Type 16 II differ from some other Type N finds in shape and size. Even so, all these pommels share a similar shape distinguishable from other types of medieval pommels. This paper is an attempt to make a record of the examples showing the features of Type N and to identify varieties within the type.

Subtype N-a

The pommel of the sword from the area of Komárno, southwestern Slovakia (cat. no 1; pl. I: 1), has a circular base and is quite short, which makes it distinctly flat, while its upper part is gabled, as common for all Type N pommels. To ease differentiation, I have classified such pommels as Subtype N-a. This distinctive shape is also found in the abovementioned pommel of the sword from an unknown site published by Oakeshott (cat. no 6; pl. III: 1), as well as in a total of four pommels from Romania. Of the latter, two come from the environs of Sibiu in Transylvania (cat. no 3; pl. II: 2 and cat. no 4; pl. III: 2), one from the environs of Braşov, also in Transylvania (cat. no 2; pl. II: 1), and one probably from the area of Buzău in the southeast of the country (cat. no 5).

The pommel of a sword from the surrounding of Ljubljana, Slovenia (cat. no 7; pl. I: 2), is also very short (2.8 cm), but its base is oval rather than circular, which makes it somewhat broader (8.4 cm). This being its only distinction from Subtype N-a, the pommel may be considered a variety of N-a, the one with an oval (Geibig 0-0-10) rather than circular base (Geibig 0-0-11). From the available data, I find the Ljubljana pommel to be closest to the one from the environs of Szarvas, southeastern Hungary (cat. no 8; pl. IV: 1), both in shape and size. In this oval-base variety of Subtype N-a may also be included the abovementioned pommel of the sword recovered from the Limmat river not far from Zürich (cat. no 9; pl. IV: 2). All these nine pommels are uniformly short (2.6-2.8 cm). They show greater variation in width (6.5?-8.8 cm), but it generally is about 7.5 cm

(± 0.2 cm). Due to more elongated bases, the latter three pommels are slightly wider (8.2-8.8 cm). And yet, the shapes of all those pommels are very similar and characteristic enough to distinguish them from other Type N pommels.

Subtype N-b

Three pommels classified by Geibig as Variety II of his Combination Type 16 are somewhat higher than Subtype N-a pommels, and their front views show a slightly convex upper edge, which makes another distinction in relation to the previous subtype. They have circular bases but also more rounded lower parts, which generally gives them the shape of a gabled cup. In Geibig's morphology all the three pommels are under code 16-19-11. Only slightly varying in shape, they are also quite uniform in size: 3.3-3.8 cm high and 7.5-7.8 cm wide (table 1). Type 16 II pommels, dated by Geibig to the end of the 12th and early decades of the 13th century (Geibig 1991, 147-149, 151, fig. 39), are here labelled Subtype N-b.

One of three swords from Germany comes from an unknown site (cat. no 13; pl. VI: 2), the other two being from Bavaria - one from Seehausen (cat. no 12; pl. VI: 1), the other from the environs of Passau (cat. no 14; pl. VII). In addition to these three, Subtype N-b may include another two European finds: the pommel of a sword from an unknown site, now in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (cat. no 11; pl. V: 2), and a fifth Romanian Type N example, also from Braşov in Transylvania (cat. no 10; pl. V: 1). The Budapest and Braşov pommels correspond to Type 16 II in dimensions, with the remark that the width of the former and the height of the latter are only a millimetre below those of Geibig's three examples of Type 16 II (table 1). Their shape is almost identical with the pommel from Seehausen and quite similar to the pommel from an unknown German site.

The Passau pommel differs to a greater extent from the four N-b examples. All of its three views

show a more or less biconical shape which is markedly elongated in horizontal plane, as confirmed by its dimensions and especially by its width-to-height ratio (7.8 cm to 3.3 cm), the highest of all pommels of the subtype. As a result, this is the only pommel whose front view does not show a cup-shaped outline. At first sight it resembles the widespread lenticular pommels of Oakeshott Type A (conditionally Geibig 16 I), but is clearly distinguished from them by its nearly circular base and a prominent lower calotte. On the other hand, a biconical shape shown by all three views is also found in pommels classified as Type XI by *Ruttkey* (1976, 256, 257) or Type A1 by *Głosek* (1984, 36).¹ Both scholars recorded a total of four such swords, all found in the Czech Republic or Slovakia (cat. no 24-27). Less horizontally elongated than the Passau one, all these pommels generally approximate to a spherical shape, but they too have their horizontal and vertical ridges straight and their lower calottes slightly smaller than the upper. In Geibig's precisely developed morphology scheme, the Passau pommel is under the same code as the other two Type 16 II finds, meaning that none of its morphological or metrological parameters differs significantly from the other members of the group. For that reason I have not categorized it separately. Ruttkey Type XI or *Głosek* Type A1 pommels are not classified here as Type N because their shape is nearly spherical and seems different enough from other Type N examples.

Type O

Very similar to Type N pommels in shape are those defined as Type O by Oakeshott, or Combination Type 17 II according to Geibig's typology. This pommel type occurs very rarely on the swords discovered so far. Oakeshott cited a single example - from an unknown site, Gimbel Collection, (cat. no 17), and a few depictions from Freiburg cathedral, southwestern Germany, dated to about 1300 (*Oakeshott* 1981, 99, fig. 65-67). As his Type 17 II Geibig too classified a single sword from an unknown west-German site (cat. no 15; pl. VIII: 1) and dated it to the second half of the 13th century (*Geibig* 1991, 73-75, 150, 151, fig. 39). This group may also include a find from the environs of Pardubice, central Czech Republic (cat. no 16; pl. VIII: 2). Due to a mid-rib below the fuller its blade would correspond to Oakeshott Type XVI, while its straight

cross-guard, eight-sided in section falls into Type 2.² Type N and O pommels are similar in shape, a basic difference between them being in that the front view of Type O shows pulled-up ends producing a clearly concave upper edge.

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Besides the abovementioned N and O examples, the group may also include two swords known to me from the scanty published data: one, recovered from an unknown site, is now in the National Museum in Prague (cat. no 18), the other was found at Nowy Dwór Gdański (cat. no 19) some 10 km west of Elbląg in northern Poland (*Głosek* 1984, 142, 143, 160, cat. no 69, 279). *Głosek* classified their pommels as type 'N (special)', but as there was no illustration published, I have been unable to assign them to any of N subtypes. It may only be noted that the Prague pommel's dimensions are closest to Type N-a, more precisely to its oval-base variety (cat. no 7-9; pl. I: 2; IV: 1, 2).

Besides his Combination Type 16 II, Geibig identified Type 15 V that also shares some features with Type N pommels (*Geibig* 1991, 68). All the three pommels he recorded have gabled upper parts and rounded lower ones, two having a nearly circular base (15-23-11), the third being oval (15-23-10). They are distinguished from Type 16 II by their squatter shape, and clearly convex upper edges and less prominent lower parts in front view. Two planes forming the gable intersect at an acuter angle thus being visibly steeper than in Type N, which in turn brings them closer to Oakeshott Type B varieties. Roughly speaking, this shape would be a transition between types B and N in morphological terms. Geibig dated them to a period between the first quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 13th (*Geibig* 1991, 151, fig. 39). Given their clearly different shape, they are not assigned to Type N, even though they are similar to it in some other features.

The pommel of yet another sword recovered from the Ljubljana river near Ljubljana (cat. no 23; pl. IX: 1) appears closest to Geibig Type 15 V, and to oval-base variety (cat. no 22) under morphology code 15-23-10. It is much squatter, however, as confirmed by its height and width, which are by about a half centimetre above and below the limit measurements for Type 15 V. Of the same shape is

¹ *Głosek* assigned to Type A1 the pommel of the sword from the Budapest museum (cat. no 11; pl. V: 2; *Głosek* 1984, 174, cat. no 460), here classified differently. A different classification of the pommel has already been proposed (*Geibig* 1991, 65).

² I wish to express my gratitude to Mr Jan Teteven, curator of the Pardubice museum, for being so kind as to make the photographs of the sword available to me. *Głosek* classified it as N, XIV, 3 (*Głosek* 1984, 140, cat. no 31), but that is not central to its dating. In either case, the sword may be dated to about 1300.

the pommel of a sword retrieved from the Gudbrandsdal river, Norway, and dated to the mid 13th century (*Oakeshott 1981*, 88, fig. 53). It is due to these features, in fact more strongly expressed features normally distinguishing Geibig Type 15 V from Type N, that I have not assigned them to a variety of Type N. But properties of some other parts of the Ljubljana sword, of which more will be said below, bring it closer to some N and O examples.

In conclusion to this overview of the swords with Type N and O pommels it may be said that a total of fourteen N examples (cat. no 1-14; pl. I-VII) have been identified, three O examples (cat. no 15-17) and two which I have been unable to assign with certainty to either of the two types (cat. no 18 and 19). The Catalogue contains additional eight swords that I have not assigned to either type (cat. no 20-27). It is clear from this survey of Type N and related pommels that precise morphological definitions are difficult to establish. As a result some of the examples presented here have been left out of its framework.

Other sword parts

Cross-guards

Almost all Type N swords have straight and slender cross-guards of Oakeshott Type (Style) 1 or Geibig Type 14.³ An exception is the Zürich cross (cat. no 9; pl. IV: 2) which is thickened at central part and slightly curved, the form which is nearest to Type 6 by *E. Oakeshott (1981, 115, 116, fig. 95)*. All these guards of Type 1 are quite long and usually square in section, though the ends of some examples are circular in section. Another common property of the finds recorded here is their great length (CL: 22.2-27.7 cm).

The guards of all Romanian swords the length of which is known to me are the shortest and of a uniform length (22.2-23.1 cm); the guard of the German sword (cat. no 13; pl. VI: 2) may be added to them. The other guards of Type 1 swords are longer (ca 25 cm and more). The sword of Type O from Pardubice, Czech Republic (cat. no 16; pl. VIII: 2), has the cross-guard of Oakeshott Type 2, or Geibig Type 15, characterized by its enlarged central part and ends. Nearly identical and almost the same in

length (ca 20 cm) is the guard of the sword of Type B/N from Ljubljana (cat. no 23; pl. IX: 1). The sword of Type O from an unknown German site (cat. no 15; pl. VIII: 1) has an extremely long Type 1 guard (27.5 cm), the same as Type N swords; with the Budapest guard (27.7 cm; cat. no 11; pl. V: 2), it is the longest. The only guard distinguished by its small length is the sword from Poland (cat. no 19), which is dissimilar to the other finds from the group in some other features as well; unfortunately I have been unable to examine it in detail.

Hilts

The hilts of almost all swords are also quite uniform in length, about 17.5 cm, with tangs of about 13.5 cm (± 0.8 cm).⁴ An exception is again the length of the Pardubice hilt (HL: 20 cm; TL: 15 cm) and that from Gdańsk (HL: 14.2 cm; TL: ca 10 cm). In all cases the tangs show a common shape - tapering more or less evenly from the guard towards the pommel, are square in section and flat. The fuller extends about 1-2 cm onto the hilt. As such long grips made it possible to support the sword with the other hand, the swords are usually called hand-and-a-half swords.

Blades

All the blades of Type N swords discussed here are alike and generally show the features of Oakeshott types Xa and XIII. The former type is characterized by medium dimensions and a more or less clear taper to the point which is usually acute or slightly rounded. The fuller is narrower and usually runs about 4/5 of the length of the blade (*Oakeshott 1991, 36*). Type XIII blades are broad and squatter, with nearly parallel edges running towards a rounded point (*Oakeshott 1981, 41, 42*). The fuller is narrow, and may be long in the older examples of this type such as those discussed here (*Oakeshott 1991, 101*). The only exception is the blade of the Zürich sword (cat. no 9; pl. IV: 2) whose narrowness and squatness would rather assign it to Oakeshott Type XIb (*Oakeshott 1981, 35, 36*).⁵ There are distinctive ornaments on this blade which along with its type suggest its being of an earlier date than the pommel and cross-guard which probably were added somewhat

³ Only the cross-guards of the swords from Passau (cat. no 14) and of unknown origin (cat. no 13) are somewhat thickened at central part, which is a feature of Type 15, but their ends are not thickened.

⁴ As the length of tangs is usually missing, I have calculated it by employing the formula TL=HL-PH-CW. As the width of Type 1 cross-guards is usually about 1 cm the formula employed is TL=HL-PH-1. The measurements obtained in this way, or from photographs and drawings, are indicated in the text by 'about' or 'ca'.

⁵ Oakeshott recorded only two examples (Bernische Historische Museum, inv. no 226.7, and a private collection, Copenhagen, Denmark), but he subsequently discarded the type altogether.

later. The measured maximum width of the Budapest blade (cat. no 11; pl. V: 2) is 4.7 cm, but from its published photograph it apparently is broader, about 5-5.2 cm (*Głosek 1984*, pl. XXVIII: 2).

All blades of N-a swords generally fall into Type Xa and are uniform in shape and dimensions. They are not as slender as is common for the type, and their relatively rounded points bring them closer to Type XIII. They are about 95 cm (± 2 cm) in length with a maximum width of 5-5.1 cm. There are swords within N-b Type whose blades also fall into this group (cat. no 13, possibly 10 and 11), but also those where the features of Type XIII predominate (parallel edges, a slightly more rounded point; cat. no 12; pl. VI: 1). In fact, the blades of all Type N swords, closely related in shape and dimensions, show properties of both of Oakeshott's types. As for the blades of the swords from Prague and Poland (cat. no 18 and 19), their small measured width assigns them to Type XI. It should be noted, however, that, unlike the Polish sword, all other dimensions of the Prague sword's blade, as well as of its hilt, guard and pommel, assign it to the group of Type N swords.

