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## A LATE MEDIEVAL SWORD

## FROM THE RIVER WISŁA NEAR GNIEW (MEWE) IN POMERELIA

**Abstract:** This paper discusses a find of a Late Medieval sword from the River Wisła near Gniew (Mewe) in Pomerelia. The sword is lavishly ornamented, both on its pommel and the blade. The pommel is decorated with a Greek cross. On the tang there are swordmaker's marks made with a chisel. The blade is ornamented with incised marks, filled with non-ferrous alloy: an S in a double circle, two crosses fourchée, a cross crosslet in a single circle, an A, an R, and a partially preserved cross pattée in a double circle. On the other flat there is a cross pattée in a single circle, two crosses fourchée, a six-petal rosette, an h, an E, and an S in a double circle. The sword can be classified as E. Oakeshott's Type XIIIa, J, 2 and dated to c. 1300-1350.

There are numerous analogies to marks which can be seen on the sword. The entire ornamental program of the sword in all probability had both a devotional and protective apotropaic significance. The sword can be seen in the context of similar sword finds from the territory of the Teutonic Order's state and its neighbourhood, as well as other swords whose ornament may be related to Crusade symbolism. It can therefore be suggested that the sword may have belonged to a knightly guest of the Order who participated in a Crusade against Baltic pagans.

**Keywords:** sword, Late Middle Ages, Teutonic Order, Pomerelia, Prussia, inscriptions, marks, Crusades

## Introductory remarks

The sword in question, now in the collection of the Castle Museum in Malbork (MZM/mt/809)<sup>1</sup>, was found in the River Wisła near the town of Gniew (Mewe) in Pomerelia (Fig. 1). Its present condition (the weapon underwent conservation treatment) is reasonable. It survived almost intact, with an exception of the grip which was made from organic materials (Fig. 2). On the surface of the weapon there are local corrosion pits, now covered with preservative. On the edges of the blade there are some nicks and gouges (Figs. 3-7).

The discussed weapon is provided with a long hilt, which allows for a two-handed use (Figs. 2-3). The blade is long, broad and massive, gently tapering toward the point. The blade in its upper part has a flattened rhombic cross-section and it is provided with a broad and shallow double fuller on both flats. The fuller was made with the technique of grinding and it is also notable in the lower part of

the tang (Figs. 2-6). The fuller takes more than a half of the blade's length (Fig. 2). In the lower part of the blade there is a feebly pronounced rib. The point is rather short and ogival (Fig. 7). The tang is massive, rather broad and flat. It gently tapers toward the pommel (Figs. 2-4). The crosspiece is straight and it is wider and thicker in its central part.

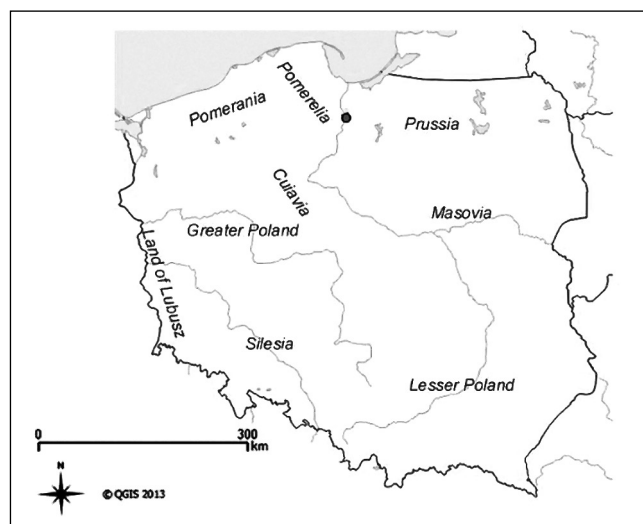


Fig. 1. Find place of the sword from Gniew.

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<sup>1</sup> When this paper was submitted to publication, a purchase of the sword was negotiated by the Castle Museum. I owe thanks for this information to Mr Antoni R. Chodyński.

It visibly broadens toward its ends. The cross-section at its ends is shaped as a rounded octagon, with four shorter and four longer sides arranged alternately (Figs. 2-3). The pommel is of discoid shape, and in its side view one can clearly see raised central fields and concave walls of lateral plans. The central fields are round and their edges are clearly raised toward the upper part of the tang. On the top of the pommel there is a riveted non-ferrous metal washer, shaped as a chamfered pyramid (Figs. 2-3, 8-9).

The metrical data of the sword are the following:

- total length: 1185 mm
- total weight: 1842 g
- point of balance: 115 mm from the crosspiece
- blade length: 923 mm
- fuller length: 512 mm
- fuller width: 30 mm
- blade width near the hilt: 54 mm
- blade thickness near the hilt: 5.5 mm
- hilt length: 262 mm
- tang length between the pommel and the crosspiece: 193 mm
- tang width near the crosspiece: 28 mm
- tang thickness near the crosspiece: 7 mm
- tang width near the pommel: 18 mm
- tang thickness near the pommel: 5.5 mm
- crosspiece length: 215 mm
- crosspiece height: 10.5 mm
- crosspiece thickness: 19 mm
- pommel width: 54.5 mm
- pommel thickness: 51 mm
- pommel height (without the washer): 47 mm
- pommel washer height: 11 mm
- pommel washer width: 18 mm
- pommel washer thickness: 17 mm

The followings marks and ornaments can be seen on the surface of the sword:

#### Side A

- pommel – a small mark of the Greek cross, made with a punch. Bearing in mind that the entire surface of the pommel's lateral field is slightly concave, it could be assumed that the matrix of the punch was circular, with a centrally placed convex sign of the cross (Fig. 8).
- tang – in its lower part near the crosspiece, there are three large marks in a row: V X X. These were in all probability made with a chisel. One can also spot several places where so-called fingernail marks may have been situated. Such marks were punched with a rod, put at an angle on the surface of the metal. On the other hand, these marks may also be corrosion pits (Fig. 4).
- blade – in its upper part near the crosspiece, there are marks arranged in a row. These were cut in the surface of the blade and then filled with non-ferrous metal. These marks are: a stylised Gothic majuscule S in a double circle,

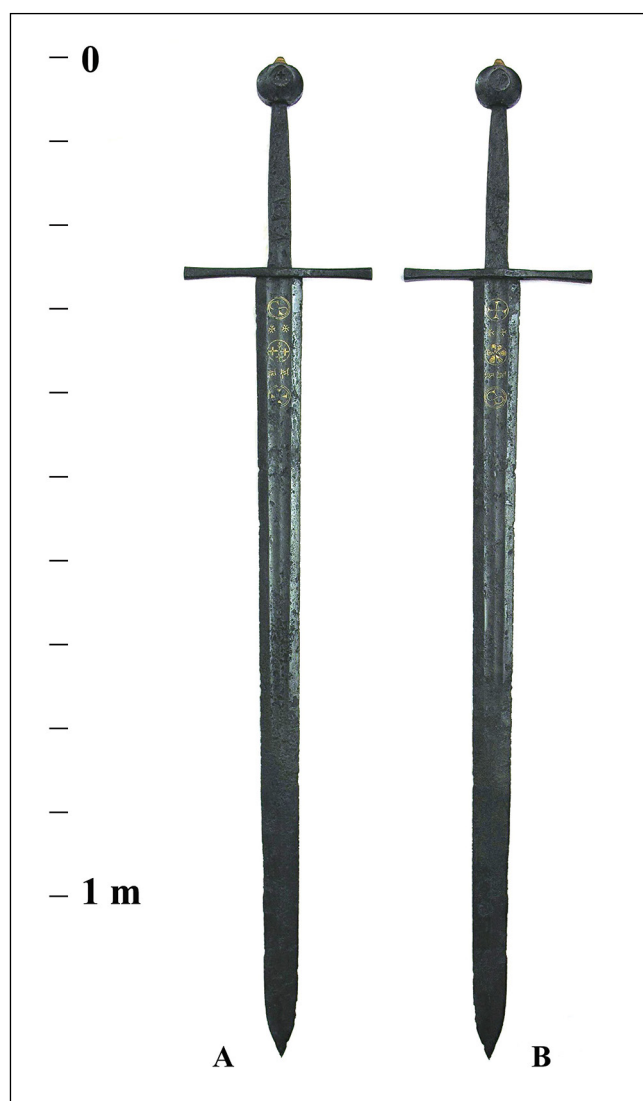


Fig. 2. Sword from Gniezno – general view. Side A (left), Side B (right).

which occupies nearly the entire width of the fuller. Next, there are two small signs of the cross fourchée, placed one above the other (this may be a stylised Maltese cross). Then, there is a sign of the cross crosslet, which is placed in a single circle occupying almost the entire width of the fuller. There are empty fields in places where the arms of the cross intersect and the entire sign may be a stylised Jerusalem cross. Behind the cross there are stylised Gothic majuscule letters A and R, arranged one above the other. The last mark is a partially preserved cross pattée, also placed in a double circle which occupies almost the entire width of the fuller (Fig. 5).

#### Side B

- pommel – no marks can be seen in the present state of preservation of the sword. However, they may have been worn out, as traces of wear can be seen on the lateral field (Fig. 8).
- tang – in its lower part near the tang there are possible remains of an X, made in an analogous way to the mark on Side A (Fig. 4).

- blade – in its lower part near the tang there are marks arranged in a row. Analogously to Side A, these marks were also cut in the surface of the blade and then filled with non-ferrous metal. First, there is a mark of the cross patée, which is placed in a single circle, occupying nearly the entire width of the fuller. Then, there are two small signs of the cross fourchée, arranged one above the other (it may be a stylised Maltese cross). Next, there is a sign of a rosette with six petals. This mark is placed in a single circle, occupying nearly the entire width of the fuller. Behind the rosette, there are two stylised Gothic letters, placed one above the other: a minuscule h and a majuscule E. The last mark is a stylised Gothic majuscule S. This mark is also placed in a double circle, occupying nearly the entire width of the fuller (Fig. 5).

### Typochronology

The blade of the discussed sword could be considered as matching a late variant of Type XIIIa in the classification system of E. Oakeshott. This could be evidenced by the cross-section of the lower part of the blade, where a feebly pronounced rib can be seen. It could also be an early variant of Type XX, which evolved from Type XII-Ia. Blades of Type XIIIa, possibly of German origin, are long and broad and taper gently toward their points. They are usually provided with a fuller or fullers in their upper parts. Their cross-sections in their lower parts are usually lenticular. Blades of Type XX are also long and broad and have three fullers under their crosspieces, while the fourth one is located in the central part of the blade. According to E. Oakeshott, the chronology of Type XIIIa falls within the period of c. 1250-1350, while Type XX can be dated to c. 1350-1450<sup>2</sup>. Based on his research on swords from Central Europe, M. Głosek states that Type XIIIa blades occur in the period from the early 13<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. and he identified 71 finds of swords with such blades<sup>3</sup>. Within this number there are also some blades of Type XIIa<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, one of these weapons turned out to be a pre-1945 replica<sup>5</sup>. According to M. Głosek, swords with Type XIIIa blades were chiefly provided with discoid pommels (Types H, I and K) and crosspieces belonging to

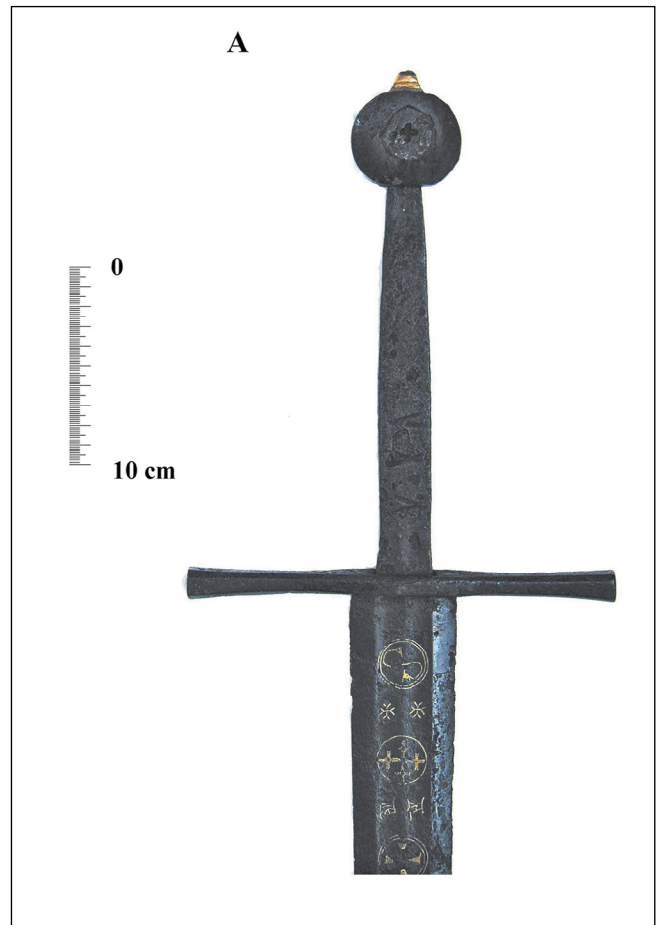


Fig. 3. Sword from Gniew – hilt and the upper part of the blade, Side A.

