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Nagovor urednika

Foreword



Tokratna številka Vojaške zgodovine je tematska, posvečena različnim vidikom bojevanja v poznem srednjem veku. Pomeni majhen prispevek k vse hitreje rastoči veji vojaškozgodovinskih raziskav, ki ima v tujini že bogato tradicijo. Za slovensko zgodovinopisje pa je vendarle prelomna vsaj v enem pogledu – čeprav tudi naša medievistika v zadnjih desetletjih doživlja silovit razvoj, so bile raziskave vojskovanja v tem obdobju dolgo zapostavljene. Zbornik, ki je pred vami, je prva domača publikacija v takšni obliki, ki v celoti obravnava prav to problematiko. Kot dokazuje naraščajoče zanimanje zanjo, verjamemo, da se ji bo v bližnji prihodnosti pridružila še kakšna.

Zamisel za zbornik se nam je porodila ob pripravah na delavnico srednjeveških borilnih veščin, ki je bila 11. in 12. oktobra 2008 v Ljubljani. Na njej smo gostili več tujih in dva domača interpretata poznosrednjeveških sistemov bojevanja: Kanadčana slovenskega rodu Davida M. Cvet, Čeha Petra Matouška, Slovaka Martina Fabiana ter Igorja Sancina in Romana Vučajnka. S to delavnico smo nadaljevali in nadgradili niz podobnih prireditev, ki smo jih pod pokroviteljstvom Narodnega muzeja Slovenije v zadnjih letih pripravili že večkrat. Sodelovanje znanstvene ustanove z raziskovalci srednjeveških borilnih veščin se je izkazalo za plodno, saj tako predstavljena in oživiljena zgodovina vedno naleti na dober odziv javnosti. Da bi dogodek obrodil tudi trajnejše sadove in poudaril potrebo po bolj sistematičnih znanstvenih raziskavah v prihodnosti, smo se odločili, da poskusimo k temu cilju prispevati še spodbudo v obliki samostojnega in – kar je morda še pomembnejše – interdisciplinarnega zbornika.

Vojaška zgodovina starejših obdobjev se v Sloveniji komaj prebujata. Izvirnih preglednih del domačih avtorjev, ki bi se ukvarjala s tem področjem, tako rekoč nimamo, v trdnejšo oporo so nam lahko le maloštevilne, tematsko

This edition of Military History is entirely dedicated to various aspects of combat in the Late Middle Ages. It is a modest contribution to the rapidly growing branch of military history, which already maintains a rich tradition outside of Slovenia. Nevertheless, at least in one aspect, it presents a turning point for Slovenian historiography. Although our domestic medieval studies have experienced dramatic development in the last decades, the research of warfare in this period was long neglected. This journal is the first Slovenian publication that addresses the subject in a comprehensive manner. As interest in this topic is increasing, we firmly believe that it will soon be followed by other similar publications.

The idea for the journal came up during the preparations for a workshop on medieval martial arts, which was held from 11 to 12 October 2008 in Ljubljana. The workshop hosted several foreign and two Slovenian interpreters of late medieval combat systems: David M. Cvet, a Canadian of Slovenian roots, Peter Matoušek from the Czech Republic and Martin Fabian from Slovakia, as well as Igor Sancin and Roman Vučajnk. The workshop was a continuation and upgrade of a series of similar events which were organised under the auspices of the National Museum of Slovenia several times over the last few years. The cooperation of a scientific institution with researchers of medieval martial arts has proven to be a productive undertaking, since history presented and revived in such a manner always receives a good public response. In order for this event to have a lasting impact and stimulate more systematic scholarly research in the future, we decided to contribute to this objective by issuing an independent – and what is perhaps even more important – an interdisciplinary journal.

The military history of earlier periods has just started to emerge in Slovenia. Original treatment by domestic authors providing a clear overview of this subject matter is practically non-existent. There are only a small number of thematically limited studies which may provide some support. This is partly also reflected in the articles on the following pages.

omejene študije. Odsev takšnih razmer so delno tudi članki na straneh, ki sledijo. Nekateri med njimi so splošnejši, pregledno zasnovani. Bralcu poskušajo približati zgodovinski kontekst in materialno kulturo dobe z značilno obrambno arhitekturo. To je pomembno za razumevanje specifičnih vprašanj, s katerimi so se ukvarjali drugi avtorji – od borilnih sistemov poznosrednjeveških mojstrov do vojnih pohodov in najemništva ter razmišljanj o arheološkem gradivu. Ne delamo si utvar, da smo vse omenjene teme dokončno obdelali, še manj izčrpali. Naj bodo naši prispevki predvsem izziv slovenskemu zgodovinopisju in tvoren poskus utiranja novih poti!

Za konec dolgujemo iskreno zahvalo sodelavcem Vojaškega muzeja Slovenske vojske, ki so nam nesebično pomagali že pri pripravi delavnice, še bolj pa pri izdaji tega zbornika; brez njihove podpore ga ne bi bilo. Upamo, da se bo naše sodelovanje še okrepilo, hkrati pa njihovi mladi ustanovi želimo srečno, uspešno pot – zlasti pri načrtovani muzejski postavitvi v mariborski Kadetnici, kjer si v prihodnjih letih obetamo prvi celovit prikaz vojaške zgodovine slovenskega prostora.

Tomaž Lazar
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Some of them are of a more general nature, offering a broad overview. Their aim is to bring the historical context and the material culture of the period with a typical defence architecture closer to the reader. This is significant for the understanding of specific issues other authors have dealt with – from the combat systems developed by late medieval masters to military campaigns and mercenary soldiers as well as considerations on archaeological material. We do not pretend to have exhausted the topic by any stretch of imagination. Let these articles represent a challenge for Slovenian historiography and a creative attempt to pave new paths!

Finally, we would like to thank our colleagues from the Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces for offering us their generous assistance with organising the workshop and, even more, for the publication of this journal. It would not have been realised without their help. We hope that our cooperation will strengthen and, at the same time, we wish their newly established institution luck and great success, in particular in planning the museum exhibition in the Cadet School in Maribor where we hope to see the first comprehensive display of the Slovenian military history in the following years.

Tomaž Lazar
Guest editor
National Museum of Slovenia



Nekoč so bili bojevniki. Poznosrednjeveški borilni priročniki v kontekstu vojaškega razvoja

Once Were Warriors: Late Medieval Martial Arts Manuals in the Context of Military Development

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Izvleček

Pojav pisanih in ilustriranih borilnih priročnikov v poznem srednjem veku se časovno ujema s korenitimi spremembami evropskega vojskovanja. V 14. st. je fevdalni sklic vitezov postopno izgubil nekdanji pomen, vse večjo vlogo so prevzemali najemniški vojaki. V Evropi se je uveljavila pretežno defenzivna taktika, ki je temeljila na pehotnem bojevanju, sčasoma se je razširila tudi uporaba ognjenega orožja. V tem kontekstu si lahko razvoj formaliziranega poučevanja borilnih veščin razlagamo predvsem kot prizadevanje za učinkovitejšo vojaško urjenje, ki je zagotavljalo preživetje na vse bolj nevarnih bojiščih konec srednjega veka.

Ključne besede: vojska, vojskovanje, srednji vek, urjenje, borilne veščine, orožje, pehota, najemniki, topništvo, husiti.

T. i. Nürnberški rokopis, datiran okrog leta 1389, je najzgodnejši znan pisni vir, ki opisuje borilni sistem nemškega mojstra Johannes Liechtenauerja.¹ Med raziskovalci vojaške zgodovine ostaja slabo znan, malo je tudi šolanih medievistov, ki se ukvarjajo z borilnimi veščinami. Kljub ozki tematiki pa gre v resnici za večstransko zanimiv dokument, ne le zato, ker sodi med najstarejše ohranjene srednjeveške

Abstract

The emergence of written and illustrated martial arts manuals in the Late Middle Ages coincides with profound changes in European warfare. In the 14th century, the feudal assembly of knights gradually lost its previous significance, whereas mercenary soldiers took on an increasingly important role. In Europe, defensive infantry tactics were gaining ground, and eventually the use of firearms spread. In this context, the development of a formalised teaching of martial arts is explained in particular as the endeavor for more effective military training which ensured survival on increasingly dangerous battlefields at the end of the Middle Ages.

Key words: armed forces, warfare, Middle Ages, training, martial arts, weapons, infantry, mercenaries, artillery, Hussites.

The Nuremberg Manuscript dating from around 1389 is the earliest known written document describing the combat system of the German fencing master Johannes Liechtenauer.¹ This document is not well-known among military history researchers, as the number of educated medievists who research martial arts remains limited as well. Not only dealing with this narrow topic, it is indeed a universally interesting document because it belongs to the oldest preserved medieval martial arts manuals. By its

¹ Germanisches Museum, Nürnberg, Cod. HS. 3227a. Objava z delnim prevodom je dostopna na spletu: David Lindholm, Cod. HS. 3227a or Hango Döbringer Fechtbuch from 1389, http://www.thearma.org/Manuals/Dobringer_A5_sidebyside.pdf (obiskano 12. 9. 2008).

¹ Germanisches Museum, Nürnberg, Cod. HS. 3227a. The publication with a partial translation is accessible online: David Lindholm, Cod. HS. 3227a or Hango Döbringer Fechtbuch from 1389, http://www.thearma.org/Manuals/Dobringer_A5_sidebyside.pdf (visited 12 September 2008).

borilne priročnike sploh – po starosti ga nesporno prekaša le ilustrirani rokopis I.33,² ki pa vsebuje le krajša besedila in je zato manj povéden. Nürnberški rokopis razkriva vpogled v realističen, učinkovit in nedvomno preizkušen sistem rokoborbe in boja z različnimi vrstami hladnega orožja. Veščina mojstra Liechtenauerja je agresivna in neposredna: nasprotnika je treba onemogočiti hitro in odločno, se nenehno, a premišljeno gibati in tako izničiti njegove napade. Število tehnik in stavov je zmanjšano na minimum. V boju na življenje in smrt je namreč bolje zelo podrobno obvladati manjše število zares učinkovitih tehnik kot pa površno poznati kopico takšnih, ki jih v sili najbrž nikoli ne bomo mogli uspešno izvesti. Ta poduk presenetljivo spominja na klasično delo legendarnega japonskega mečevalca Miyamota Musasija.³ Enako združljiv je tudi s številnimi sodobnimi vojaškimi sistemi bojevanja od blizu, če omenimo le tiste zavezniških inštruktorjev Fairbairna, Sykesa in Applegata iz obdobja 2. svetovne vojne.⁴

O Johannesu Liechtenauerju vemo zelo malo, kar je nenavadno glede na to, da je po dozdajšnjih raziskavah nesporno osrednja osebnost poznosrednjeveških borilnih veščin. Že za časa življenja, v drugi polovici ali mor-da natančneje v tretji četrtini 14. st., si je vsaj v nemških deželah pridobil sloves izjemnega mečevalca. Še globoko v 16. st. je Liechtenauerjevo ime v nemških borilnih šolah pomenilo znak kakovosti, njegove veščine so bolj ali manj nespremenjene prehajale na mlajše generacije.⁵ Gotovo ni bil prvi mečevalski mojster na evropski celini in najbrž tudi ne prvi, ki mu je uspelo utemeljiti njegovo lastno in zelo ugledno borilno šolo. Že Nürnberški rokopis uvodoma skromno pojasnjuje, da Liechtenauer svojega borilnega sistema ni izumil sam, temveč je na potovanjih po različnih deželah le do popolnosti spoznal in doumel bistvo veščine, ki je obstajala že pred veliko stoletji.⁶ Sam ni zapustil nobenega pisnega dela, so pa vsebino njegovih lekcij zapisovali in likovno

age, it is only surpassed by the illustrated manual I.33,² which, however, contains only brief captions and, as a result, is less informative. The Nuremberg Manuscript reveals insight into a realistic, effective and, certainly, a battle-proven system of hand-to-hand combat with various types of weapons. Master Liechtenauer's technique is aggressive and direct: the opponent has to be quickly and decisively disabled, and it is necessary to be in constant, yet efficient motion in order to neutralise an opponent's attacks. The number of techniques and positions is reduced to a minimum, since in a life-and-death struggle it is better to master only a small number of truly effective techniques than to be superficially acquainted with numerous techniques that one might never be able to successfully execute in cases of emergency. These teachings are surprisingly reminiscent of the classical piece of writing by the legendary Japanese swordsman Miyamoto Musashi.³ It is equally compatible with numerous modern military systems of close-quarters combat, to mention only a few Allied instructors, such as Fairbairn, Sykes and Applegate from the time of World War II.⁴

Our knowledge on Johannes Liechtenauer is rather limited, which is indeed unusual for a man who is considered by modern research to be the undisputable focal personality of late medieval martial arts. As early as during his lifetime, in the second half or, more precisely, in the third quarter of the 14th century, he gained the reputation in the German states of being an exceptionally skilled swordsman. Even later in the German Schools of Fencing in the 16th century, Liechtenauer's name denoted quality and his skills were passed on to younger generations in a more or less unchanged form.⁵ He was certainly not the first fencing master on the European continent and, probably not the first one able to establish his own eminent fencing school. The introduction of the Nuremberg Manuscript gives a humble explanation that Liechtenauer himself did not invent his fencing techniques, but that he had travelled to many countries where he thoroughly studied and understood the essence of martial arts that had already existed for hundreds of years.⁶ He himself did not leave any written documents to posterity. Nevertheless, the

2 Royal Armouries, Leeds, Ms. I.33.

3 Miyamoto Musashi, *Knjiga petih prstanov*, Ljubljana 1999.

4 William E. Fairbairn, *All-In Fighting*, London 1942; isti avtor, *Get Tough! How to Win in Hand-to-Hand Fighting*, New York, London 1943; Rex Applegate, *Kill – Or Get Killed*, Harrisburg 1943; Rex Applegate – Chuck Melson, *The Close-Combat Files of Colonel Rex Applegate*, Boulder 1998.

5 Glavna študija t. i. nemške šole mečevanja ostaja Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt 1985, zlasti str. 17 sl.

6 Cod. HS. 3227a, 13 v.

2 Royal Armouries, Leeds, Ms. I.33.

3 Miyamoto Musashi, *Knjiga petih prstanov*, Ljubljana 1999.

4 William E. Fairbairn, *All-In Fighting*, London 1942; id., *Get Tough! How to Win in Hand-to-Hand Fighting*, New York, London 1943; Rex Applegate, *Kill – Or Get Killed*, Harrisburg 1943; Rex Applegate – Chuck Melson, *The Close-Combat Files of Colonel Rex Applegate*, Boulder 1998.

5 Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt 1985, in particular p. 17 ff., is still considered to be the main study concerning the German school of fencing.

6 Cod. HS. 3227a, 13 v.

dokumentirali njegovi učenci, da bi ohranili znanje za prihodnje rodove. To je bilo resnično novost, saj bi si še generacijo ali dve prej kaj podobnega težko predstavljali.

Dejstvo, da je Liechtenauerjevo delovanje spodbudilo nastanek številnih borilnih priročnikov in s tem evropske borilne veščine premaknilo v dobo pismenosti, še ni bilo deležno večje strokovne pozornosti. Ne moremo ga preprosto razložiti z večjo stopnjo izobrazbe ali abstraktnimi vplivi renesanse, saj je že od 13. st. po evropskih dvorih in plemiških bivališčih krožila specializirana literatura, namenjena vzgoji mladih vitezov, bodočih vojakov: npr. *Ordene de chevalerie* anonimnega avtorja ter izjemno vplivna *Libre de l'orde de cavalleria* Ramona Lulla,⁷ ki so jo množično prepisovali in ponatiskovali še v zgodnjem novem veku. V isti sklop sodi še *Livre de chevalerie* Geoffroi-ja de Charnyja, ki je nastala okrog leta 1350.⁸ Nobeno delo te vrste pa poleg filozofskega razglabljanja o moralno-etičnem viteškem kodeksu ne vsebuje kaj več od zelo splošnih smernic za predvojaško vzgojo bodočih vitezov. V njih le redko zasledimo praktične nasvete, ki zadevajo bojevanje, zama pa bi iskali opise borilnih tehnik. Knjižni opus Liechtenauerjevih učencev je v tem pogledu prelomen. Zakaj je do tega preloma prišlo prav ob koncu srednjega veka, morda postane lažje razumljivo ob upoštevanju širšega vojaškozgodovinskega konteksta tistega obdobja.

„Pehotna revolucija“ in profesionalizacija

Na velike spremembe v evropskem vojskovanju v začetku 14. st. je argumentirano opozoril že belgijski zgodovinar Jans Verbruggen.⁹ Najbolj očitno jih kaže zaporedje spopadov, ki se je začelo z bitko pri Courtraiju. Tam je 11. julija 1302 elita francoskega viteštva, po splošnem prepričanju sodobnikov najučinkovitejša vojaška sila v Evropi, napadla goste formacije flamskih pešakov. Flamska pehota je bila dokaj dobro oborožena s sulicami, okovanimi gorjačami, samostreli in tudi zaščitno opremo.

contents of his lessons were written down and illustrated by his students to preserve his knowledge for generations to come. That was indeed innovative, as something similar was difficult to be imagined one or two generations earlier.

The fact that Liechtenauer's work stimulated the production of numerous martial arts manuals that moved the European martial arts to the era of literacy has, for the time being, not been subject of greater expert attention. Yet, this fact cannot be simply explained by a higher educational degree or abstract influences of the Renaissance, since in the 13th century specialist literature written for the education of young knights and future soldiers already circulated in castles and other residences of noblemen. For example Ordene de chevalerie written by an anonymous author and the exceptionally influential Libre de l'orde de cavalleria written by Ramon Lull⁷ were copied and reprinted in shoals well into the Renaissance. The book Livre de chevalerie by Geoffroi de Charny, which was written around 1350,⁸ belongs to the same literary tradition. Along with philosophical reflections on moral and ethical codes of knightly conduct, none of these works include anything more than general guidelines for the pre-military education of future knights. Only seldom can one find practical advice on combat and one would search in vain for descriptions of fighting techniques. In this context, the literary opus of Liechtenauer's students marks a significant turning point in martial arts literature. The reason why this occurred at the end of the Middle Ages can be easier understood taking into consideration the broader military historic context of that time.

»Infantry Revolution« and Professionalisation

The Belgian historian Jans Verbruggen⁹ had long ago pointed out and explained the great changes that occurred in European warfare at the beginning of the 14th century. These changes became most evident in the sequence of conflicts that began with the Battle of Courtrai. On 11 July 1302, the elite of the French noble knights, which were, according to the general contemporary opinion, the elite military force in Europe, attacked dense formations of Flemish infantry units.

7 Brian R. Price, *Ramon Lull's Book of Knighthood and Chivalry & the Anonymous Ordene de Chevalerie*, Union City 2001.

8 Richard W. Kaeuper – Elspeth Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, Philadelphia 1996.

9 Jans F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1997, str. 111 sl. Prvotno delo je pod naslovom *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* izšlo l. 1954.

7 Brian R. Price, *Ramon Lull's Book of Knighthood and Chivalry & the Anonymous Ordene de Chevalerie*, Union City 2001.

8 Richard W. Kaeuper – Elspeth Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, Philadelphia 1996.

9 Jans F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1997, p. 111 ff. The original book under the title *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* was published in 1954.