The Type O sword from Pardubice (cat. no 16; pl. VIII: 2) has the blade of Oakeshott Type XVI. The broken blade of the German sword of Type O (cat. no 15; pl. VIII: 1) has a great maximum width and a clear downward taper, which would assign it to Type XII, but its hand-and-a-half hilt is uncommon for this type or its two-handed subtype. Such blades occur in somewhat younger swords, for example the one of Type A1 from Slovakia (cat. no 24; pl. IX: 2).

In conclusion to this morphological overview of Type N examples, it may be said that all of them are hand-and-a-half swords with long and straight guards and usually very similar blades. Generally speaking, almost all blades are alike in shape and dimensions and show transitional features between types Xa and XIII, those with predominant properties of the former type being more frequent. Their fullers are long, narrow and extend slightly onto the hilt, and the points are short and more or less rounded. Besides the Zürich sword, the only clear exceptions so far are the blades of the swords from Pardubice (Type XVI) and probably from Gdańsk (cat. no 19).

All the examples of Type N-a (cat. no 1-9; pl. I-IV) have long guards of Type 1, somewhat squatter blades of Type Xa and uniform dimensions, especially maximum widths (ca 5-5.1 cm). That kind of precision, variations being below a mil-

limetre, suggests the use of the same gauge, a sort of a mould or frame, which in turn may suggest the same workshop. The swords are closely related by other measurements too (hilt and tang lengths, pommel dimensions, especially height), but there is no further evidence at present to support such a hypothesis. The only typological exception is the Zürich sword whose pommel and cross-guard, unlike its apparently older blade, appear to be of the same date as other Type N examples.

Subtype N-b swords also have long cross-guards of Type 1, and the length of their hilts, and tangs, falls within the same range as that of the previous subtype. Some of the blades belong to the same group as those of Subtype N-a swords, and some are only slightly squatter. Of the two Type O swords for which I had sufficient data, the example from Germany has the same dimensions of the hilt and cross-guard as Type N swords but its blade is different; the same goes, and to an even greater extent, for all the features of the Pardubice sword.

Blade inlays

Inlays have been registered on the blades of about a half of all N and O swords. Of the swords of N-a type none of those with circular-base pommels (cat. no 1-6; pl. I: 1; II; III) appear to bear an inlay, whereas all the three blades of the swords of oval-base group (cat. no 7-9; pl. I: 2; IV) are ornamented. A similar ratio occurs in the swords with Type A1 pommels (cat. no 24-27), only one of which is undecorated (cat. no 27). The inlays generally show none or little resemblance. To be set apart are those featuring a stylized heraldic or symbolic floral motif (cat. no 13, 8, 23; pl. VI: 2; IV: 1; IX: 1) and two blades with yellow-metal inlays in the form of a simple ring, one inscribed with a cross (cat. no 12 and 14; pl. VI: 1; VII). A shield may be presumed in two of the three heraldic designs. On the sword from an unknown German site the horizontal partition lines do not touch the edges of the shield; it also shows an eight-pointed star, which is found on the arms of some German and Austrian families or cities. As for the Szarvas blade (cat. no 8; pl. IV: 1), it is not quite clear whether the design shows a shield or a similar form (helmet, fish?). The heraldic motif of a triangular shield divided by two horizontal lines is found in some other swords as well, but they are of a quite late date. Given that the motif was widely used in middle ages, the range of possible interpretations is very broad, especially because of lack of the defining colours (*Głosek 1984*, 81-86).⁶

⁶ *Głosek* cited a total of five swords bearing this design dating from about the second half of the 14th century - first half of the 15th, and mostly from the territory of modern Hungary.

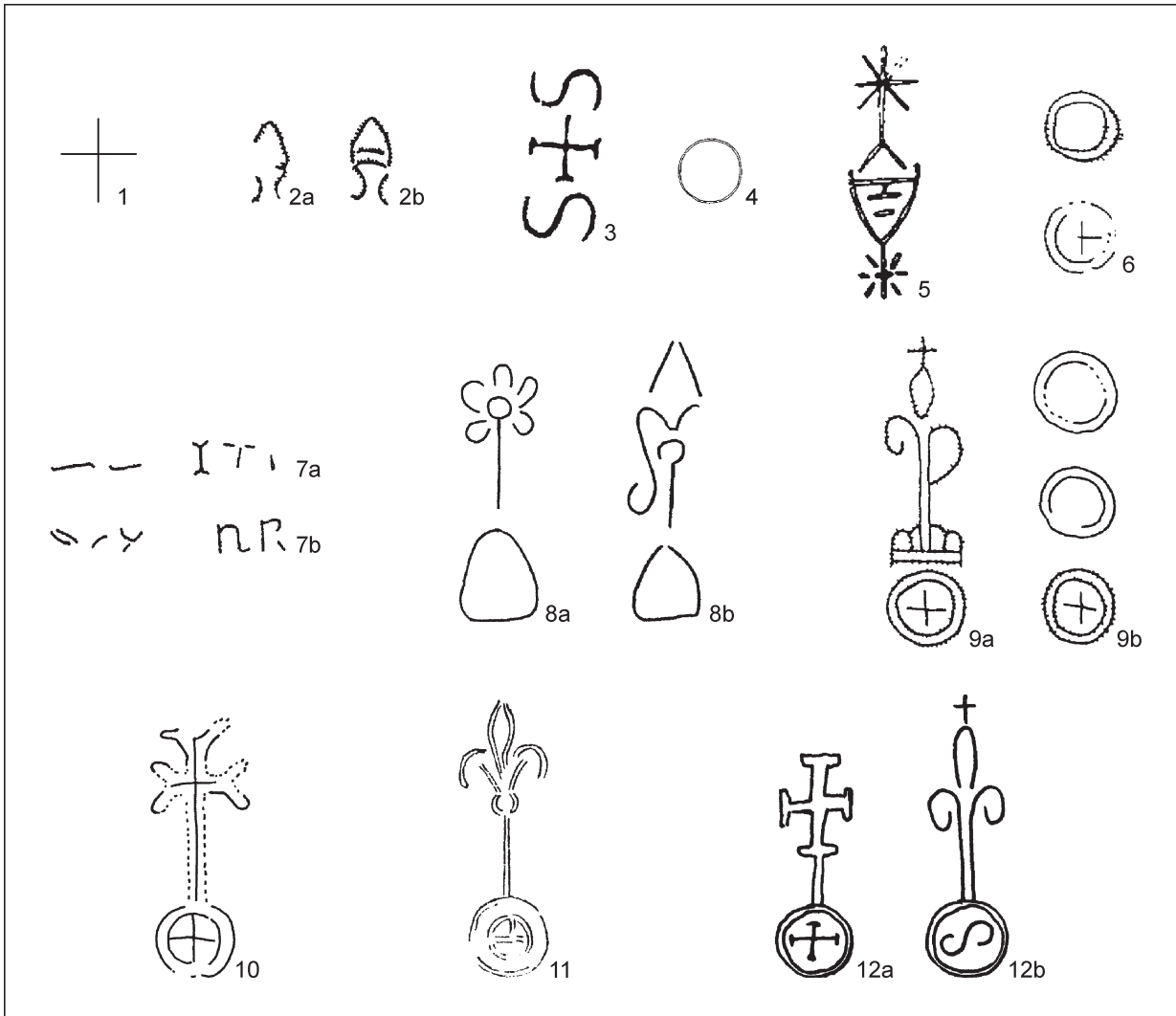


Fig. 1. Blade inlays. 1 - cat. no 7; 2 - cat. no 8; 3 - cat. no 7; 4 - cat. no 12; 5 - cat. no 13; 6 - cat. no 14; 7 - cat. no 16; 8 - cat. no 23; 9 - find-place unknown, Germany (Geibig 1991, cat. no 35, pl. 26); 10 - private collection, Lincoln, England (Oakeshott 1981, 62, 63, fig. 33a); 11 - Bernische Historische Museum (Oakeshott 1981, 62, 63, fig. 33b); 12 - Poznań, Poland (Głosek 1984, 161, cat. no 296).

The most elaborate is the design on the blade of the Zürich sword (cat. no 9; pl. IV: 2). One side bears a series of letters (S, N, O?) and other stylized symbols, the other shows a cross-shaped ornament. There does not seem to be direct analogies, but some resemblances may be found on the blades of some Finnish finds (Leppäaho 1964, 55, 61, pl. 25: d, e; 28: 2b, 2d). Letters also occur on another two swords: the sword from the Budapest museum (cat. no 11; pl. V: 2) has two letters S with a cross potent between them, while the Type O sword from the Czech Republic (cat. no 16; pl. VIII: 2) shows an indecipherable ornament with letters (I, T and N, R). More complex series of letters occur on some swords of Type A1 (cat. no 24; pl. IX: 2; cat. no 26).

The motif of a simple ring with or without an inscribed cross occurring in two swords from Ger-

many is not uncommon, especially on 13th-century or older swords. The closest analogy seems to be the sword of Type D, XIII, 1 from an unknown German site, itself of a thirteenth-century date (Geibig 1991, cat. no 35, pl. 26). One side of its blade bears three such rings with or without a cross, just like the Passau sword (cat. no 14; pl. VII), while the other side shows another ring inscribed with a cross surmounted by a floral motif in the form of a stylized lily with a cross on top (fig. 1: 9). A stylized floral motif (the flower on one side and a stylized lily flower on the other) also occurs on the Ljubljana sword blade (cat. no 23; pl. IX: 1), but it is somewhat different and the crosses are absent. The motifs of a stylized lily or cross potent combined with a ring (with or without an inscribed cross or the letter S) occur on three Type XVI swords cited by Oakeshott, who dated them to

the early decades of the 14th century (fig. 1: 10, 11; *Oakeshott 1981*, 62, 63, fig. 33: a, b).⁷ Related to them is a sword of Type I, XII from Poznań, western Poland (fig. 1: 12; *Głosek 1984*, 161, cat. no 296). Among the commonest motifs in medieval art, the lily carried decorative, symbolic or heraldic meanings, one of the essential being a symbol of the Virgin Mary. In the 13th and early 14th centuries the motif of a ring usually occurs independently or combined with a lily or a cross potent.

A simple ring, a ring inscribed with a cross, a ring combined with a floral or cross motif, sometimes several rings on a sword, seem to suggest a hierarchically arranged system of symbols. The number of rings combined with ornaments may have indicated the rank of the owner of the sword within a military unit, a religious order or the feudal system of allegiances, or, perhaps, his vows, his commitment to a cause, person or community. Two swords with Type N pommels show simple designs (a ring with or without a cross), which, in this presumed hierarchy, would indicate a lower rank or an older form. However, the marks on medieval blades are usually interpreted as the ornaments or marks of the swordsmith or the owner and that may well be the case here.

Distribution patterns

The swords of Type N come from central and eastern Europe, notably southern Germany and central Romania or Transylvania (fig. 2; 3). From southeastern Germany, or Bavaria, come two swords of Type N-b, one from the environs of Passau (cat. no 14; pl. VII), the other from Seehausen in the far south of Upper Bavaria, near the border with Austria (cat. no 12; pl. VI: 1). Another N-b sword (cat. no 13; pl. VI: 2) and a sword of Type O (cat. no 15; pl. VIII: 1) come from unknown western-German sites. The three swords of Geibig Type 15 V show a similar distribution pattern: two were found at Schäftstall, district of Swabia, central Bavaria (cat. no 21 and 22), the third was retrieved from the Danube at Metten, about 50 km northwest of Passau, Lower Bavaria (cat. no 20).

Geographically close to these finds is the sword of Type N-a retrieved from the Limmat river at Dietikon near Zürich, northern Switzerland (fig. 4; cat. no 9; IV: 2), not far from the border with southwestern Baden-Württemberg Land of which Freiburg also forms part. Two swords, of types N-a and N/B (cat. no 7 and 23; pl. I: 2 and IX: 1), were retrieved from the Ljubljanica river at the site of

Crna Vas, about 5 km upstream from Ljubljana, central Slovenia. The fact that the two swords were found together, on a site that has yielded a few more medieval swords though of different dates (*Nabergoj 2001*, 10), may suggest that they had got into the river together. The proposed close dates of manufacture would not contradict the hypothesis, but it cannot be taken as unarguable. Both regions were part of the Holy Roman Empire and Zürich became an imperial free city from 1218. It seems interesting to note that all the finds from the territory of the German empire were recovered from the water.

Another area where finds of Type N are concentrated is Romania, more precisely Transylvania. From the area of Braşov comes a sword of Type N-a and a sword of Type N-b (cat. no 2 and 10; pl. II: 1 and V: 1). From the area of Sibiu, also in Transylvania and some 120 km west of Braşov, come another two N-a swords (cat. no 3 and 4; pl. II: 2 and III: 2). The fifth Romanian sword (cat. no 5) used to be in the private Slatineanu Collection but, to the best of my knowledge, its present location is unknown. Some scholars refer to Buzău in eastern Romania as its find-place, which is conditionally accepted in this paper; others, however, do not cite this information (*Barlett-Wells 1958*, 267; *Nicoll/McBride 2002*, 8; *Pinter 1999*, 129).