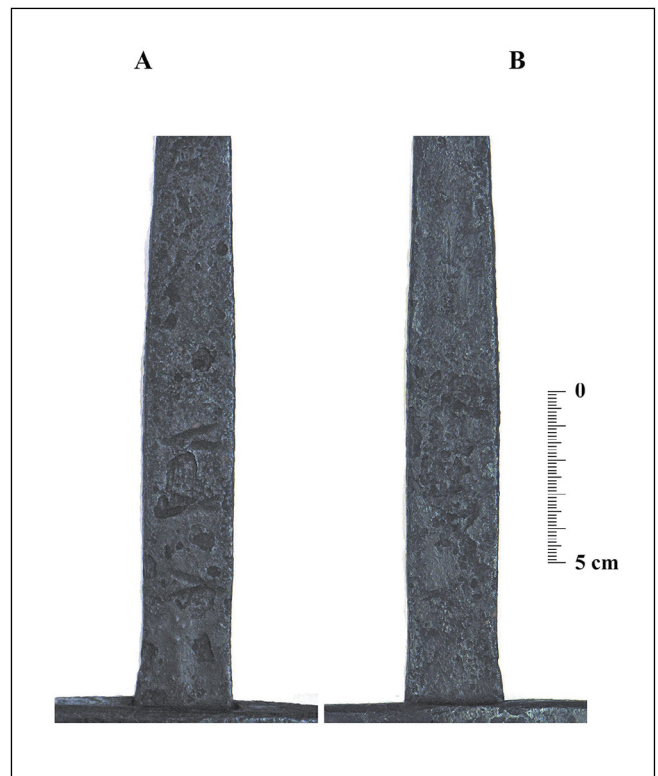


Fig. 4. Sword from Gniew – marks on the tang. Side A (left), Side B (right).

<sup>2</sup> Oakeshott 1964, 75-76; Głosek 1984, 25, Fig. 2, 28-30; Głosek 1998, 27, says that such blades could also be provided with double or triple fullers; Głosek 1990, 112; Oakeshott 2000, IX, 95, 98-108, 207-213, 237; Aleksic 2007, 26, Fig. 2, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Głosek 1984, 28, 178; for seven more recent finds see, e.g., Biborski and Zabiński 2006, 148-156, Figs. 2, 3a, 4a; Glinianowicz 2005, 151, Pl. VII.1, 153, and Szope 1985, 206, 121; Glinianowicz 2005, 151, Pl. VII.2, 153, and Szope 1985, 209-210; Glinianowicz and Kotowicz 2009, 185, Fig. 1B, 190-195; Žakovský 2008, 472-478, Figs. 1c, 2, 3

<sup>4</sup> Which was isolated by E. Oakeshott after the publication of M. Głosek's book.

<sup>5</sup> Zabiński et al. 2014, 54, 59-60, Figs. 24A-B, 225-228, Figs. 73.1-3; Zabiński and Stepiński 2014, 99-110.

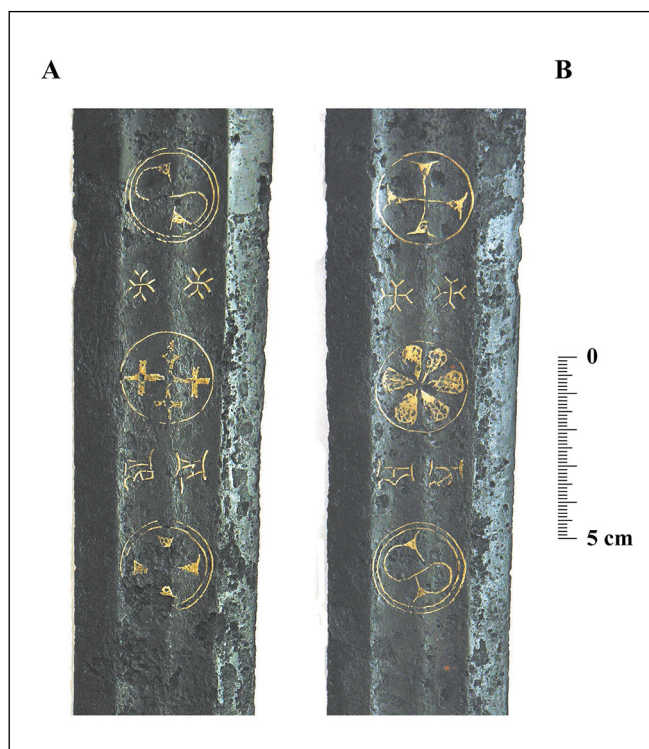


Fig. 5. Sword from Gniew – marks on the blade. Side A (left), Side B (right).

Types 1, 2 and 3<sup>6</sup>. M. Aleksić has recently identified 62 swords with Type XIIIa blades in South-Eastern Europe<sup>7</sup>. The pommel of the discussed sword corresponds to Type J in the classification system of E. Oakeshott. The chronology of this pommel type encompasses the period of c. 1250-c. 1425<sup>8</sup>. The crosspiece belongs to Type 2 according to E. Oakeshott. This type has a very broad chronology (to the end of the Middle Ages), but it is generally less frequent before the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>9</sup> The discussed sword can therefore be classified as Type XIIIa, J, 2 and it can be most probably dated to the period of c. 1300-1350.

Among finds from Central and Southern Europe, the following examples of Type XIIIa, J, 2 swords can be mentioned:

- Gorzów Wielkopolski (Landsberg), Land of Lubusz, Poland, stored at the Greater Poland's Military Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Poznań, dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>10</sup>
- unknown find place, stored at the National Museum in Szczecin, Poland, dated to 1250-c. 1350<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Głosek 1984, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Aleksić 2007, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Głosek 1984, 26, Fig. 3; Oakeshott 1964, 96; Oakeshott 2000, 10; Aleksić 2007, 25, Fig. 1, 53.

<sup>9</sup> Głosek 1984, 27, Fig. 4; Oakeshott 1964, 114; Oakeshott 2000, X; Aleksić 2007, 25, Fig. 1, 94-95.

<sup>10</sup> Głosek 1973a, 138, cat. No. 9; Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 36, cat. No. 15; Głosek 1984, 156, cat. No. 246.

<sup>11</sup> Głosek 1973a, 156, cat. No. 66; Głosek 1984, 168, cat. No. 382.

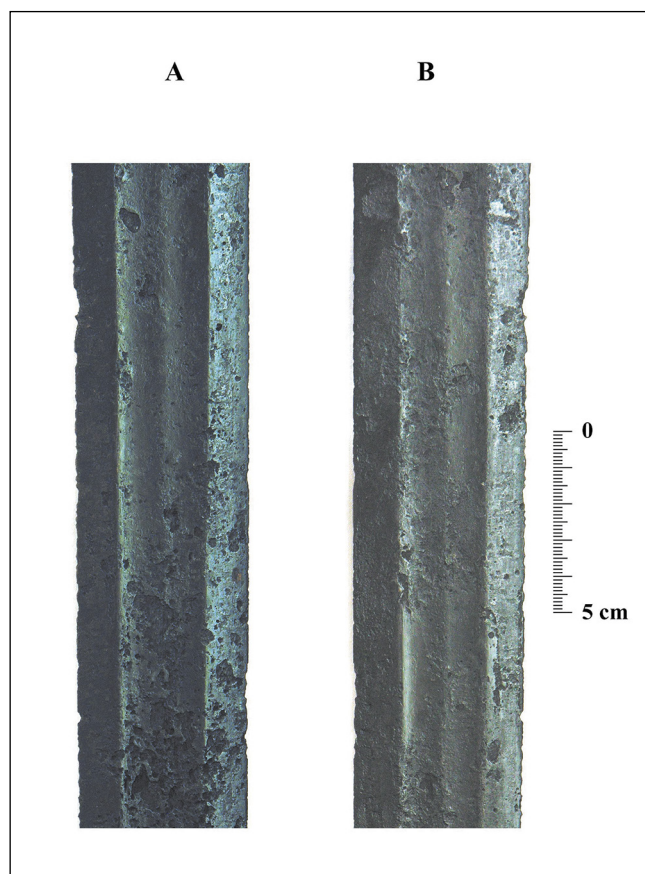


Fig. 6. Sword from Gniew – central part of the blade. Side A (left), Side B (right).

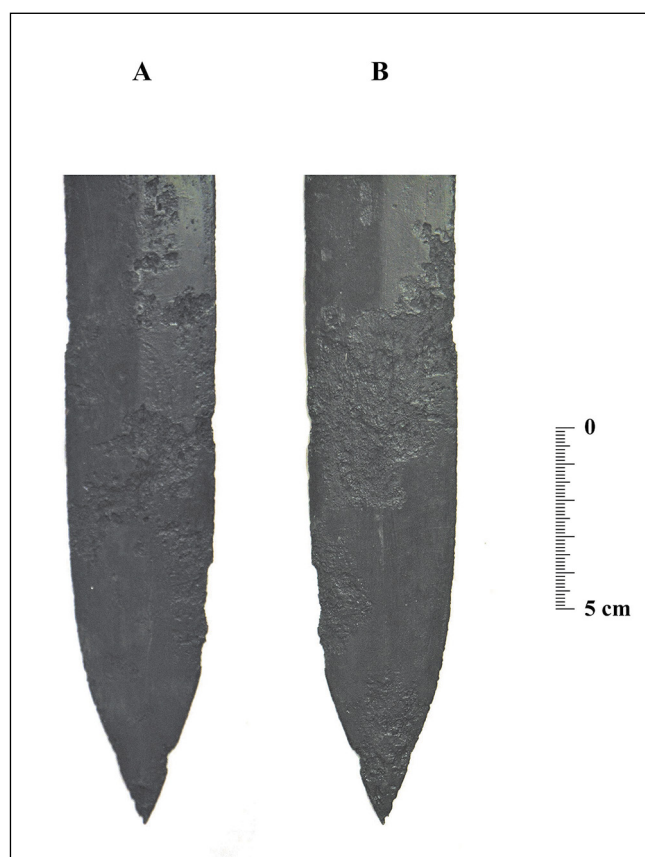


Fig. 7. Sword from Gniew – point. Side A (left), Side B (right).