Zmagoviti škotski kralj Robert Bruce na spomeniku pri Bannockburnu, kjer so njegove čete leta 1314 prepričljivo premagale britansko vojsko.

Statue of Robert the Bruce, victorious King of Scots, at Bannockburn, where his units heavily defeated the English army in 1314.

V boj je odšla psihološko motivirana, utrdila pa se je na močnem obrambnem položaju, zavarovanem z močvirji in jarki. Kljub temu večina poznavalcev gotovo ni verjela, da se bodo enote flamske milice, sestavljene iz le delno izurjenih meščanov in podeželanov, lahko uprle naskoku težko oklepljenih francoskih vitezov, ki so jih za bojavnike sistematično vzgajali od mladih nog. Zgodilo pa se je prav to – slabo usklajevani francoski napadi so drug za drugim propadali ob gostem zidu flamskih suličnih osti, v metežu pa je padlo najmanj 1000 francoskih vitezov oziroma kar 40 do 50 odstotkov celotne viteške konjenice, udeležene v naskoku. Flamci so dosegli zmago, ki je osušila ves zahodni svet.¹⁰

Dolgoročneje posledice bitke pri Courtraiju so bile bolj dvoumne. Francoski kralj je kmalu zbral nove sile, da bi se maščeval za težke izgube in zadušil upor v Flandriji. V naslednjih letih sta sledili dve bitki (Arques, 1303, ter Mons-en-Pevele, 1304) z bolj ali manj neodločenim rezultatom – prejšnji poraz je Francoze izučil, da niso več frontalno napadali trdnih formacij suličarjev, Flamci pa so po drugi strani zaradi začetnih uspehov začeli precenjevati svoje sposobnosti in končno izgubili strateško pobudo.¹¹ Toda taktika flamske milice je kmalu dobila posnemovalce. Goste vrste škotskih

The Flemish infantry was relatively well-armed with spears, spiked clubs, crossbows and armour. It joined the battle psychologically well-motivated, and fortified itself in a strong defensive position, protected by moors and ditches. In spite of all that, most of the observers certainly did not believe that the Flemish militia, recruited with only partly trained townsmen and rural inhabitants, was capable of resisting the charge of the heavily armoured French knights, who were systematically raised as warriors ever since their early childhood. Yet, the opposite happened – the badly coordinated French attacks collided with a thick wall of Flemish spear points, and a minimum of 1,000 French knights lost their lives in that turmoil of battle, which represented about 40 to 50 % of the entire noble cavalry that participated in the assault. The Flemish were victorious over the French, which astonished the entire Western world.¹⁰

Long-term consequences of the Battle of Courtrai were more ambiguous. The French king soon gathered new forces to avenge the great losses and stifle the rebellion in Flanders. In the following years, two battles took place (Arques, 1303, and Mons-en-Pevele, 1304) with more or less uncertain results, as the previous defeat taught the French not to attack frontally firm formations of spearmen. On the other hand, the Flemish overestimated their capabilities due to their initial success and finally lost their strategic advantage.¹¹ Yet, the tactics of the Flemish militia were

¹⁰ Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Woodbridge 1996, str. 9–22; Verbruggen 1997, str. 190–194.

¹¹ DeVries 1996, str. 23–48, Verbruggen 1997, str. 194–203.

¹⁰ Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Woodbridge 1996, pp. 9–22; Verbruggen 1997, pp. 190–194.

¹¹ DeVries 1996, pp. 23–48, Verbruggen 1997, pp. 194–203.

suličarjev so na hribu Loudon leta 1307 odbile napade britanskih vitezov in jim prizadejale hude izgube, leta 1314 pa so dosegle še večjo zmago pri Bannockburnu.¹² Leta 1311 so v močvirju pri reki Kephissos v Grčiji neodvisne čete katalonskih najemnikov z obrambnim bojevanjem povsem uničile vojsko atenskega vojvode Valterja Briennskega.¹³ Le malo pozneje, leta 1315, je avstrijski vojvoda Leopold v Švicco povedel močno vojsko z vsaj 2000 vitezi, da bi zadušil vstajo. Na prelazu Morgarten so njegove sile padle v dobro pripravljeno zasedo. Švicarji, po večini zgolj lahko oboroženi kmetje, so jih s strmih pobočij zasuli s skalami in debli, nato pa jih v bliskovitem napadu porazili v metežu, iz katerega se je rešila le peščica avstrijskih vitezov.¹⁴

Skoraj sočasni primeri uspešnega pehotnega bojevanja v geografsko in družbeno zelo različnih delih Evrope so razgalili omejitve viteške konjenice in obrambne sposobnosti dobro vodene pehote, predvsem pa opozorili na to, da se podoba srednjeveškega vojskovanja počasi, a vztrajno spreminja. Do tedaj je bojišča obvladovala težko oborožena viteška konjenica in so druge vrste enot ponavadi obravnavali le kot pomožne sile. V začetku 14. st. pa je postalo jasno, da se lahko ustrezno opremljena pehota v gostih obrambnih formacijah na ugodnem terenu uspešno ubrani tudi pred naskoki najtežje konjenice, če je le dovolj disciplinirana in motivirana. To spoznanje je prineslo hude družbene pretrese, saj je povsem omajalo srednjeveške predstave o tridelni shemi sveta, v kateri je vojaška vloga pripadala le plemstvu. Najbrž ni naključje, da so se prve večje pehotne zmage zgodile prav v krajih, kjer so bile družbene ali nacionalne napetosti še posebej velike in ni manjkalo volje za boj: v urbanizirani Flandriji med gospodarsko močnim in upornim meščanstvom, ki se je otepal oblasti francoske krone; na Škotskem v obrambi pred nenehnimi vpadi angleških vojsk; ter v Švici, kjer je razvoj fevdalizma močno zastajal, habsburške oblastne težnje pa so trčile ob nasprotovanje domačega prebivalstva, ki si je prizadevalo za neodvisnost. V takšnih razmerah je vojskovanje neizogibno postalo bolj

soon copied. Dense formations of Scottish spearmen on Loudon Hill in 1308 fended off the attack of English knights and inflicted huge losses upon them. In 1314, they achieved an even greater victory at Bannockburn.¹² In the moors of the river Kephissos in Greece in 1311, independent companies of Catalan mercenaries won a devastating victory over the army of the Duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne,¹³ through defensive combat. A few years later, in 1315, the Austrian Duke Leopold led a powerful army consisting of at least 2,000 knights to Switzerland to crush a rebellion. On the Morgarten pass, Leopold's units fell into a well-prepared ambush. The Swiss, mainly lightly-armed peasants, attacked them from steep slopes with rocks and logs. Then, swiftly attacking, they crushed them in a mayhem which only a few Austrian knights could escape.¹⁴

Almost contemporary examples of infantry combat in geographically and socially diverse parts of Europe revealed the limitations of noble cavalry and defence capabilities of well-led infantry. In particular, they pointed out that the image of medieval warfare was slowly, yet continually changing. Up to that time, battlefields were governed by heavily-armed knightly cavalry, whereas other types of units were generally reduced to an auxiliary role. At the beginning of the 14th century, it became evident that adequately equipped infantry in dense defensive formations on favourable terrain was capable of successfully defending against even the heaviest cavalry charge as long as it had sufficient discipline and motivation. This new understanding brought about severe social upheaval, since it completely shook the medieval concept of the tripartite world scheme, according to which the military role was reserved for the nobility only. It is probably not a coincidence that the first major infantry victories occurred in places where social and national tensions were particularly high and where a great willingness to fight was present: in the urbanised Flanders among the economically strong and rebellious middleclass that refused to accept the authority of the French crown; in Scotland when defending against constant attacks by English armies or in Switzerland where the development of feudalism greatly lagged behind and the Habsburg's appetite for power clashed against the opposition of the local inhabitants who strived for their independence. In such circumstances, warfare

12 DeVries 1996, str. 49–57, 66–85.

13 DeVries 1996, str. 58–65.

14 DeVries 1996, str. 188–189.

12 DeVries 1996, pp. 49–57, 66–85.

13 DeVries 1996, pp. 58–65.

14 DeVries 1996, pp. 188–189.

totalno, kot je bilo običajno v klasični dobi visokega srednjega veka, to pa je terjalo izjemno veliko žrtev na strani poražencev. Takratni kronisti so brez pretiravanja pisali, da je pri Courtraiju padel cvet francoskega viteštva – s 1000 ali več smrtnimi žrtvami so posledice bitke neposredno občutile plemiške družine v vseh francoskih deželah, kralj Filip IV. pa je v enem dnevu izgubil občuten in težko nadomestljiv del svojih vojaških zmogljivosti. Tolikšne človeške izgube so bile za plemstvo kot izrazito maloštevilen sloj nesprijemljive in so neizogibno omajale plemiške predstave o njihovi lastni vojaški ekskluzivnosti.¹⁵

Razvoj vojskovanja je v prvi polovici 14. st. nakazal nove smernice, ki so jih pravilno prepoznali že nekateri sodobniki. Porazi proti škotskim suličarjem so prepričali angleške vojskovodje, da so opustili taktiko frontalnega konjeniškega naskoka in so začeli posnemati škotske obrambne formacije sestavljene iz težko oboroženih vojakov in vitezov. Ta koncept ni bil povsem nov, vendar so ga Angleži začeli sistematično uporabljati od bitke pri Boroughbridge leta 1322.¹⁶ Dodatno so ga okrepili z novim elementom, velikimi enotami lokostrelcev, ter tako ustvarili zelo učinkovit sistem, ki jim je v prihodnjem stoletju zagotovil številne zmage na Škotskem, še večje uspehe pa na bojiščih stoletne vojne proti Francozom, ki so se precej počasneje prilagodili na novo, pretežno defenzivno bojevanje.¹⁷

V zahodni Evropi je temeljita vojaška preobrazba trajala približno dve generaciji, v Italiji in srednji Evropi pa je bil ta proces nekoliko drugačen in delno časovno zamaknjen, a ne zaradi počasnega širjenja zamisli ali vojaških inovacij, ki so se v srednjeveškem svetu širile presenetljivo hitro, temveč predvsem zaradi različnih družbenih razmer. Večje vprašanje je, ali lahko te spremembe označimo kot revolucionarne.¹⁸ Ta pridevnik se zdi pretirano dramatičen za dogajanje, ki je – gledano širše – vendarle trajalo dlje, po drugi strani pa je prineslo nekatere nasprotujoče si rezultate. Evropski vojskovodje so se začeli izogibati odločilnim bitkam, težko oboroženi konjeniki pa so pogosto raje razjahali in se bojevali peš,

inevitably became more total than in the previous era of the High Middle Ages. That resulted in exceptionally high casualties on the side of the defeated. Contemporary chroniclers wrote, without exaggeration, that the elite of the French knights fell in the Battle of Courtrai – with 1,000 or more casualties, noble families in all French states directly felt its consequences. King Philip IV lost a considerable and hardly replaceable part of his military capabilities. For the nobility, which was small in number, such severe human losses were unacceptable and inevitably shook the nobility's conception of their exclusive right to the military sphere.¹⁵

The development of warfare in the first half of the 14th century indicated new guidelines which were already recognised by some contemporaries. The defeat against Scottish spearmen convinced English commanders to abandon the tactics of frontal cavalry charge and to copy Scottish defence formations composed of heavily-armed soldiers and dismounted knights. This concept was not completely new, but the English started to employ it systematically in 1322, first at the Battle of Boroughbridge.¹⁶ It was additionally reinforced with a new element, large units of archers. The result was a very effective system that ensured England a series of victories in Scotland in the following century, and even greater victories on the battlefields of the Hundred Years' War against the French who adapted more slowly to the new, mainly defensive combat method.¹⁷

Within a span of approximately two generations, Western Europe witnessed a fundamental military transformation. Yet, the same process influenced Italy and Central Europe in a different way and at a different pace. This was not caused by a slower transfer of ideas and military innovations which spread astonishingly quickly, but was rather a result of different social circumstances. It is not certain if these changes can be described as revolutionary.¹⁸ This adjective seems to be too strong to refer to events which, in a broader perspective, occurred within a longer period of time and bore, conversely, some contradictory results. European commanders started to avoid decisive battles; heavily armed cavalry frequently dismounted from their horses and fought on foot if the conditions were not suitable for a cavalry charge. In contrast, infantry was professionalised and, as a consequence, was reduced in number in the second

15 Prim. Maurice Keen, *Das Rittertum*, Düsseldorf 1999, str. 339 sl.; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1984, str. 255–259.

16 DeVries 1996, str. 86–99; Matthew Strickland – Robert Hardy, *The Great Warbow*, Stroud 2005, str. 178–179; Contamine 1984, str. 230–231.

17 Prim. Strickland – Hardy 2005, str. 182–265.

18 Prim. Keen 1999, str. 142–144, 202–203.

15 Cf. Maurice Keen, *Das Rittertum*, Düsseldorf 1999, p. 339 ff.; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1984, pp. 255–259.

16 DeVries 1996, pp. 86–99; Matthew Strickland – Robert Hardy, *The Great Warbow*, Stroud 2005, pp. 178–179; Contamine 1984, pp. 230–231.

17 Cf. Strickland – Hardy 2005, pp. 182–265.

18 Cf. Keen 1999, pp. 142–144, 202–203.

če okoliščine niso bile primerne za konjeniški naskok. Po drugi strani se je pehota še izraziteje profesionalizirala in se v drugi polovici 14. st. posledično številčno zmanjšala. Zlasti lokostrelci in samostrelci so za transport začeli množično uporabljati konje, čeprav so na bojišču praviloma še vedno delovali peš.¹⁹ To je vojskam omogočilo veliko večjo mobilnost in sposobnost bliskovitih udarov na ozemlja nasprotnika, a hkrati začasno povzročilo precejšnje zmanjšanje klasičnih pehotnih sil.²⁰

Najboljši primer takšnega konjeniškega manevrskega vojskovanja je bila v poznem srednjem veku gosto poseljena severna Italija. Že več stoletij so jo pretresali nenehni spopadi med mestnimi državami in različnimi koalicijami, razpihovali so jih še spori med papeži in nemškimi cesarji. Ti so si vse do konca srednjega veka poskušali povrniti nadzor nad bogatimi italijanskimi mestnimi komunami, čeprav tega cilja niso nikoli resnično dosegli. Zaradi nenehnih groženj so bile potrebe po izurjenem vojaštvu velike, zato so v Italijo prihajali tuji najemniki, med katerimi so vsaj do zadnje četrtine 14. st. uživali največ ugleda težko oboroženi konjeniki iz nemških oziroma bližnjih alpskih dežel.²¹ Na podlagi pisnih virov in seznamov imen je mogoče ugotoviti, da je od leta 1320 do 1360 v Italiji delovalo vsaj 10.000 najemnikov iz nemškega cesarstva.²²

Da so se nemški vojaki tako dobro znašli na italijanskih bojiščih, ne preseneča preveč, če upoštevamo, da so tako v Italiji kot v srednji Evropi vojaške operacije še vedno potekale po večini na ravni fajd ali omejene vojne, v kateri so gibljive enote težko oboroženih konjenikov in samostrelcev na konjih pustošile po sovražnih posestih, le redko pa so se zapletle v dolgotrajna obleganja ali velike bitke.²³ Za takšno vojskovanje ni bilo velikih potreb po klasični pehoti, težka konjenica pa je še naprej ohranila pomembno vlogo. K temu sta veliko prispevala tudi domača konjeniška tradicija in

half of the 14th century. Archers and crossbowmen started to massively use horses for transportation, although on the battlefield, they still usually fought on foot.¹⁹ This allowed armies to increase their mobility and ability of carrying out swift strikes on enemy territories and, at the same time, led to a considerable reduction of classical infantry forces.²⁰

The best example of such cavalry warfare in the Late Middle Ages occurred in the densely populated north Italy. For several centuries, Italy was shaken by constant fighting between city-states and various coalitions which were further ignited by conflicts between popes and German emperors. The latter tried to regain control over the rich Italian communes up to the end of the Middle Ages, although they were never able to achieve this objective. Because of continuous threats, the requirements for trained troops were great. Therefore, foreign mercenaries came to Italy, among whom, at least until the last quarter of the 14th century, heavily armed horsemen from German lands and the nearby alpine region were highly esteemed.²¹ Based on written sources and name rolls, it has been established that between the years 1320 and 1360 at least 10,000 mercenaries from the German Empire were active in Italy.²²

The reason for this was that German mercenaries fit well into Italian battlefields, which is not a surprise taking into account that military operations in Italy and Central Europe were still mainly conducted at the level of feuds or *chevauchée* in which units of heavily-armed horsemen and mounted crossbowmen ravaged enemy estates. Only rarely did they get involved in long-lasting sieges or major battles.²³ Such warfare did not require classical infantry, and heavy cavalry still preserved its important role. The national cavalry tradition and local breeding of large and especially strong horses, which at that time were considered to be among the best in Europe, contributed significantly to that.²⁴ When the hostilities of the Hundred Years' War temporarily ended during the truce of the 1360s, many English veterans set off to the south looking for new employment opportunities. It seemed that Western-European

19 V okviru stoletne vojne je bil ta prehod posebej opazen od šestdesetih let 14. st., ko so Angleži začeli novačiti v celoti konjeniške oddelke težko oboroženih vojakov in lokostrelcev. Z njimi so izvajali zlasti hitre udare in roparske vpade kot odgovor na novo francosko strategijo izmikanja odprtim spopadom in postopnega osvajanja izgubljenih ozemelj. Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, New Haven 1996, str. 38–48.

20 Prim. Contamine 1984, str. 132–134.

21 Prim. Contamine 1984, str. 157–161. Za primer najemnikov v službi Pise in Lucca gl. Karl Schäfer, *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien, III, Im kaiserlichen und gibelinischen Dienste zu Pisa und Lucca*, Paderborn 1914.

22 Maurice Keen (ur.), *Medieval Warfare*, Oxford 1999, str. 218.

23 Prim. Contamine 1984, str. 161–163.

19 In the context of the Hundred Years' War, this transition was particularly noticeable in the 1360s when the English began to recruit entirely mounted detachments of heavily armed soldiers and archers. These units conducted rapid strikes and incursions as a reply to the new French strategy of avoiding open conflicts and gradual reconquest of lost territory. Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, New Haven 1996, pp. 38–48.

20 Compare Contamine 1984, pp. 132–134.

21 Cf. Contamine 1984, pp. 157–161. For an example of mercenaries in the service of Pisa and Lucca see Karl Schäfer, *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien, III, Im kaiserlichen und gibelinischen Dienste zu Pisa und Lucca*, Paderborn 1914.