From an unknown Hungarian site comes the sword of Type N-b kept in the Budapest Museum (cat. no 11; pl. V: 2), while the sword of Type N-a was found at Szarvas or in its area (cat. no 8; pl. IV: 1). From the area of Komárno on the Danube, southwest Slovakia (cat. no 1; pl. I: 1), comes the sword of the same subtype, the eighth find from the territory of medieval Hungary. The Czech Republic yielded the sword of Type N(-a?) from an unknown site, now in the museum in Prague (cat. no 18) and the sword of Type O from the fortress of Krchleby not far from Pardubice (cat. no 16; pl. VIII: 2). From Nowy Dwór Gdański, northern Poland comes the sword of Type N, subtype indecisive.

For most of the swords the exact context of find is unknown or they simply were chance finds. An exception is the pommel of Type N-a from a hoard discovered in the village of Şelimbăr, about 3 km southeast of Sibiu in Transylvania (cat. no 4; pl. III: 2). To judge from its contents, the hoard was probably hidden at the time of the Mongol invasion of 1241 when all of Transylvania and much of Hungary were devastated (*Horedt 1957*, 343). From the second half of the 12th century, this region (Burzenland) began to be settled by German

⁷ Two specimens from the private collection of Mr. J. C. Pocock, Lincoln, England and sword in the Bernische Historische Museum, inv. no 840.6.

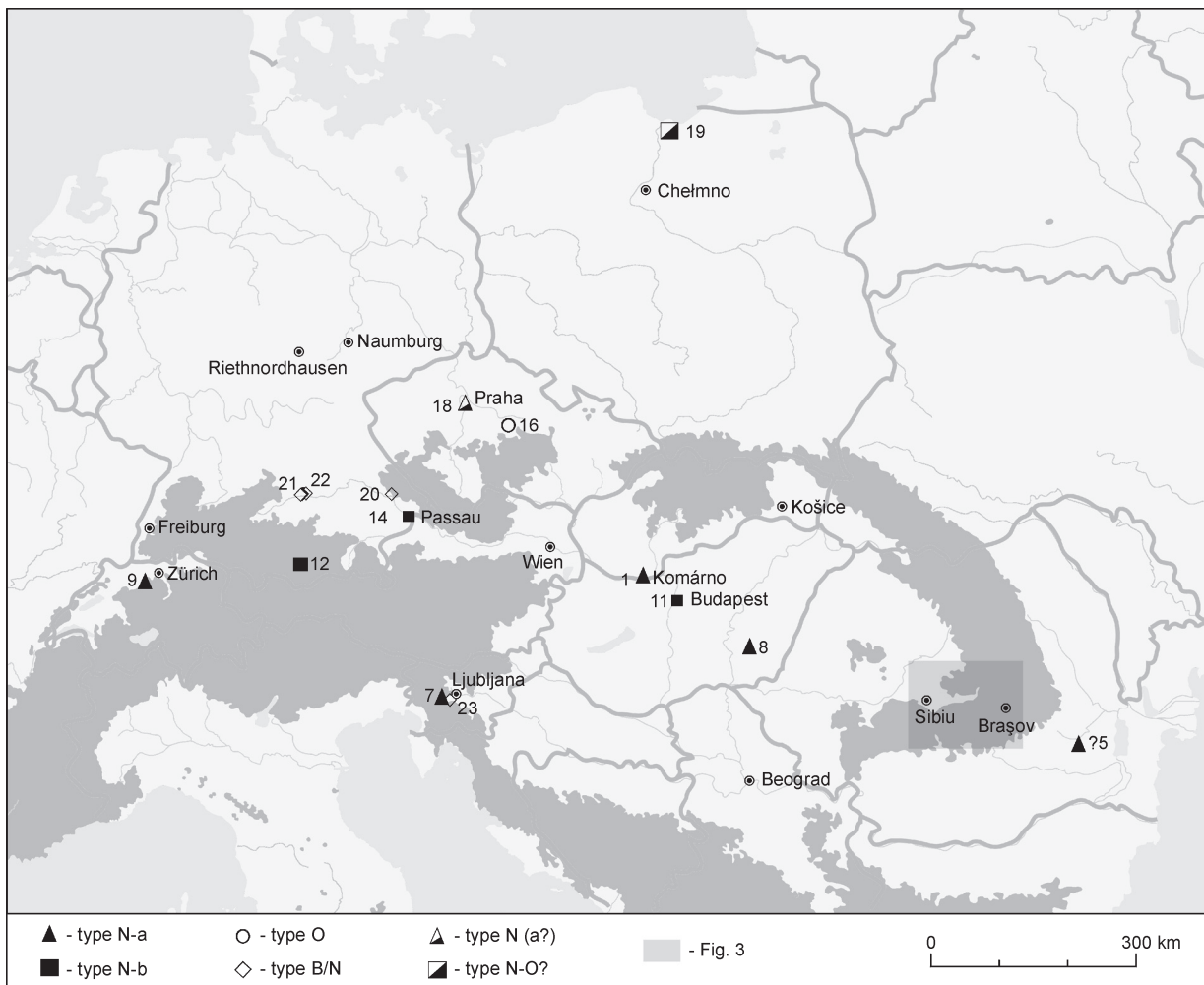


Fig. 2. Distribution pattern of pommels of Type N in Europe.

colonists, whose community has survived till this day. The sword of Type N-b (cat. no 10; pl. V: 1) was excavated from the 13th-century layer of the fortress of Neagra Codlea in the environs of Braşov in Transylvania (Pinter 1999, 127, fn 100), but I have no further information as regards the excavation results.

Dating

Oakeshott found an analogy for Type N pommels in a stone statue of Wilhelm von Camburg (d. by 1116) in Naumburg cathedral (fig. 5), central Germany, from about 1255 (Oakeshott 1981, 92, fig. 62), one of the statues of the earliest well-known members of the Wettin family mounted in the cathedral. From photographs the sculpted pommel appears most closely related to the Ljubljana pommel of N-a type (cat. no 7; pl. I: 2), though with a slightly concave upper edge. Oakeshott dated the Zürich sword with N-a pommel and, based on resemblances with

it the find from an unknown site (cat. no 6; pl. III: 1), to the first half of the 12th century. His dating was based on resemblances in decoration between the Zürich sword and a Finnish find dated to about 1100 (Leppäaho 1964, 61, pl. 28: 2a-2d; Oakeshott 1991, 45). Initially the Zürich sword was dated to the first three quarters of the 13th century (Schneider 1980, 24, no 19) or to its first half (Bruhn-Hoffmeyer 1954, 187, no 36). Geibig dated his Combination Type 16 II to the end of the 12th and early decades of the 13th century, and Type 15 V between the first quarter of the 12th and first quarter of the 13th century. Ruttkay dated the Komárno sword to the 13th century, and so did Głosek (Głosek 1984, 141, cat. no 52; Ruttkay 1976, 258). The Romanian swords of Type N were dated to the 13th century by Pinter as well (Pinter 1999, 130).

Type Xa blades, commonest for Type N swords, are not a very sensitive dating tool. Although most frequent in the 12th century, they continued to be manufactured almost until the end of the follow-

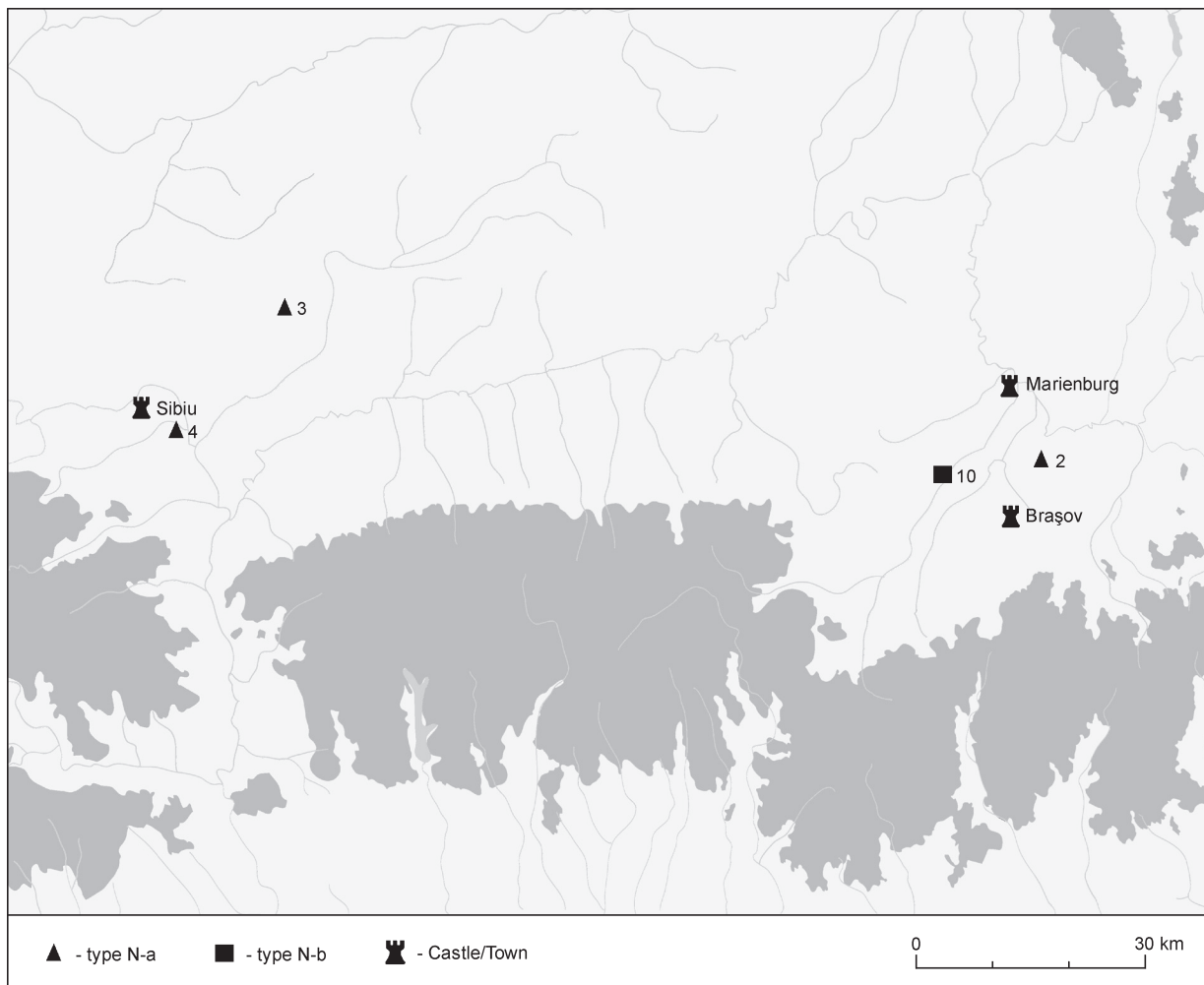


Fig. 3. Distribution pattern of pommels of Type N in Transylvania.

ing century. It has been suggested that Type XIII blades, and subtypes XIIIa and XIIIb, first appeared about 1240 (Oakeshott 1981, 41, 42), but the basic type seems to have been introduced somewhat earlier, as indicated by Oakeshott's dates for some of such finds (Oakeshott 1991, 97). The shape of these blades anticipates the fashion of more massive swords allowing slower but stronger blows. They were mostly used by well-protected cavalymen wearing plate armour which began to come into wider use in that period. The swords discussed here are in fact the earliest examples of such blades the size of which was soon to increase, as well as their popularity (Type XIIIa).

For dating the pommels of Type O Oakeshott most of all relied on several sculptured portraits in Freiburg cathedral from about 1300, the same as Geibig did when assigning Combination Type 17 II to the second half of the 13th century (Geibig 1991, 151, fig. 39). Interesting is the sword from Pardubice with its blade of Type XVI which, from

what is known so far, does not appear until about 1300 (Oakeshott 1981, 62, 63; 1991, 147).

The question of chronological sensitivity of cross-guards is still approached in different ways. Even so, it should be noted that Geibig made use of their length as an aid in dating some swords (Geibig 1989, 247, fn 54; 1991, 182). Such approach seems valid for most of the examples recorded here. It was from about the second half of the 12th century to about the second half of the 13th century that simple straight cross-guards reached their maximum length compared to both the older and most of the later sword types. Also, the guards of Oakeshott Type 2, octagonal or circular in section, seem to have been most frequent during the 13th century.

Of relevance to the dating of Type N pommels, especially its N-a subtype, is the find from the Transylvanian hoard presumably hidden away at the time of the Mongol invasion of 1241, when the city of Sibiu was also sacked. The hoard also contained three cross-guards and remains of two blades (Rill

1983, 81).⁸ Other finds included a bronze *urceolus*, the vessel used in the Catholic liturgy. Its characteristic shape has direct analogy in a Thuringian find (from church in Riethnordhausen, about 10 km north of Erfurt) dated to the first half of the 13th century (*Crîngaci-Țiplic* 2005, cat. no 3, pl. III: 1; *Horedt* 1957, 340-342). What lends interest to this and the other four Type N finds from Romania is the fact that they were discovered in a region distant from the presumed area of their origin, southern Germany. The presence from the second half of the 12th century of German colonists in Transylvania may suggest that it was through them that the swords reached what then was the eastern border of Hungary, as already suggested in a report on the two finds from the environs of Sibiu (*Rill* 1983, 84). Thus the date of the manufacture and use of Type N swords may quite reliably be assigned to the late 12th century and first half of the 13th, as indirectly indicated by the Naumburg statue. It seems, however, that historical sources may lend some additional precision to this dating.