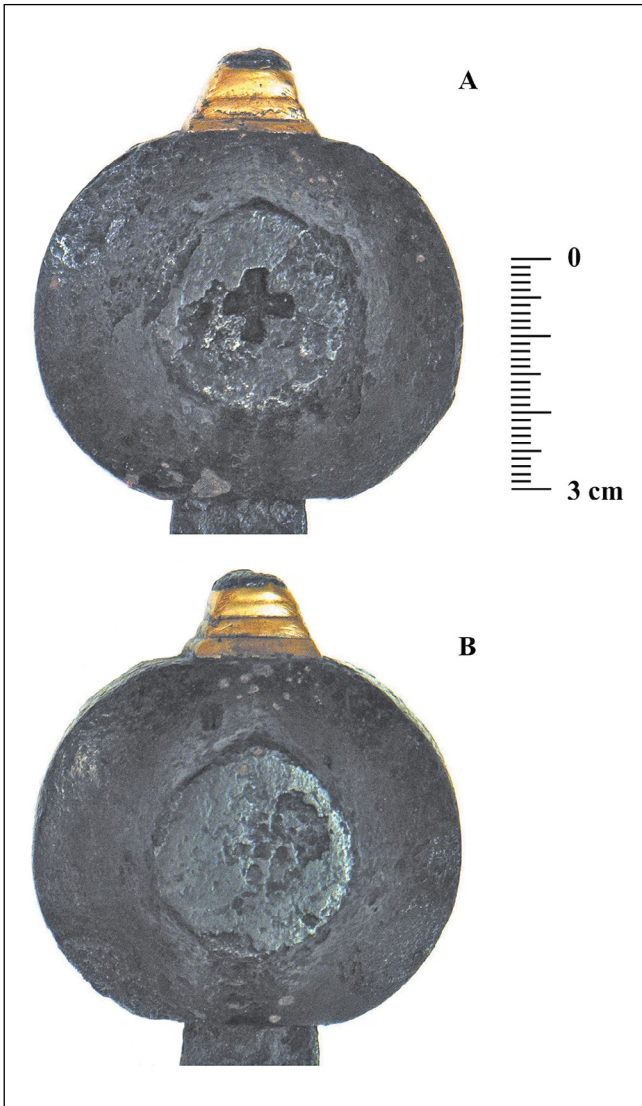


Fig. 8. Sword from Gniew – view of the pommel from the front. Side A (top), Side B (bottom).

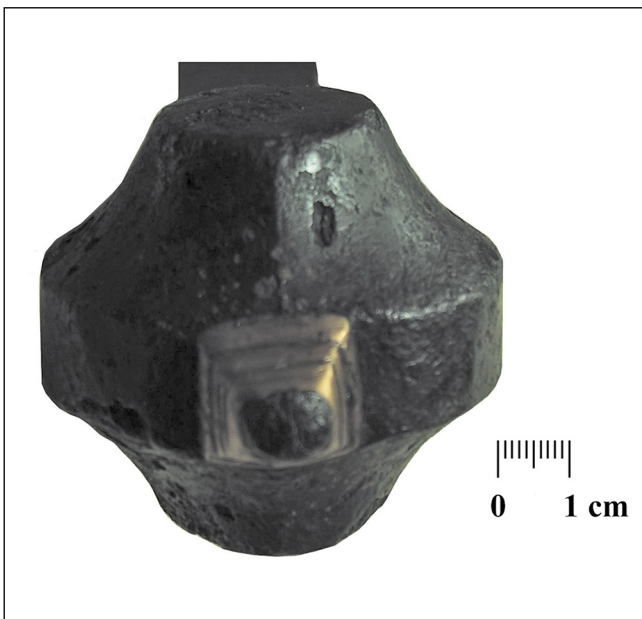


Fig. 9. Sword from Gniew – view of the pommel from the top.

- River Tina/Tejna in Raczki Elbląskie (Unter-Krebswalde), Prussia, Poland, stored at the Archaeological-Historical Museum in Elbląg, dated to c. 1250-1350<sup>12</sup>

- unknown find place, a river find, in a private collection in Croatia, dated to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, two Western European Type XIIIa, J, 2 swords were mentioned by E. Oakeshott:

- a sword from the River Thames, the collection of the Museum of London, c. 1300-1350. On both faces of the pommel there are copper inlaid signs of the Greek cross<sup>14</sup>

- a sword from a private collection, c. 1250-1300. The blade of this sword is provided with a long double fuller<sup>15</sup>.

#### Signs on the sword

The marks of X and V which can be seen on the tang, as well as probable marks made with a steel rod are often found on Medieval swords. They are believed to be bladesmith's marks, and their appearance is related to craftsmanship specialisation and labour division. In result of it, it came to a separation of bladesmiths who forged blades, and swordmakers, who provided swords with hilts and did finishing job. According to M. Głosek, bladesmith's marks appear on tangs c. 1250<sup>16</sup>. The mark of X, interpreted by M. Głosek as St Andrew's cross, was considered by this researcher as a possible mark of Hungarian bladesmithing workshops<sup>17</sup>. According to a slightly different interpretation, such marks (especially simpler ones, such as incisions on the tang of the discussed sword), apart from being workshop marks, could also refer to individual stages of manufacture (e.g., forging – carburising – quenching)<sup>18</sup>. Three marks on the tang of the discussed sword could therefore mean that the blade was provided with its final shape, it was carburised and heat-treated and was then ready to be provided with signs and to be hilted. Among Central European swords with analogous marks on their tangs, the following examples can be pointed out:

- the River Święta in Prussia, Poland, the Castle Museum in Malbork, Type XIIIa, I, 1a, c. 1300-1350. There is one mark of X. The sword is believed to have been forged in Hungary<sup>19</sup>

- Michrów, Masovia, Poland, the National Museum in Kraków, Type XVIa, H, 1a, c. 1350-1400. There is one

<sup>12</sup> Marek 2014, 55-58, 154, cat. No. 127, 191, Fig. 21; Żabiński et al. 2014, No. 23, 56-58, Figs. 23A-23B, 119, 220, 223-224, Figs. 72.1-2; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32d.

<sup>13</sup> Aleksić 2007, 178, cat. No. 356.

<sup>14</sup> Oakeshott 2000, No. 2, 96.

<sup>15</sup> Oakeshott 2000, No. 12, 105.

<sup>16</sup> Głosek 1973a, 13, 26; Głosek 1973b, 325; Głosek 1984, 44-45, 50.

<sup>17</sup> Głosek 1973a, 18-22; Głosek 1973b, 326-327; Głosek 1984, 45, 129.

<sup>18</sup> Žákovský 2008, 482-483; Żabiński et al. 2014, 111-112.

<sup>19</sup> Głosek 1984, 159, cat. No. 273, Pl. I, No. 273; Chodyński 2007b, 486; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 131-133; Żabiński et al. 2014, 113; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31b.

mark of X. The sword is believed to have been forged and hilted in Hungary<sup>20</sup>

- unknown locality, the Greater Poland's Military Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Poznań, Type XVIa, H, 1a, c. 1300-1400. On the tang there are marks of X\ and X. The sword is believed to have been forged in Hungary<sup>21</sup>

- Lake Balaton, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVIa, K, 1, c. 1250-1275. There is one mark of X. The sword is believed to have been forged and hilted in Hungary. It may have belonged to King Bela IV of Hungary (1235-1270)<sup>22</sup>

- Budapest, Hungary, the Hungarian Military History Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa, II, 3, c. 1300-1400. There is one mark of X. The sword is believed to have been forged in Hungary<sup>23</sup>

- Budapest, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVII?, I, -, c. 1350-after 1400. There is one mark of V. The sword is believed to have been hilted in Southern Germany<sup>24</sup>

- Putzipusta, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVIa, Z, 1, c. 1300-1400. There are marks of X X. The sword is believed to have been forged and hilted in Hungary<sup>25</sup>

- unknown locality, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVII?, -, -, c. 1350-after 1400. There is a mark of ><sup>26</sup>

- Sikorzyce, Lesser Poland, a private collection, Type XI-Ia/XIIIa, I, 1/2, c. 1250-1350. There is a mark of X and marks made with a rod. The sword may be of Hungarian provenance<sup>27</sup>

- vicinity of Bydgoszcz (?), Cuiavia, Poland, the Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum in Bydgoszcz, Type XVIa?, -, -, c. 1250-1400. On one side of the tang there is a mark of X or V. On the other side there are marks punched with a rod<sup>28</sup>

- vicinity of Kalisz, Greater Poland, the Museum of the Land of Kalisz, Type XVIa, I, 1, c. 1300-1400. There is an asymmetrical mark of X<sup>29</sup>

- Markusy (Markushof) near Elbląg (Elbing), Prussia, Poland, the Archaeological-Historical Museum in Elbląg, Type XVIII, T2, 1, c. 1350-after 1400. There is an asymmetrical mark of X and a „fingernail” mark on one side of the tang<sup>30</sup>

- unknown provenance, the City Museum in Broumov, the Czech Republic, Type XIIIa, -, -, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c. There is one X mark on one side of the tang<sup>31</sup>

- unknown provenance, the City Museum in Broumov, the Czech Republic, Type XIIa, T5, 12, turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> c. There is one X mark on one side of the tang<sup>32</sup>

It is a well-known fact that the sword, apart from being a weapon in a strict sense, was also a carrier of powerful symbolic meanings. Following earlier pre-Christian beliefs and ideas, the sword was treated as a living being, which was given names and was believed to possess supernatural qualities<sup>33</sup>. In the Middle Ages, symbolic meanings were irrevocably related to the world of Christian ideology. In the Bible, it was a symbol of God's wrath, punishment and vengeance<sup>34</sup>. The sword was a subject of anointment by God in order to become an effective weapon of fight against the Evil in His name. The anointed sword was to be used in defence of the Church and the Christian people. The sacralisation of swords was often expressed with various kinds of invocative or devotional inscriptions and initials<sup>35</sup>. It was also a popular attribute of warrior saints<sup>36</sup>. A sword was often given by angels to rulers to make them victorious against their enemies<sup>37</sup>. The sword was also a symbol of royal and military power and a tool of justice, which came from the Divine authority<sup>38</sup>. The role of the sword as an insignia of power was especially notable in coronation rites<sup>39</sup>. Giving a sword was usually an important part of the rite of knighting<sup>40</sup>. From a social point of view, the sword was an inseparable attribute of the knight<sup>41</sup>. The sword was also seen as an important weapon of a Christian ruler fighting against the infidels. It could be either a „sword of teaching” (*gladius*

<sup>20</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 42, cat. No. 35; Głosek et al. 1978, 38, cat. No. 85; Głosek 1984, 45, 159, 159, cat. No. 276, Pl. I, No. 276.

<sup>21</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, 75, 167, cat. No. 372, Pl. I, No. 372.

<sup>22</sup> Głosek 1984, 45, 53, 81, 86, 132, 171, cat. No. 419, Pl. I, No. 419; Aleksić 2007, 149, cat. No. 59, classifies the sword as Type XIIIa, K, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Głosek 1984, 45, 52, 54, 93-94, 171, cat. No. 422, Pl. I, No. 422; Aleksić 2007, 149, cat. No. 62, classifies the sword as Type XIIIa, II(?), 1.

<sup>24</sup> Głosek 1984, 172, cat. No. 426, Pl. I, No. 426; Aleksić 2007, 150, cat. No. 66.

<sup>25</sup> Głosek 1984, 45, 65-66, 173, cat. No. 438, Pl. I, No. 438; Aleksić 2007, 151, cat. No. 77, classifies the sword as Type XVIa, K1, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Głosek 1984, 174, cat. No. 480, Pl. I, No. 480; Aleksić 2007, 155, cat. No. 118.

<sup>27</sup> Biborski and Żabiński 2006, 147-156, Figs. 2, 3a, 4a; Żabiński et al. 2014, 114.

<sup>28</sup> Żabiński et al. 2014, 69, Fig. 28, 112.

<sup>29</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 36-37, cat. No. 17; Głosek 1984, 157, cat. No. 254; Żabiński et al. 2014, 82, Fig. 35, 114.

<sup>30</sup> Marek 2014, 63, 155, cat. No. 133, 197, Fig. 27.

<sup>31</sup> Žákovský 2008, 472-474, Figs. 1c, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Žákovský 2008, 473, Fig. 1b, 478-485, Fig. 5.

<sup>33</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 54-55, with further reading.

<sup>34</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 27-29, 31-32.

<sup>35</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 33-37, 40, 107.

<sup>36</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 37-40.

<sup>37</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 40-41; Biborski et al. 2011, 95.

<sup>38</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 42-44, 86-87, 108-110.

<sup>39</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 67-78, 108-110; Biborski et al. 2011, 96.

<sup>40</sup> Piwowarczyk 1998, 57-59; Piwowarczyk 2002, 195, 210-211; Ławrynowicz 2005, 41, 60-65, 77-78.