22 Maurice Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare*, Oxford 1999, p. 218.

23 Cf. Contamine 1984, pp. 161–163.

24 Ralph H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse*, London 1989, p. 64.

lokalno vzrejanje velikih, posebno močnih bojnih konj, ki so v tistem obdobju veljali za ene od najboljših v Evropi.²⁴ Ko so sovražnosti v stoletni vojni med premirjem v šestdesetih letih 14. st. začasno ponehale in so na jug prišli iskat zaposlitev številni angleški veterani, se je morda zdelo, da bodo zahodnoevropske taktične inovacije vnesle globlje spremembe tudi v italijanski prostor. Vendar se to ni zgodilo. Prva enota Angležev v Pisi se je na svoji uvodni bojni preizkušnji odrezala slabo. Angleški lokostrelci na italijanskih bojiščih niso dosegali podobnih uspehov kot na Škotskem ali v Franciji – po eni strani zato, ker jih je bilo premalo in poveljniki njihovega taktičnega delovanja niso ustrezno povezali z drugimi enotami, po drugi strani pa jim značilnosti vojskovanja v Italiji tega niti niso omogočale.²⁵ Uspešneje je delovala t. i. »bela kompanija« pod poveljstvom Johna Hawkwooda, ki je v službi italijanskih mest ostal tri desetletja, čeprav je tudi sam v karieri utrpel več porazov. To je še en znak, da izkušnje iz zahodnoevropskega bojevanja v praksi ni bilo zelo preprosto prenašati v kraje z drugačnim vojaškim izročilom.²⁶

Nov dejavnik: ognjeno orožje

Smodnik je v Evropo zašel sredi 13. st. Zdi se, da je posebno zanimanje vojakov in orožarjev vzbudil v italijanskem prostoru in prav tam so najverjetneje nastali prvi topovi. Če verjamemo dvoumnemu poročilu, naj bi ognjeno orožje že leta 1284 uporabljali pri obrambi Forlija. Po bolj prepričljivih virih naj bi z njim leta 1324 oblegali Metz, najpozneje čez dve leti naj bi ga imele v oborožitvi Firence. Veliko bolj gotovo pa je, da so leta 1331 s topništvom napadli Čedad, čeprav obstreljevanje ni imelo nobenega učinka.²⁷

Kako je zgodnje topništvo napredovalo nadaljnjih 50 let, zaradi pomanjkanja dobrih virov težko presojamo. Očitno pa ta pot ni bila

tactical innovations would cause more drastic changes in Italy as well. Yet, that did not happen. The first English unit in Pisa performed poorly during its initial combat ordeal. English archers could not repeat their success achieved in Scotland and in France on the Italian battlefields. Firstly, because they fought in small numbers and the commanders did not adequately combine their tactics with the other units, and secondly, because the characteristics of Italian warfare simply did not permit it.²⁵ The "White Company" under the command of John Hawkwood enjoyed greater success. Hawkwood remained in the service of Italian cities for three decades, although he himself had suffered several defeats in his career. This is another sign that the experience in Western European warfare was not easily transferable to regions with a different military tradition.²⁶

A New Factor: Firearms

Gunpowder found its way to Europe in the middle of the 13th century. It seems that Italian soldiers and armourers took a particular interest in this explosive mixture and, most probably, it was there that the first cannons were invented. There is a quite ambiguous chronicle reference which could be interpreted as suggesting that firearms were used during the defence of Forli in 1284. Some more cogent sources state that they were used during the siege of Metz in 1324, and that two years later Florence's forces should have been armed with them. However, it is certain, that Cividale del Friuli was attacked by cannon fire in 1331, even though the cannonade did not have any effects whatsoever.²⁷

Due to the lack of reliable sources, it is difficult to estimate how early artillery developed in the following fifty years. Apparently, this path was not easy. Reasons why the firearms developed so slowly are not known. Probably, the most important technical obstacle that had to be bridged by medieval gunners and armourers was not the manufacture of appropriate weapons but the production of gunpowder, which was impeded by the high price of saltpetre. An

²⁴ Ralph H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse*, London 1989, str. 64.

²⁵ Kot je v pogosto citiranem odlomku o bitki pri Montheryju l. 1465 ugotavljal burgundski diplomat Commynes, so bili lokostrelci morda najdragocenejši del pozno-srednjeveških vojsk, vendar le, če so nastopali v dovolj velikem številu. Majhne ali razpršene formacije lokostrelcev pa niso bile učinkovite, saj niso bile sposobne zagotoviti zadostnega volumna izstrelkov na kritičnih točkah bojišča. Philippe de Commynes, *Memoiren*, Stuttgart 1972, str. 14.

²⁶ Schäfer 1914, str. 23, 29–30; Keen 1999, str. 219.

²⁷ Fritz Popelka, Die ritterlichen Dienstrevere in der Grafschaft Görz und das Aufkommen der Feuerwaffen, in: *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband II, Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, I, Wien 1949, str. 511; Contamine 1984, str. 139; Bert S. Hall, *Weapons & Warfare in Renaissance Europe*, Baltimore 1997, str. 45; prim. tudi Bernhard Rathgen, *Das Geschütz im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1928.

²⁵ As the Burgundian diplomat Commynes wrote in the frequently quoted passage describing the battle at Monthery in 1465, archers were arguably the most valuable part of late medieval armies, yet only if they were present in sufficiently large numbers. Small and dispersed formations of archers were less successful as they were not able to provide the necessary volume of missiles at the critical locations on the battlefield. Philippe de Commynes, *Memoiren*, Stuttgart 1972, p. 14.

²⁶ Schäfer 1914, pp. 23, 29–30; Keen 1999, p. 219.

²⁷ Fritz Popelka, Die ritterlichen Dienstrevere in der Grafschaft Görz und das Aufkommen der Feuerwaffen, in: *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband II, Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, I, Wien 1949, p. 511; Contamine 1984, pp. 139; Bert S. Hall, *Weapons & Warfare in Renaissance Europe*, Baltimore 1997, p. 45; cf. Bernhard Rathgen, *Das Geschütz im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1928.

lahka. Razlogov za prvotno počasno razvijanje ognjenega orožja ne poznamo dobro. Verjetno najpomembnejša tehnična ovira, ki so jo morali premostiti srednjeveški topničarji in orožarji, ni bila izdelava primerne orožja, temveč težavno pridobivanje smodnika zaradi dragega solitra. Zanimivo in premalo znano je, da so bili pri uporabi zgodnjega ognjenega orožja najpozneje od konca 50. let 14. st. posebno dejavni najemniki iz Koroške in Kranjske v službi goriških grofov ter avstrijskega vojvode Rudolfa IV. v vojni z oglejskim patriarhatom.²⁸ Iz tistega obdobja na primer izvira pogodba, po kateri je vojvoda Rudolf Hermanu Pewrleinu odobril odškodnino v višini 424 fl. za 11 izgubljenih topov (*erstuk oz. erstukh*) ter 6 konj.²⁹ Izguba kar enajstih topov Hermanovega oddelka med boji – njegova celotna topniška oborožitev je bila torej morda še veliko večja – namiguje na domnevo, da je šlo za manjša orožja, s katerimi je lahko upravljala že majhna skupina ali celo en sam mož.³⁰

Šele do 70. let 14. st. je ognjeno orožje postopno postalo običajen del oborožitve in tedaj je v Flandriji nastalo prvo veliko središče za izdelavo topov.³¹ V začetku 15. st. so njegove zmogljivosti toliko napredovale, da je pri obleganjih začelo izpodrivati mehanske metalne

interesting yet not very well-known fact is that some of the earliest proponents of firearms were the mercenaries from Carinthia and Carniola in the service of the Counts of Gorizia and the Austrian Duke Rudolf IV in the war against the Patriarch of Aquileia at the end of the 1350s.²⁸ A contract originating from that time states that Duke Rudolf approved a reimbursement to Hermann Pewrlein in the amount of 424 fl for 11 lost guns (*erstuk or erstukh*) and 6 horses.²⁹ The fact that Hermann's detachment lost as many as 11 guns – his entire artillery train may therefore have been much larger – during combat suggests that they were smaller weapons that could be handled by a smaller crew or even by a single man.³⁰

It was in the 1370s when firearms increasingly became a standard part of military weaponry. During this time, the first large centre for manufacturing cannons was established in Flanders.³¹ At the beginning of the 15th century, the capabilities of firearms improved so much that they began to replace mechanical throwing devices and influence military architecture. If used appropriately, they could also considerably contribute to the outcome of a pitched battle.³² Simultaneously, handheld firearms gained ground.³³ How far gunpowder made its way into the manner of thinking of European armies around 1410 is described in the military manual of Christine de Pizan.³⁴ The technology of firearms

28 Prim. Popelka 1949, str. 508–511. Popelka je sklepal, da se izraz *Drafgezeug*, ki se pogosto pojavlja v najemniških reverzih, nanaša na podstavek za top. Morda bi bila bolj logična razlaga, da termin v resnici pomeni nekoliko lažjo vrsto ploščnega oklepa, značilno za težko konjenico (*Trabgeschirr/Trabharnisch*). To bi tudi pojasnilo, zakaj se izraz vedno pojavlja ob navedbi konj, ne pa nujno ognjenega orožja. Prim. Georg Liebe, *Vermögensstand und Ausrüstung in den Städten des Mittelalters*, v: *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, 3 (1902–1905), str. 71; Jacob Grimm – Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1854–1960, gesli *Trabgeschirr* in *Trabharnisch*.

29 Po tarifi 32 fl. za posamezen top ter 12 fl. za vsakega konja. Razmeroma visoka cena topov kaže, da je šlo za dragoceno orožje. August von Jaksch (ur.), *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae*, XI, Klagenfurt 1972, listina št. 531, Dunaj, 1359 julij 19.

30 Verjetno je šlo za ognjeno orožje podobne oblike kot topič iz Loshulta, najstarejše ohranjeno ognjeno orožje v Evropi, datirano v sredino 14. st. Ulito je bilo iz bronza s skupno dolžino 30,2 cm, maso 9 kg in cevjo kalibra okrog 35 mm, ki se proti ustju konično širi. Mogoče je, da so ga uporabljali kot ročni top, nasajen na lesen drog ali preprosto kopito, enako kot nekoliko poznejši topič iz Tannenberga. Peter Krenn, *Von alten Handfeuerwaffen*, Graz 1989, str. 8. Dobro repliko topiča iz Loshulta so v zadnjih letih izdelali sodelavci Middelaldercentreta na Danskem. Preizkusi so pokazali, da je to navidezno primitivno orožje tudi z mletim smodnikom presenetljivo učinkovito. Peter Vemming, *Guns and Gunpowder*, *The Ho Research Group on the Medieval Centre*, <http://www.middelaldercentret.dk/Projekter/gunsandgunpowder.html> (obiskano 14. 9. 2008).

31 Robert D. Smith, Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, Woodbridge 2005, str. 11–17; Contamine 1984, str. 138 sl., 197–198.

28 Cf. Popelka 1949, pp. 508–511. Popelka concluded that the term *Drafgezeug* refers to a gun platform. A more logical explanation would be that this term in reality signifies a lighter type of plate armour, typical for heavy cavalry (*Trabgeschirr/Trabharnisch*). This would also explain why the term always appears in reference to horses but not necessarily firearms. Cf. Georg Liebe, *Vermögensstand und Ausrüstung in den Städten des Mittelalters*, in: *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, 3 (1902–1905), p. 71; Jacob Grimm – Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1854–1960, terms *Trabgeschirr* in *Trabharnisch*.

29 A gun was priced at 32 fl and a horse cost 12 fl. The relatively high price of the guns proves that the weapons were very precious. August von Jaksch (ed.), *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae*, XI, Klagenfurt 1972, document no. 531, Vienna, 19 July 1359.

30 Presumably, these firearms had a similar form as the Loshult gun, considered to be the oldest preserved firearm in Europe, dating back to the mid-14th century. It was cast in bronze with a total length of 30.2 cm, weight of 9 kg and a conical bore with a caliber of approximately 35 mm. It may have been helved on a wooden pole or a simple butt, similar to the hand gun of a bit later date found at Tannenberga. Peter Krenn, *Von alten Handfeuerwaffen*, Graz 1989, p. 8. A good replica of the Loshult gun was recently made by the Middelaldercentret in Denmark. Tests showed that the apparently primitive weapon was surprisingly effective even with ground (serpentine) gunpowder. Peter Vemming, *Guns and Gunpowder*, *The Ho Research Group on the Medieval Centre*, <http://www.middelaldercentret.dk/Projekter/gunsandgunpowder.html> (viewed on 14 September 2008).

31 Robert D. Smith, Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 11–17; Contamine 1984, p. 138 ff., 197–198.

32 Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 27–28, Contamine 1984, p. 146 ff., 193–207. Increasing firepower was partly the result of higher quality and more powerful gunpowder. Like numerous other innovations related to firearms, corned gunpowder was also invented by the Burgundians around 1420. Cf. Hall 1997, p. 68 ff., 88.

33 Hall 1997, p. 95; R. T. W. Kempers, *Haquebuts from Dutch Collections*, in: *The Journal of the Arms & Armour Society*, XI/2 (1983), pp. 56–89; Interesting results of empirical tests are also presented on the homepage of the Swiss researcher eng. Ulrich Bretscher, *Ulrich Bretscher's Black Powder Page* <http://www.musketeer.ch/blackpowder/history.html> (viewed on 14 September 2008).

34 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, University Park 1999, pp. 110–111, 116–119, 122–123.

naprave in je že vplivalo na utrdbeno arhitekturo, ob pravilni uporabi pa je lahko precej prispevalo tudi k izidu bitk.³² Hkrati se je uveljavilo ročno strelno orožje.³³ Na to, kako daleč je okrog leta 1410 smodnik prodril v miselnost najrazvitejših evropskih vojska, kaže vojaški priročnik Christine de Pizan.³⁴ V tistem času je tehnologija ognjenega orožja dosegla vrhunec v vojskah izjemno bogatih burgundskih vojvod, katerih topništvo je bilo tako številčno, da je marsikaterega manj motiviranega nasprotnika prepričalo k vdaji že zgolj s svojo pojavo. Burgundci so ga zavestno uporabljali kot sredstvo za zastraševanje; množično topniško obstreljevanje mest in utrdb kot prikaz moči pa je postalo njihova priljubljena metoda.³⁵

Še radikalnejše taktične novosti so v dvajsetih letih 15. st. prispevali češki husiti. Ob začetku odkritega upora leta 1419 se je lahko husitski vojskovodja Jan Žižka oprl le na maloštevilno jedro izurjenih vojakov, velika večina preostalih privržencev pa ni imela nobenih bojnih izkušenj niti kakovostne opreme. Vendar so svoje pičle vojaške zmogljivosti in zmožnosti odlično izkoristili z dobro premišljeno taktiko, ki je bila skupek že preizkušenih in nekaterih novih elementov, zlasti pa s povezavo ognjenega orožja v celovit taktični sistem. Posebnost Žižkovih enot so bili veliki vozovi, dodatno okrepljeni z deskami in lesenimi nadgradnjami, ki jih je bilo mogoče na bojišču povezati v sklenjeno verigo premičnih bunkerjev – *Wagenburg*. Da bi kar najbolje uskladili delovanje vseh razpoložljivih vrst orožja, so posadke vozov opremili s kombinacijo samostrelav, ročnih topov, različnega orožja na drogu, uporabljali pa so tudi precej lažjega topništva. Pokriti vozovi in veliki ščiti – pazeve so jih odlično zavarovali pred izstrelki, ki bi sicer slabše zavarovani pehoti v statičnih sestavih lahko

*culminated in the armies of the extraordinarily rich Dukes of Burgundy, whose artillery was so numerous that even by its mere appearance it could persuade a poorly motivated enemy to surrender. The Burgundians employed it deliberately as a means of intimidation. Heavy artillery bombardment of cities and fortifications as a show of force became their favourite method.*³⁵

*More radical tactical innovations were contributed by the Czech Hussites in the 1420s. At the beginning of an open rebellion in 1419 the Hussite general Jan Žižka could draw only on a small core of trained soldiers. The great majority of the rest of his followers had neither any combat experience nor good equipment. However, the Hussites exploited their humble military potential by using effective tactics, which represented a combination of tested and some new elements, in particular the integration of firearms within the entire tactical system. A speciality of Žižka's units was the use of large wagons that were additionally reinforced with planks and wooden superstructures. They could be joined to each other and arranged in a chain of mobile bunkers – the *wagenburg*. In order to coordinate the operation of all available types of weapons, crews in wagons were equipped with crossbows, hand guns, various polearms, and they also used a considerable amount of light artillery. Covered wagons and large pavise shields offered them excellent protection against missiles which could have otherwise quickly inflicted huge losses to less well protected infantry unit in a static formation.³⁶ The *wagenburg* became a mobile fortification, and its defenders were adequately armed for close and distant combat.³⁷*

Participants in crusades to Bohemia could not find appropriate recourse to the Hussite method of warfare, yet that did not prevent them from copying it. This method of warfare was soon reflected in Central Europe in the equipment and the hiring of Czech mercenaries,³⁸ and taking over Hussite tactical

32 Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 27–28, Contamine 1984, str. 146 sl., 193–207. Povečevanje ognjene moči je bilo vsaj deloma rezultat kakovostnejšega in močnejšega smodnika. Podobno kot številne druge inovacije, povezane z ognjenim orožjem, so tudi zrnati smodnik verjetno iznašli Burgundci, in sicer okrog l. 1420. Prim. Hall 1997, str. 68 sl., 88.

33 Hall 1997, str. 95; R. T. W. Kempers, Haquebuts from Dutch Collections, v: *The Journal of the Arms & Armour Society*, XI/2 (1983), str. 56–89; Zanimive izsledke empiričnih preizkusov predstavlja tudi spletna stran švicarskega raziskovalca ing. Ulricha Bretscherja, *Ulrich Bretscher's Black Powder Page* <http://www.musketeer.ch/blackpowder/history.html> (obiskano 14. 9. 2008).

34 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, University Park 1999, str. 110–111, 116–119, 122–123.

35 Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 18–19, 113.

35 Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 18–19, 113.

36 As it had been often demonstrated in the Late Middle Ages, even unarmoured and relatively poorly trained infantry units armed with long spears and polearms could fight successfully as long as they remained in defensive formations. On the other hand, massed infantry was very vulnerable to missiles. That was proved by the English in battles during the 1330s against Scottish spearmen (the battles of Dupplin Moor in 1332 and Halidon Hill in 1333). Strickland – Hardy 2005, pp. 182–189.

37 Volker Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen im späten Mittelalter*, Weinheim 1990, p. 85 ff.; Hall 1997, p. 107–114; Contamine 1984, p. 124.

38 Günter Dürriegl, *Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus – Die Geschichte einer Waffensammlung*, in: *Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus; Rüstungen und Waffen aus 5 Jahrhunderten* (ed. Günter Dürriegl, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, exhibition catalogue), Wien 1977, p. 12; Robert Waissenberger, *Die wehrhaften Bürger Wiens*, *ibid.*, pp. 22–26; Günter Dürriegl, *Die wehrhaften Bürger Wiens und ihre Waffen*, in: *Wehrhafte Stadt; Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (ed. Günter Dürriegl, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, exhibition catalogue), Wien 1986, p. 7.