In 1211 by permission of King Andrew of Hungary (1205-1235) Teutonic Knights settled in Transylvania with the task of defending his eastern border against the pagan Cumans who controlled the adjacent regions of Moldavia and Wallachia (*Holban* 1981, 28). The Order had been founded soon after the arrival of German crusaders of the Third Crusade in the Holy Land, in late 1190, in the camp of Christian forces besieging Acre. It began as a hospital in the form of a large tent constructed from the sails of their ships, and after the capture of Acre in 1191 the Order was given a permanent base in the city, where it built a hospital and a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary as its patron saint. Under Hermann von Salza as their fourth grand master (1209-1239), the Teutonic Knights were given permission to settle in southeastern Transylvania, in the district of Burzenland (modern Țara Bârsei), in the area of Braşov. The Order's religious and military centre was at Marienburg Fortress (*Castrum Mariae*, modern Feldioara), built by the Teutonic Knights and named after their patron saint. Braşov (Kronstadt), situated 19 km south of Marienburg, was the economic centre of the area inhabited mostly by German colonists.

Von Salza came from a family of the Thuringian lower nobility. The same year the Order moved to Hungary, Von Salza's lord Hermann I, Landgrave of Thuringia (1190-1217), arranged the marriage of his son Ludwig IV (1200-1227) to Elizabeth (1207-1231),

daughter of the Hungarian king. This devoted young woman was canonized only five years after her death (*Frase* 1983, 40), and one of the key roles in the affair was played by Hermann I's younger son and Ludwig IV's brother, Conrad of Thuringia, who was to become the Order's fifth grand master (1239-1240).⁹ The same year a church (*Elizabethkirche*)



Fig. 4. Dietikon near Zürich, Swiss National Museum, Zürich, inv. no AG-2465. On photography: Swiss National Museum, Zürich, NEG-115173. Without scale.

⁸ From the description and drawings of the finds, one blade may be presumed to belong to Type Xa, and one cross-guard possibly to Type 2 (circular section, length: 21 cm).

⁹ It has been suggested that the sword retrieved from the Pergola river in northern Poland, presently in the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte in Berlin (inv. no W 1838), belonged to Conrad of Thuringia (*Müller/Kölling* 1981, 159, 362), but there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to corroborate the hypothesis (*Glosek* 1984, 74, 75).

began to be built above her grave at Marburg, part of Thuringia at the time, which still contains the graves of some members of the Order. Marburg then became one of the Order's seats, and St Elizabeth, its second patron.

The Teutonic Order remained in Transylvania until 1225, when they moved to Poland to begin their much longer and better known fight against the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians. Owing to the Von Salza's diplomatic skills and relations both with the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1220-1250) and the Pope, the Order had acquired large estates not only in Germany and Austria, but also in Sicily, northern Italy, Greece, Burgundy, Spain, Switzerland, Slovenia, Poland.

Two finds of Type N swords come from the environs of Braşov, the heartland of the region settled by the Teutonic Order: one from the village of Sanpetru (cat. no 2; pl. II: 1), about 7 km north of Braşov and some 12 km south of Marienburg, the other from Codlea (cat. no 10; pl. V: 1), some 14 km west of Braşov and about 16 km southwest of Marienburg (fig. 3). Two finds (cat. no 3 and 4; pl. II: 2 and III: 2) come from the Sibiu (Hermannstadt) area, the city that was the religious, administrative and urban centre of the German community in Transylvania both before the arrival of the Teutonic Knights and after their departure. The fifth sword supposedly comes from the area of Buzău city, a region between the Wallachian Plain and the mountains of Transylvania, but there is also a possibility that it is a place of the same name near Braşov (about 30 km east), one of the major mountain passes towards Wallachia. Considering the Order's successes in eastern Wallachia and the spread of their influence as far as the lower Danube, the find of a sword in both cases may be interpreted as a trace of the Order's movements or of their fights against the Cumans.

The assumption that the swords of Type N reached Transylvania through the Teutonic Knights implies that the five Romanian pommels of Type N were manufactured before 1225. The fact that at least one of the swords remained in use after the Order's departure (cat. no 4; pl. III: 2) may be explained by the military structure of the Order that included not only the heavy cavalry formed by the knights themselves, but also various auxiliary units mostly recruited from the local population, in this case, given the Order's obvious ethnic homogeneity, most likely the German colonists in Transylvania. In that way the pommel from the Şelimbăr hoard may have remained there until 1241, on the sword of a former member of the Order's auxiliary units. Members of the Order usually stayed in one place for several years before returning to Germany or going someplace else. Thus the weapons may have

reached Transylvania any time between 1211 and 1225, and not necessarily together. It also seems logical that the Order did not leave the local population without any support. The support may have consisted in arms supplies, which may have continued even after 1225, although it seems unlikely that the pommel fell off the sword after no more than ten or fifteen years of use.

The bishops of Naumburg traditionally came from the Wettin family, and the statues in Naumburg cathedral mounted about 1255 portray their prominent figures, including Wilhelm of Camburg. At that time the office was held by Dietrich II (von Wettin, 1243-1272), an illegitimate son of Dietrich of Meissen (d. 1221). Dietrich's legitimate son and heir was Henry the Illustrious (Heinrich der Erlauchte, d. 1288), not only the leading member of this powerful family traditionally based at Meissen (Lower Lusatia, modern Saxony), then in the east of Germany, but also one of the most influential figures in all of the Empire. His role, decisive I would presume, in shaping the programme of Naumburg cathedral's decoration, is also reflected in the fact that the artists responsible for its execution, among the best in that period, came at his invitation to adorn Meissen cathedral. A boy at the time of his father's death, Henry the Illustrious had spent six years at the court of his uncle Ludwig IV, Landgrave of Thuringia, and his wife Elizabeth (1221-1227). As far as I know, the Naumburg artists did not depict any swords in Meissen. The Church of St Elizabeth in Marburg, however, contains the tomb effigies of members of the Order, including that of its fifth grand master Conrad of Thuringia (d. 1240; *Holladay 1983*, 325-327, fig. 19; 21). At the time the Naumburg sculptures were being made, the Wettin family was amidst the war of the Thuringian succession, which they soon ended successfully.

These historical events make it clear that the landgraves of Thuringia played an important role in the history of the Teutonic Order in the first half of the 13th century. For that reason the Transylvanian find of a liturgical bronze vessel of the same period which has direct analogy in Thuringia may be also interpreted as testifying to the presence of the Teutonic Knights in the east of Hungary. Moreover, the Wettin family, headed by Henry the Illustrious at the time Naumburg cathedral was renovated, were closely associated with the affairs of the Order. Whether this association influenced the occurrence of the single known depiction of a sword with Type N pommel in one of the sculptures functioning as a sort of the family's genealogy cannot be established with certainty.

The presence of a Type N pommel in the Transylvanian hoard suggests their use in the first half

of the 13th century, as indirectly confirmed by the depiction in Naumburg cathedral dated to the middle of the same century. Given the strong likeness of the examples of this type to one another, especially within its N-a subtype, it seems reasonable to assume that the period of time within which they were manufactured was not too long and, moreover, that they probably came from the same production area if not from the same workshop. It now seems less likely that their manufacture began much before the period in which their use is confirmed quite reliably. On the contrary, it seems highly likely that the swords of N-a type were forged within a narrow span of time, sometime in the first quarter of the 13th century.

As the blades of N-b swords show somewhat younger features, it may be presumed that the pommels of N-a type are of a somewhat earlier date. In terms of morphology, the only N-b find from Transylvania (cat. no 10; pl. V: 1) may be seen as a transitional shape between the two subtypes and, consequently, perhaps as the earliest N-b find which found its way to Transylvania somewhat later, about 1220, shortly before the Order's departure. Links between Germany and Transylvania may have continued even after 1225, but this hypothesis, applicable also to the N-a examples in principle, seems less likely. Thus the pommels of Subtype N-a may be dated rather reliably to the middle of the first quarter of the 13th century, and those of Subtype N-b to the turn of the first and second quarters of the century. The use of these swords may be dated with much certainty to the mid 13th century, as evidenced by the Transylvanian hoard and the Naumburg statue, and some of them probably remained in use even after that date.

Compared to their relatively small number, the finds of Type N swords cover a relatively large area, and the distribution pattern as established so far suggests Transylvania or the upper Danube, i. e. southern Germany, as the area of their origin. The fact that it was a typologically and technologically advanced weapon for its time would favour southern Germany, one of the leading medieval centres of sword manufacture. On the other hand, some other Transylvanian finds confirm local sword production, but they display somewhat younger traits. An account of the distinctive local features of well-established sword manufacture from about the middle of the 13th century on in this region with developed mining and metalworking industries requires more space, but it may be noted that these "autochthonous" Transylvanian types usually have pommels of types E (special variety) and I, and blades with often unusually wide fullers (Type I swords) or with two or three fullers on either side

(Type E; *Pinter 1999*, 131, 137), features uncommon for any of Type N swords. A possible explanation for the fact that Transylvania has yielded probably the earliest Type N swords may be that the Teutonic Knights had brought a large amount of weapons, including these swords forged before their departure for Transylvania, perhaps specifically for that purpose. The exact place of manufacture for Type N swords cannot be conclusively established. If it was southern Germany, the likeliest choice would be Passau in southeastern Bavaria, both on account of the two finds from its environs and of the fact that a well-established sword manufacture was attested



Fig. 5. Sculpture of Wilhelm von Camburg, Naumburg Cathedral, around 1255.

there, though a whole century later. Then again, it may have been any other swordsmithy in the western part of the Empire, less likely one working specifically for the Teutonic Order, given that the manufacture of such weapons required additional metallurgical skills, including the procurement and knowledge of the concrete iron ore used.

The swords with Type O pommels are dated to about 1300 or to the second half of the 13th century, based primarily on the sculptures from Freiburg cathedral. Given their morphological resemblances to Type N, and typological similarity of some other sword parts, it may be presumed that they are a late, in fact the final variety of Type N. This presumed "switch" from one type to another may have occurred about the third quarter of the 13th century. That this affiliation may have been not only chronological but also geographical is indicated by Freiburg's proximity to the southern Bavaria as well as to the area of Zürich, but given the small number of finds this remains a matter of conjecture. The sword from an unknown German site would be an earlier example of the type, from the latter half of the 13th century, while the one from the environs of Pardubice, based above all on its Type XVI blade, would be somewhat younger, from the decades around 1300.

CATALOGUE

Abbreviations

L - sword length; BL - blade length; BW - blade width; HL - hilt length; TL - tang length; CL - cross-guard length; PH - pommel height; PW - pommel width; PT - pommel thickness; * - broken.

N-a

1. Find-place unknown, southwestern Slovakia (pl. I: 1). Danube Museum, Komárno (inv. no III-5). Type: N-a, Xa ?, 1. L: 34.4*; BL: 16*; HL: 18; TL: ca 14.4; CL: 17* (reconstructed length 25); BW: 5.1; PH: 2.7; PW: 7.7. Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Ruttkay* 1975, 199, 258, cat. no V-2, fig. 13: 2; 25: 2; *Głosek* 1984, 141, cat. no 52, pl. XXXII: 2).
2. Area of village Sanpetru (Sinpetru), about 5 km north of Braşov, central Romania, chance find (pl. II: 1). Braşov Museum, Casa Sfatului (inv. no 1638). Type: N-a, Xa?, 1. L: ca 87.2*; BL: ca 70.4*; HL: ca 16.9; TL: ca 13.25; CL: ca 23.1; BW: ca 5.1; PH: ca 2.8; PW: ca 7.2; PT: ca 6.5. Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Pinter* 1999, 129, 130, pl. 36: a).
3. Village Vurpăr (Burgberg), around 15 km northeast of Sibiu, central Romania (pl. II: 2). Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu (inv. no M. 3812). Type: N-a, Xa?, 1. L: 88*; BL: 70.5*; HL: 17.5; CL: 22.5. Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Rill* 1983, 81, 82, fig. 1: 2; *Pinter* 1999, 130, pl. 37: b).
4. Village Şelimbăr, around 3 km southeast of Sibiu, central Romania, hoard, chance find (pl. III: 2). Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu. Sword pommel. Type: N-a. PH: ca 2.7; PW: 6.5 (?). Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Rill* 1983, 82, fig. 2: 3; *Pinter* 1999, 130, pl. 36: c).
5. Area of Buzău(?), Wallachia, eastern Romania. Use to be Slatineanu collection, Bucharest. Type: N-a, Xa?, 1. L: 112.4; BL: 94.6; HL: 17.8; TL: 14; CL: 22.2; BW: 5.1; PH: ca 2.8. Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Barlett-Wells* 1958, 267, 268, 273, pl. LXXV: b; LXXVI: c; *Pinter* 1999, 129, pl. 37: c; *Nicolle/McBride* 2002, 8).
6. Find-place unknown (from the grave?). Private collection (pl. III: 1). Type: N-a, Xa, 1. L: 111; BL: 94; HL: 17; TL: ca 13.4; CL: ca 24.5; BW: ca 5; PH: ca 2.6; PW: ca 7.7. Date: first quarter 13th c. (*Oakeshott* 1991, 45, Xa, 10).
7. River Ljubljanica, site Crna Vas, around 5 km up the river from Ljubljana, central Slovenia (pl. I: 2). Private collection (National Museum, Ljubljana, inv. no ZN 1/4). Type: N-a, Xa?, 1. On the upper part of the blade, on both sides there is a cross inlaid with copper wire. L: 46.5*; BL: 30*; HL: 16.5; TL: ca 12.7; CL: 26; BW: 5; FL: 30*; PH: ca 2.8; PW: ca 8.4; PT: ca 4.2. Date: first half 13th c. (*Nabergoj* 1997, 262, 263, cat. no 66.1, fig. 38a, pl. 18: 2).
8. Area of Szarvas, southeastern Hungary (pl. IV: 1). Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (inv. no 55.130). Type: N-a, Xa, 1. On both sides of the blade there are heraldic motif in form of the shield (or helmet, fish?) with two horizontal lines. L: 107.6*; BL: 90.3*; HL: 17.3; TL: ca 13.7; BW: 5.1; CL: 25.4; PW: 8.2; PH: 2.6. Date: first half 13th c. (*Głosek* 1984, 173, cat. no 441, pl. XXVIII: 1).
9. River Limat near Dietikon, environs of Zürich, northern Switzerland (fig. 4; pl. IV: 2). Schweizerisches Museum in Zürich (inv. no AG 2465). Type: N-a, Xa, 6. L: 108.8; BL: ca 89.9; HL: 18.9; CL: 19.6; BW: 4.3; PH: 2.6; PW: ca 8.8. On both sides of the blade there are complexed and stylized ornaments and letters (S, N, O?). Date: first half 13th c. (*Gesler* 1928, 17, 143, pl. I: 8; *Bruhm-Hoffmeyer* 1954, 10, 187, cat. no 36, pl. IX: e; *Schneider* 1980, 24, no 19).