<sup>41</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 52-53, 56-59.

*praedicationis*) used to convert them, or a „sword of destruction” (*gladius iugulationis*) applied to exterminate those who resist<sup>42</sup>.

Marks on the blade of the sword could have multiple meanings, such as marks of manufacturers (workshops or individual swordmakers), as well as religious, military or heraldic symbols<sup>43</sup>. According to M. Głosek, the equal-armed cross (and its variants, such as the cross fourchée, cross crosslet, cross potent, Jerusalem cross, cross pattée, cross barbée or cross pommée) is the most common sign which can be found on Central European sword blades. Apart from an obvious devotional significance, some of these marks could also be interpreted as swordmaker’s marks<sup>44</sup>. The cross fourchée is the most common form of the cross on Central European sword blades. It may be placed within a double or single circle or occur without it. In a few cases this sign may be accompanied by other signs or letters. On the other hand, M. Głosek says that it was only in one case that the cross fourchée was found together with a well-known workshop mark (a 14<sup>th</sup> c. sword from Germany with a wolf-mark, cat. No. 211). Some years ago P. Žákovský published a paper with information on another two swords where workshop marks (the running wolf and the *Reichsapfel*) are accompanied with a cross fourchée in a circle<sup>45</sup>. If one assumes that the cross fourchée was also used as a swordmaker’s mark, it is possible that it was a mark of several independent manufacturing centres. As this mark often occurs on swords found in Poland, M. Głosek supposes that it may also have been a mark of a Polish workshop<sup>46</sup>. On the other hand, in the case of the discussed sword the cross fourchée is rather a devotional symbol. This is implied by a small size of this sign, its alignment in the row of marks and the fact that it is doubled on each flat. The cross crosslet can be seen on 8 blades in the assemblage of swords discussed by M. Głosek<sup>47</sup>. On both flats of a mid-14<sup>th</sup> sword from Szarlej in Poland there are elaborate T-shaped marks, followed by a cross crosslet and a crosier. The T-shaped sign resembles marks used by Passau swordmakers in the late 15<sup>th</sup>-early 16<sup>th</sup> c. The crosier is also often related to workshops from this centre<sup>48</sup>. Furthermore, on both flats of a c. 1450-1500 sword from Slovakia there are wolf-marks, flanked from each side with crosses crosslet. One of these crosses on each flat is placed

in a circle<sup>49</sup>. The cross crosslet can be also seen on both flats of the blade of a c. 1150-1250 sword from Radymno in Poland. This mark, accompanied with other forms of crosses, is repeated twice (in single circles) on one flat and three times on the other one (with no circles around it)<sup>50</sup>. The cross pattée was identified by M. Głosek on blades of four Central European swords. In two cases these are only marks on blades and they are placed in double circles (cat. No. 220 – an unknown find place, stored at the Kulturhistorisches Museum in Stralsund, and cat. No. 319 – from the River Odra in Szczecin/Stettin). In the case of the sword from Stralsund, the cross is repeated twice on each flat<sup>51</sup>. On the blade of a c. 1300-1350 sword stored at the Museum in Cedynia, Poland, crosses pattée occur together with crosses crosslet<sup>52</sup>. The blade of a sword from Visegrád in Hungary (the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c.) is provided with crosses pattée, accompanied by the mark of a hammer and another, hardly identifiable one<sup>53</sup>. M. Głosek states that the chronology of swords with the mark of the cross pattée spans the period of c. 1250-c. 1350 and that such mark can be still considered as a swordmaker’s mark<sup>54</sup>. The letter S, which can be seen on both flats of the discussed sword, repeats frequently on sword blades discussed by M. Głosek. Out of 9 cases where letters accompanying the sign of the equal-armed cross were found, the S occurs in 7 cases. This researcher says that the S could be both a swordmaker’s mark or an abbreviation of *Sanctus*<sup>55</sup>. Generally speaking, letters can also stand for individual marks of swordmakers, especially if they accompany marks of large manufacturing centres, such as the wolf-mark. In 4 cases, this mark is accompanied with the letter R (cat. No. 196 – with an illegible letter on the other flat; cat. No. 300; cat. No. 430 – there is also an S on the other flat; cat. No. 464 – the R is accompanied with an A). In another two swords the wolf-mark was accompanied with the letters N or U and I (cat. No. 449) or with N or U and D (?) (cat. No. 87). Yet another sword with the wolf-mark is also provided with a K (?) (cat. No. 248), while the last sword from this group is provided with an A (cat. No. 424). M. Głosek says that one could treat letters accompanying other signs (e.g., those of the equal-armed cross) analogously, i.e., as individual marks of swordmakers or workshops operating within larger centres<sup>56</sup>. Concerning the rosette, a heraldic eight-petal rose flanked by Maltese crosses can be seen on the flats of the afore-mentioned sword from the Kulturhistorisches

<sup>42</sup> Ławrynowicz 2005, 43, quoting a passage from the early 12<sup>th</sup> c. chronicle of Gallus Anonymus which refers to Polish fights against pagans in the Baltic Sea region, including Prussia.

<sup>43</sup> Głosek 1973a, 45-46, 67-82; Głosek 1973b, 325; Głosek 1984, 50-102; Ławrynowicz 2005, 106.

<sup>44</sup> Głosek 1984, 56-60.

<sup>45</sup> Žákovský 2008, 473, Fig. 1b, 478-485, Figs. 10-11.

<sup>46</sup> Głosek 1973b, 328-329; Głosek 1984, 55-56, 123.

<sup>47</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, cat. Nos. 302, 307, 318, 372, 379, 412 – from present-day Poland and cat. Nos. 38 and 41 – from Slovakia.

<sup>48</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, 123-124, 132, cat. No. 318.

<sup>49</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, cat. No. 38; Aleksić 2007, 145, cat. No. 23.

<sup>50</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, cat. No. 302; Nowakowski 1998, 10-11, 39, cat. No. 2, 46, Pl. 1, No. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Głosek 1984, 58.

<sup>52</sup> Głosek 1973b, 326, 329; Głosek 1984, 58, cat. No. 341.

<sup>53</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, cat. No. 448; Aleksić 2007, 152, cat. No. 88.

<sup>54</sup> Głosek 1984, 58-59.

<sup>55</sup> Głosek 1984, 60.

<sup>56</sup> Głosek 1984, 62-63.

Museum in Stralsund<sup>57</sup>. Furthermore, rosettes within shields, followed by inscriptions and rosettes can be seen on both flats of a sword from the vicinity of Lüneburg in Germany, stored at the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte in Berlin<sup>58</sup>. The heraldic rose is usually depicted with five petals with barbs between them. The roses from the sword from Stralsund have a different number of petals, but the presence of barbs allows to consider them as heraldic roses. In the case of the sword from Lüneburg, the rosette can be considered as a heraldic symbol due to the presence on the shields. Roses or rosettes are very common as ornaments in Medieval art, which is why it may be difficult to unequivocally decide whether rosettes on individual sword blades are heraldic symbols or not<sup>59</sup>. The rosette on the discussed sword would rather have a different meaning than a heraldic symbol, perhaps also a devotional one. All in all, a very lavish ornamentation of the blade of the discussed sword has no direct analogies among swords known to the author of this paper, with special reference to weapons from Central Europe. However, numerous analogies to individual signs can be pointed out:

- Husina, Slovakia, the Gemer Museum in Rimavská Sobota, Type XI?, D?, 1, c. 1200-1300. There is an inscription of MVSEMDRVS on one flat and marks of an S in a circle, a cross potent in a circle and another S in a circle on the other flat<sup>60</sup>

- Kalna nad Hronom, Slovakia, the Tekov Museum in Levica, Type XVIa, K, 5, c. 1300-1350. There is an inscription of +RHAP and an S within a circle on one flat, and a heart-shaped mark, an inscription of V DGN and a cross fourchée in a circle on the other flat. These marks are copper-inlaid. The letter S is considered to be an ornament or a symbol<sup>61</sup>

- Nove Zamky, Slovakia, the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava, Type XVIa, G, 12, c. 1450. There are marks inlaid with non-ferrous metal on both flats – crosses fourchée flanked with remains of other, possibly cross-like symbols<sup>62</sup>

- unknown locality, the Sariš Museum in Bardejov, Type XVIa, II, 1, c. 1350-after 1400. There is an S within a circle on one flat and a cross pattée within a circle on the other flat. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>63</sup>

- unknown locality, the Museum of the City of Bratislava, Type XVIa, T4, 13, c. 1450-after 1500. On both flats there are crosses crosslet in circles, accompanied by Patriarchal crosses and wolf-marks. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>64</sup>

- unknown locality, the National Museum in Prague, Type XIIIa, K, 5, c. 1350. On one flat there are four letters S within circles, while the other flat is ornamented with four crosses fourchée within circles. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>65</sup>

- unknown find place, the National Museum in Prague, Type XVIa, II, 7, 14<sup>th</sup> c. On one flat there is a cross fourchée in a circle, while on the other flat there is a circle with eight lines inside, intersecting in its centre<sup>66</sup>

- unknown find place, the National Museum in Prague, Type XVII, H, -, c. 1350-1400. On the flat there is a mark of the cross fourchée in a circle<sup>67</sup>

- Anklam, East Germany, the Heimatmuseum Demmin, Type XIII, I, 1, late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. On both blades of the sword there are 4 and 2 crosses pattée respectively, dividing words of an inscription from the DIC (*Dominus Iesus Christus*) group. These marks and inscriptions are inlaid with bronze<sup>68</sup>

- unknown locality, the Heimatmuseum Demmin, Type XVIa, Z (Variant), 5, c. 1300-1350. On each flat there are a diagonal cross fourchée, a cross fourchée within a circle and another diagonal cross fourchée<sup>69</sup>

- unknown find place, the Historisches Museum Dresden, Type XV, I, 1b, 14<sup>th</sup> c. There is a cross fourchée in a circle on one flat and remains of another sign on the other flat. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>70</sup>

- unknown find place, the Historisches Museum Dresden, Germany, Type XVIa, K, 5, c. 1350-1400. On both flats there is an eight-petal rosette, inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>71</sup>

- unknown locality, the Kulturhistorisches Museum Stralsund, Type XIIIa, K, 7, c. 1250-after 1300. There are four triangles arranged in the shape of a cross pattée, an eight-petal rosette and again four triangles arranged in the shape of a cross pattée on each flat. According to M. Głosek, the rosette mark is actually a heraldic rose<sup>72</sup>

- unknown locality, the Kulturhistorisches Museum Stralsund, Type XIIIa?, II, 5, c. 1300-1350. On each flat there are two crosses pattée within double circles on

<sup>57</sup> Głosek 1984, 90, cat. No. 219.

<sup>58</sup> Głosek 1984, 90, cat. No. 146.

<sup>59</sup> Głosek 1984, 91.

<sup>60</sup> Ruttkay 1975-1976, 136, Fig. 2.3, 143, cat. No. 57, 165, Fig. 3, 257, 276-277, Fig. 26.3; Głosek 1984, 117, 138, cat. No. 9, Pl. III, No. 9; Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 540, No. 1490, Vol. 2, 937, No. 1490; Aleksic 2007, 144, cat. No. 8.

<sup>61</sup> Ruttkay 1975-1976, 148, cat. No. 66, 151, Fig. 7.1, 165, Fig. 4, 259, 277-279, Figs. 27.2, 29.6, 283-284; Głosek 1984, 117, 138, cat. No. 11, Pl. III, No. 11; Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 540, No. 1491, Vol. 2, 937, No. 1491; Aleksic 2007, 144, cat. No. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Głosek 1984, 139, cat. No. 20, Pl. III, No. 20; Aleksic 2007, 144, cat. No. 14.

<sup>63</sup> Głosek 1984, 59, 140, cat. No. 34, Pl. IV, No. 34; Aleksic 2007, 145, cat. No. 20, classifies the sword as Type XIIIa/XVIa, IIb/K1, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, 140, cat. No. 38, Pl. IV, No. 38; Aleksic 2007, 145, cat. No. 23, classifies the crosspiece as Type 11a.

<sup>65</sup> Głosek 1984, 59, 143, cat. No. 76, Pl. V, No. 76.