že v kratkem času prizadejali hude izgube.³⁶ *Wagenburg* je postal prevozna trdnjava v malem, njegovi branilci pa so bili primerno oboroženi za delovanje od blizu in daleč.³⁷

Udeleženci križarskih pohodov na Češko niso našli pravega odgovora na husitski način bojevanja, so ga pa zavestno posnemali. To se je v srednji Evropi kmalu odrazilo v opremi in najemanju čeških vojakov,³⁸ pa tudi v prevzemanju husitskih taktičnih prvin. V avstrijskem in ogrskem prostoru se je *Wagenburg* v 40. letih 15. st. že povsem udomačil, kar lahko ponazorimo z dvema primeroma. Ko so enote grofov Celjskih marca 1441 pri Samoboru porazile veliko močnejše čete privržencev ogrskega kralja Vladislava Jagielonskega, so se bežeči ogrski vojaki zaprli v svoj tabor iz vozov, postavljen na težko prehodnem, močvirnem zemljišču. Tedaj se je nadarjenemu celjskemu poveljniku, češkemu najemniku Janu Vitovcu, posrečilo razbiti sovražni *Wagenburg*, ob tem pa je zajel številne ujetnike in bogat plen.³⁹ Pet let pozneje je ogrska vojska pod poveljstvom Ivana Hunjadija vdrla prek Lajte. Zato je Friderik III. novembra 1446 med zbiranjem čet za obrambo svojih dežel naročil gornjeavstrijskim podanikom, naj mu pridejo na pomoč »tako na konjih kot peš, z oklepi, vozovi, konji, hrano in vsem drugim, kar sodi k *Wagenburgu*«. ⁴⁰

Husitski vplivi so opazni tudi pri obrambi proti turškim invazijam sredi 15. st. Po začetnem delu turškega prodiranja na Balkan ob koncu 14. st. in hudem porazu križarske koalicije pri Nikopolju leta 1396 so prenovljene sile ogrske krone precej omilile to grožnjo. Opaznejši korak k vojaškim reformam je v 30. letih 15. st. prispeval cesar Sigismund z novim

elements. In the 1440s, the *wagenburg* already became a familiar form of fortification in the Austrian and Hungarian area, as can be illustrated by two examples. When the Counts of Cilli (Celje), in March 1441, defeated the much stronger companies of the followers of the Hungarian King Ladislaus Jagiello, the fleeing Hungarian soldiers fortified themselves in their camp with their wagons, positioned on difficult, swampy terrain. However, the talented Cilli commander, the Czech mercenary Jan Vitovec, succeeded to destroy the enemy *wagenburg* and managed to take numerous hostages and a rich booty.³⁹ Five years later, the Hungarian army under the command of Janos Hunyadi invaded Austria across the Leitha. Therefore, Frederick III, while collecting troops for the defence of his lands in November 1446, ordered his Upper-Austrian subjects to assist him "on horse or on foot, with armour and equipped with wagons, horses, food and anything else that is part of a *wagenburg*".⁴⁰

Hussite influences can be also noticed in the defence against the Turkish invasions in the middle of the 15th century. After the initial phase of the Ottoman breakthrough to the Balkans at the end of the 14th century and the crushing defeat of the crusaders' coalition at Nicopolis in 1396, the forces of the reorganised army of the Hungarian crown considerably delayed this threat. Emperor Sigismund contributed a more notable step towards military reforms in the 1430s with a new defence order. In 1437, he drove back a major Turkish attack on Bosnia and Serbia.⁴¹ In the years to follow, the luck of war often changed. Although the Hungarian army often experienced defeat – the worst occurred in 1444 near Varna and four years later in Kosovo – the active military command of Janos Hunyadi eventually managed to fortify the defence of Hungarian borders.⁴² Hunyadi's troops, often reinforced by Czech mercenaries, took

36 Kot se je v poznem srednjem veku večkrat pokazalo, je tudi neoklepljena in razmeroma slabše izurjena pehota, oborožena z dolgimi sulicami in orožjem na drugo, lahko uspešno bojno delovala, dokler je ostala v gosti obrambni formaciji. Po drugi strani je bilo takšno maso pešakov najlažje razbiti z intenzivnim obstreljevanjem. Prav to so Angleži v tridesetih letih 14. st. ugotovili v bitkah proti škotskim suličarjem (bitki na Dupplinskem močvirju l. 1332 ter hribu Halidon, 1333). Strickland – Hardy 2005, str. 182–189.

37 Volker Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen im späten Mittelalter*, Weinheim 1990, str. 85 sl.; Hall 1997, str. 107–114; Contamine 1984, str. 124.

38 Günter Dürriegl, *Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus – Die Geschichte einer Waffensammlung, v: Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus; Rüstungen und Waffen aus 5 Jahrhunderten* (ur. Günter Dürriegl, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, r. k.), Wien 1977, str. 12; Robert Waissenberger, *Die wehrhaften Bürger Wiens*, prav tam, str. 22–26; Günter Dürriegl, *Die wehrhaften Bürger Wiens und ihre Waffen, Wehrhafte Stadt; Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (ur. Günter Dürriegl, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, r. k.), Wien 1986, str. 7.

39 Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, Graz 1883, str. 100–101; Nada Klaić, *Zadnji knezi Celjski v deželah svete krone*, Ljubljana, Celje, 1991, str. 94–95.

40 Joseph Chmel, *Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte*, I/2, Graz 1971, listina št. LXXXIX, Dunaj, 1446 november 22.

39 Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, Graz 1883, pp. 100–101; Nada Klaić, *Zadnji knezi Celjski v deželah svete krone*, Ljubljana, Celje, 1991, pp. 94–95.

40 Joseph Chmel, *Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte*, I/2, Graz 1971, document no. LXXXIX, Vienna, 22 November 1446.

41 Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata*, II/2, Zagreb 1901, pp. 125–126, 140.

42 Keen 1999, p. 207.

obrambnim redom, leta 1437 pa je zavrnil velik turški napad na Bosno in Srbijo.⁴¹ V prihodnjih letih se je vojna sreča večkrat izmenjevala. Čeprav je ogrska vojska večkrat utrpela poraz – najhujša leta 1444 pri Varni in štiri leta pozneje na Kosovu –, je dejavno vojaško vodstvo Ivana Hunjadija v celoti vendarle utrdilo obrambo ogrskih meja.⁴² Hunjadijeve eno-

over numerous elements of Hussite warfare, from the wagenburg to increased use of hand-held firearms and artillery weapons. Hand guns that were used by Czech and Italian mercenaries of John Talloci in 1440 during the defense of Belgrade were still rather unknown on Balkan battlefields and provided the Christian defenders with a temporary technological advantage.⁴³



Foto/Photo: Tomáš Lazar

Orjaška bombarder reda Ivanovcev z Rodosa, 1480–1500. Masivno orožje kalibra 580 mm je lahko izstrelilo kamnito kroglo z maso približno 260 kg.

Giant bombard of the Order of St. John of Rhodes, 1480–1500. This heavy 580 mm-calibre weapon was capable of firing stone balls of approx. 260 kg.

te, pogosto okrepljene s češkimi najemniki, so prevzele številne prvine husitskega bojevanja, od *Wagenburga* do množične uporabe ročnega strelnega orožja in topništva. Ognjeno orožje, s katerim so češki in italijanski najemniki Ivana Talovca leta 1440 branili Beograd, je bilo tedaj na balkanskih bojiščih še precej neznan in je krščanskim branilcem vsaj začasno

The dynamic increase of the role of artillery in the middle of the 15th century did not remain unobserved among modern historians, yet it is not easy to evaluate. However, it is undisputed that firearms brought in a new dimension to European warfare. It is difficult to state whether they caused a genuine revolution at any point of development in the Middle Ages or completely destroyed the strategic

⁴¹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata*, II/2, Zagreb 1901, str. 125–126, 140.
⁴² Keen 1999, str. 207.

⁴³ See quoted report by Michael Doukas: Klaić 1901, p. 175, 219 ff.

zagotavljalo tehnološko prednost.⁴³

Živahni porast vloge topništva sredi 15. st. med sodobnimi zgodovinarji ni ostal neopažen, vendar ga ni preprosto ovrednotiti. Da je ognjeno orožje v evropsko vojskovanje vneslo novo dimenzijo, je nesporno. Težko pa bi trdili, da je na kateri koli točki razvoja v srednjem veku povzročilo pravo revolucijo ali povsem porušilo strateško ravnotežje. Pod dobrim poveljstvom je lahko pripomoglo k velikim uspehom, a vedno le v mejah realnih zmožnosti. Kot so bili ob koncu srednjega veka prisiljeni spoznati tudi najbolj ambiciozni vladarji, je še tako množična uporaba najsoodobnejšega topništva pogosto odpovedala celo proti starejšim tipom utrd, kadar je te branila zagrizena in ustrezno pripravljena posadka.⁴⁴ Enako zavajajoč je argument, po katerem naj bi smodnik povzročil zaton zaščitne opreme. Kako napačno je takšno mnenje, pokaže že bežna primerjalna kronologija: topništvo je po dokaj počasnem napredku v 14. st. postalo večji dejavnik okrog leta 1420, kar se bolj ali manj ujema z razvojem in izboljšavami zaščitnih sredstev. Ploščni oklep je od začetka 15. st. dosegel najvišjo tehnološko stopnjo razvoja okrog leta 1500, toda njegov delež v oborožitvi se je povečeval vse 16. st. in še sredi tridesetletne vojne so bili dobro oklepljeni konjeniki in pešaki stalnica evropskih bojišč.⁴⁵ Po drugi strani so tehnične zmogljivosti ognjenega orožja ob koncu srednjega veka močno napredovale, a se nato od sredine 16. st. skoraj tristo let niso pomembno povečale.⁴⁶

Konec srednjega veka

V 60. in 70. letih 15. st. so se na velikih evropskih dvorih pojavili prvi resni poskusi oblikovanja stalnih vojaških enot. Poleg Francije je na tem področju prednjačila Burgundija, ki je najvišjo stopnjo militarizacije dosegla v obdobju Karla Drznega.⁴⁷ Kako velikopotezno je zadnji burgundski vojvoda načrtoval vojaške operacije, kaže že dejstvo, da so med vojnim

equilibrium. Under a good command they could be used with great success, but only within the limits of their actual capabilities. As some of the most ambitious rulers were forced to learn at the end of the Middle Ages, even massive employment of the latest artillery often failed even against the older types of fortifications when these were defended by zealous and adequately prepared troops.⁴⁴ The notion that gunpowder immediately caused a decline of armour is equally misleading. As even a cursory comparative chronology shows, nothing could be farther from the truth. After relatively slow progress in the 14th century, firearms became a major factor around 1420, which more or less coincides with the development and improvements of protective gear. From the beginning of the 15th century, plate armour reached the highest technological degree of development around 1500. However, its use proportionally increased throughout the 16th century. During the Thirty Years' War, well-armoured horsemen and footsoldiers were still commonly employed on European battlefields.⁴⁵ On the other hand, technical capabilities of firearms at the end of the Middle Ages improved considerably, yet did not increase dramatically from the mid-16th century onwards for about three hundred years.⁴⁶

The End of the Middle Ages

During the 1460s and the 1470s, European rulers attempted for the first time to form standing armies. Along with France, this area was led by Burgundy, which reached the highest degree of militarisation during the period of Charles the Bold.⁴⁷ How daringly the last duke of Burgundy planned his military operations is proven by the fact that 700 to 800 wagons were required to transport his artillery alone during the military campaigns against the French king in 1465.⁴⁸ For his ordonnance companies – standing units of well-equipped professional soldiers – he actively developed integrated tactical formations which, in addition to artillery support, included heavy and light cavalry, pikemen, longbowmen, crossbowmen and handgunners.⁴⁹ This complex system was theoretically invincible. However, it had a deficiency in that, at a micro level, it was

43 Gl. citirano poročilo Mihaela Dukasa: Klaić 1901, str. 175, 219 sl.

44 Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 26–27, 34–35; Hall 1997, str. 9–10, 45.

45 Za širši pregled gl. Claude Blair, *European Armour*, London 1958; Guy Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, III, London 1920, str. 209–358; isti avtor, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, IV, London 1921, str. 1–217; Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, Leiden 2003; Peter Krenn, *Harnisch und Helm*, Graz 1987.

46 Prim. Hall 1997, str. 87, 216; Krenn 1989, str. 78–79.

47 Contamine 1984, str. 165 sl.

44 Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 26–27, 34–35; Hall 1997, pp. 9–10, 45.

45 For a broader overview see Claude Blair, *European Armour*, London 1958; Guy Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, III, London 1920, pp. 209–358; id., *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, IV, London 1921, pp. 1–217; Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, Leiden 2003; Peter Krenn, *Harnisch und Helm*, Graz 1987.

46 Cf. Hall 1997, pp. 87, 216; Krenn 1989, pp. 78–79.

47 Contamine 1984, p. 165 ff.

48 Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 141–142.

49 Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 171–173.

pohodom proti francoskemu kralju leta 1465 samo za prevoz njegovega topništva potrebovali najmanj 700 do 800 voz.⁴⁸ Za svoje ordonančne čete – stalne enote dobro opremljenih poklicnih vojakov – pa je posebej dejavno razvijal integrirane taktične formacije, ki so ob topniški podpori vključevali tako težko kot lažjo konjenico, suličarje in strelce, oborožene z dolgimi loki, samostreli in ročnimi topovi.⁴⁹ Ta kompleksni sistem je bil vsaj teoretično videti nepremagljiv. Imel pa je to pomanjkljivost, da je bil zlasti na mikroravni pretirano zapleten, kar je v realnih razmerah na bojišču oviralo pravočasne odločitve in prilagajanje na spremenjene taktične razmere.

Napredni vojaški stroj Karla Drznega je najresnejšo preizkušnjo dočakal v letih 1476/7 v spopadu s švicarsko konfederacijo. Švica se je v poznem srednjem veku v številnih pogledih razlikovala od svoje srednjeevropske soseščine.⁵⁰ Od zmage pri Morgartnu se je vojaška organizacija švicarskih kantonov razvijala v svojem ritmu, ki je težil k vse bolj izurjenim in brezhibno discipliniranim enotam pešakov, oboroženih s helebardami, dvoročnimi bojnimi kladivi in drugim orožjem na drogu. Da je bil ta razvoj načelno dobro zamišljen, je pokazala bitka pri Laupnu leta 1339, v kateri so obkoljene bernske čete v trikotni obrambni formaciji najprej zadržale napade sovražne pehote in nato še konjenice.⁵¹ V bitki pri Sempachu leta 1386 je avstrijska težka konjenica razjahala in se s švicarskimi helebardirji spopadla peš, s skrajšanimi konjeniški kopji in drugim hladnim orožjem. Spopad je bil dolgo neodločen, Švicarji so nato zmagali šele s hudimi napori. Opozorilo, da ima njihov način vojskovanja tudi nekatere pomanjkljivosti, je v prvi polovici 15. st. sledilo več porazov. Zlasti tisti pri Arbedu leta 1422 je povzročil korenitejše reforme švicarske pehote: uvedbo še gostejših, bolj zaprtih formacij in večji delež dolgih sulic, posebno učinkovitih proti sovražni konjenici, s katerimi so delno nadomestili helebarde. Uporabo tega orožja so uradno počevali v borilnih šolah – konec 15. st. je bila najbolj znana tista v Bernu.⁵²

too complicated, thus hindering the decision-making process on real-life battlefields and impeding the adaptation to changes in tactical situation.

The advanced military units of Charles the Bold faced their biggest ordeal in the conflict with the Swiss Confederation in 1476/77. In the Late Middle Ages, Switzerland deviated from its Central-European neighbourhood in many respects.⁵⁰ Since the victory at Morgarten, the military organization of Swiss cantons developed in a particular direction, toward well-trained and immaculately disciplined infantry units armed with halberds, two-handed warhammers and other polearms. The fact that this development was well-conceived was proven in the Battle in Laupen in 1339, in which encircled Bernese troops positioned in a triangular defensive formation first resisted the attacks of enemy infantry and later cavalry.⁵¹ In the Battle of Sempach in 1386, the Austrian heavy cavalry dismounted from their horses and confronted the Swiss halberdiers on foot, with shortened cavalry lances and other close-quarters weapons. The confrontation remained undecided for a long time and the Swiss gained victory only by making the utmost efforts. The warning that their method of warfare also had certain deficiencies was followed by several defeats in the 15th century. Particularly, the lost battle at Arbedo in 1422 resulted in thorough reforms of the Swiss infantry. These included the introduction of denser, more closed formations and a higher portion of long pikes, especially effective against the enemy cavalry with which they partly substituted the halberds. The employment of these weapons was formally studied in martial arts schools. At the end of the 15th century, the most renowned one was located in Bern.⁵²

Until the last quarter of the 15th century, the Swiss, despite their good military reputation in the wider European area, were not recognised as a serious political player. In particular, they could not be compared to the army and artillery of Burgundy in the technological sense. Swiss infantry formations came to the forefront of European military development in the war against Charles the Bold. In March 1476, they defeated, for the first time, the Burgundian forces at Grandson and inflicted an even bigger defeat on them in the Battle of Murten. Despite of good selection of the battlefield and the decision to employ

48 Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 141–142.

49 Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 171–173.

50 Verbruggen 1997, str. 112–115, 148.

51 DeVries 1996, str. 129–136; Vinzenz Bartlome, Der Laupenkrieg 1339, v: *Von Krieg und Frieden, Bern und die Eidgenossen bis 1800* (ur. Peter Jezler – Peter Martig, Bernisches Historisches Museum, exhibition catalogue), Bern 2003, str. 16.

52 David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, London 1995,

50 Verbruggen 1997, pp. 112–115, 148.

51 DeVries 1996, pp. 129–136; Vinzenz Bartlome, Der Laupenkrieg 1339, in: *Von Krieg und Frieden, Bern und die Eidgenossen bis 1800* (ed. Peter Jezler – Peter Martig, Bernisches Historisches Museum, exhibition catalogue), Bern 2003, p. 16.

52 David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, London 1995, p. 44; Hall 1997, pp. 36–37.



Foto/Photo: Tomáš Lazar

Muzejska postavitev v orožarni v Solothurnu poskuša ponazoriti ureditev in opremo švicarskih pehotnih formacij. Oprema na fotografiji po večini izvira iz sredine 16. st., v zelo podobni bojni razporeditvi pa so se švicarski najemniki bojevali že v poznem 15. st.

Museum exhibition in the Solothurn armour illustrated the structure and equipment of Swiss infantry formations. The equipment in the photograph mainly originates for the middle of the 16th century. Yet Swiss mercenaries were already fighting in a very similar combat formation in the late 15th century.

Do zadnje četrtine 15. st. Švicarji kljub dobremu vojaškemu ugledu v širšem evropskem prostoru še niso veljali za resen politični dejavnik, predvsem pa tehnološko niso bili primerljivi z burgundsko vojsko in topništvo. Švicarske pehotne formacije so se v ospredje evropskega vojaškega razvoja prebile v vojni proti Karlu Drznemu. Marca 1476 so prvič porazile burgundske sile pri Grandsonu in jim junija zadale še hujši poraz pri Murtnu. Burgundski vojvoda kljub preiščeni izbiri bojišča in odločitvi za defenzivno taktiko ni našel sredstva za obrambo pred silovitim napadom švicarskih pešakov. Ti so bili namreč tako dobro izurjeni, da so se bili sposobni celo v gosti falangi zelo hitro premikati po bojišču, ne da

defensive tactics, the Duke of Burgundy did not find a means with which he could resist the violent attack of the Swiss infantry. The Swiss were so well-trained that they were capable of moving swiftly in a dense phalanx on the battlefield without creating gaps or weak points in their formation. In this particular view, the Swiss exceeded their ancient predecessors and other similar infantry in Europe, which – due to manoeuvring problems – mainly operated in defensive and more static roles.⁵³ The Swiss gave the Duke of Burgundy a mortal blow in the Battle of Nancy in January 1477. The downfall of the Burgundian military system was symbolically depicted by the fact that Charles' body was found after the battle pierced by spear points and his face was chopped by a halberd of an unknown Swiss soldier.⁵⁴

str. 44; Hall 1997, str. 36–37.