N-b

10. Fortress Neagra Codlea near Măgura Codlea, around 12 km northwest of Braşov, central Romania (pl. V: 1). Archaeological excavations, 13th century layer. Braşov Museum (inv. no 1081). Type: N-b, Xa/XIII, 1. L: ca 115.5; BL: 97.2; HL: ca 18.3; TL: ca 14.2; CL: 22.8; CW: 1; BW: 5.1; PH: 3.2; PW: 7.6; PT: 6.2; point of balance: 23 cm from the cross. Date: first half 13th c. (*Pinter* 1999, 127, pl. 36: b).
11. Find-place unknown. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (pl. V: 2; inv. no 53.127). Type: N-b, Xa/XIII, 1. On one side of the blade there are incised cross potent between two S letters. L: 110.3; BL: 93.1; HL: 17.2; BW: ca 5-5.2; CL: 27.7; PH: 3.4; PW: 7.4. Date: first half 13th c. (*Głosek* 1984, 174, cat. no 460, pl. XXVIII: 2).
12. Seehausen, south Upper Bavaria, southern Germany (pl. VI: 1). Type: N-b, XIII, 1. On one side of the blade

there is inlay in form of the ring. L: ca 119; BL: ca 101; HL: ca 18; TL: ca 13; CL: 26.6; BW: ca 5.35; PH: ca 3.5; PW: 7.5-7.8. Date: first half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 47, pl. 33).

13. Find-place unknown, west Germany (pl. VI: 2). Type: N-b, Xa, 1. On both sides of the blade there are heraldic motif in form of the shield with two short horizontal lines and eight-pointed stars. L: ca 115; BL: ca 97; HL: ca 18; TL: ca 13.5; CL: 23.8; BW: ca 5.1; PH: ca 3.5; PW: 7.5-7.8. Date: first half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 65, pl. 47).

14. Area of Passau, water find, Bavaria, southeastern Germany (pl. VII). Type: N-b, Xa?, 1. On one side of the blade there is a ring with the cross inside and on the other the ring without the cross. L: ca 92*; BL: ca 74.5*; BW: ca 5.75; HL: ca 17.8; TL: ca 13.5; CL= 26.5; PH: 3.3; PW: 7.8. Date: 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 36, pl. 27).

O

15. Find-place unknown, west Germany (pl. VIII: 1). Type: O, Xa?, 1. L: ca 104*; BL: ca 86*; BW: ca 6.1; HL: ca 18; TL: ca 13.5; CL: 27.5; PH: 3.6; PW: 9. Date: second half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 61, pl. 44).

16. Fortress Krchleby, around 10 km west of Pardubice, central Czech Republic (pl. VIII: 2), Pardubice Museum (inv. no 645). Type: O, XVI, 1. On the blade there are inlaid letters IT and NR and some undistinguishable motifs. L: 105.5; BL: 85.5; HL: 20; TL: ca 15.7; CL: 19.7; BW: 6; PH: 3.3; PW: 7.7. Date: ca 1300 (*Głosek 1984*, 140, cat. no 31).

17. Find-place unknown. Gimbel collection. Type: O, ?, ?. Dimensions unknown. Date: second half 13th - beginning of the 14th c.? (*Oakeshott 1981*, 99).

N/O

18. Find-place unknown. National Museum, Prague, Czech Republic (inv. no 158?). Type: N(a?), XI?, 1. L: 115.5; BL: 97.5; HL: 18; CL: 24.2; BW: 4.5; PH: 3; PW: 8.4. Date: first half 13th c. (*Głosek 1984*, 142, 143, cat. no 69).

19. Nowy Dwór Gdański, around 20 km west of Elbląg, northern Poland. Private collection of Mr. W. Podbierski, Gdańsk. Type: N/O?, XI/XII?, 1. Undistinguishable motifs inlaid with silver wire on the blade. L: 95; BL: 80.8; HL: 14.2; CL: 16.2; BW: 4.4; PH: 3.2; PW: 7.1. Date: ca second half 13th - beginning of the 14th c. (*Głosek 1984*, 160, cat. no 279).

B/N

20. River Danube near Metten, suburbia of Deggendorf, Lower Bavaria, southern Germany. Type: B/N, X, 1. BL: ?*; CL: 24.2; BW: ca 5.6; PH: 4-4.5; PW: 6.9-7.6.

Other dimensions are unknown. Date: second half 12th - first half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 25, pl. 17).

21. Site Schäfstall, central Bavaria, southern Germany, water find. Type: B/N, ?, -. PH: 4-4.5; PW: 6.9-7.6. Other dimensions are unknown. Date: second half 12th - first half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 44).

22. Site Schäfstall, central Bavaria, southern Germany, water find. Type: B/N, ?, -. PH: 4-4.5; PW: 7.6. Other dimensions are unknown. Date: second half 12th - first half 13th c. (*Geibig 1991*, cat. no 45).

* * *

23. River Ljubljanica, site Crna Vas, around 5 km up the river from Ljubljana, central Slovenia (pl. IX: 1). Private collection (National Museum, Ljubljana, inv. no ZN 2). Type: B/N, XIII, 2. On one side of the blade there is a bronze inlaid motif of flower and stylized lily on the other. L: 100*; BL: 82.5*; HL: 17.5; TL: ca 11.3; CL: 20.3; BW: 5.3; FL: 67; PH: ca 5.1; PW: ca 6.4. Date: second quarter - middle 13th c. (*Nabergoj 1997*, 263, cat. no 66.3, pic. 38c, pl. 18: 5).

A1

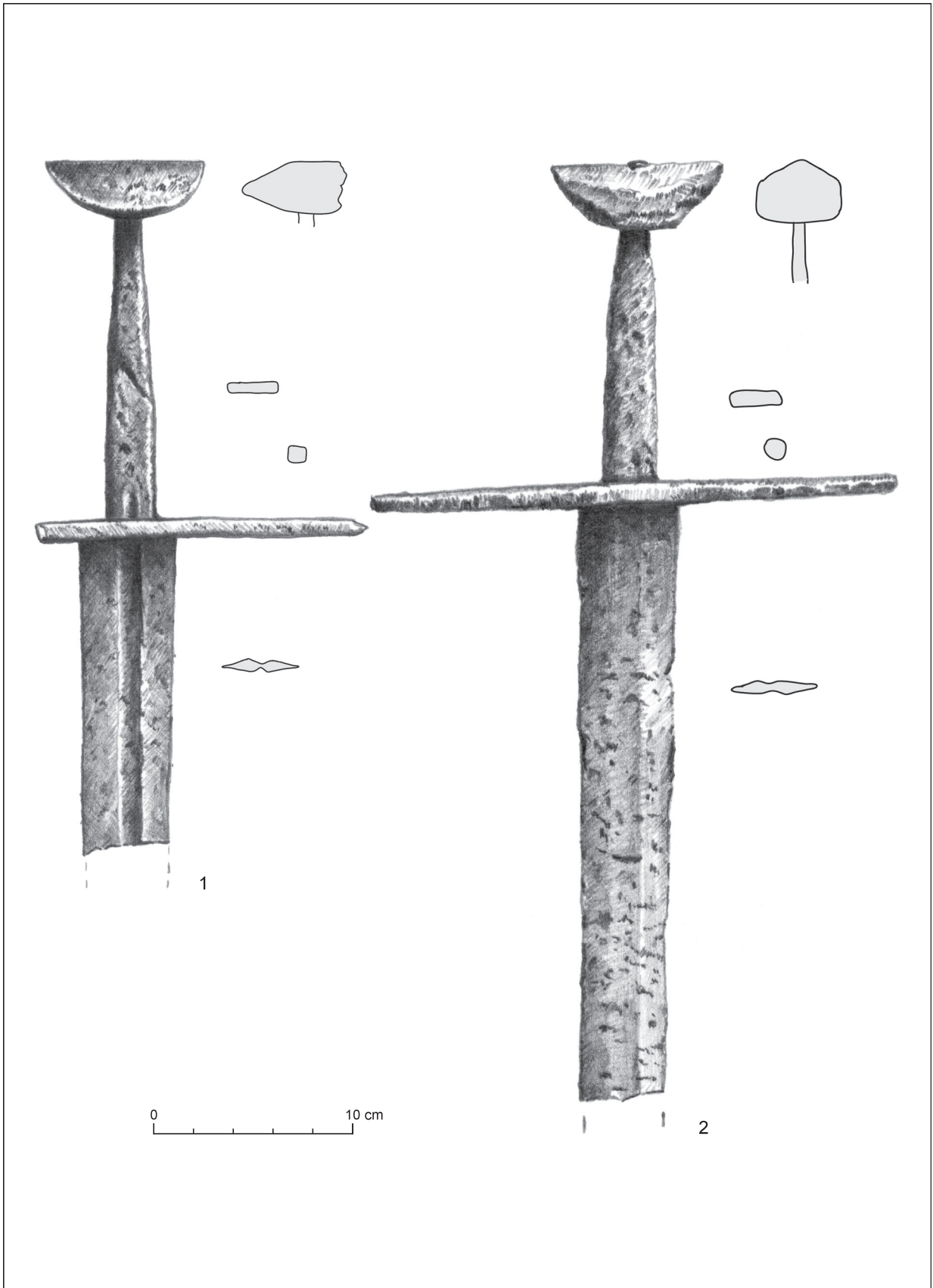
24. River Váh, site Dlhá nad Váhom, near Šaľa, western Slovakia (pl. IX: 2). Archaeological Institute SAN, Nitra (inv. no 1468/63). Type: A1, XIIIa?, 1. On one side of the blade there are inlaid motifs of crosses and similar signs, circles and letters (O, V, I.), and ornament of S-stripe on another. L: 106.5*; BL: 85.2*; HL: 21.3; BW: 6.3; CL: 25; PW: 7.2; PH: 5.1. Date: ca second half 13th - beginning of the 14th c. (*Ruttkay 1975*, 138, 256, 257, cat. no 32.1, fig. 5: 5; 12: 2; 29: 11a, b; *Głosek 1984*, 137, 138, cat. no 5, pl. XXXII: 1).

25. Find-place unknown. National Museum, Prague, Czech Republic (Museum Křivoklát - inv. no 1078). Type: A1, XVI, 1. On the blade there is a trace of inlaid in shape of a shield(?). L: 108.5; BL: 89.5; HL: 19; TL: ca 14.3; CL: 16.5; BW: 4.8; PH: 3.7; PW: 7; Date: end of the 13th - first half 14th c. (*Głosek 1984*, 142, cat. no 61, pl. XXXIII: 1).