<sup>66</sup> Głosek 1984, 143, cat. No. 85, Pl. V, No. 85.

<sup>67</sup> Głosek 1984, 144, cat. No. 94, Pl. VI, No. 94.

<sup>68</sup> Głosek 1984, 107, 145, cat. No. 112, Pl. VI, No. 112.

<sup>69</sup> Głosek 1984, 153, cat. No. 208, Pl. XII, No. 208.

<sup>70</sup> Głosek 1984, 154, cat. No. 211, Pl. XII, No. 211.

<sup>71</sup> Głosek 1984, 154, cat. No. 212, Pl. XII, No. 212.

<sup>72</sup> Głosek 1984, 90-91, 154, cat. No. 219, Pl. XII, No. 219.



each flat. M. Głosek says that the cross may be a swordmaker's mark in this case<sup>73</sup>

- from the River Święta in Prussia, the Castle Museum in Malbork, Type XIIIa, I, 1a, c. 1300-1350. On one flat there are marks of a heart on top of a T cross, an H, a cross potent within a double circle, and a V. On the other flat there is a small cross pommée, a G, a six-petal rosette in a double circle, with a dot on each petal, and a D. The mark of the heart with the cross and the mark of the cross pommée are individual swordmaker's marks according to M. Głosek<sup>74</sup>

- Nysa (Neisse), Silesia, Poland, the Museum in Nysa, Type XIIIa, II, 1, end of the 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. There is an S within a circle on one flat and a cross fourchée within a circle on the other flat. The sword is believed to have been hilted in a Polish swordmaking workshop<sup>75</sup>

- Olkusz, Lesser Poland, the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Museum in Olkusz, Type XVIa, H, 1, c. 1300-1350. On one flat there is a possible letter P in a single circle, an equal-armed cross in a single circle and a worn out mark in such a circle. The other flat is provided with an illegible sign in a single circle, a cross fourchée in a single circle and an S in such a circle. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal and the sword is believed to come from a Polish swordmaking workshop<sup>76</sup>

- Poznań, Greater Poland, the Great Poland's Military Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Poznań, Type XII, I, -, c. 1200-1300. On the flats of the blade there are marks inlaid with non-ferrous metal: a cross potent in a double circle, connected with a double line to another cross potent, and on the other flat there is an S in a double circle, connected with a fleur-de-lis. The fleur is provided with a small equal-armed cross on its top<sup>77</sup>

- Radymno, the then Rus, the District Museum in Przemyśl, Type XII, B, 1, c. 1150-1250. On one flat there are a cross crosslet in a circle, a four-petal rosette, a circle, a four-petal rosette and a cross crosslet in a circle. On the other flat there are a cross crosslet, a cross pommée in a circle, a cross crosslet, a cross pommée in a circle and a cross crosslet<sup>78</sup>

- Szarlej, Greater Poland, the Greater Poland's Military Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Poznań,

Type XIIIa, T, 1b, c. 1350. On both flats of the blade there are marks resembling an elaborate T, followed by a cross crosslet and a crossier. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal. The sword is believed to come from a German swordmaking workshop<sup>79</sup>

- Szczecin (Stettin), the National Museum in Szczecin, Type XIIIa, H2, 1b, c. 1300-1350. On one flat there is a cross pattée, inlaid with non-ferrous metal. According to M. Głosek, it can be a swordmaker's mark<sup>80</sup>

- unknown find place, the Museum in Cedynia, Poland, Type XIIIa?, -, -, late 13<sup>th</sup> c.-about 1350. On both flats of the blade there are marks inlaid with non-ferrous metal. On one flat there is a cross pattée, followed by a cross fourchée in a circle, another cross pattée and an empty circle. On the other flat there is a cross pattée and a mark resembling a strongly distorted cross fourchée in a circle<sup>81</sup>

- unknown find place, the Museum in Łowicz, Poland, Type XIIIa, II, 1b, 14<sup>th</sup> c. On one flat there is an inverted S-shaped mark in a circle, followed by a crossier. On the other flat there is a cross fourchée in a circle, followed by a crossier. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>82</sup>

- unknown locality, the Castle Museum in Malbork, Type Xa, A, 3, late 11<sup>th</sup>-early 12<sup>th</sup> c. On one flat there is a cross potent, while the other flat is marked with an S within a circle<sup>83</sup>

- unknown find place, the National Museum in Szczecin, Type XII?, J, 1, c. 1250-1315. On both flats there are four crosses pattée, dividing words of inscriptions: NRCDI-SIC EnSNRCH NRCDISDV ERCDISIA and NRCDISEC NRCDISIG ERCDISIG NRCDISII. This ornament is inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>84</sup>

- unknown locality, the National Museum in Wrocław, Type XVa, G, 5, c. 1400-1450. On one flat there is a cross crosslet within a circle<sup>85</sup>

- unknown find place, the National Museum in Wrocław, Type XVII, I, 1a, c. 1350-early 15<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are the following marks: a three-arm cross crosslet, a cross fourchée in a circle and a horizontally placed Y crossed with a vertical line. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal and the sword is believed to come from a Polish swordmaking workshop<sup>86</sup>

- Solymar, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XXI, Z, 12, 15<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are

<sup>73</sup> Głosek 1984, 58-59, 154, cat. No. 220, Pl. XII, No. 220.

<sup>74</sup> Głosek 1984, 57, 159, cat. No. 273, Pl. XIII, No. 273; Chodyński 2007b, 486; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 131-133; Żabiński et al. 2014, 113; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31b.

<sup>75</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 43, cat. No. 37; Głosek et al. 1978, 37, cat. No. 86; Głosek 1984, 55, 160, cat. No. 280, Pl. XI-II, No. 280.

<sup>76</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 43-44, cat. No. 38; Głosek 1973a, 144, cat. No. 26; Głosek et al. 1978, 37, cat. No. 87; Głosek 1984, 55, 160, cat. No. 281, Pl. XIII, No. 281.

<sup>77</sup> Głosek 1973a, 146, cat. No. 32, Pl. IX.2; Głosek et al. 1978, 37, cat. No. 91; Głosek 1984, 161, cat. No. 296, Pl. XIII, No. 296; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 129.

<sup>78</sup> Głosek 1984, 56-57, 59, 162, cat. No. 302, Pl. XIII, No. 302; Nowakowski 1998, 10-11, 39, cat. No. 2, 46, Pl. 1, No. 2.

<sup>79</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, 163, cat. No. 318, Pl. XIV, No. 318.

<sup>80</sup> Głosek 1984, 58-59, 163, cat. No. 319, Pl. XIV, No. 319.

<sup>81</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, 165, cat. No. 341, Pl. XIV, No. 341.

<sup>82</sup> Głosek 1984, 166, cat. No. 358, Pl. XV, No. 358.

<sup>83</sup> Głosek 1973b, 330; Głosek 1984, 57, 166-167, cat. No. 362, Pl. XV, No. 362 – classified as Type XI, E, 3; Chodyński 2011, 101-112.

<sup>84</sup> Głosek et al. 1978, 38, cat. No. 99; Głosek 1973a, 154, cat. No. 60; Głosek 1984, 114, 168, cat. No. 377, Pl. XV, No. 377; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 120-122, Figs. 5-1, 134, cat. No. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Głosek 1984, 56, 170-171, cat. No. 412, Pl. XVI, No. 412; Marek 2008, 160, Tab. 5, cat. No. 34.

<sup>86</sup> Głosek 1973a, 159, cat. No. 77; Głosek 1984, cat. No. 416, Pl. XVI; Marek 2008, 160, Tab. 5, cat. No. 38.

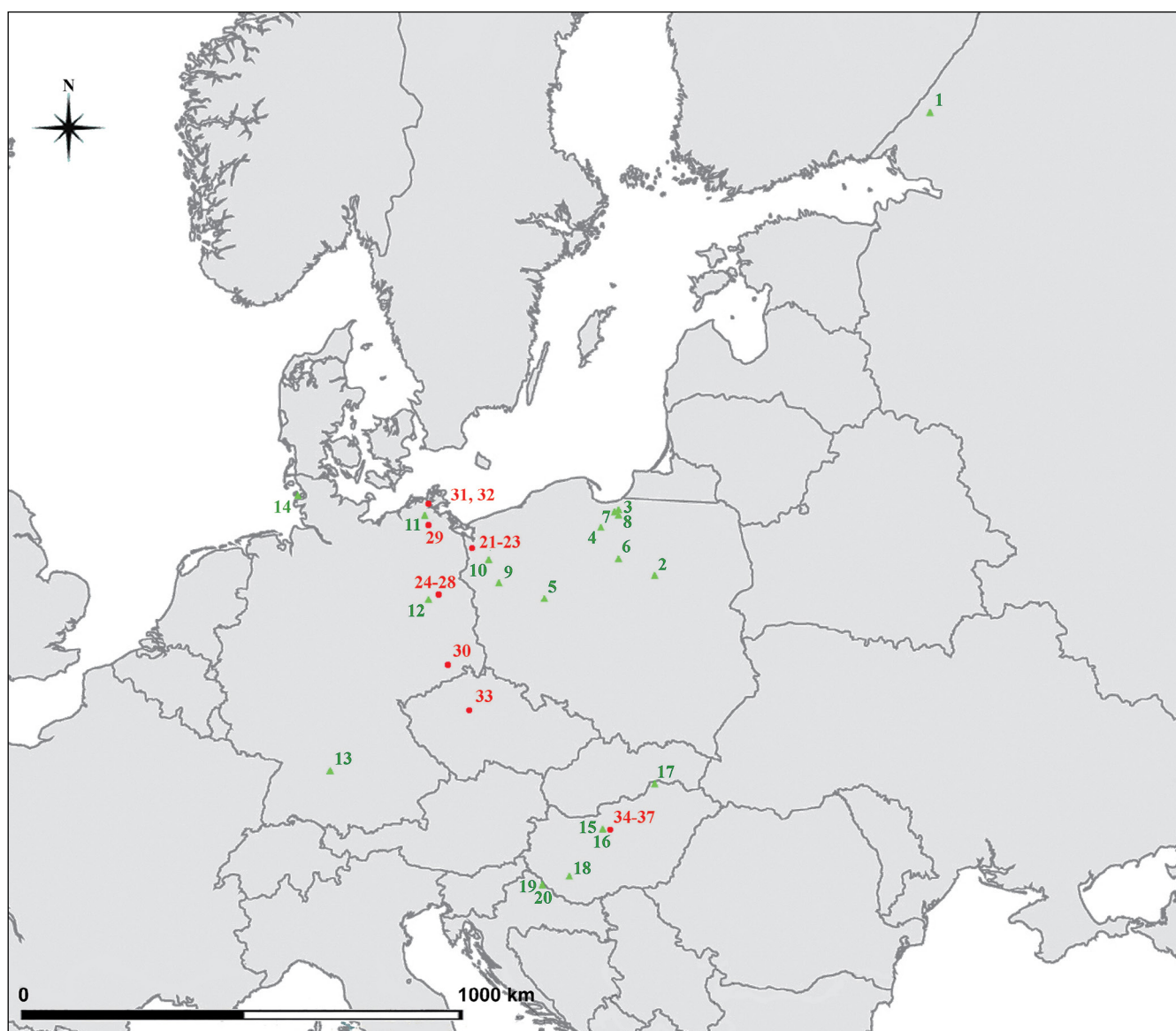


Fig. 10. Examples of swords with hilts ornamented with crosses in Central Europe.

Nos. 1-20 (triangles – known find places): 1 – Kurkijoki; 2 – Ciechanów; 3 – Elbląg; 4 – Gniew; 5 – Poznań; 6 – Przydatki; 7 – Raczkki Elbląskie; 8 – Tropy Elbląskie; 9 – Santok; 10 – Żalęcino; 11 – Bassin; 12 – Potsdam; 13 – Rechberg; 14 – Rungholt; 15-16 – Budapest; 17 – Pohoroka; 18 – Putzipusta; 19-20 – Šoderica.