53 Cf. Eltis 1995, pp. 47–48.

54 Strickland – Hardy 2005, 361–368; Smith – DeVries 2005, pp. 186–200; Vinzenz.

bi med gibanjem v njihovi formaciji nastajale vrzeli ali šibke točke. Prav v tem pogledu so Švicarji preseglji svoje antične predhodnike in drugo podobno pehoto v Evropi, ki je zaradi težav pri manevriranju delovala pretežno defenzivno in bolj statično.⁵³ Tudi obstreljevanje zelo številčnega burgundskega topništva proti tako gibljivim nasprotnikom ni imelo pravega učinka. Švicarska pehota je burgundskemu vojvodi zadala smrtni udarec v bitki pri Nancyju januarja 1477. Simbol propada burgundskega vojaškega sistema je bila najdba Karlovega trupla po bitki, prebodena s suličnimi ostmi. Njegov obraz je presekala helebarda neznanega švicarskega vojaka.⁵⁴

Bogata burgundska zapuščina je takoj povzročila nove vojne. Interese vojvodove hčere in dedinje Marije je zastopal njen mož, habsburški princ Maksimilijan. Kljub mladosti se je izkazal kot sposoben vojskovodja. S flamskimi in nemškimi najemniki – razvpitimi *Landsknechte* – je uspešno posnemal švicarsko pehotno taktiko in leta 1479 prepričljivo premagal francosko vojsko v bitki pri Guinegatu.⁵⁵ Zaposlovali pa so ga tudi dogodki v srednji Evropi. Tedaj se je turška ekspanzija usmerila predvsem na osvajanje šibkejših državnih tvorb na Balkanu in roparske vdore proti severozahodu, ki so težko prizadeli tudi slovenske dežele. Strategija izčrpanja je povzročila hudo opustošenje Balkana in južnega obrobja nemškega cesarstva. Za učinkovito obrambo pred rednimi vpadi je bilo treba razviti nov, prožnejši in zanesljivejši vojaški sistem. Ogrski kralj Matija Korvin je za ta namen svojim silam dodal velike kontingente huzarske konjenice, specializirane za boj s turškimi roparskimi oddelki.⁵⁶ Cesar Maksimilijan pa je v notranjeavstrijskih deželah pospešil sistematične reforme obrambne organizacije v smeri stalne vojske s centraliziranim poveljstvom – k temu so ga navsezadnje vsaj toliko kot turška nevarnost napeljali burgundski in zahodnoevropski zgledi.⁵⁷

Turška nevarnost je zares prodrila v širšo evropsko zavest šele ob novem valu velikih

The rich Burgundian inheritance instantly became the cause of new wars. The interests of the Duke's daughter and heiress Mary were represented by her husband, the Habsburg prince Maximilian. Despite his youth, Maximilian proved himself as a capable commander. With Flemish and German mercenaries – the notorious Landsknechte – he successfully copied the Swiss infantry tactics and, in 1479, heavily defeated the French army in the Battle of Guinegate.⁵⁵ He was also kept busy by the events in Central Europe. At that time, the Turkish expansion was directed particularly to conquering the weaker state formations of the Balkans and raids towards the north-east, which also severely affected the Slovenian territory. The strategy of attrition caused severe devastation to the Balkans and the southern peripheries of the German empire. For an effective defence against these constant raids it was necessary to develop a new, more flexible and reliable military system. For this purpose, the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, added large contingents of Hussar cavalry, specialized for combating Turkish raider detachments.⁵⁶ The emperor Maximilian accelerated systematic reforms for the defence organisation in Inner-Austrian lands aiming at creating a standing army with a centralised command. He decided for such a step in response to the threats posed by the Turks as much as following the Burgundian and Western European examples.⁵⁷

The Turkish threat finally broke through into the broader European consciousness only with the new wave of Ottoman offensives in the 1520s.⁵⁸ Earlier, lessons learned on the battlefields of south-eastern Europe had not yet shaped the image of warfare in the more distant Western neighbourhood to any perceptible degree. Perhaps the only exception was Italy, where commanders started to hire the light cavalry of rambunctious Albanian stradiots by the late 15th century.⁵⁹ After the French invasion in 1494, Italy became the main European battlefield where some of the most significant innovations were introduced. Almost for an entire generation, it was dominated by the Swiss pikemen who experienced their first decisive defeat only against the Spanish arquebusiers in

53 Prim. Eltis 1995, str. 47–48.

54 Strickland – Hardy 2005, 361–368; Smith – DeVries str. 186–200; Vinzenz Bartolome, Murten 1476 – die Schicksalsschlacht der jungen Eidgenossenschaft, v: *Von Krieg und Frieden, Bern und die Eidgenossen bis 1800* (ur. Peter Jezler, Peter Martig, Bernisches Historisches Museum, r. k.), Bern 2003, str. 22.

55 Hall 1997, str. 122; Contamine 1984, p. 137.

56 Keen 1999, str. 196, str. 281.

57 Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991, str. 30 sl.; Smith – DeVries 2005, str. 41.

Bartolome, Murten 1476 – die Schicksalsschlacht der jungen Eidgenossenschaft, in: *Von Krieg und Frieden, Bern und die Eidgenossen bis 1800* (ed. Peter Jezler, Peter Martig, Bernisches Historisches Museum, exhibition catalogue), Bern 2003, p. 22.

55 Hall 1997, p. 122; Contamine 1984, p. 137.

56 Keen 1999, p. 196, p. 281.

57 Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991, p. 30 ff.; Smith – DeVries 2005, p. 41.

58 Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700*, New Brunswick 1999, p. 6 ff.

59 Contamine 1984, pp. 128–129.

turških ofenziv v 20. letih 16. st.⁵⁸ Pred tem izkušnje z bojišč jugovzhodne Evrope še niso korenito sooblikovale podobe vojskovanja v bolj oddaljeni soseščini, z delno izjemo Italije, kamor so ob koncu 15. st. začeli uvažati lahko konjenico divjih albanskih stradiotov.⁵⁹ Prav italijanski prostor je od francoske invazije leta 1494 postal osrednje evropsko bojišče, kjer so se pojavljale najpomembnejše inovacije. Skoraj vso generacijo so ga suvereno obvladovali švicarski pikernirji, ki so doživeli odločilen poraz šele proti španskim arkebuzirjem v bitki pri Bicocchi leta 1522.⁶⁰ Dosežki švicarskih suličarjev so – dopolnjeni s strelnim orožjem – še naslednje stoletje in pol določali smernice evropskega pehotnega vojskovanja ter postavili temelje kombiniranih enot suličarjev in arkebuzirjev oziroma mušketerjev do tridesetletne vojne.⁶¹

Viteške veščine v dobi poklicnih vojakov

Če poskusimo zaokrožiti ta kratek pregled, ugotovimo, da je bil vojaški razvoj v poznosrednjeveški Evropi zapleten in je v različnih regijah pogosto potekal po nekoliko samosvojih smernicah. Vendar lahko v njem najdemo tudi skupne točke – morda še posebej ugotovitev, da je v 14. in 15. st. vojna postala totalnejša in so jo skoraj povsem obvladovali dobro izurjeni poklicni vojaki, ki niso nujno izhajali iz plemiških družin. To je zlasti boleče občutila stara plemiško-viteška elita. Svoj nekdanji vojaški primat je bila prisiljena deliti z oboroženim stanom nižjega rodu, ki se ni več uklanjal viteškemu kodeksu. Zato so vsaj iz plemiške perspektive poznosrednjeveške vojne postale bolj krvave in bi se marsikdo strinjal z mnenjem, ki naj bi ga leta 1337 izrazil Jean de Beaumont: čeprav se je bilo ob vinu in v ženski družbi prijetno bahati s svojimi bojevniškimi vrlinami ter se primerjati z mitološkimi liki iz junaških epov, bi se na pravem bojišču, odrevenel od smrtnega strahu tik pred začetkom spopada, marsikateri vitez želel le skriti v globoko klet, kjer ga ne bi našel nihče!⁶²

V takih okoliščinah je postalo dobro obvladovanje bojevniških spretnosti še nujnejše za preživetje v vojaških spopadih. Plemiške

the battle of Bicocca in 1522.⁶⁰ The achievements of the Swiss pikemen were – augmented with firearms – even in the following century and half determining the guidelines of European infantry warfare and set the foundation of combined units of pike and shot up to the end of the Thirty Years' War.⁶¹

Chivalric Skills in the Era of Professional Soldiers

If we try to summarise this short overview, it will become evident that the military development in the late medieval Europe was complex and progressed somewhat differently in various regions. Yet, there are some common points – particularly the establishment that war in the 14th and 15th century became more total and that it was almost entirely dominated by trained professional soldiers who were not necessarily of noble origin/birth. This fact was most painfully experienced by the old noble-chivalric elite. Their former military primacy had to be shared with the armed lowborn class. Therefore, at least from the view of the nobility, wars in the late Middle Ages had become bloodier and we can assume that many nobles were of the opinion expressed by Jean de Beaumont in 1337: although it was pleasant to boast in a woman's company with ones martial virtues and compare oneself to epic heroes, many a knight would become paralysed with terror on the real battlefield even before the beginning of the battle and merely wished to hide in the deepest cellars where he could not be found by anyone!⁶²

Under such circumstances, good mastery of combat skills was even more essential for survival in military conflicts. Noble children and future knights were in former times trained at arms by their own family and at foreign courts. However, in the 14th century, it became clear that best results could be only assured by systematic and formalised training under acknowledged and experienced masters. These were not abundant in Europe. It was therefore essential to document their combat systems accurately and thus avoid eventually losing their hard-won knowledge. The spreading of practical military literature was probably fostered by the increase of the development of writing, but even more the actual need for effective martial skills.

58 Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700*, New Brunswick 1999, str. 6 sl.

59 Contamine 1984, str. 128–129.

60 Hall 1997, str. 172–176.

61 Prim. Eltis 1995, str. 44 sl.

62 Verbruggen 1997, str. 42–43.

60 Hall 1997, pp. 172–176.

61 Cf. Eltis 1995, p. 44 ff.

62 Verbruggen 1997, pp. 42–43.



Širše zanimanje za učenje borilnih veščin je ob koncu srednjega veka spodbudilo nastanek šol, ki so jih obiskovali tudi ljudje nižjega rodu. Izsek iz slovesnega sprevoda cesarja Maksimilijana kaže skupino mečevalcev s topimi dolgimi meči, namenjenimi za vadbo.

A broader interest in learning martial art skills initiated the establishment of schools at the end of the Middle Ages. These schools were attended also by lowborn persons. A segment of the festive procession of the emperor Maximilian shows a group of swordsmen with blunt long swords intended for training purposes only.

otroke in bodoče viteze so že od nekdanj urili v ravnanju z orožjem v družini in na tujih dvorih, toda v 14. st. je očitno dozorelo spoznanje, da kakovostne rezultate zagotavlja le sistematičen, formaliziran pouk pri priznanih in izkušenih mojstrih. Teh v Evropi ni bilo veliko, zato je bilo njihove borilne sisteme smiselno natančno dokumentirati in tako preprečiti, da bi se trudoma pridobljeno znanje sčasoma porazgubilo. K širjenju praktične vojaške literature je morda nekoliko pripomoglo splošno povečanje pisnega ustvarjanja, še več pa povsem realna potreba po trdnem vojaškem znanju.

Povzetek

Od konca 14. st. se je v Evropi opazno povečalo število knjižnih del, ki obravnavajo borilne veščine. Z njimi so srednjeveške vojaške veščine vstopile v dobo pismenosti, kar kaže potrebo po bolj sistematičnem in formaliziranem urjenju. To ne preseneča, če upoštevamo

Summary

From the end of the 14th century and onward, there was an increase of books dedicated to martial arts in Europe. Through these written documents, medieval military skills entered an era of literacy which proved the need for a more systematical and formalised training. This should not come as a surprise, taking into account the wider historical context. From the beginning of the 14th century, the military organisation in the majority of European countries underwent relatively gradual, yet fundamental changes. The heavily armed knightly cavalry began to lose prevalence, while a more central role was assumed by well-organised and adequately trained infantry units, which were equipped with various types of pole weapons and which generally operated in a defensive manner on the battlefield. A growing number of lowborn soldiers participating in engagements shocked the almost exclusive control over warfare exercised by members of the nobility through a feudal hierarchy. This, finally, resulted in fundamental social changes.

širši zgodovinski kontekst. Od začetka 14. st. je vojaška organizacija v večini evropskih dežel doživljala postopne, a temeljite spremembe. Težko oborožena konjenica vitezov je začela izgubljati prevlado, saj je vse pomembnejšo vlogo dobivala dobro organizirana in ustrezno izurjena pehota, oborožena z različnim orožjem na drogu, ki je na bojišču delovala po večini defenzivno. Vse širša udeležba vojakov nižjega rodu je omajala nekdanji skoraj monopolni nadzor nad vojskovanjem, ki je v fevdalni hierarhiji pripadal plemstvu, to pa je navsezadnje privedlo do temeljitih družbenih sprememb.

Fevdalni sklic vitezov so sčasoma nadomestili poklicni najemniki, ki so delodajalcem zagotavljali učinkovito službo poljubno dolgo, vsaj dokler so dobivali redno plačilo. Razmeroma majhne, gibljive najemniške enote težko oboroženih konjenikov in strelcev so bile zelo primerne za hitre vdore, plenilske pohode in druge vrste omejenega vojskovanja, značilne za pozni srednji vek. Od druge polovice 14. st. se je stopnjevala tudi uporaba ognjenega orožja, sprva predvsem oblegovalnega topništva. V prvi polovici 15. st. je v srednji Evropi močno odmeval taktični koncept čeških husitov, ki je temeljil na improviziranih utrdbah iz vozov ter množični uporabi lažjega topništva in ročnega ognjenega orožja. Proti koncu stoletja so si ugled elitnih enot zaradi izjemne discipline in odličnega urjenja pridobili švicarski pešaki, oboroženi zlasti s helebardami in dolgimi sulicami. V tistem obdobju so se pojavili prvi velikopoteznejši poskusi vzpostavljanja poklicne redne vojske pod neposrednim vodstvom vladarja. Ta proces se je začel v Franciji in Burgundiji, kmalu zatem še na Ogrskem in v habsburških deželah, kjer je organiziranost zanesljivejšega obrambnega sistema spodbudil tudi turški prodor v jugovzhodno Evropo. Profesionalizacija oboroženega stanu je prinesla dokončen prelom s fevdalno vojaško ureditvijo, hkrati pa ustvarila pogoje za uradno poučevanje borilnih veščin v smislu sistematičnega vojaškega urjenja.

The feudal assembly of knights was gradually replaced by mercenaries who offered their services to their employers for an indefinitely long period of time, at least as long they received a regular salary. The relatively small, flexible mercenary units of heavily armed horsemen and archers were appropriate for conducting rapid invasions, raids and other types of limited warfare which were typical for the Late Middle Ages. From the second half of the 14th century, the use of firearms had also gradually spread, initially mostly in the form of siege artillery. In the first half of the 15th century, the tactical concept of the Bohemian Hussites, which was based on improvised fortifications made of wagons and the massive use of light artillery and hand-held firearms, attracted wide attention in Central Europe. At the end of the century, Swiss infantry soldiers, armed with halberds and pikes, won great respect as elite units due to their exceptional discipline and excellent training. In this period, first large-scale attempts were made to form professional standing armies under the direct command of the ruler. This process began in France and Burgundy, and was soon transferred to Hungary and Habsburg countries, where an organisation of a more reliable defence system was initiated by Ottoman raids in South-East Europe. The professionalisation of military forces finally replaced the feudal military organisation, and at the same time established conditions for a formal teaching of martial arts in the sense of systematic military training.



Borilne veščine v poznem srednjem veku

Martial Arts in the Late Middle Ages

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Izvleček

Članek ponuja vpogled v sodobne interpretacije virov o borilnih in bojnih veščinah evropskega poznega srednjega veka. Avtor poskuša poudariti vse širšo dostopnost virov in sodelovanje med različnimi znanstvenimi disciplinami ter poda izbor virov, dostopnih tudi zainteresirani laični javnosti, hkrati pa postavlja vprašanja o razvitosti pedagoških in didaktičnih prijemov pri prenašanju znanja ter vzpostavljenem sistemu vadbe. Ustroj prenašanja znanja in vadbe poskuša opisati kot popoln sistem borilnih veščin, ki obsega fizični, intelektualni, čustveni, moralni in socialni vidik učenca in učitelja. Na podlagi virov ugotavlja vzpon borilnih in bojnih veščin poznega srednjega veka na višjo stopnjo razvoja in opazuje nadaljevanje bojne in borilne tradicije v novi vek.

Ključne besede: vojna zgodovina, srednji vek, borilne veščine, orožje, muzeji, bojna oprema, bojevanje, priročniki.

V zadnjih desetletjih smo pričeli hitremu razvoju rekonstrukcije zgodovinskih evropskih borilnih in bojnih veščin¹ v številnih oblikah in iz več razlogov ter na različnih strokovnih stopnjah. Ne gre zanikati okoliščin, ki so pripeljale do večje priljubljenosti teh veščin (v največji meri je to industrija zabave: film, računalniške igre, fiktivna literatura,² različni

Abstract

The article offers an insight into modern interpretations of sources referring to the martial and combat arts of the Late Middle Ages in Europe. The author aims to stress an increased availability of sources, as well as cooperation between various scientific disciplines. He also provides a selection of sources which refer to the martial arts of the Middle Ages in Europe and are also available to the interested laic public, while at the same time he brings up the issue of the development of pedagogic and didactical methods in cascading the knowledge, as well as of the established system of practice. The structure of the transposition of knowledge and practice tends to be described as a complete system of martial arts, including physical, intellectual, emotional, moral and social aspects of instructors and their students. The author describes the advancement of late medieval martial arts to a higher level of development on the basis of sources, as well as the progress of martial tradition into the Renaissance and Early Modern Era.

Key words: war history, Middle Ages, martial arts, weapons, museums, combat equipment, warfare, manuals.

Over the past decades we have witnessed a rapid development in the reconstruction of historical European martial arts¹ which appear in various forms, for numerous reasons and at different professional levels. The circumstances which have contributed to the greater popularity of the above mentioned

¹ Avtor članka pod izrazom zgodovinske evropske borilne in bojne veščine zajema vse veščine ravnanja s hladnim orožjem vseh oblik in namena, vse sisteme tehnik takšnega bojevanja ter fizični in psihološki pristop k stvarjem bojne narave evropskega področja v času med antiko in 19. stoletjem.