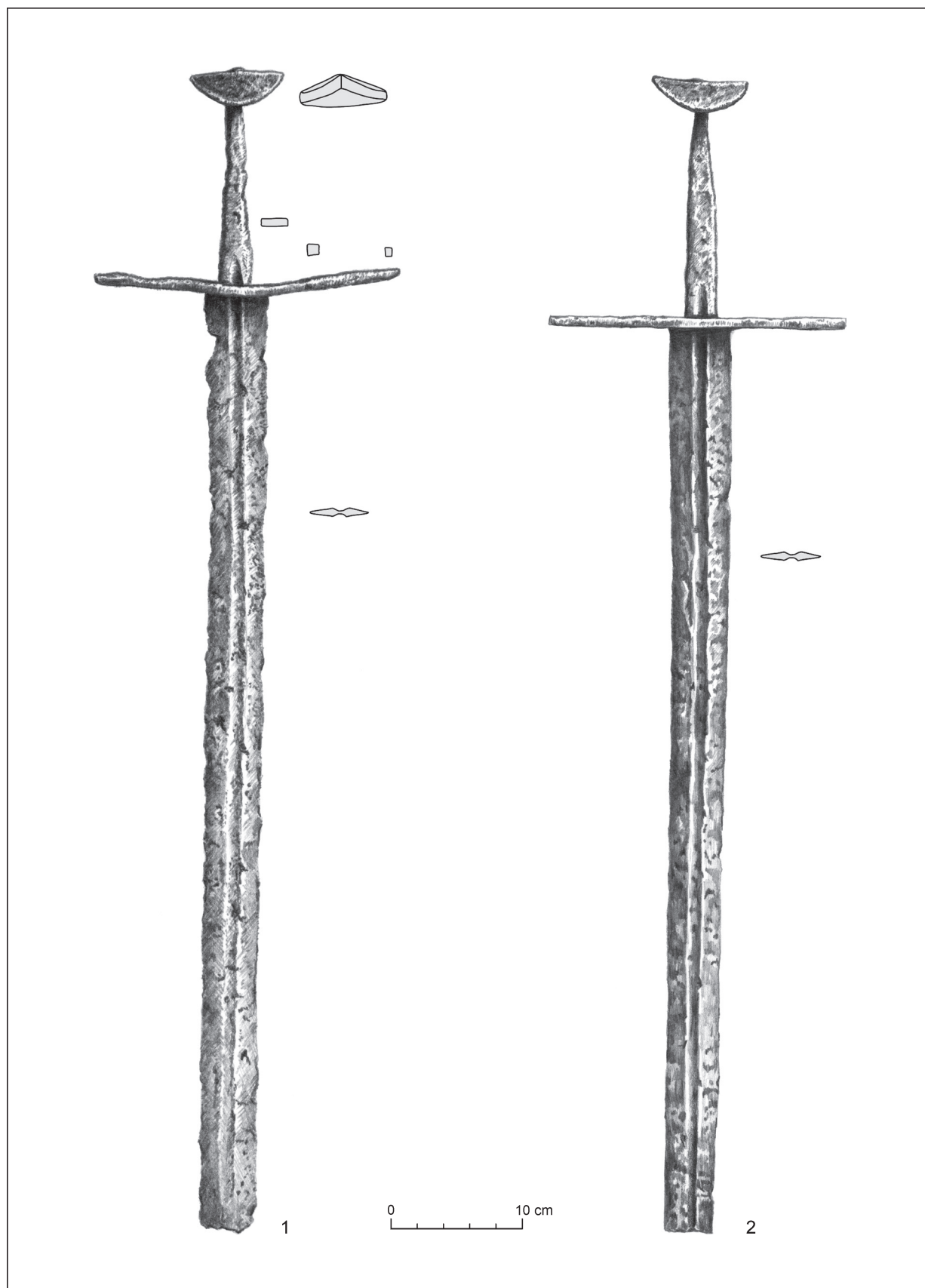
26. Find-place unknown. Museum of East Slovakia, Košice (inv. no 39-589). Type: A1, XI?, -. On one side of the blade there is a silver inlaid inscription *NR.A.IAIAINI*, and on the other motif of a series of rhombs. L: 72.8*; BL: 56.6*; HL: 16.2; BW: 4.8; PW: 7.4; PH: 4. Date: ca second half 13th c.? (*Głosek 1984*, 141, 142, cat. no 55).

27. Semonice, ca 10 km north of Hradec Králové, north Czech Republic. National Museum, Prague (inv. no 8948). Type: A1, XII, ?. L: 117.8; BL: 105(?); HL: 12.8(?); TL: ca 7(?); CL: 17.4; BW: 5.7; PH: 4.9; PW: 7.7. Date: 13th c. (*Głosek 1984*, 139, cat. no 27).¹⁰

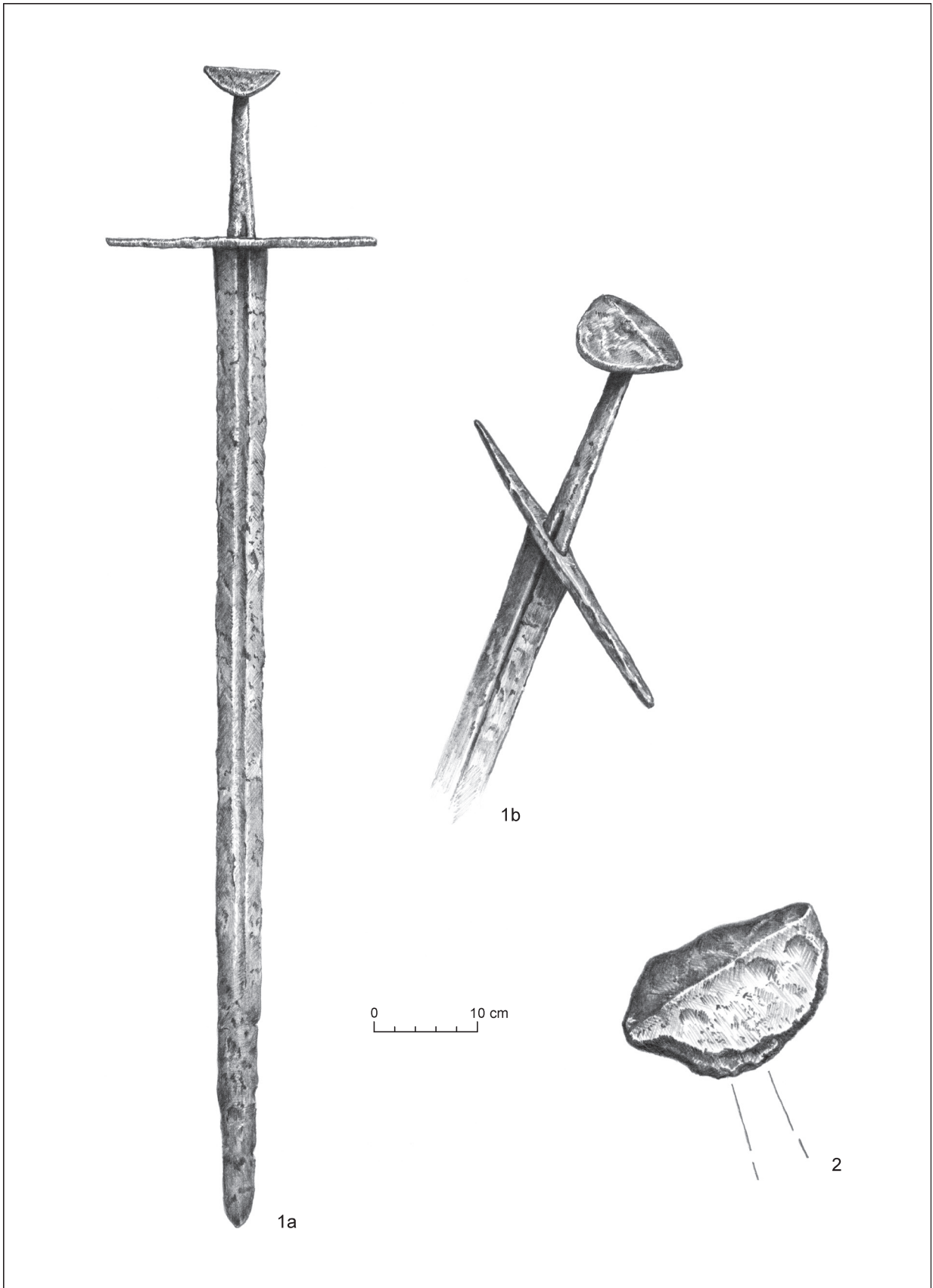
¹⁰ Illustrations in this article are made by Mr. Miloš Savković on the basis of the drawings and photographs of the swords available in the literature cited in catalogue.



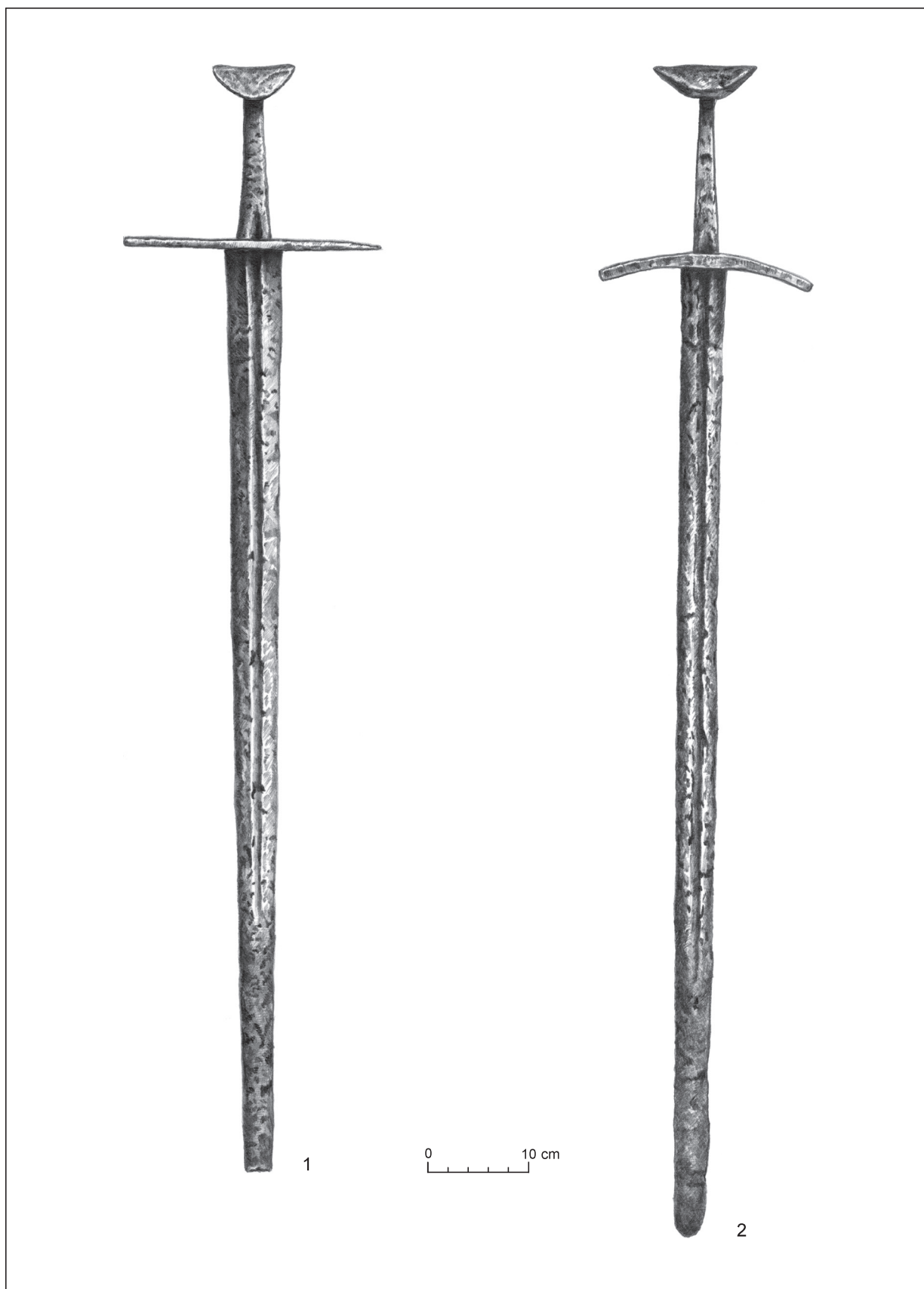
Pl. I. 1 - Komárno, Slovakia, cat. no 1, sword of Type N-a; 2 - Ljubljana, Slovenia, cat. no 7, sword of Type N-a.



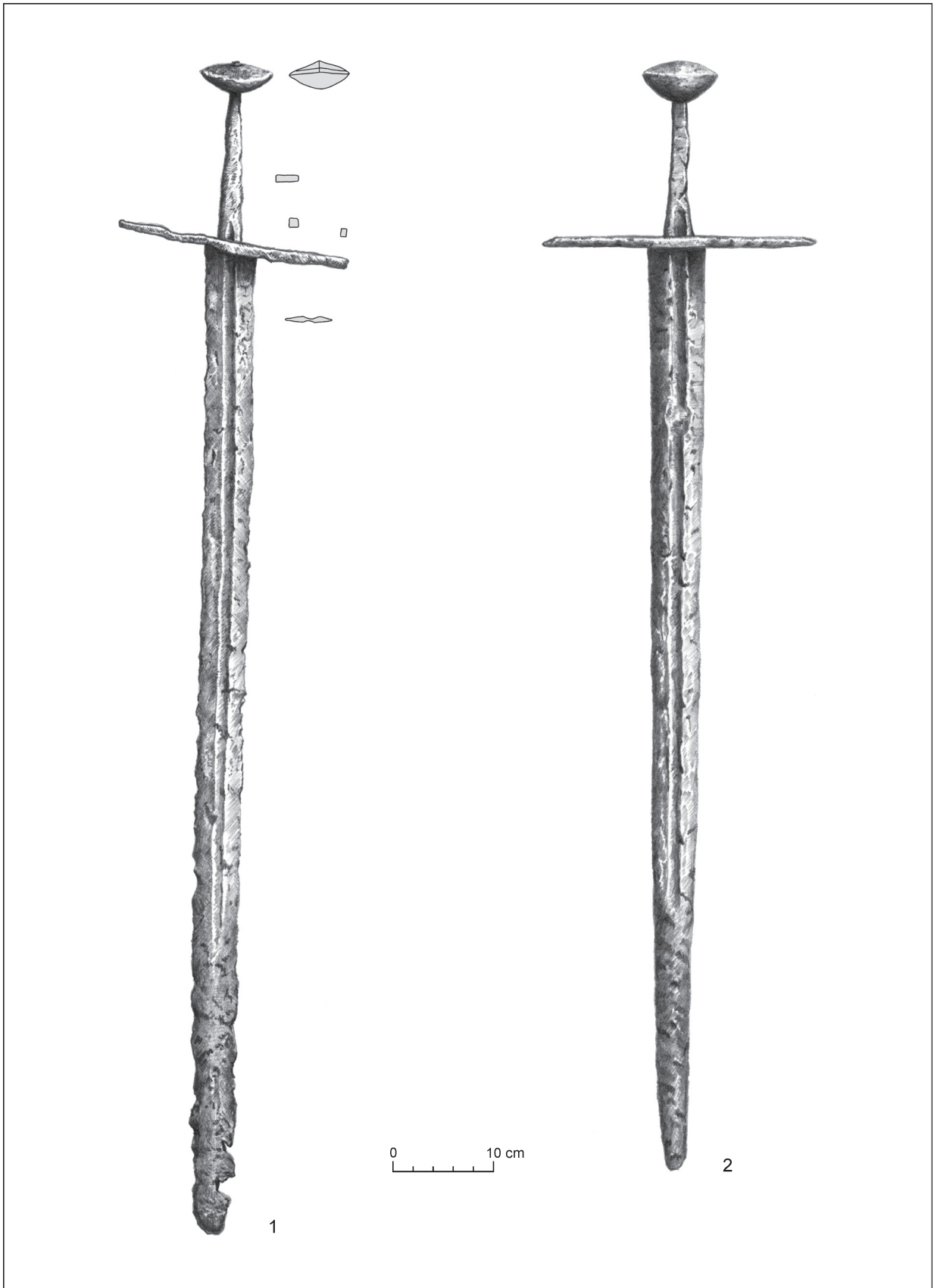
Pl. II. 1 - Sanpetru, Romania, cat. no 2, sword of Type N-a; 2 - Vurpăr, Romania, cat. no 3, sword of Type N-a.