Nos. 21-37 (dots – unknown find places; places of storage are shown): 21-23 – Szczecin; 24-28 – Berlin; 29 – Demmin; 30 – Dresden; 31-32 – Stralsund; 33 – Prague; 34-37 – Budapest.

marks of the cross fourchée in a circle and a crosier. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>87</sup>

- Visegrád, Hungary, the Visegrád Museum, Type XIIIa, II, 1, late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are marks inlaid with non-ferrous metal: a hammer, followed by a cross pattée on one flat, and an unidentified mark (perhaps also some sort of tool) followed by a cross pattée on the other flat<sup>88</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XI?, -, 1, c. 1100-1200. On each flat there

is a reverse S within a circle. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>89</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVIa?, K, 1, c. 1300-1400. On one flat there is a Jerusalem cross within a circle, while on the other flat there is a partially preserved cross potent (?) within a circle, connected with a line to a double S. These marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>90</sup>

- unknown find place, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XXI, Z, 12, 15<sup>th</sup> c. On the blade there are

<sup>87</sup> Głosek 1984, 173, cat. No. 439, Pl. XVII, No. 439; Aleksić 2007, 151, cat. No. 78, classifies the sword as Type XXb, Z2b, 12c.

<sup>88</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, 173, cat. No. 448, Pl. XVIII, No. 448; Aleksić 2007, 152, cat. No. 88.

<sup>89</sup> Głosek 1984, 174, cat. No. 456, Pl. XVIII, No. 456; Aleksić 2007, 153, cat. No. 94.

<sup>90</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, 175, cat. No. 474, Pl. XIX, No. 474; Aleksić 2007, 155, cat. No. 112.

marks of an animal (a wolf?) and a cross fourchée in a circle. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>91</sup>

- unknown find place, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XXI, Z, 12, 15<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are marks of the cross fourchée in a circle, and on one flat there is an additional mark of a three-armed cross crosslet. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>92</sup>

- unknown find place, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XXI, Z, 12, 15<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are marks of the cross fourchée<sup>93</sup>

- unknown provenance, the City Museum in Broumov, the Czech Republic, Type XIIa, T5, 12, turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> c. On both flats there are marks of a cross fourchée in a circle, a *Reichsapfel* and a running wolf. This sword may have been made in Passau by a member of the Ständler family (possibly Michel Ständler). The *Reichsapfel* was used as the coat of arms of the family, while the cross may have been an individual mark of the family member. Interestingly, a sword with an identical combination of marks on the blade was also said to have been found at the castle of Engelsberk in the Czech Republic<sup>94</sup>

The pommel of the sword was often ornamented with both religious symbols (e.g., the cross) and with heraldic figures or other signs<sup>95</sup>. M. Głosek states with right that in Central Europe signs of the cross on pommels can be found almost exclusively on swords from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c. Furthermore, in most cases this is the simplest form of this sign, that is, the Greek cross<sup>96</sup>. It is possible to point out the following cases of occurrence of the Greek cross (or its more complex forms, including the cross pattée, fourchée, potent or others) on sword pommels. Usually, such crosses are inlaid with non-ferrous metal, as it may have been the case with the discussed sword. The most representative examples are the following (Fig. 10):

- Kurkijoki, Karelia, Russia, Type XII, I, 1, c. 1200-after 1300. There is a copper-inlaid cross pattée on both sides of the pommel<sup>97</sup>

- Ciechanów, Masovia, Poland, Type XX, II, 1b, c. 1450. One can see an equal-armed cross in a circle, with three short lines in each quarter, starting in the line of the circle and directed toward its centre, on one side of the pommel. The mark is inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>98</sup>

- a forest near Elbląg (Elbing), Prussia, Poland, Type XIII, II, 11, 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c. In this case equal-armed crosses can be seen on ball-shaped terminals of the crosspiece, while the pommel is ornamented with punched signs resembling a star. L. Marek says that this may be a symbol related to the Holy Virgin<sup>99</sup>

- Poznań, Greater Poland, the Greater Poland's Military Museum, Branch of the National Museum in Poznań, Type XII, I, -, c. 1200-1300. On the pommel there is a sign of an equal-armed cross (possibly the cross pommée) in a double circle. It is inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>100</sup>

- Przydatki, Teutonic Prussia, Poland, the Polish Army Museum in Warszawa, Type XIII, I, 2, late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. There are three equal-armed crosses on each side of the pommel<sup>101</sup>

- Raczki Elbląskie (Unter-Krebswalde), from the River Tina/Tejna, Teutonic Prussia, Poland, Type XIIIa, J, 2, c. 1250-1350. On both sides of the pommel and on the ends of the crosspiece there are punched equal-armed crosses<sup>102</sup>

- Tropy Elbląskie (Streckfuß), from the River Tina/Tejna, Teutonic Prussia, Poland, Type XVIa/XVII, J, 2, c. 1350-after 1400. A cross-crosslet, inlaid with non-ferrous metal, can be seen on both side discs of the pommel. There are six equal-armed crosses with non-ferrous inlay on the circumference of the pommel<sup>103</sup>

- Santok (Zantoch), Greater Poland, now lost, Type XIIIa, I, -, perhaps 1255-1267, possibly a sword of King Přemysl Otakar II of Bohemia. The pommel of the sword is ornamented with an equal-armed cross. M. Głosek relates this sword to the Prussian Crusade of King Přemysl Otakar II in 1267<sup>104</sup>

- Żalęcino (Sallentin), Pomerania, Poland, Type ?, A, 1, the 11<sup>th</sup> c. There is a cross pattée on both sides of the pommel. The marks are inlaid with black enamel against the silver background<sup>105</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Głosek 1984, 176, cat. No. 483, Pl. XIX, No. 483; Aleksić 2007, 156, cat. No. 121, classifies the sword as Type XXb, Z, 12.

<sup>92</sup> Głosek 1984, 176, cat. No. 484, Pl. XIX, No. 484; Aleksić 2007, 156, cat. No. 484, classifies the sword as Type XXb, Z, 12.

<sup>93</sup> Głosek 1984, 176, cat. No. 486, Pl. XIX, No. 486; Aleksić 2007, 156, cat. No. 124, classifies the sword as Type XIIIa, Z3, 12b.

<sup>94</sup> Žákovský 2008, 473, Fig. 1b, 478-485, Figs. 10, 11.

<sup>95</sup> Głosek 1984, 72-76; Oakeshott 2000, 33, 56, 72, 84, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 98, 99, 109-111, 116, 124, 138, 139, 144-145, 163, 172-173, 182, 184, 191, 216, 219, 240, 243, 268-302.

<sup>96</sup> Głosek 1984, 54.

<sup>97</sup> Kirpičnikov et al. 2006, 41, 45-46, 55, 63, Fig. 13, 69, Fig. 32.

<sup>98</sup> Głosek 1984, 155, cat. No. 233, Plate II, cat. No. 233.

<sup>99</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 34, cat. No. 10; Głosek 1984, 156, cat. No. 238; Nowakowski 1994, 86, 127, Fig. 3; Marek 2014, 54-55, 154, cat. No. 126, 190, Fig. 20a-c; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32a.

<sup>100</sup> Głosek 1973a, 146, cat. No. 32, Pl. IX.2; Głosek 1984, 161, cat. No. 296, Pl. II, No. 296.

<sup>101</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 47, cat. No. 48; Głosek 1973a, 146, cat. No. 33; Głosek 1984, 161, cat. No. 299, Pl. II, No. 299; Nowakowski 1994, 86, 127, Fig. 2; Chodyński 2008, 106, Fig. 10; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 129; Żabiński et al. 2014, 120-121; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32b.

<sup>102</sup> Marek 2014, 55-58, 154, cat. No. 127, 191, Fig. 21; Żabiński et al. 2014, 56-58, Fig. 23a-b, 119; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32d.

<sup>103</sup> Chodyński 2007a, 485-486; Chodyński 2008, 105-106, Figs. 8-9; Chodyński 2011, 104; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 113-119, Figs. 1-3, 128-129; Marek 2014, 55, 190, Fig. 20d; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31c.

<sup>104</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 13-14, 49, cat. No. 54; Głosek 1973a, 147, cat. No. 36; Głosek 1984, 57, 71, 79-80, 162, cat. No. 309, Pl. XIV, No. 309; Ławrynowicz 2005, 108; Chodyński 2008, 101-103, Fig. 1; Żabiński et al. 2014, 122; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31d.

<sup>105</sup> Głosek 1984, 151, cat. No. 177, Plate II, cat. No. 177.

- Bassin, Germany, the Kulturhistorisches Museum Stralsund, Type XIIIa, II, 1, after 1340. A simple equal-armed cross can be seen on one side of the pommel and there are remains of a possible cross potent on the other side<sup>106</sup>
- Potsdam, East Germany, Type XII, I, -, c. 1250-after 1300. A cross pattée in a circle can be seen on one side of the pommel and there is a flower-like symbol in a circle on the other side<sup>107</sup>
- (Hohenstaufisch) Rechberg, Baden-Württemberg, Type XII, K, -, c. 1200-1300. There is a cross pattée in a double circle on one side of the pommel and remains of a fleur-de-lis in a circle on the other side. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>108</sup>
- Rungholt, Wadden Sea (Wattenmeer), near the holm of Südfall (Hallig Südfall), Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, Type XIIIa/XVIa, J, 6/7, c. 1290-1360. Each face of the pommel is ornamented with an inlaid equal-armed cross<sup>109</sup>
- Budapest, Hungary, the Military History Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa, II, 3, c. 1300-1400. There are four small equal-armed crosses on each side of the pommel. They are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>110</sup>
- Budapest, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa, K, -, c. 1300-1400. There are four small equal-armed crosses on each side of the pommel. They are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>111</sup>
- Pohoroka, Hungary, Type XVII, H2, 5, c. 1400-1450. There is a small equal-armed cross composed of 5 dots on one side of the pommel<sup>112</sup>
- Putzipusta, Hungary, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVIa, Z, 1, c. 1300-1400. There is a simple equal-armed cross on one side of the pommel, with non-ferrous inlay<sup>113</sup>
- Šoderica, Croatia, the Museum of the City of Koprivnica, Type XVIa, 5, K, c. 1350. There are marks of the Greek cross on the pommel, Type XVIa, 5, H/K, c. 1350. There are marks of the Greek cross on the pommel<sup>114</sup>
- unknown locality, the National Museum in Szczecin, Type XIIIa, K, 2, c. 1300-1350. A simple equal-armed cross can be seen on each side of the pommel. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>115</sup>
- unknown find place, in the collection of the National Museum in Szczecin, Type XIIIa, I, 7, c. 1250-1350. There is a small cross pommée on one side of the pommel<sup>116</sup>
- unknown find place, the National Museum in Szczecin, Type XIIa, I, 7, c. 1350-1400. There are crosses pattée in circles on both faces on the pommel<sup>117</sup>
- unknown find place, in the collection of the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin (inv. No. W 58/102), Type XII?, II, 1a, early 14<sup>th</sup> c. A cross fourchée in a circle can be seen on both sides of the pommel. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>118</sup>
- unknown find place, the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin (inv. No. W 888), Type XVI, K, 3, the 14<sup>th</sup> c. There is a cross pattée in a double circle on one side of the pommel. The mark is inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>119</sup>
- unknown find place, the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin (inv. No. W 901), Type XVIa, II, 1a, c. 1300-1350. A cross fourchée in a circle can be seen on one side of the pommel and there is a hardly identifiable sign on the other side. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>120</sup>
- unknown locality, the Märkisches Museum in Berlin, Type XIIIa, K, 1a, c. 1300-1350. There is a simple equal-armed cross on one side of the pommel. The mark is inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>121</sup>
- a 13<sup>th</sup> c. sword from the collection of the Königliches Zeughaus in Berlin, with a cross pattée inlaid with non-ferrous metal on its pommel<sup>122</sup>
- unknown locality, the Heimatmuseum Demmin, Type XVIa, Z (derivate), 5, c. 1300-1350. A simple equal-armed cross can be seen on each side of the pommel<sup>123</sup>
- unknown locality, the Historisches Museum Dresden, Type XVIa, K, 5, c. 1300-1400. There is a simple equal-armed cross in a circle on both sides of the pommel<sup>124</sup>
- unknown locality, the Kulturhistorisches Museum Stralsund, Type XIIIa, K, 2, c. 1250-1350. There is a simple equal-armed cross on one side of the pommel, inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>125</sup>
- unknown locality, the Kulturhistorisches Museum Stralsund, Type XIIIa, I, 2, c. 1300-1350. A cross potent can be seen on one side of the pommel and there are

<sup>106</sup> Głosek 1984, 146, cat. No. 116, Pl. II, No. 116.