² Opazen je porast produktov z bolj ali manj posrečenimi približki zgodovinski zapaščini, naštejemo naj le nekaj primerov. Med filmi izstopajo Excalibur (1981),

¹ With the term historical European martial and combat arts the author of the article discusses all arts of handling the arme blanche of all types and purposes, all technique systems of such combat, as well as a physical and psychological approach to European martial issues between the Antiquity and the 19th century.

javni dogodki), vendar se hkrati ustvarja vtis, da so prav te zelo vplivale na prevelik odmik od strokovnih zgodovinskih metod rekonstrukcije k bolj populističnemu,³ zabavlaškemu ali v najboljšem primeru športnemu vidiku. Po drugi strani je razvoj tehnologij, ki podpirajo zabavno industrijo, omogočil številne nepogrešljive priložnosti za strokovne kroge. S tem imam v mislih tehnologije obdelave pisnih virov, njihove hrambe in distribucije ter splošno dostopnost⁴ (svetovni splet in elektronsko arhiviranje), kar je danes za zainteresirano laično javnost izjemno izhodišče za rekonstrukcijo orožja, opreme, uporabe obeh ter do določene mere tudi načinov učenja in vadbe borilnih veščin. V zvezi z dostopnostjo pisnih virov oziroma njihovih digitalnih kopij je treba omeniti tudi velik napredek v smislu večje preglednosti muzejskih zbirk, večjega števila programov, ki te zbirke odpirajo javnosti, ter fizični stik zainteresirane laične javnosti s katalogiziranimi artefakti in raziskavami teh.⁵

Razvoj tehnologij in rekonstrukcije zgodovinskih evropskih borilnih in bojnih veščin ponuja možnost vpogleda v zgodovino bojevanja na evropskih tleh, ki temelji na arheoloških raziskavah materialnih virov ter dognanj drugih znanstvenih panog (med njimi metalurgije, biomehanike, patologije in travmatologije).⁶ Prek teh dognanj lahko začnemo razumevati pisne vire, ki izrecno govorijo o bojevanju, učenju in vadbi bojevanja ter o psihofizični strukturi bojevnika.

arts should not ignore (mostly the entertainment industry: films, computer games, fiction,² various public events). However, at the same time an opinion has been formed that these genres themselves have had a considerable impact on the deviation from professional-historical methods of reconstruction to a more populist,³ entertainment, or, the least harmful, a sports aspect. On the other hand, the development of technologies which support the entertainment industry has enabled several indispensable opportunities for professional circles. In saying so, I refer to the technologies of processing written sources, their storage, distribution and general availability⁴ (the Internet and electronic archiving). With regard to the availability of written sources or their digital copies, I need to mention the considerable progress in better transparency of museum collections, a higher number of programs which make them available to the public, as well as access to catalogued artefacts and artefacts-related researches⁵ by laic individuals.

A development of technologies and the reconstruction of historical European martial arts provide a possibility of an overview the history of combat on European territory which is based on archeological research of material sources, as well as on findings of other scientific disciplines (among others also metallurgy, biomechanics, pathology and traumathology)⁶. Through these findings we can start to understand written sources which specifically describe combat, how to acquire and practice fighting skills, and the psychophysical structure of a combatant.

Braveheart (1995), Gladiator (2000), Troy (2004), King Arthur (2004), Kingdom of Heaven (2005), 300 (2006), Beowulf (2007), nato televizijske serije Xena, Mists of Avalon, Merlin. Med računalniškimi igrami sta daleč najbolj priljubljeni seriji Total War in World of Warcraft; med knjižnimi naslovi serija prigrad najemnika Alaristeja (Arturo Pérez-Reverte), Gospodar prstanov (J. R. R. Tolkien), serija Pesem ledu in ognja (George R. R. Martin), serija Zgodbe iz Narnije (C. S. Lewis), Ivanhoe (sir Walter Scott) – naslovov je seveda še veliko več in se z leti množijo. Navedeni so tisti, ki so na priljubljenih forumin dosegli največ omemb v povezavi s prikazanim bojevanjem.

3 Gl. Tomaž Nabergoj – Roman Vučajnik, Oživiljanje srednjega veka; O »srednjeveških« prireditvah pri nas, v: *Argo* 49/1 (2006), str. 151–169.

4 Omenim naj programe digitalizacije virov, kot sta npr. digitalna knjižnica SLUB (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden in Digitalisierung, Nachweis, Bereitstellung im WWW und Langzeitarchivierung der im deutschen Sprachgebiet Erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (1518–1600) der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek).

5 Dobra primera takega stika sta vsekakor predavanje dr. Alana Williamsa o metalografskih analizah antičnega in srednjeveškega orožja, ki se je zgodilo 8. septembra 2008 v prostorih Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, ter »Večer belih rokavic« 11. oktobra 2008 v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije v sklopu Delavnice zgodovinskih evropskih borilnih veščin v Ljubljani 11. in 12. oktobra 2008.

6 Med drugim gl.: Anna Kjellström, A Sixteenth-Century Warrior Grave from Uppsala, Sweden; The Battle of Good Friday, in: *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 15/1 (2005), str. 23–50; Tim Sutherland, Battlefield Archaeology; A Guide to the Archaeology of Conflict, v: *British Archaeological Jobs Resource*, (November 2005).

2 There has been a notable increase in products which more or less successfully try to capture the historical tradition. Among numerous products, the following are worth mentioning: films Excalibur (1981), Braveheart (1995), Gladiator (2000), Troy (2004), King Arthur (2004), Kingdom of Heaven (2005), 300 (2006), Beowulf (2007); television series Xena, Mists of Avalon, and Merlin; among computer games the most popular are the Total War and the World of Warcraft; among books the series of adventures of Alariste (Arturo Pérez-Reverte), Lord of the Rings (J. R. R. Tolkien), the series A Song of Ice and Fire (George R. R. Martin), the series The Chronicles of Narnia (C. S. Lewis), Ivanhoe (sir Walter Scott) – The list is of course not comprehensive and is regularly being added to. The titles featured here are most often mentioned on popular forums with regard to the combat depicted.

3 See Tomaž Nabergoj – Roman Vučajnik, Oživiljanje srednjega veka; O »srednjeveških« prireditvah pri nas, in: *Argo* 49/1 (2006), pp. 151–169.

4 In this context I would like to mention the digitalisation of sources, such as digital libraries SLUB (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden in Digitalisierung, Nachweis, Bereitstellung im WWW und Langzeitarchivierung der im deutschen Sprachgebiet Erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (1518–1600) der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek).

5 A good example of such contact is a lecture by dr. Alan Williams on metallographic analysis of ancient and medieval weapons which took place on 8 September in the National Museum of Slovenia, as well as »Večer belih rokavic« (The Evening of White Gloves) which took place on 11 October 2008 in the National Museum of Slovenia within the scope of the »Workshop of historical European martial arts« in Ljubljana from 11 to 12 October 2008.

6 See also: Anna Kjellström, A Sixteenth-Century Warrior Grave from Uppsala, Sweden; The Battle of Good Friday, in: *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 15/1 (2005), pp. 23–50; Tim Sutherland, Battlefield Archaeology; A Guide to the Archaeology of Conflict, in: *British Archaeological Jobs Resource*, (November 2005).

Čeprav se ta prispevek omejuje na borilne večine evropskega poznega srednjega veka in na pisne vire o teh veččinah, ne dviguje pa se na raven obravnave srednjeveške vojaške zgodovine, velja vsaj omeniti zgodovinopisno izhodišče, iz katerega izvira ali je vsaj izvirni sodobni pristop k rekonstrukciji omenjenih veččin. Philippe Contamine piše o težnji prvih vojaških zgodovinarjev moderne dobe, ki so srednjeveško obdobje v vojaškem oziru primerjali z antično oziroma moderno dobo. Skoraj ni izjeme, ki bi se odmaknila od zelo neprizanesljivega označevanja srednjeveškega bojevanja s pridevniki, kot so: zelo povprečno, nerazvito, celo neobstoječe kot načrtna, organizirana panoga.⁷ Številni od teh zgodovinarjev so bili aktivni ali upokojeni vojaški častniki, ki so v svojem razmišljanju izhajali iz svojih vojaških znanj in izkušenj ter jih primerjali z viri o izidih srednjeveških vojaških spopadov.⁸ A principov, ustroja in delovanja, denimo, britanskih imperialnih vojaških sil se ne da primerjati s fevdalnimi vojskami različnih ekonomskih, kulturnih in vojaških tradicij skozi stoletja srednjeveške Evrope. Vendar viri in sodobne raziskave danes kažejo drugačno sliko, in sicer to, da so bile srednjeveške vojaške zmožnosti sposobne daljnosežnih strategij, bojnih taktik in primerne psihofizične ustroja srednjeveškega vojščaka, ki se je zavedal pomena fizične zmogljivosti in teoretičnih znanj. Zelo romantična ali preveč podcenjujoča ocena srednjeveškega bojevanja zgodovinopiscev 19. st. ima še danes močno pozicijo v naši obravnavi omenjene dejavnosti, kar ni opazno le v prevelikem dometu izdelkov zabavne industrije ter njihovih vplivov na rekonstrukcijo zgodovinskih evropskih borilnih in bojnih veččin, temveč tudi v strokovnih krogih. Nekorektno in krivično bi bilo v tem prispevku kazati s prstom na posamične primere, saj za kaj takega avtor ni ne pristojen niti to ni namen prispevka, velja pa omeniti prepogosto poenostavljanje pri interpretaciji materialnih artefaktov ali pisnih virov.

V zagovor vojaški sposobnosti evropskega poznega srednjega veka lahko navedemo množico primerkov uporabne bojne opreme

Although this article limits itself to the martial arts of the European Late Middle Ages and the sources on these arts while not addressing medieval military history, it needs to mention at least the starting point which result in, or at least, did result in, a modern approach to the reconstruction of these arts. Philippe Contamine describes a tendency of the first military historians of the Modern Age to compare the Middle Ages, in military aspect, to the Antiquity or to the Modern Age. Very rarely do we come across an exception which does not use negative adjectives when describing medieval combat, such as: very mediocre, undeveloped, even non-existing as a planned, organized discipline.⁷ Several of these historians were active or retired military officers whose thinking was based on their own military knowledge and experience which they then compared to sources on medieval military engagements⁸. However, the principles, structure and operations of the British Imperial military forces, for example, cannot be compared to feudal armies belonging to different economic, cultural and military traditions throughout several hundreds of years of medieval Europe. Nevertheless, the sources and modern researches today present a different picture, which is, that medieval military capacities were capable of far-reaching strategies, combat tactics and an appropriate psychophysical constitution of a medieval warrior who was aware of the importance of physical capabilities and theoretical knowledge. A very romantic or underestimating evaluation of medieval warfare, made by 19th century historians, still maintains a very strong impact on our perception of this activity. This can be observed not only in a long reach of products, generated by the entertainment industry, and their influence on the reconstruction of historical European martial arts, but also within professional circles. It would be incorrect and unfair to point out individual cases in this context, since the author is neither competent to do so, nor is this the intention of this article. However, worth mentioning is the fact that too often we resort to simplified interpretations of material artefacts or written sources.

In defense of European late medieval military capabilities we can state a number of examples of useful equipment and weapons, of which many pieces do astonish us, not only due to their high quality and artistic value, but also due to their originality, pragmatism, as well as excellent understanding of

⁷ Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1998, str. 208.

⁸ »They have thus drawn the conclusion that there is practically nothing to be gathered or learnt from the study of medieval campaigns, battles or sieges. In short, as far as war is concerned, just as with the history of philosophic thought, between Antiquity and the Renaissance there is a thousand-year gap.«. Prav tam.

⁷ Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1998, p. 208.

⁸ 'They have thus drawn the conclusion that there is practically nothing to be gathered or learnt from the study of medieval campaigns, battles or sieges. In short, as far as war is concerned, just as with the history of philosophic thought, between Antiquity and the Renaissance there is a thousand-year gap.' I bid.

Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar



Sebastjan Lombar (levo) se vzpenja v »volovski stav«, Roman Vučajnk (desno) se spušča v stav »plug«.

Sebastjan Lombar (left) is ascending into the 'Ox Guard', Roman Vučajnk (right) is descending into the 'Plow Guard'.

Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar



Sebastjan Lombar (levo) je prekinil napad in hkrati bode nasprotnika.

Sebastjan Lombar (left) has broken the attack and simultaneously thrusts at his opponent.

in orožja, od katerih nas marsikateri artefakt osupne ne le zaradi visoke stopnje izdelave in umetniške vrednosti, temveč tudi zaradi domiselnosti, pragmatičnosti in odličnega poznavanja bojnih okoliščin. Poleg zelo kakovostnih posamičnih kosov bojne opreme, ki skoraj vsi pripadajo najvišjim družbenim slojem (torej tudi najvišjim vojaškim položajem), pa moramo upoštevati tudi vojaške »množice«, sicer hitro privzamemo ravnokar kritizirani pogled na srednjeveško vojaško delovanje kot na zmes dvobojev med vojščaki primerljivega stanu na bojnem polju. Manj kakovostna, a še vedno učinkovita oprema in orožje nam v svoji raznovrstnosti ne slikata zgolj na hitro nabranih množic, ki lahko prispevajo le svojo številčnost in maso. To opremo in orožje je bilo treba znati uporabiti. Hans Delbrück, sicer eden od zagovornikov mnenja, da v srednjeveškem bojevanju ni iskati visoko razvite strategije in vojaških struktur, ki bi primerljivo s sodobnimi delovale v strateških in taktičnih okvirih, ne pa le na podlagi osebnih odlik srednjeveških vojskovodij, posreduje podatke o naboru iz leta 1431, ko je vojvoda Albrecht V. za potrebe vojne proti husitom na ozemljih pod svojo oblastjo ukazal zbrati vse za vojaško delovanje sposobne moške, stare od šestnajst do sedemdeset let. Seznam vsebuje podatke o oborožitvi nabranih enot: v vsaki skupini dvajsetih mož so morali biti trije oboroženi z ročnim topom, osem s samostrelom, štirje s sulico, štirje z bojnimi cepci, vsi so morali imeti železno čelado, oklep ali prešiti jopič, kovinske rokavice ter meč ali nož oz. *messer*. Vsaka dvajsetnja je imela tudi svoj voz.⁹ Slika o neukih kmetih, oboroženih z omenjenim orožjem, torej bolj meji na karikature, ki smo jih vajeni iz obdobja landsknehtov 16. stoletja, kot pa utemeljene zgodovinske razlage.

Res je, da so husiti s svojo inovativno taktiko, ki je vključevala uporabo prilagojenega kmečkega orodja, uspešno premagovali nasprotnike, a to dejstvo ne daje dovolj teže razlagi, ki se ne bi poglobila v možnost, da so nabornike urili v ravnanju z orožjem, za katerega so bili zadolženi, torej da je moral obstajati sistem določenega nabora bojnih tehnik, učenja in vadbe teh tehnik in privajanja na bojne okoliščine. Sicer bi se vojaški kadrovniki mirno lahko odrekli stroškom za strelno orožje, sulice, meče

combat circumstances. Apart from the high quality individual pieces of fighting equipment, which almost all belonged to upper social classes (therefore to those in upper military positions) we must also consider military 'hosts'. If not, we address the medieval military warfare in a way we have just criticized – as a mixture of duels on a battlefield fought by warriors belonging to comparable social classes. Equipment and weapons of lower quality, but still effective, do not imply merely hastily recruited crowds who could offer only their numerical power. It took skill to use that equipment and weapons effectively. Hans Delbrück, one of the advocates of the view that medieval warfare did not include highly developed strategies and military structures which could, similar to the modern ones, function within their strategic tactical frameworks, and not only due to personal qualities of medieval military leader, describes a conscription back in 1431, when the Duke Albrecht V ordered the summoning of all men capable of fighting between 16 to 70 years of age, to fight against the Hussites on the territory under his authority. The information on the combat equipment of the units is also available: in each group of 20 men, three men were equipped with hand cannons, eight with crossbows, four with spears, and four with combat flails. Everyone had to wear an iron helmet, armour or a doublet, gaunlets, as well as a sword or a knife (a Messer). Each group of twenty had their own wagon⁹ Our notion of ignorant peasants, equipped with only certain types of weapons, is more a caricature, typical for the period of Landsknecht from the 16th century, than a well founded historical interpretation.

It is true that the Hussites with their innovative tactics, which included the employment of modified farming implements, successfully defeated their adversaries. However, this fact does not sufficiently support the interpretation which does not consider the possibility that conscripts received certain training in the weapons they were responsible for, meaning there must have existed a system of acquiring and practicing combat techniques, as well as the process of adaption to specific combat circumstances. If not, recruitment officers could have easily eliminated the costs of fire weapons, spears, swords and crossbows, and distributed to the conscripts sharpened farming tools they were familiar with (which is almost exactly what Jan Žižka has done to the Hussites, thus victorious for a long time). Images depicting battle motifs also give evidence to the large extent of various weapons and equipment which brings

⁹ Hans Delbrück, *Medieval Warfare*, Lincoln 1990, str. 448–449.

⁹ Hans Delbrück, *Medieval Warfare*, Lincoln 1990, pp. 448–449.

in samostrele ter nabornikom razdelili nabrušeno kmečko orodje, ki so ga bili vajeni (kar je skoraj natančno to, kar je Jan Žižka storil s husiti in tako dolgo zmagoval). Tudi likovne upodobitve bojnih dogodkov kažejo veliko raznolikost orožja in opreme, ki vzbuja vprašanja o urjenju vojska.¹⁰ Nikakor pa ne gre v nabornikih in še tako primernem urjenju (ki je bilo v primeru nabora verjetno dokaj hitro) iskati veččin poznejših ordonančnih čet in prvih pravih vojaških enot ob koncu srednjega veka, ki so spremenile vojaško doktrino ter odprle novo poglavje v vojaški zgodovini s 16. stoletjem.

Virov iz srednjega veka, ki bi osvetlili ali celo pojasnili sistematizacijo in urjenje borilnih veččin nabornikov ali skupin vojščakov, ni veliko, zlasti ne v obliki vojaških priročnikov, kakršnih smo vajeni od konca 18. st. Srednjeveški vojaški redovi prek svojih redovnih pravil ponujajo določen vpogled v vojaško strukturo in pričakovanja do svojih članov ter predpisano orožje in opremo, iz katerih lahko poskusimo razbrati veččine njihove uporabe. Če temu dodamo še pričevanja njihovih sodobnikov o vojaških uspehih (in neuspehih), lahko sklepamo, da je v ozadju njihovih bojnih zmogljivosti moral biti sistem urjenja, standardiziranja taktike, strukture enot in povelj. Ne gre pozabiti, da so največji vojaški redovi združevali člane iz vse krščanske Evrope, ki so prinesli s sabo kulturno in bojno tradicijo svojega izročila, ki bi, če ne bi bilo bojne *lingue france*, verjetno zelo hromila učinkovitost teh enot. Primerjajmo to z avstro-ogrskimi enotami, v katerih so morala biti povelja večjezična, in s francosko tujsko legijo, kjer se morajo vsi pripadniki naučiti francoskih povelj in postopkov v tem jeziku. Morda sam jezik v obdobju vojaških redov še niti ni bil največja ovira v sistematizaciji taktičnih postopkov in bojnih veččin, poenotenje teh pa je oreh, ki ga verjetno lahko stre le poenoten sistem urjenja.