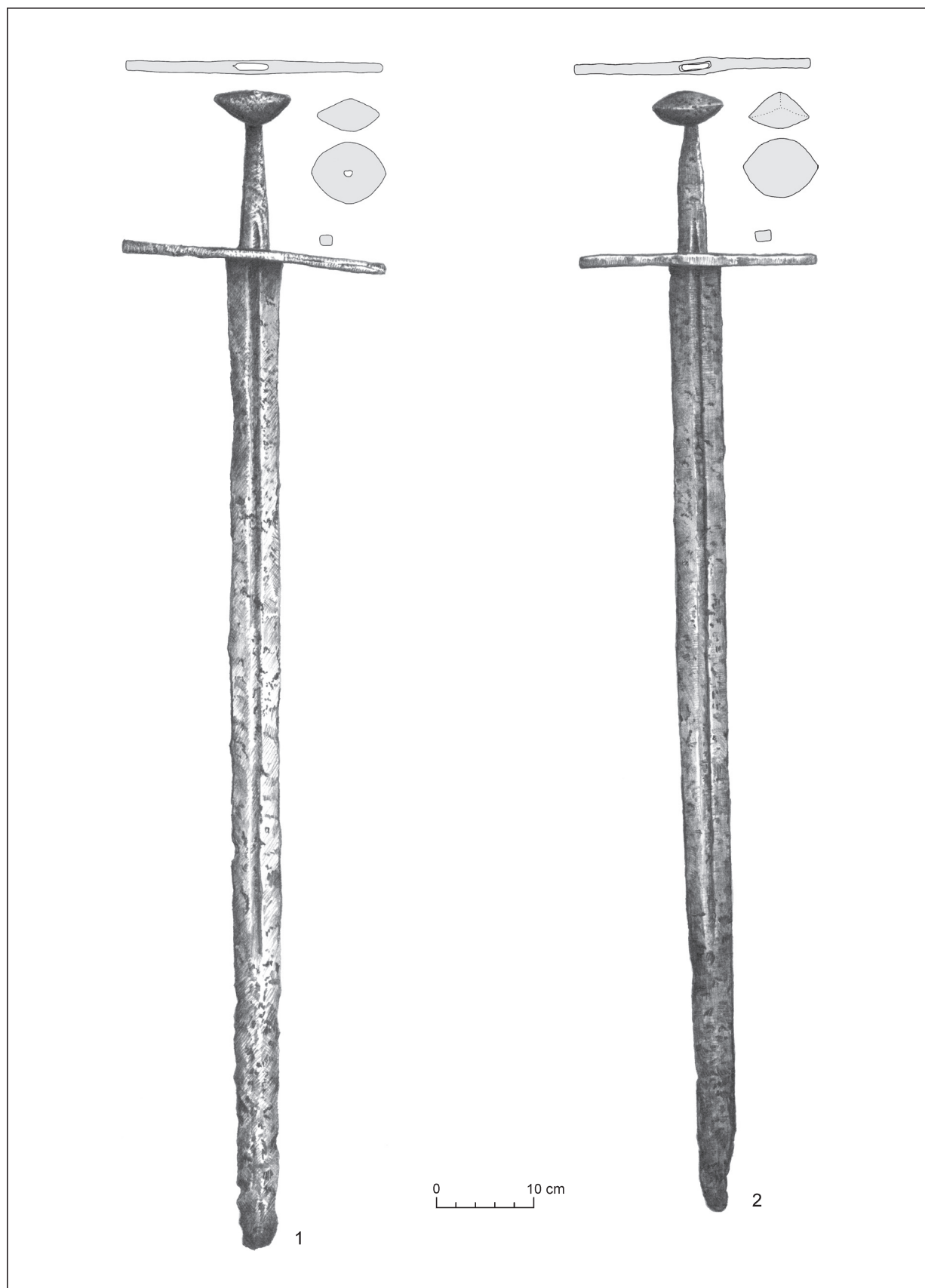
Pl. III. 1 - Find-place unknown, cat. no 6, sword of Type N-a; 2 - Şelimbăr, Romania, cat. no 4, sword of Type N-a.



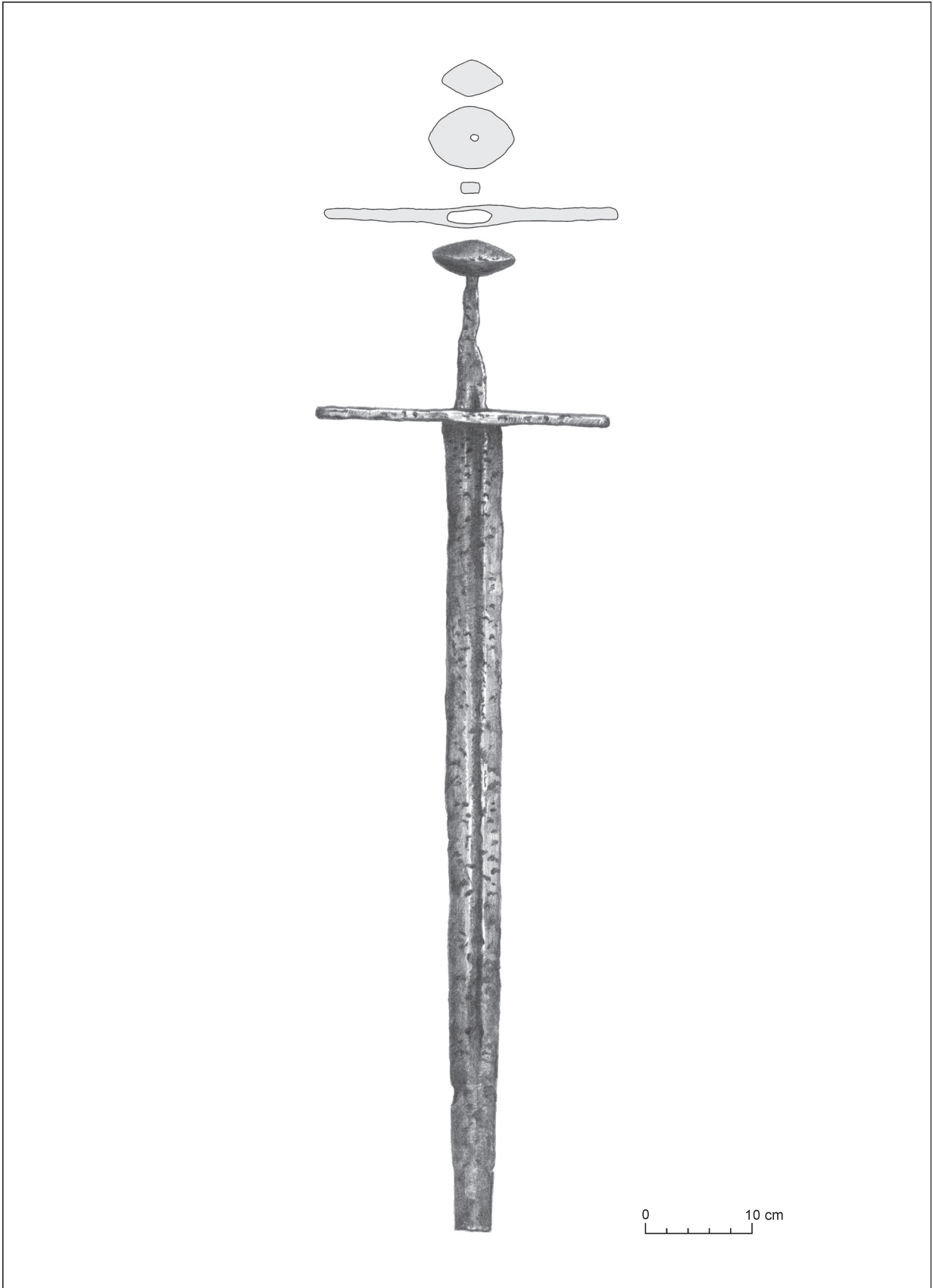
Pl. IV. 1 - Szarvas, Hungary, cat. no 8, sword of Type N-a; 2 - Zürich, Switzerland, cat. no 9, sword of Type N-a.



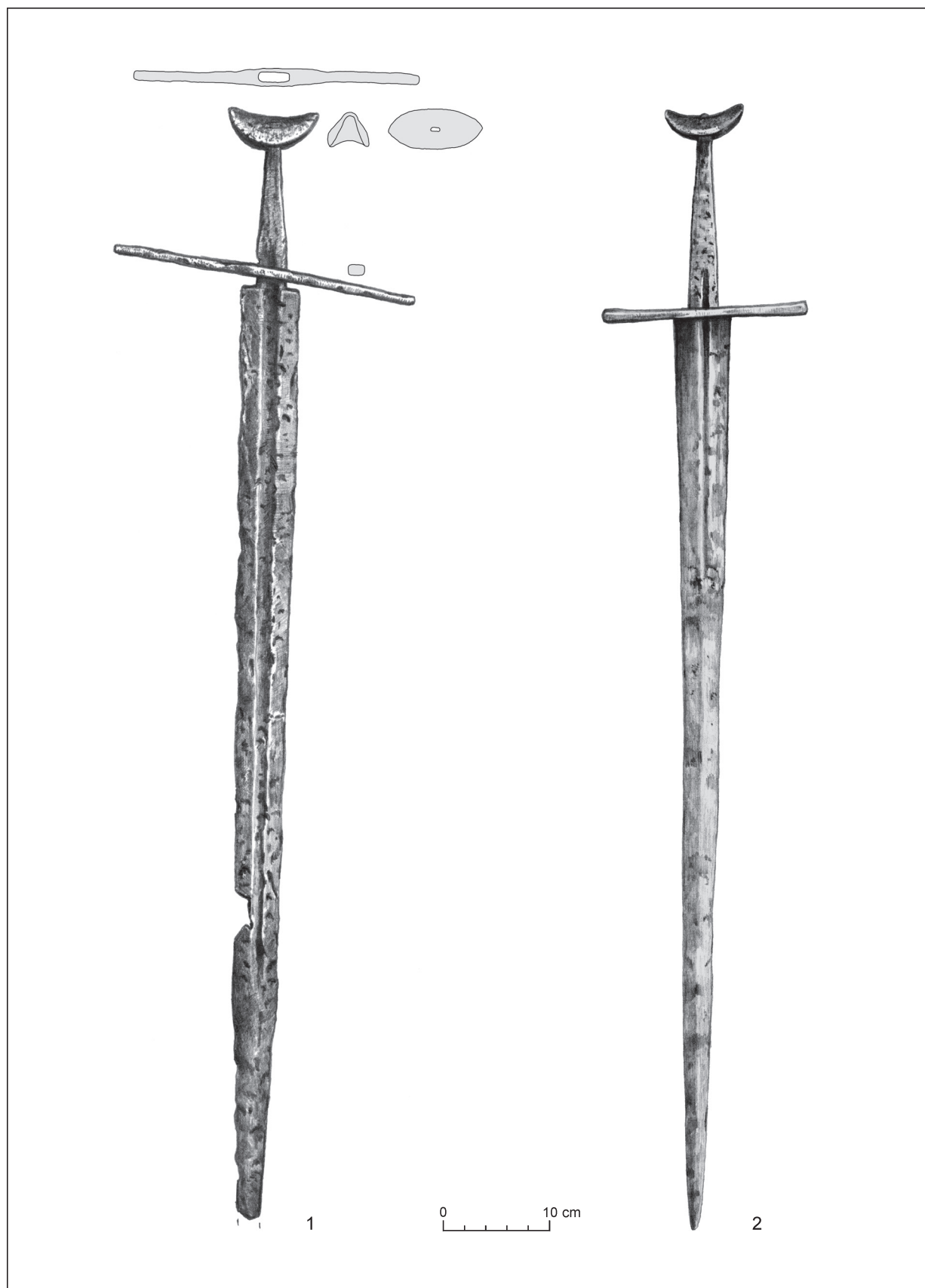
Pl. V. 1 - Codlea, Romania, cat. no 10, sword of Type N-b; 2 - Find-place unknown, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, cat. no 11, sword of Type N-b.