<sup>107</sup> Głosek 1984, 149, cat. No. 159, Plate II, cat. No. 159.

<sup>108</sup> Głosek 1984, 147, cat. No. 137, Plate II, cat. No. 137.

<sup>109</sup> Siemers and Stawinoga 2014, 75-96.

<sup>110</sup> Głosek 1984, 171, cat. No. 422, Pl. II, No. 422; Aleksić 2007, 149, cat. No. 62, classifies the sword as Type XIIIa, II(?), 1.

<sup>111</sup> Głosek 1984, 172, cat. No. 424, Pl. II, No. 424; Aleksić 2007, 150, cat. No. 64.

<sup>112</sup> Głosek 1984, 173, cat. No. 437, Plate II, cat. No. 437; Aleksić 2007, 151, cat. No. 76.

<sup>113</sup> Głosek 1984, 173, cat. No. 438, Pl. II, No. 438; Aleksić 2007, 151, cat. No. 77, classifies the sword as Type XVIa, K1, 2.

<sup>114</sup> Demo 1983-1984, No. 5, 214, 228-231, Pls. 2.2, 4.3; Aleksić 2007, 175, cat. No. 322, classifies the sword as Type XVIa?, K/K1, 2.

<sup>115</sup> Głosek 1973a, 155, cat. No. 63; Głosek et al. 1978, 38, cat. No. 97; Głosek 1984, 168, cat. No. 380, Pl. II, No. 380.

<sup>116</sup> Głosek 1973a, 155, cat. No. 65; Głosek 1984, 168, cat. No. 381, Plate II, cat. No. 381.

<sup>117</sup> Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 126-127, Figs. 14-15, 135-136, cat. No. 6.

<sup>118</sup> Głosek 1984, 152, cat. No. 188, Plate II, cat. No. 188 – it is possibly a sword of King John of Luxembourg, dated to 1328; Müller and Kölling 1984, 164, 363, cat. No. 21; Chodyński 2008, 103-104, Fig. 5; Michalak 2011, 55.

<sup>119</sup> Głosek 1984, 152, cat. No. 194, Plate II, cat. No. 194.

<sup>120</sup> Głosek 1984, 152, cat. No. 195, Plate II, cat. No. 195.

<sup>121</sup> Głosek 1984, 153, cat. No. 205, Pl. II, No. 205.

<sup>122</sup> Marek 2014, 54, 190, Fig. 20e.

<sup>123</sup> Głosek 1984, 153, cat. No. 208, Pl. II, No. 208.

<sup>124</sup> Głosek 1984, 154, cat. No. 212, Pl. II, No. 212.

<sup>125</sup> Głosek 1984, 152, cat. No. 189, Pl. II, No. 189.



6 Greek crosses on the circumference. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>126</sup>

- unknown locality, the National Museum in Prague, Type XIIIa, K, 5, c. 1350. There is a simple equal-armed cross on both sides of the pommel, with remains of non-ferrous inlay<sup>127</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa, K, 1, c. 1300-1350. There is a simple equal-armed cross on both sides of the pommel, inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>128</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa, K, 3, c. 1300-1350. One can see a simple equal-armed cross in a circle on one side of the pommel<sup>129</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XIIIa?, K, 3, c. 1300-1400. There is a simple equal-armed cross on one side of the pommel, with non-ferrous inlay<sup>130</sup>

- unknown locality, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Type XVIa, K, 5, c. 1300-1400. One can see a simple Latin cross on one side of the pommel, with remains of non-ferrous inlay<sup>131</sup>.

It seems evident that in the case of the discussed sword the sign of the cross on the pommel is to be considered a religious and devotional symbol, which is part of the entire ornamentation program of the sword. Furthermore, it is interesting that in the group of 37 swords with signs of the cross on their hilts the chronology of 27 of them is similar to the sword in question. Furthermore, 30 such swords share common typological features with the discussed weapon, such as Type XIIIa blades or discoid pommels (Types I, H, K). Their territorial distribution is also remarkable. They are almost absent in Poland (in its Late Medieval borders) and Bohemia. On the other hand, there are strong concentrations of such swords in East Germany and Pomerania (14 finds) as well as in Hungary and Croatia (10 finds)<sup>132</sup>.

Concerning the significance of the entire ornamental program of the discussed sword, the sign of the cross, apart from its devotional significance, could also be considered as a protective apotropaic talisman<sup>133</sup>. Swords with equal-

armed crosses were used by Crusaders participating in military expeditions to Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon, which were organised by rulers of Cyprus in the period between the mid-14<sup>th</sup> to the end of the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., as well as by defenders of Cyprus against the infidels<sup>134</sup>.

A twelve-petal rosette with a cross is often interpreted as the Cloud of Light (a symbol of Resurrection) or the Light of God<sup>135</sup>. On the other hand, the flower of the rose is often associated with the Holy Virgin<sup>136</sup>. It could be therefore tentatively proposed that the rosette on the blade of the discussed sword may have a similar meaning. Furthermore, L. Marek says that twelve-petal rosettes (interpreted as Clouds of Light with petals standing for the Twelve Apostles) are known from bronze pommels of swords belonging to Crusaders fighting in the Levant<sup>137</sup>. Furthermore, eight- or twelve-petal rosettes with crosses inside them can be found on Crusader coins<sup>138</sup>.

The letter S, as stated above, could be both a mark of a swordmaker or a workshop, or an abbreviation of the word *Sanctus*. It seems that the latter interpretation would fit better into the entire ornamentation program of the discussed sword<sup>139</sup>.

The symbols of the cross pattée and the Maltese cross (the latter obviously associated with the Order of St John) were often used by Crusaders in the Middle East. They can also be found, i.a., on coins minted in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in other Crusader dominions<sup>140</sup>. They can also be seen on Crusaders' surcoats, as evidenced by the famous image of a Knight of Christ from the Westminster Psalter (c. 1225-1250)<sup>141</sup>.

The cross crosslet, as mentioned before, could be considered as a simplified Jerusalem cross, an obvious symbol of Five Wounds of Christ. The Jerusalem cross was also worn by knights of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre and Crusaders on their mantles<sup>142</sup>. It became the main symbol of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although it probably occurred quite late, that is, in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>143</sup> The sign of

<sup>134</sup> Marek 2014, 56.

<sup>135</sup> Förstner 1990, 105-107; Biborski et al. 2011, 114.

<sup>136</sup> Förstner 1990, 192-193.

<sup>137</sup> Marek 2014, 55.

<sup>138</sup> *Coins of the Crusaders* 2005, Nos. 72-77; Folda 2005, 360-361, Fig. 222, 466-467, Fig. 316, 468, Fig. 317.

<sup>139</sup> Głosek 1984, 60; Chodyński 2011, 106.

<sup>140</sup> *Coins of the Crusaders* 2005, Nos. 1-4, 8-22, 31-32, 53-59, 62-64, 70-77, 82-84; Folda 2005, 46, Figs. 10, 12, 47, Figs. 13-14, 49, Fig. 17, 51, Fig. 21, 84, Figs. 36-37, 85, Figs. 39, 41, 204, Fig. 109, 316, Fig. 163, 359, Figs. 214-215, 361, Figs. 220-223, 467, Fig. 315, 467, Fig. 316; Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 325, Nos. 824A-D, 825, Vol. 2, 805, Nos. 824A-D, 825.

<sup>141</sup> Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 364, No. 949, Vol. 2, 830, No. 949; Nicolle 1999, 75-76, No. 190, 394, No. 190.

<sup>142</sup> Förstner 1990, 15; Chodyński 2008, 105; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 128-129; Michalak 2011, 56-61.

<sup>143</sup> Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 304, No. 753N, Vol. 2, 791, No. 753N; Nicolle 1999, 27-28, No. 230, 366, No. 230; Michalak 2011, 57-58.

<sup>126</sup> Müller and Kölling 1981, 167, No. 23, 363, cat. No. 23, 395, No. 23; Głosek 1984, 152, cat. No. 192, Pl. II, No. 192.

<sup>127</sup> Głosek 1984, 143, cat. No. 77, Pl. II, No. 77.

<sup>128</sup> Głosek 1984, 174, cat. No. 462, Pl. II, No. 462; Aleksic 2007, 153, cat. No. 100, classifies the sword as Type XVIa/XVII, K1, 1.

<sup>129</sup> Głosek 1984, 174-175, cat. No. 463, Pl. II, No. 463; Aleksic 2007, 154, cat. No. 101, classifies the crosspiece as Type 3.

<sup>130</sup> Głosek 1984, 175, cat. No. 467, Pl. II, No. 467; Aleksic 2007, 154, cat. No. 105.

<sup>131</sup> Głosek 1984, 175, cat. No. 477, Pl. II, No. 477; Aleksic 2007, 155, cat. No. 115.

<sup>132</sup> See also Żabiński et al. 2014, 120-121.

<sup>133</sup> Chodyński 2008, 101; Chodyński 2011, 106; Marek 2014, 56; for a general meaning of the symbol of the cross see, e.g., Förstner 1990, 12-16.

the Jerusalem cross also occurs on Crusader coins<sup>144</sup>. All in all, the entire sword with its pommel and crosspiece, was a prefiguration of the cross, i.e., the symbol of the Passion. In the case of the discussed weapon, this symbol was additionally reinforced with a „seal” of the cross on its pommel<sup>145</sup>.

The discussed sword can also be analysed in the context of several other sword finds from Pomerelian and Prussian territories of the state of the Teutonic Order and their vicinities. The following swords can be mentioned:

- the afore-mentioned sword from Przydatki, Type XIII, I, 2, late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. The pommel of this sword is ornamented with a Greek cross on each side disc and with four Greek crosses on the circumference. Attention is also drawn to a non-ferrous metal washer on the top of the pommel<sup>146</sup>

- the afore-mentioned sword from the River Święta, Type XIIIa, I, 1a, c. 1300-1350. On one flat there are marks of a heart on top of a T cross, an H, a cross potent within a double circle, and a V. On the other flat there is a small cross pommée, a G, a six-petal rosette in a double circle, with a dot on each petal, and a D. As said above, the marks of the heart with the cross and the cross pommée may be individual marks of swordmakers. Furthermore, there is an X mark on the tang, which may imply the blade's provenance from a smithy in Hungary. It is also remarkable that the pommel is provided with a non-ferrous metal washer on its top<sup>147</sup>

- the afore-mentioned sword from the River Tina/Tejna from the locality of Raczki Elbląskie (Unter-Krebswalde), in the collection of the Archaeological-Historical Museum in Elbląg, Type XIIIa, J, 2, dated to c. 1250-1350. On one flat there is a poorly preserved sign of a cross potent within a circle, inlaid with non-ferrous metal. Very poorly preserved marks on the other flat are also provided with such inlay. One can speculate that these are remains of an equal-armed cross, a circle with a letter inside (an S?), as well as traces of a third mark. Punched equal-armed crosses can be seen on both sides of the pommel and on the ends of the crosspiece. It is also interesting that on the top of the pommel there is a non-ferrous metal washer. It is almost identical as that on the pommel of the sword in question<sup>148</sup>

- the afore-mentioned another sword from the River Tina/Tejna in the vicinity of Elbląg (Elbing), found in the neighbourhood of the village of Tropy Elbląskie (Streckfuß), Type XVIa/XVII, J, 2. It is dated to about 1350-after 1400. On both side discs of the pommel there is a cross crosslet, inlaid with non-ferrous metal. The circumference of the pommel is ornamented with six equal-armed crosses, also inlaid with such metal. On the tang there is a bladesmith's mark of X. On one flat there is a leaf mark, a majuscule inscription of IDRS or CE/OCRS (the S is provided with two small Greek crosses) and a wolf-mark. The inscription could be tentatively read as *Iesus Dominus Rex Salvator, Iesus Deus Rex Salvator, Initiatus Omnipotens [Christus] Rex Salvator*, or *Iesus Christus Eterne [Honestus] Rex Salvator*. The S could also be interpreted as *Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus* or *Sanctus Salvator Sanctus*. On the other flat there is an equal-armed cross, a majuscule inscription of GDA (? – instead of G, there could also be C or O) and a wolf-mark. There are several possible interpretations of this inscription, such as *Crux Domini Aeterna* or *Omnipotens Dominus Aeternus*. It could be also supposed that the reading commences from the side of the wolf-mark and stands for A (or EH), D and O. This could be interpreted as *Aeternus Dominus Omnipotens* or *Eterne Honestus Dominus Omnipotens*<sup>149</sup>

- the afore-mentioned sword from a forest near Elbląg (Elbing), Prussia, Poland, Type XIII, II, 11, 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c. The ball-shaped terminals of its crosspiece are ornamented with equal-armed crosses, and on the pommel there is a star-shaped symbol, possibly related to the Holy Virgin<sup>150</sup>

It is possible to mention numerous other examples of similarly ornamented swords, whose ornamentation program is related to Crusades<sup>151</sup>. A special attention should be paid to the mentioned Type XII?, II, 1a sword, dated to the early 14<sup>th</sup> c. and kept at the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. On one flat there is a cross potent within a heraldic shield and a rosette below it. On the other flat there is a lion rampant within a heraldic shield, and a rosette below it. On both sides of the pommel there is a cross fourchée. As stated by M. Głosek, this sword can be related to the Bohemian King John of Luxembourg and his Crusade against Lithuania in 1329. This researcher supposes that the sword may have been a gift from the Teutonic Order to King John<sup>152</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> *Coins of the Crusaders* 2005, Nos. 37-52; Michalak 2011, 69, Fig. 5.

<sup>145</sup> Chodyński 2011, 106.

<sup>146</sup> Głosek 1984, 161, cat. No. 299, Pl. II, No. 299; Chodyński 2008, 106, Fig. 10; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 129; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32b.

<sup>147</sup> Głosek 1984, 57, 159, cat. No. 273, Pl. XIII, No. 273; Chodyński 2007b, 486; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 131-133, Figs. 22-23; Żabiński et al. 2014, 113, 122; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31b.

<sup>148</sup> Żabiński et al. 2014, 56-58, Fig. 23a-b, 119; Marek 2014, 55-58, 154, cat. No. 127, 191, Fig. 21 – this researcher says that the sword may be of Hungarian provenience.

<sup>149</sup> Chodyński 2007a, 485-486; Chodyński 2008, 105-106, Figs. 8-9; Chodyński 2011, 104; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 113-119, Figs. 1-3, 128-129; Marek 2014, 55, 190, Fig. 20d; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31c.

<sup>150</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 34, cat. No. 10; Głosek 1984, 156, cat. No. 238; Nowakowski 1994, 127, Fig. 3; Marek 2014, 54-55, 154, cat. No. 126, 190, Fig. 20a-c; Kwiatkowski 2016, 339, Fig. 32a.

<sup>151</sup> See, e.g., Marek 2014, 55-57; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121-122.

<sup>152</sup> Głosek 1984, 71, 79-80, 152, cat. No. 188, Pl. I, No. 188, Pl. II, No. 188, Pl. XI, No. 188; Chodyński 2008, 103-104, Fig. 5; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121-122.

Another significant find is the afore-mentioned lost sword of Type XIIIa, I, -, from Santok (Zantoch) in Greater Poland. On one flat there is a Latin cross potent within a heraldic shield, and below it there is a procession of mounted knights with crosses on their shields. The first knight (interpreted as a king, as he seems to wear a crown on his helmet), holds a twelve-petal rosette on a long pole. This rosette may be interpreted as a fan (*flabellum*), which was a symbol of authority and power. On the other flat there is a lion rampant within a heraldic shield. Furthermore, the pommel of the sword is ornamented with an equal-armed cross. M. Głosek relates this sword to the person of the Bohemian King King Přemysl Otakar and his Prussian Crusade in 1267<sup>153</sup>.

Attention is also required for the afore-mentioned sword from an unknown find place, in the collection of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, Type XVIa?, K, 1, dated to about 1300-1400. On one flat there is a Jerusalem cross within a circle, while the other flat is ornamented with a partially preserved cross potent (?) within a circle, connected with a line to a double letter S. The marks are inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>154</sup>. A. Michalak assumes that this sword is of possibly Hungarian provenance (based on its typological traits). Furthermore, this scholar supposes that the Crusade style ornament of the sword could be related to anti-Turkish wars of King Louis the Great of Hungary (1326-1382) of the Anjou dynasty. As it is known, this ruler also used the title of the King of Jerusalem. A. Michalak says that this sword may have also been a gift to King Louis from Peter of Lusignan King of Cyprus (1328-1369). The weapon may have been given to King Louis in 1364 during the convention in Kraków, with the aim of obtaining his help for King Peter's plans to regain the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>155</sup>.

With regard to other finds of weapons with similar marks from the Baltic region, of interest is the mentioned Type XII, I, 1 sword from Kurkijoki in Karelia, dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> c. Both faces of the pommel of this sword are ornamented with a copper-inlaid cross pattée. The chronology of this sword enables the researcher to relate it to Crusade activity in this area<sup>156</sup>.

Another interesting example of a pommel ornamented with the cross (although from a more distant region) is the sword pommel of Pierre de Dreux (about 1190-1250),

Duke of Brittany and a Crusader with King Louis IX<sup>157</sup>. Another weapon of this kind is a sword belonging to Type XVII, H2, 2 (c. 1380-1420) of unknown provenance. On its pommel there is a sign of a cross potent<sup>158</sup>. Attention is also drawn to the mentioned Type XIIIa/XVIa, J, 6/7 sword dated to c. 1290-1360 and found at Rungholt, Wadden Sea (Wattenmeer) in the vicinity of the holm of Südfall (Hallig Südfall) in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. On each face of its pommel there is an inlaid equal-armed cross. According to S.-H. Siemers and G. Stawinoga, the presence of the cross on the pommel is one of reasons for which this sword can be treated as part of a group of „Hanseatic” swords, known from Hamburg, Lübeck, Stadte, Rungholt and perhaps Stralsund as well<sup>159</sup>. E. Oakeshott also mentions a Type XIIa, II, 1 sword of unknown provenance, dated to c. 1250-1350. On its pommel there is a punched cross pattée, placed in a circular field, surrounded with 8 rosettes<sup>160</sup>. Attention is also drawn to the afore-mentioned Type XIIIa, J, 2 sword from the River Thames in London, opposite the Temple. On each face of the pommel there is an equal-armed cross, inlaid with copper. E. Oakeshott cautiously speculates that this sword may have belonged to a Knight Templar<sup>161</sup>. Worth mentioning is also a Type XVI, K, 7 sword from the Cathedral of Chartres, possibly a property of King Philip the Fair. The pommel of this weapon is ornamented with a fragment of woven fabric in the shape of the cross<sup>162</sup>. Attention is also drawn to a c. 1300-1350 sword from the Cathedral Treasury in Toledo. On its pommel there is a heraldic shield with a Latin cross and similar shields can also be seen on the scabbard<sup>163</sup>.

In the light of these examples it seems certain that the ornamentation program of the discussed sword perfectly matches the symbolism of Crusades. It can be said that the discussed weapon and the swords from Przydatki, the River Święta, the River Tina/Tejna in Raczkki Elbląskie (Unter-Krebswalde), and another sword from the River Tina/Tejna near Tropy Elbląskie (Streckfuß) form a rather coherent group, both with regard to their typochronology and ornaments. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the first three weapons are provided with non-ferrous metal washers on their pommels, as it is the case with the discussed sword. Worth mentioning is also another find of a Type XVIa, XVII, H1, 2 (14<sup>th</sup>-early 15<sup>th</sup> c.) sword from the River Tina/Tejna, now in the collection of the Polish

<sup>153</sup> Głosek and Nadolski 1970, 13-14, 49, cat. No. 54; Głosek 1973a, 147, cat. No. 36; Głosek 1984, 57, 71, 79-80, 162, cat. No. 309, Pl. XIV, No. 309; Ławrynowicz 2005, 108; Chodyński 2008, 101-103, Fig. 1; Żabiński et al. 2014, 122; Kwiatkowski 2016, 338, Fig. 31d.

<sup>154</sup> Głosek 1984, 58, 175, cat. No. 474, Pl. XIX, No. 474; Aleksic 2007, 155, cat. No. 112.

<sup>155</sup> Michalak 2011, 51-61.

<sup>156</sup> Kirpičnikov et al. 2006, 41, 45-46, 55, 63, Fig. 13, 69, Fig. 32.

<sup>157</sup> Grancsay 1939, 211-213; Michalak 2011, 54; Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 307, No. 762A-B, Vol. 2, 796, No. 762A-B; Nicolle 1999, 31-32, No. 33A-B, 371, No. 33A-B.

<sup>158</sup> Oakeshott 1964, Pl. 30B; Oakeshott 2000, 163.

<sup>159</sup> Siemers and Stawinoga 2014, 75-96.

<sup>160</sup> Oakeshott 2000, 93.

<sup>161</sup> Oakeshott 2000, 94; Marek 2014, 56, says that this sword may have been a case of a deposition of a weapon in order to protect it against profanation.

<sup>162</sup> Oakeshott 2000, 124.

<sup>163</sup> Nicolle 1988, Vol. 1, 266, No. 663, Vol. 2, 768, No. 663.

Army Museum in Warszawa. On one of its flats there is a mark of a half-cross, inlaid with non-ferrous metal<sup>164</sup>. The afore-mentioned sword related to King John of Luxembourg and the lost sword from Santok (Zan-toch) also form convenient analogies with regard to their ornamentation. Taking into consideration the chronology and find place of the discussed sword, it can be proposed that it belonged to a knight – a guest of the Teutonic Order, who participated in a Crusade against pagan Lithuanians<sup>165</sup>.

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<sup>164</sup> Siciński 2000, 63; Chodyński and Żabiński 2011, 115-116, Fig. 4.

<sup>165</sup> See also Chodyński 2008, 106; Chodyński 2011, 105-106; Żabiński et al. 2014, 121-122.



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## Streszczenie

### Późnośredniowieczny miecz z Wisły w okolicach Gniewa na Pomorzu Gdańskim

Artykuł omawia znalezisko późnośredniowiecznego miecza z Wisły z okolic Gniewa na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Miecz jest bogato ornamentowany, zarówno na głowni, jak i na głowicy. Głowica miecza zdobiona jest krzyżem greckim, z kolei na trzpieniu widnieją znaki kowalskie wykonane przecinakami. Na głowni widoczne są wycinane znaki, wypełnione metalem nieżelaznym: S w podwójnym okręgu, dwa krzyże rozwidłone, krzyż zdwojony w pojedynczym okręgu, A, R oraz częściowo zachowany krzyż kawalerski w podwójnym okręgu. Na drugim płazie widnieje krzyż kawalerski w pojedynczym okręgu, dwa krzyże rozwidłone, rozeta sześciopłatkowa, H, E oraz S w podwójnym okręgu. Miecz można zaklasyfikować do typu XIIIa, J, 2 E. Oakeshotta i datować na lata ok. 1300-1350.

Można wskazać liczne analogie do znaków występujących na zabytku. Cały program ornamentacyjny miecza najprawdopodobniej miał znaczenie zarówno dewocyjne jak i ochronno-apatropaiczne. Oręż ten można analizować w kontekście podobnych znalezisk z terytorium państwa Zakonu Niemieckiego i jego otoczenia, a także innych mieczów, których ornamentyka może być powiązana z symboliką krucjatową. Można zatem założyć, iż miecz mógł należeć do rycerza – gościa Zakonu, uczestniczącego w krucjacie przeciwko bałtyjskim poganom.