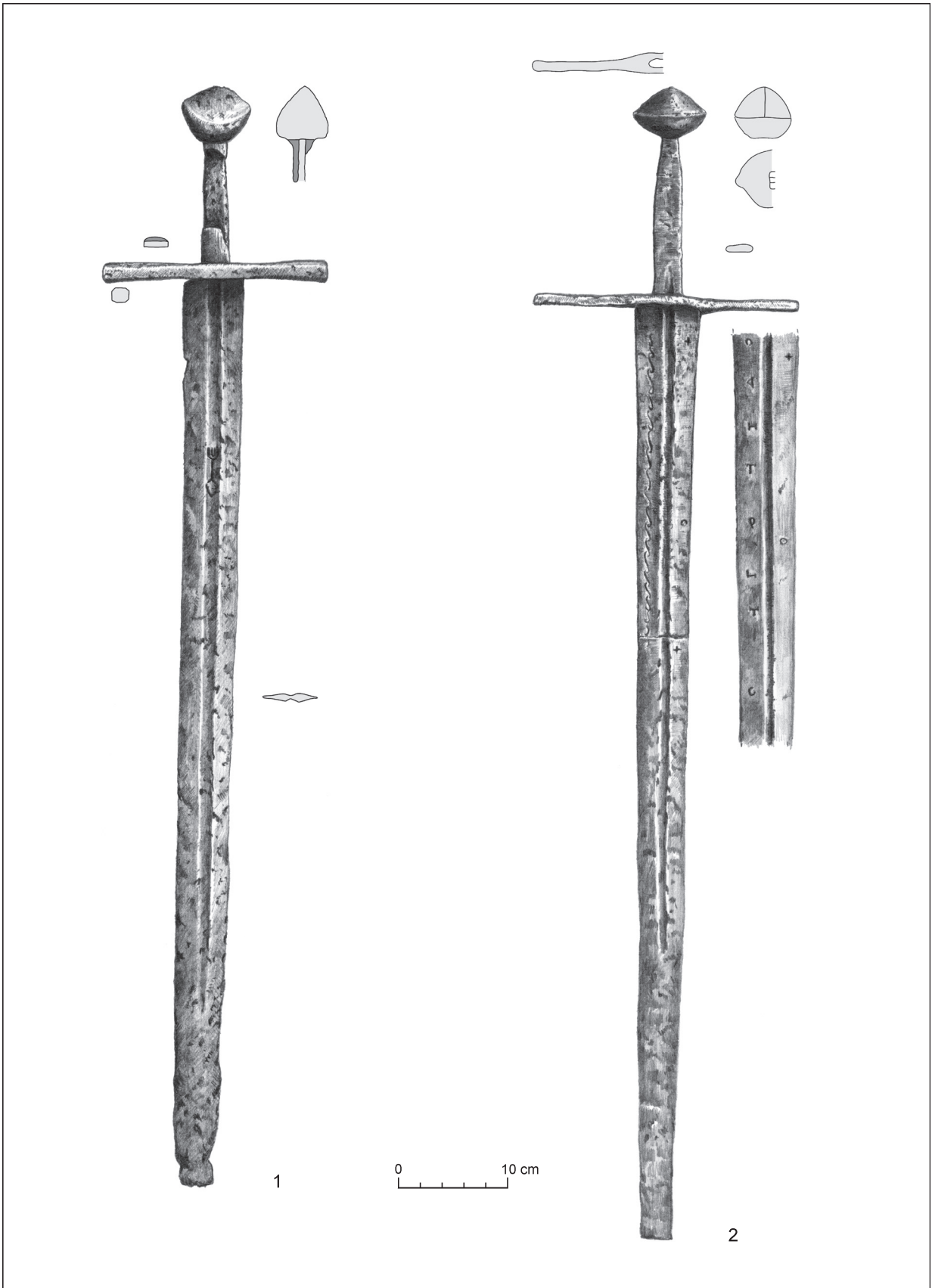
Pl. VI. 1 - Seehausen, Germany, cat. no 12, sword of Type N-b; 2 - Find-place unknown, Germany, cat. no 13, sword of Type N-b.



Pl. VII. Passau, southeast Germany, cat. no 14, sword of Type N-b.



Pl. VIII. 1 - Find-place unknown, Germany, cat. no 15, sword of Type O; 2 - Pardubice, Czech Republic, cat. no 16, sword of Type O.



Pl. IX. 1 - Ljubljana, Slovenia, cat. no 23, sword of Type B/N; 2 - Dlhá nad Váhom, Slovakia, cat. no 24, sword of Type A1.

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Meče s hlavicami typu N

Marko Aleksić

SÚHRN

Hlavice mečov, označené ako typ N v typológii E. Oakeshotta, majú výrazný tvar, ktorý pripomína štítovitú vrchnú časť člna (*Oakeshott 1981, 98*). V príspevku sú zozbierané nálezy mečov s hlavicami tohto typu, ako aj príbuzných tvarov a uvedené sú ich odlišnosti. Zároveň sa charakterizujú vlastnosti ostatných častí meča.

Pre hlavice označené ako podtyp N-a je typická malá hmotnosť a takmer okrúhla (kat. č. 1-6) alebo oválna (kat. č. 7-9) základňa. Hlavice patriace k podtypu N-b sa odlišujú tým, že sú vyššie, čoho dôsledkom je ich pohárovitý tvar. Podľa presnej morfolologickej schémy A. Geibiga (*1991, 72, 73, 147-149*) tento podtyp korešponduje s jeho kombinovaným typom 16 II (kat. č. 12-14) a môže zahŕňať aj niektoré nálezy mimo Nemecka (kat. č. 10 a 11). Hlavice označené ako typ O podľa E. Oakeshotta (*1981, 99*), známe aj ako kombinovaný typ 17 II podľa A. Geibiga (*1991, 73-75*), sú svojím tvarom podobné typu N, ale vo všeobecnosti sa od neho odlišujú predĺženou základňou a najmä konkávnym horným okrajom (kat. č. 15-17). Existujú aj hlavice, ktoré snáď patria k týmto typom, ale autor nedokázal rozpoznať ich presný tvar (kat. č. 18 a 19), podobne ako hlavice tvarovo príbuzné, ktoré však nemožno priradiť ani k jednému z uvedených typov (kat. č. 20-27).

Väčšina mečov typu N má značne dlhú, rovnú a štíhlu priečku Oakeshottovho typu 1. Jedinou výnimkou je priečka meča z okolia Zürichu (kat. č. 9). Taktiež jeden z troch mečov typu O má takú istú priečku (kat. č. 15) a ďalší (kat. č. 16) má priečku Oakeshottovho typu 2. Všetky meče typu N a O majú rukoväť relatívne rovnakej dĺžky - asi jeden a pol dlane (17-18 cm). Čepele všetkých mečov typu N majú podobné znaky, ktoré možno opísať ako prechodné medzi Oakeshottovými typmi Xa a XIII (*Oakeshott 1981, 41, 42; 1991, 36, 101*). Takmer všetky čepele mečov typu N-a majú prevažujúce znaky Xa, kým meče typu N-b obsahujú exempláre s rovnakými vlastnosťami (kat. č. 13) a rovnako aj meče s prevažujúcimi vlastnosťami typu XIII (kat. č. 12, snáď aj 10 a 11). Výnimkou je meč z oblasti Zürichu (kat. č. 9) s výraznou priečkou (typ 6?) a čepeľou (typ XIb); mladšia hlavica a priečka boli pravdepodobne pridané ku staršej čepeľi. Rozmery čepeľí, zvlášť u mečov typu N-a, sú vcelku jednotné (dĺžka čepele asi 95 cm, šírka čepele asi 5,1 cm). Čepele a priečky mečov typu O sa navzájom odlišujú väčšími a majú znaky Oakeshottových typov Xa a XVI.

Takmer polovica uvádzaných mečov je intarzovaná. Meče typu N-a s okrúhly bázou (kat. č. 1-6) nemajú zdobené čepele, zatiaľ čo ostatné tri exempláre tohto podtypu (kat. č. 7-9) sú zdobené. Intarzie boli zaznamenané na väčšine mečov s hlavicami N-b (kat. č. 11-14)

okrem meča z Neagra Codlea v Rumunsku (kat. č. 10). S výnimkou unikátneho a zložitého ornamentu na meči z Zürichu nesú ostatné meče heraldické motívy, ktorých pôvod nemožno spoľahlivo určiť (kat. č. 8 a 13), prípadne sú zdobené kruhom s vyobrazením kríža, alebo len prostým kruhom (kat. č. 12 a 14).

Napriek relatívne malému počtu nálezov obraz ich rozšírenia svedčí o pomerne rozsiahlom území strednej a východnej Európy (mapa 1). Najväčšia koncentrácia bola zaznamenaná na území južného Nemecka, obzvlášť v Bavorsku (kat. č. 12, 13, 20-22), a stredného Rumunsku, tam najmä v Sedmohradsku (kat. č. 2-5, 10). Väčšina mečov predstavuje ojedinelé náhodné nálezy. Z územia bývalej Rímskej ríše sa naši predovšetkým vo vodných tokoch. Výnimkou je meč s hlavicou typu N-a (kat. č. 4) z depotu objaveného v Sibiu v Sedmohradsku. Podľa jeho obsahu a na základe historického kontextu možno usudzovať, že sa dostal do zeme v čase mongolskej invázie v roku 1241.

Väčšina vedcov, ktorí sa venujú mečom s hlavicami typu N, ich datuje na koniec 12. a do 13. stor. (*Bruhn-Hoffmeyer 1954, 187, č. 36; Glosek 1984, 141, kat. č. 52; Pinter 1999, 130; Ruttikay 1975; 1976, 258; Schneider 1980, 24, č. 19*). Okrem znakov mečov pomoc pri datovaní predstavovalo jediné známe znázornenie tohto typu hlavice na kamennej soche Wilhelma z Camburgu v katedrále v Naumburgu v strednom Nemecku, ktorá vznikla okolo roku 1255 (*Oakeshott 1981, 92, obr. 62*). Toto datovanie potvrdzujú aj znaky čepeľí typov Xa a XIII. Čepele typu Xa sú charakteristické pre obdobie 12. stor., ale pretrvávajú aj v 13. stor., najmä v jeho prvej polovici. Výskyt čepeľí typu XIII je zvyčajne datovaný do obdobia okolo roku 1240, ako ale poznamenaná E. Oakeshott (*1991, 97*), existujú aj včasnejšie exempláre. Takže čepele mečov typu N-b sa môžu vyskytovať medzi včasnejšími mečmi typu XIII (prvá polovica 13. stor.). Datovanie mečov typu N na koniec 12. stor. a do prvej polovice 13. stor. je nepriamo podporované nálezom hlavice zo sedmohradského depotu z roku 1241 (*Rill 1983, 82*) a sochou z Naumburgu z polovice daného storočia.

Chronológii mečov typu N a mečov s príbuznými hlavicami možno trochu presnejšie stanoviť na základe historických údajov. Na pozvanie Ondreja II. Uhorského (1205-1235) prišli v roku 1211 do Sedmohradska nemeckí rytieri a zostali tam do roku 1225 (*Holban 1981, 28*). Ich úlohou bolo brániť východouhorskú hranicu pred pohanskými Kumánmi. V druhej polovici alebo na konci 12. stor. Sedmohradsko začali osídľovať nemeckí kolonisti, ktorí sa sústredili v meste Sibiu (Hermannstadt). Nemeckí rytieri, ktorí sa usadili v okolí mesta Braşov (Kronstadt), mali svoju základňu v pevnosti Marienburg

(Castrum Mariae, novoveká Feldioara) asi 19 km severne od Braşova (mapa 2). Dva rumunské nálezy mečov typu N pochádzajú z oblasti Braşova a Marienburgu (kat. č. 2 a 10) a dva ďalšie z oblasti Sibiu (kat. č. 3 a 4; mapa 2). Ako nálezisko piateho rumunského meča (kat. č. 5) sa niekedy uvádza Buzău. Je to oblasť horských priesmykov spájajúcich Valašskú planinu na východe a Sedmohradsko na západe, najpravdepodobnejšie miesto bojov medzi nemeckými rytiermi a Kumánmi.

V tom období boli veľkými majstrami nemeckého rádu rytieri durínskeho pôvodu - Hermann von Salza (1209-1239) a Konrad von Thüringen (1239-1240). Z historických prameňov je zrejme, že dynastia durínskych zemepánov hrala hlavnú úlohu vo vedení tohto rádu v prvej polovici 13. stor. Vzhľadom na to možno liturgickú nádobu *urceolus*, ktorá sa našla v sedmohradskom depote spolu s hlavicou typu N-a a je priamou analógiou s durínskym nálezom datovaným do prvej polovice 13. stor.

(*Crîngaci-Țiplic 2005*, kat. č. 3, tab. III: 1), interpretovať ako doklad prítomnosti nemeckého rádu v Sedmohradsku.

Datovanie mečov s hlavicami typu N-a tak možno zúžiť na prvú štvrtinu 13. stor., kedy ich mohli do Sedmohradska doniesť nemeckí rytieri. Takéto datovanie tejto morfológicky limitovanej skupiny mečov, obdobie výroby ktorých teda nemohlo trvať veľmi dlho, indikuje hlavica z depotu z roku 1241. Meče s hlavicami typu N-b môžu byť podľa ich typologických znakov o desať až dvadsať rokov mladšie.

Meč typu O z neznámeho náleziska v Nemecku (kat. č. 15) datoval A. Geibig do druhej polovice 13. stor. v prvom rade na základe hlavice na soche v katedrále vo Freiburgu z obdobia okolo roku 1300 (*Geibig 1991*, 150, 151, obr. 39; *Oakeshott 1981*, 99, obr. 65-67). Druhý meč tohto typu z Českej republiky (kat. č. 18) možno na základe jeho typologických znakov (O, XVI, 2) datovať na začiatok 14. stor.

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