Ko pa veččine iz strogo vojaškega okolja, torej okolja skupin, od katerih je pričakovati povezano in enotno delovanje v bojnih okoliščinah, preselimo v okolje posameznika, se pokažejo dodatni razlogi za njegovo bojno usposobljenost. Boji v pravnem okolju (dvoboji), boji za vadbo in boji v športnem duhu se postavijo ob bok boju na življenje in smrt na vojnem

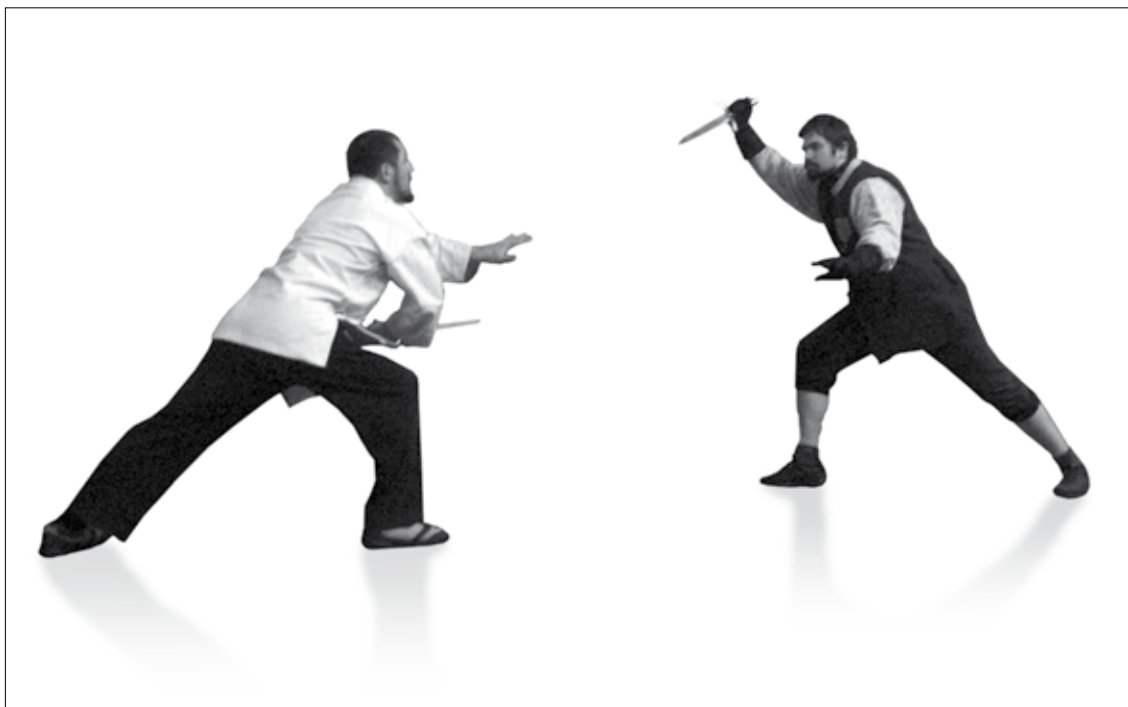
up the question of army training.¹⁰ Nevertheless, despite having received appropriate training (probably very short), conscripts did not possess the skills of subsequent companies d'ordonnance and the first real military units at the very end of the Middle Ages, which changed the military doctrine and at the beginning of the 16th century opened a new chapter in the history of warfare.

There are not many available medieval sources which could give us a clear picture or even explain the systematization and training of martial arts, received by conscripts or groups of warriors, certainly not in the form of military manuals, typical for the period from the end of the 18th century up to the present day. Medieval military orders offer a certain insight into their military structure through their rules, as well as into obligations of their members and also prescribed weapons and equipment which can help us reach conclusions on their skills regarding the employment of these weapons. If we also consider testimonies on their military successes (and failures), made by their contemporaries, we realize that their combat capabilities must have been supported by a system of training and tactics standardization, as well as of unit and command structures. We should not forget that the greatest military orders integrated members of all Christian Europe, who brought with them their culture and combat tradition of their backgrounds which would, were there not for a military lingua franca, probably have paralyzed the efficiency of these units. As a comparison, let us remember that in the Austro-Hungarian Army orders had to be multilingual while in the French Foreign Legion all members had to learn French orders and procedures. In the period of medieval military orders perhaps the language itself did not present the biggest obstacle within the systematization of tactical procedures and martial arts, while unified procedures and skills presented a problem which could only be solved by an unified system of training.

When skills from a strictly military environment, that is the environment of groups which are expected to show cohesion and unity in combat circumstances, are transferred to the environment of an individual, we can notice additional reasons for the individual's combat ability. Fights in legal environment (duels), practise and sports fights become equally important as the fights to the death on a battlefield. Compared to the previous aspects, the wealth of written sources

10 Gl. Pamela Porter, *Medieval Warfare in Manuscripts*, Toronto 2003.

10 See Pamela Porter, *Medieval Warfare in Manuscripts*, Toronto 2003.



Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar

Sebastjan Lombar (levo) bo z bodalom napadel iz »spodnjega stava«, Roman Vučajnk (desno) pa iz »visokega stava«.

Sebastjan Lombar (left) is going to attack with a dagger from the 'Low Guard', while Roman Vučajnk (right) is going to attack from the 'High Guard'.



Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar

Sebastjan Lombar (levo) izpeljuje postopek, kot ga je opisal Joachim Meyer v *Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens*, 1600.

*Sebastjan Lombar (left) is performing a technique, described by Joachim Meyer in *Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens*, 1600.*

polju. Bogastvo pisnih virov je v primerjavi s prejšnjim aspektom prav neizmerno. V nadaljevanju navajamo seznam pisnih virov, ki so v zadnjem času postali bolj dostopni in zadevajo večšine bojevanja v poznem srednjem veku. Pripomniti je treba, da se število virov z novimi odkritji povečuje, zato seznam še zdaleč ni popoln. Poleg tega je zaradi lažjega razumevanja treba dodati, da ne vključuje samo pisnih virov, nastalih v poznem srednjem veku, temveč tudi tiste, za katere lahko z gotovostjo trdimo, da obravnavajo borilne in bojne veščine, značilne za evropski pozni srednji vek.

Royal Armouries I.33 (anonimni avtor, pozno 13. stol.–začetek 14. stol.); tehnike bojevanja z mečem in ščitkom.

Nürnbergger Handschrift, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 3227a; (anonimni avtor; dostokrat je avtorstvo pripisano Hanku Döbringerju, okoli leta 1389); alkimistični recepti, astrološka in magična besedila, latinski koledar ipd. Med njimi so sestavki o bojevanju z mečem, peš in na konjskem hrbtu, v oklepu in brez njega; o ruvanju, boju z mečem in ščitom, *messerjem*; palico in bodali. Besedila povzemajo izročilo Liechtenauerja in njegovih somišljenikov.

La jeu de la hache, Bibliothèque Nationale France, MS FR. 1996 (anonimni avtor, okoli leta 1400); navodila za bojevanje z bojno sekuro (orožje na drogu s konico, »kladivom« in »sekiro«).

Flos duellatorum (Pisani-Dossi MS); (Fiore dei Liberi, 1410); ruvanje, boj z bodalom, mečem, sulico, dolgim mečem, boj v oklepu, s sekuro na drogu in na konju. Ohranjene so te različice istega avtorja: MS M.383 (Morgan MS), ki je najkrajša različica dei Liberijevega dela, MS LUDWIG XV 13 (Getty MS) in v letu 2008 odkriti MS LATIN 11269 (ali Florius de arte luctandi), ki je najmlajša različica dei Liberijevega dela. Katalog knjižnice Estense v Ferrari omenja še Codex LXXXIV (ali MS 84) ter Codex CX (ali MS 110) istega avtorja, vendar se ne ve, kje sta.

Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Mscr. C487. (Sigmund Ringeck, okoli leta 1440); Ringeckovi komentarji na Liechtenauerjeve verze o »viteški umetnosti bojevanja z dolgim mečem«.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis, B 11093, (anonimni avtor,

isimmense. Further on in the article you will find a list of written sources which have become more available in the past years and focus on the martial arts from the Late Middle Ages. It must be stressed that the list is ever growing due to new discoveries; therefore it is far from complete. For better understanding it must be said that the list does not include only written sources from the Late Middle Ages, but also those for which we are convinced they address martial arts, typical of the European Late Middle Ages.

Royal Armouries I.33 (anonymous author, late 13th century – the beginning of the 14th century); combat techniques with a sword and buckler.

Nürnbergger Handschrift, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 3227a; (anonymous author; although it is often said the author to be Hank Döbringer, circa 1389); alchemist recipes, astrological texts, Latin calendar, texts on magic, etc. Among them also articles on combat with a sword, on foot, on horse, with or without armour, about wrestling, fighting with a sword and shield, with a messer, staff and dagger. The texts are based on the tradition of Liechtenauer and his followers.

La jeu de la hache, Bibliothèque Nationale France, MS FR. 1996 (anonymous author, circa 1400); instructions for combat with a combat axe (a weapon on a pole with a point, a 'hammer' and 'axe').

Flos duellatorum (Pisani-Dossi MS); (Fiore dei Liberi, 1410); grappling, combat with a dagger, sword, spear, long sword, combat in armour, combat with a pole axe, and combat on horse. From the same author the following versions are preserved: MS M.383 (Morgan MS), the shortest version of dei Liberi's work, MS LUDWIG XV 13 (Getty MS) and, discovered in 2008, MS LATIN 1269 (or Florius de arte luctandi), which is the latest version of dei Liberi's work. The catalogue of a library Estense in Ferrara includes also Codex LXXXIV (or MS 84) and Codex CX (or MS 110) by the same author, however, their location is not known.

Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Mscr. C487. (Sigmund Ringeck, in 1440, approximately); Ringeck's commentaries on Liechtenauer's verses on a 'Knight's Art of the Longsword'.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis, B 11093, (anonymous author, mid 15th century); combat in armour with a spear, long sword, dagger and pole axe, grappling, combat on horse with a sword.

Biblioteca Jagiellonski, Krakow, Gladiatoria, MS Germ Quart 16, NR 5878, 1989 ROK (anonymous

- sredina 15. stol.); boj v oklepu s sulico, dolgim mečem, dolгим mečem in bodalom, sekuro na drogu, ruvanje, bojevanje z mečem na konju.
- Biblioteca Jagiellonski, Krakow, *Gladiatoria*, MS Germ Quart 16, NR 5878, 1989 ROK (anonimni avtor, okoli leta 1450); dvoboj v oklepu s preprijetim mečem, sulico in bodalom.
- British Museum, *The Man Who Wol*, MS. 3542; (anonimni avtor, 1. polovica 15. st.); delo govori o tehnikah bojevanja z dvoročnim mečem.
- British Library, MS. 39564 (anonimni avtor, sredi 15. stol.); delo govori o sistemu bojevanja z mečem.
- Bibliotheca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cod. 44 A 8 (Cod. 1449) 1452 (Peter von Danzig, okoli leta 1452); bojevanje po Liechtenauerjevi tradiciji, in sicer tehnike meča in ščitka, boja z bodalom, ruvanje in dolgi meč.
- Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, *Alte Armatur und Ringkunst*, Thott 290 2 (Hans Talhoffer, 1459); predstavljeni so oblegovalni stroji in bojne naprave; tehnike boja z dvoročnim mečem, mečem in ščitka, bodalom, sekuro na drogu, ruvanje, sodni dvoboj (prikazanih je še nekaj posebnosti, kot so pazeve z ostjo na obeh koncih, boj med moškim in žensko) in boj na konju.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Fechtbuch von 1467*, BSB Cod. icon. 394a, (Hans Talhoffer, 1467).
- Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2 (anonimni avtor, okoli leta 1470); tehnike bojevanja z dolgim mečem, bodalom in ruvanje, boj v oklepu, s sulico in sekuro na drogu.
- Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, Cod. S554, (anonimni avtor, okoli leta 1470); tehnike boja v oklepu z dolgim mečem, boj na konju, boj z bodalom, ruvanje, boj s ščitom.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, BSB Cgm 1507 (Paulus Kal, okoli leta 1479); boj na konju, boj v oklepu s sulico, dolgim mečem, bodalom, sekuro na drogu, pavezami, boj med moškim in žensko, brez oklepa z dolgim mečem, *messerjem*, bodalom in ruvanje.
- Fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, Codex 1324 (Filippo Vadi, 1485); boj z dolgim mečem, v oklepu s sekuro na drogu, *author, circa 1450*); a duel in armour with a half-sword, spear and dagger.
- British Museum, *The Man Who Wol*, MS. 3542; (anonymous author, the first half of the 15th century); combat techniques with a double-handed sword.
- British Library, MS. 39564 (anonymous author, in the middle of the 15th century); the system of fighting with a sword.
- Bibliotheca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cod. 44 A 8 (Cod. 1449) 1452 (Peter von Danzig, circa 1452); fighting according to Liechtenauer's tradition; techniques of sword and buckler, fighting with a dagger, grappling and a longsword.
- Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, *Alte Armatur und Ringkunst*, Thott 290 2 (Hans Talhoffer, 1459); siege machines and devices of war, fighting techniques with a double-handed sword, sword and buckler, dagger, pole axe, grappling, judicial duels (some special cases are also depicted, such as pavises with points on both ends, combat between a man and a woman) and combat on horse.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Fechtbuch von 1467*, BSB Cod. icon. 394a, (Hans Talhoffer, 1467).
- Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2 (anonymous author, circa 1470); fighting techniques with a longsword, dagger, grappling, fighting in armour, with a spear and pole axe.
- Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, Cod. S554, (anonymous author, circa 1470); combat techniques in armour with a longsword, combat on a horse, fighting with a dagger, grappling, fighting with a shield.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, BSB Cgm 1507 (Paulus Kal, circa 1479); combat on a horse, combat in armour with a spear, longsword, dagger, pole axe, pavises, combat between a man and woman, fighting without armour with a longsword, messer, dagger, and grappling.
- Fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, Codex 1324 (Filippo Vadi, 1485); combat with a longsword, combat in armour with a pole axe, with spada in arme, combat without armour with a spear, dagger, and grappling.
- Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg, M.I.29 1491 (Hans von Speyer, 1491); von Speyer described techniques of various masters on fighting with a long sword, messer, short sword, grappling, combat with a sword on a horse and jousting with lance
- Biblioteca Jagiellonski, Krakow, *Goliath*, Ms. Germ.

- s spada in arme, boj brez oklepa s sulico, bodalom in ruvanje.
- Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg, M.I.29 1491 (Hans von Speyer, 1491); von Speyer je zapisal tehnike različnih mojstrov o bojevanju z dolgim mečem, *messerjem*, kratkim mečem, ruvanju, boju z mečem na konju in bodanju s sulico.
- Biblioteka Jagiellonski, Krakow, *Goliath*, Ms. Germ. Quart. 2020, NR: 5879 1989 ROK (anonimni avtor, okoli leta 1500); bojevanje v oklepu z dolgim mečem, sulico, orožjem na drogu, boj brez oklepa, z bodalom.
- Das Ringersbuch* (Hans Wurm, okoli leta 1500); malo znano delo o tehnikah ruvanja
- Bibliothèque Nationale France, R-24858 (Antonio Manciolino, 1531); pripadnik italijanske veje bojevanja, t. i. bolonjske šole; preostali izvodi tega dela so v Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, Biblioteca universitaria di Padova in Biblioteca reale di Torino.
- Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *Opera nova*, 4A 938 (Achille Marozzo, 1536); pripadnik bolonjske šole; delo prikazuje sistem bojevanja z različnimi orožji; izšlo je še leta 1568 pod naslovom *Arte dell'armi di Achille Marozzo Bolognese*.
- Universitätsbibliothek Graz, *Über die Fechtkunst und den Ringkampf*, Ms. 963 (Hans Czynnner, 1538); boj v oklepu z dolgim mečem, z bodalom.
- Universitätsbibliothek Graz, *Ringer kunst: fünf und achtzig stücke* (Fabien von Auerswald, 1539); sistem bojevanje brez orožja – ruvanje.
- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Opus amplissimum de arte athletica – Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 10.825* (Paulus Hector Mair, 1. polovica 16. st.); boj brez orožja z dolgim mečem, bodalom, palico, *dusakom*, sekuro na drogu in srpom. Izvod v dveh knjigah hrani tudi Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, in sicer BSB Cod. Icon. 393 (1 in BSB Cod. Icon. 393 2).
- Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, 4A 514 (Hans Lecküchner/Lebkommer, 1558); sistem bojevanja z dolgim mečem, *dusakom*, bodalom, ruvanje, boj s palico. Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek hrani še delo istega avtorja *Kunst des Messerfechtens*, Cod. Pal. germ. 430 (okoli leta 1478), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek pa pod signaturo BSB Cgm 582 (okoli leta 1482). Verjetno enak izvod
- Quart. 2020, NR: 5879 1989 ROK (anonymous author, circa 1500); combat in armour with a long sword, spear, pole weapons, fighting without armour, fighting with a dagger.
- Das Ringersbuch* (Hans Wurm, circa 1500); less known treatise on grappling techniques.
- Bibliothèque Nationale France, R-24858 (Antonio Manciolino, 1531); a member of the Italian fighting tradition, the so-called Bolognese school; other copies of this work are held in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova in Biblioteca Reale di Torino.
- Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *Opera nova*, 4A 938 (Achille Marozzo, 1536); a member of the Bolognese school; the work describes a system of fighting with different weapons; the work was re-published in 1568 with under the title *Arte dell'armi di Achille Marozzo Bolognese*.
- Universitätsbibliothek Graz, *Über die Fechtkunst und den Ringkampf*, Ms. 963 (Hans Czynnner, 1538); combat in armour with a long sword and dagger.
- Universitätsbibliothek Graz, *Ringer kunst: fünf und achtzig stücke* (Fabien von Auerswald, 1539); a system of fighting without weapons – grappling.
- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Opus amplissimum de arte athletica – Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 10.825* (Paulus Hector Mair, the first half of the 16th century); fighting with the longsword, dagger, stick, dusack, pole axe and sickle. A copy is held also in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, that is BSB Cod. Icon. 393(1 in BSB Cod. Icon. 393 2).
- Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, 4A 514 (Hans Lecküchner/Lebkommer, 1558); a system of combat with a longsword, dusack, dagger, grappling, fighting with a staff. The work *Kunst des Messerfechtens*, written by the same author, is held in Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 430 (circa 1478), and in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek under BSB Cgm 582 (circa 1482). Probably the same copy is held in Universitätsbibliothek München under W4 Art. 234.
- Trattato di scientia d' arme*, (Camillo Agrippa, 1553); fighting with a sword, fighting with a sword and dagger, with a halberd, sword and buckler.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens*, VD16 M 5087 (Joachim Meyer, 1570); a text, supported by rich graphics. It describes a fighting with a pole axe, rapier, double-handed sword, dusack, and grappling. The work of the same author (*Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens*, Augsburg 1600 [VD16 M 5088], held by the same library) describes a system of fighting with the longsword, dusack, rapier, dagger,

je v Universitätsbibliothek München pod oznako W4 Art. 234.

Trattato di scientia d' arme, (Camillo Agrippa, 1553); boj z mečem, mečem in bodalom, helebardo, mečem in ščitkom.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens*, VD16 M 5087 (Joaachim Meyer, 1570); besedilo, podprto z zelo bogatimi grafikami, o bojevanju s sekirami na drogu, rapirji, dvoročnimi meči, *dusaki*, in ruvanjem. Delo istega avtorja (Gründtliche Beschreibung des Fechtens, Augsburg 1600 [VD16 M 5088], hrani ga ista ustanova) podaja sistem bojevanja z dolgim mečem, *dusakom*, rapirjem, bodalom, ruvanje, boj s palico (*halbe Stange*), helebardo in dolgo sulico (*lang Spieß*). Univerza v Lundu na Švedskem hrani Meyerjev rokopis *Fechtbuch* pod oznako Msc A 402, v njem je prikazan sistem bojevanja z dolgim mečem, *dusakom* in rapirjem; rokopis bogatijo čudovite ilustracije.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *De Veris Principiis Artis Dimicatoriae, Tractatus brevis*, VD16 G 3915 (Heinrich von Günderrode/ Henrici a Gunterrodt, 1579).

Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *His True Arte of Defense*, 4A 642 (Giacomo di Grassi, 1594); leta 1594 v angleščino prevedeno delo (italijanski izvirnik je nastal leta 1570) govori o sistemu bojevanja z dvoročnim mečem, orožji na drogu, sulico, rapirjem, boju z rapirjem in bodalom, rapirjem in plaščem, rapirjem in ščitkom ter tarčo.

Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *Paradoxes of Defense*, 4A 1307 (George Silver, 1599); čeprav avtor velik del pisanja porabi za argumentiranje proti italijanskemu rapirju, delo ponuja zanimive iztočnice o pravilni uporabi dvoročnega meča, bodala in različnih orožij na drogu.

Neu Künstliches Fechtbuch (Jakob Sutor von Baden, 1612); delo že daleč presega srednjeveški opus pisanih virov o bojnih in borilnih veščinah, a ga zaradi vsebine prispevka uvrščam na ta seznam; ukvarja se

grappling, fighting with staff (halbe Stange), halberd and long spear (lang Spieß). Meyer's manuscript *Fechtbuch* is held by the University in Lund in Sweden under Msc A 402. The work describes a system of combat with the longsword, dusack and rapier. The manuscript is beautifully illustrated.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *De Veris Principiis Artis Dimicatoriae, Tractatus brevis*, VD16 G 3915 (Heinrich von Günderrode/ Henrici a Gunterrodt, 1579).

Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *His True Arte of Defense*, 4A 642 (Giacomo di Grassi, 1594); a treatise translated into English in 1594 (the Italian original was written in 1570). It describes a system of fighting with double-handed swords, pole weapons, lances, rapiers, fighting with a rapier and dagger, rapier and cloak, rapier and buckler and target.

Universiteitsbibliotheek K. U. Leuven, *Paradoxes of Defense*, 4A 1307 (George Silver, 1599); although the author disapproves of Italian rapiers, the work provides interesting instructions on the proper use of a two-handed sword, dagger and various pole weapons.

Neu Künstliches Fechtbuch (Jakob Sutor von Baden, 1612); the treatise is no longer medieval written source on martial arts, however, it is put on this list due to its content: the work deals with techniques of a longsword, a dusack and dagger.

An important issue when addressing Late Medieval martial arts is certainly a question of didactics and pedagogy. The period were already familiar with the tradition of master Liechtenauer which strongly influenced the perception and methods of fighting with various kinds of weapons or without them. On Italian territory the tradition of various masters, such as Fiore dei Liberi, was established, followed by several progressive branches in the 16th century. What is in question here is not merely a collection of techniques, but genuine complete systems. The authors of written resources stress that this is nothing less than 'ritterlich Kunst'¹¹ or a science, reserved for courtiers, scholars, aristocrats and rulers¹², that is, individuals with the required physical,¹³ intellectual,¹⁴ mental and moral capabilities. The

11 From the title sentence »Hie hept sich an die ritterlich kunst des langen schwerts«. Sigmund Ringeck, MS Dresd. C487.

12 '... corregiani scolari baroni principi Duchi et Re debeno essere inuitati acquesta nobile scientia...' Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, Codex 1324, fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, fol. 2r.

13 In *His true Art of Defense* Giacomo di Grassi dedicates the whole chapter to the method of training for increasing the physical strength.

14 Fiore dei Liberi and Filippo Vadi consider *prudencia* with the symbol of compasses, (dei Liberi) and a statement 'Da geometria lo scrimir se nasce' the most important

namreč s tehnikami dolgega meča, *dusaka* in *bodala*.

Pri obravnavanju borilnih veščin pozne- ga srednjega veka je pomembno vprašanje didaktike in pedagogike. Tedaj so že poznali dobro utrjeno izročilo mojstra Liechtenauer- ja, ki močno zaznamuje pojmovanje in način bojevanja z različnimi vrstami orožja ali brez njega. V italijanskih deželah se je utrdila tra- dacija po mojstrih, kot je Fiore dei Liberi, ki jo je v 16. stoletju nadomestilo več naprednih vej. Ne govorimo več o zbirki tehnik, temveč o pravih zaključenih sistemih. Avtorji pisnih virov zelo poudarjajo, da ne gre za nič manj kot »*ritterlich Kunst*«¹¹ ali za znanost, rezervirano za dvorjane, učenjake, visoko plemstvo in vladarje,¹² torej posameznike s potrebnimi telesnimi,¹³ intelektualnimi,¹⁴ duševnimi in moralnimi zmogljivostmi. Več kot splošnih navodil nam mojstri oziroma avtorji virov niti ne podajo v smislu natančnih vadbenih metod in didaktike, lahko pa prek drugih virov spo- znamo, da so obstajale šole oziroma učitelji bojevanja, ki so morali imeti licenco za svoj status in delovanje. Tako beremo, da so leta 1189 v Londonu prepovedali mečevalske šole, s katerimi je imelo mesto kar vroče odnose, ki so se pregrevali vse do obdobja vladavine Henrika VIII. Tudi na celini očitno niso radi gledali šol mečevanja po mestih, še posebej ne v univerzitetnih središčih. Očitno so študentje čas študija preveč radi namenjali učenju boje- vanja; tako so jim na univerzi v Heidelbergu že leta 1389 (leto dni po ustanovitvi) prepove- dali obiskovanje borilnih šol. Rektor je moral prepoved ponoviti leta 1415. Podobno je bilo v Parizu, kjer so leta 1554 želeli pregnati moj- stre bojevanja iz mesta, in vnovič leta 1575.¹⁵

Poleg slabega vpliva na mladino so ugled mojstrov bojevanja spodkopavale tudi druge dejavnosti, predvsem razuzdano življenje, so- delovanje v pivniških pretepih, bojevanju za

masters or authors of written sources only present us with guidelines in terms of exact training methods and didactics; however, through other sources it is obvious that there existed schools as well as teach- ers of fighting who needed a special license for their practices. Thus we learn that in London in 1189 fencing schools were forbidden since their relations with the city were rather turbulent and not settled until the rule of Henry VIII. The continent was not in favor of fencing schools either, especially not the towns with universities. Students obviously preferred practicing their fighting skills to studying. Thus the University of Heidelberg forbade their students from frequenting martial arts schools in 1389 (a year af- ter its establishment). This ban had to be reinforced by the Rector in 1415.

*Something similar happened in Paris in 1554 and 1575¹⁵ when they wanted to banish all masters of fencing from the city. Apart from the negative influ- ence on young people, the reputation of masters of fighting skills was undermined by other activities, especially a promiscuous way of life, participation in tavern brawls, fighting for money and bad teaching methods.¹⁶ Brotherhoods and fraternities of fencers were a common phenomenon; in German territories two strong brotherhoods are still recalled. The first was *Bruderschaft Unserer lieben frawen und der reynen Jungfrawen Marien vnd des Heiligen vnd gewaltsamen Hyemelfursten sanct Marcen*. The year of its establishment is not known, however, in 1487 the Emperor Frederick III granted it the monopoly over the title 'Master of the Longsword' (*Meister des langen Schwerts*); after this they became known also as *Marxbrüder*, *Bruderschaft des heiligen Marren* or *Bruderschaft des St. Marco*. Their competitors, *Freifechter von der Feder zum Greifenfels*, established their brotherhood in 1570 in Prague. We are also fam- ilar with the existence of the third brotherhood, *Lukasbrüder*, which was never officially confirmed. Not everybody had a positive opinion regarding the activities of these brotherhoods, as stated in an anonymous work entitled *Des träumenden Pasquini kluge Staatsphantasien* from 1687. It tells a story of the Duke of Savoy who went fencing with Marechal*

11 Iz naslovnega stavka »*Hie hept sich an die ritterlich kunst des langen schwerts*«. Sigmund Ringeck, MS Dresd. C487.

12 »... *corregiani scolari baroni principi Duchi et Re debeno essere inuitati acquesta nobile scientia*...«. Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, Codex 1324, fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, fol. 2r.

13 Giacomo di Grassi v *His true Art of Defense* celotno poglavje posveti načinu vadbe za povečanje telesne moči.

14 Fiore dei Liberi in Filippo Vadi na prvo mesto med vrlinami, potrebnimi za uspešno vadbo bojevanja, postavljata *prudentio* s simbolom šestila (dei Liberi) oziroma izjavo »*Da geometria lo scrimir se nasce*«. (Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladiatoria dimi- candi*, fol. 4r).

15 Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, London 2000, str. 8–9.

values needed for successful training of fighting skills. (Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladi- atoria dimicandi*, fol. 4r).

15 Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, London 2000, pp. 8–9.

16 Anglo 2000, p. 11.

denar in slabe metode poučevanja.¹⁶ Znale združbe in bratovščine bojevnikov so bile pogoste; v nemških deželah se je ohranil spomin na dve močni. Prva je bila *Bruderschaft Unserer lieben Frauen und der reynen Jungfrauen Marien vnd des Heiligen vnd gewaltsamen Hymelfursten sanct Marcen*. Letnica njene ustanovitve ni znana, ji je pa leta 1487 cesar Fridrik III. podelil monopol nad nazivom »mojstra dolgega meča« (*Meister des langen Schwerts*); po tej časti so člani postali znani tudi kot *Marxbrüder*, *Bruderschaft des heiligen Marren* ali *Bruderschaft des St. Marco*. Njihovi tekmeči, *Freifechter von der Feder zum Greifenfels*, so svojo združbo ustanovili leta 1570 v Pragi. Poznamo še tretjo, *Lukasbrüder*, vendar ta ni bila uradno potrjena. O dejavnosti teh združb vsi niso imeli najboljšega mnenja; kot pravi anonimno pisanje z naslovom *Des träumenden Pasquini kluge Staatsphantasien* iz leta 1687 o tem, kako se je šel vojvoda Savojski malce mečevat z maršalom de Catinat in mu ni storil nič več žalega, kot so to počeli Lukovi in Markovi bratje s svojim *frajfehterajem*, ko so drug drugemu malce okrvavili glave, medtem ko so opazovalcem praznili žepe.

Vendar tudi zapisi o preganjanju in zapiranju ali celo pohabljanju na pol kriminalnih mojstrov bojevanja ne morejo skriti dejstva, da se je ob koncu 14. stoletja povsem suvereno in nenadomestljivo pojavila cela vrsta mojstrov in avtorjev virov, ki se v zgodovino niso zapisali kot tvorci nereda, temveč trdnega izročila učenja in vadbe borilnih veščin, ki so se obdržale in razvijale še naslednji dve stoletji. V nemških deželah se je ta niz virov pojavil malce prej kot na primer v italijanskih pokrajinah, čeprav ne moremo zanemariti posameznikov iz prejšnjih stoletij, le da za takrat na podlagi virov, ki so nam na voljo, ne moremo dokazati prave tradicije učenja in vadbe omenjenih veščin.¹⁷ Za Johannesom Liechtenauerjem pa lahko do približno leta 1500 nanizamo še imena, kot so Andres Juden, Niclas Prewszen, Jost von der

de Catinat and not causing him any harm greater than was done by Luke and Mark's brothers with their "freifechtering", where they lightly wounded each other's heads, while relieving the audience of their money.

However, even the sources on chasing down, imprisoning and also mutilating outlawed masters of fighting skills cannot hide the fact that towards the end of the 14th century a new kind of masters of fighting skills appeared, as well as the authors of sources who will not be remembered as cause of unrest, but as confident and irreplaceable authors of solid tradition regarding studying and practicing martial arts, which have been preserved and further developed in the following two centuries. On German territories this set of sources appeared a little earlier than on Italian territories, although we cannot ignore individuals from the previous centuries. However, according to the available contemporary sources, we cannot discuss an established tradition of learning and practicing of those skills.¹⁷ Besides Johannes Liechtenauer we can add other individuals who were active in the period until about 1500: Andres Juden, Niclas Prewszen, Jost von der Nyssen, Hanko Döbringer, Meister Stettner, Sigmund Ringeck, Meister Ott, Hans Talhoffer, Schninig, Andreas Liegnitzer, Martin Hundfeld, Peter von Danzig, Jud Lew, Paulus Kal, Hans Lecküchner, Hans von Speyer, Hans Folz and Peter Falkner.¹⁸ A bit later, the so-called Bolognese school, preceded by the giants of fighting systems in Italy, *Fiore dei Liberi* and *Filippo Vadi*, includes distinguished individuals who were active later on, such as Achille Marozzo, Antonio Manciolino, Angelo Viggiani and Giovanni dall'Agocchie. Camillo Agrippa, the first theorist of fencing, is not considered as a representative of the Bolognese school.

Pedagogic methods of the Late Middle Ages are not known to us. There are no known depicting systematized circumstances and methods through which beginners would start to acquire and preserved fighting skills and, further on upgrade their knowledge. This does not mean that the system did not exist.¹⁹ There exist well preserved instructions, explanations of principles, systems of fighting elements (guards,

16 Anglo 2000, str. 11.

17 Gl. še: Alfred Schaer, *Die altdeutschen Fechter und Spielleute; Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Culturgeschichte*, Strassburg 1901; Martin Wierschin, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens*, München 1965.

17 See also Alfred Schaer, *Die altdeutschen Fechter und Spielleute; Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Culturgeschichte*, Strassburg 1901; Martin Wierschin, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens*, München 1965.

18 See Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, p. 149.

19 See also Luca Porzio, Gregory Mele, *Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi, 15th Century Swordsmanship of Master Filippo Vadi*, Union City 2002; Guy Windsor, *The Swordsman's Companion; A Modern Training Manual for Medieval Longsword*, Highland Village 2004; Grzegorz Żabinski, Bartłomiej Walczak, *Codex Wallerstein; A Medieval Fighting Book from the 15th Century on the Longsword, Falchion, Dagger and Wrestling*, Boulder 2002.

Nyssen, Hanko Döbringer, Meister Stettner, Sigmund Ringeck, Meister Ott, Hans Talhoffer, Schninig, Andreas Liegnitzer, Martin Hundfeld, Peter von Danzig, Jud Lew, Paulus Kal, Hans Lecküchner, Hans von Speyer, Hans Folz in Peter Falkner.¹⁸ Malce poznejša, t. i. bolonjska šola, pred katero stojita velikana sistemov bojevanja na italijanskih tleh Fiore dei Liberi in Filippo Vadi, pozna ugledna imena, kot so Achille Marozzo, Antonio Manciolino, Angelo Viggiani in Giovanni dall'Agocchie. Camilla Agrippe, ki velja za prvega teoretika mečevanja, ne štejemo med predstavnike te bolonjske šole.

Pedagoških metod poznega srednjega veka ne poznamo. Nimamo virov, ki bi opisovali sistematizirane okoliščine in metode, s katerimi so se začetniki lotili učenja bojevanja ter to znanje pozneje ohranjali in ga nadgrajevali. To ne pomeni, da sistema ni bilo.¹⁹ Zelo dobro pa so ohranjeni navodila, razlage principov, sistemi elementov boja (preže, udarci, koncepti, gibanje), celi postopki in smernice za vadbo. Izrazi, kot so *vom Tag, Alber, Ochs, Pflug* ali *Zornhaw, Krumphaw, Zwerckhaw, Schaytler* in *Schiller* ali *nachrayßen, versetzen, absetzen, durchwechselln, mutieren, duplieren* ali *stabile, pulsativa, instabile, posta breve, denti di chinghiale, porta di ferro, posta di donna, posta frontale, mulinello, fendente, montante, squalemrato, gioco stretto* idr. označujejo jasno opredeljene elemente boja, ki jih mojstri ali avtorji virov umeščajo v razdelan sistem bojevanja in vadbe. Njihova navodila in opredelitve kažejo na visoko razumevanje biomehanike²⁰ in anatomije,²¹ fizikalnih lastnosti v boju²² ter na upoštevanje psihološkega položaja posameznika v okoliščinah boja.²³

cuts, concepts, movements), complete training procedures and guidelines. The expressions, such as vom Tag, Alber, Ochs, Pflug or Zornhaw, Krumphaw, Zwerckhaw, Schaytler and Schiller or nachrayßen, versetzen, absetzen, durchwechselln, mutieren, duplieren or stabile, pulsativa, instabile, posta breve, denti di chinghiale, porta di ferro, posta di donna, posta frontale, mulinello, fendente, montante, squalemrato, gioco stretto, etc. define clearly identified fighting elements, classified by masters or authors into a developed system of fighting and training. Their instructions and definitions reflect a high level of understanding the biomechanics,²⁰ and anatomy,²¹ physical characteristics in combat,²² as well as consideration for a psychological position of on individual in combat circumstances.²³

Martial arts of the Late Middle Ages are not an outstanding issue in the history of combat, nor was their tradition in that period a new phenomenon. However, they resulted in a new way of combat in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period, with firearms and arme blanche alike. The Late Middle Ages did not give birth to some special sort of fighting; all above mentioned methods had already been known before. However what is typical of this period is a massive transition into a systematization of martial arts and their elements, writing and publishing treatises on acquiring and practicing fighting skills, the development of martial traditions and spreading of knowledge in martial arts within the civil society. The battlefield also experienced radical changes which opened a new chapter in military history. The reconstruction of historical European martial arts is being hindered in reincarnating these arts. In today's world their intention is unacceptable, harmful and unjustified. We can gradually achieve the understanding of our historical heritage – material and written-of historical social processes and the development of human thought by studying written and

18 Gl. Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, str. 149.

19 Gl. še: Luca Porzio, Gregory Mele, *Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi, 15th Century Swordsmanship of Master Filippo Vadi*, Union City 2002; Guy Windsor, *The Swordsman's Companion; A Modern Training Manual for Medieval Longsword*, Highland Village 2004; Grzegorz Żabinski, Bartłomiej Walczak, *Codex Wallerstein; A Medieval Fighting Book from the 15th Century on the Longsword, Falchion, Dagger and Wrestling*, Boulder 2002.

20 »Willtu kunst schowen sich link gen und recht mitt hawen und lick mitt rechten ist das du starck gerst fechten«. Sigmund Ringeck, MS Dresd. C487, fol. 1v.

21 »Item so du mit ainem ringst in langen armen...«. *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2, T. 80.

22 Npr. »Et se la punta li uoi far sentire/ va for de strada per trauerso passo/ fagli nel peto tua ponta sentire.«. Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, *Codex 1324*, fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, fol. 5v–6r.

23 »Item ob du ainen pauren wild schaczen so cass/ im dy haut zu samen an seinen hals und stich/ im dar durch als hie memalt stet so maint/er man hab im denn hals ab geschnitten und schat nit«. *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2, T. 148.

20 »Willtu kunst schowen sich link gen und recht mitt hawen und lick mitt rechten ist das du starck gerst fechten'. Sigmund Ringeck, MS Dresd. C487, fol. 1v.

21 »Item so du mit ainem ringst in langen armen...«. *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2, T. 80.

22 E.g. »Et se la punta li uoi far sentire/ va for de strada per trauerso passo/ fagli nel peto tua ponta sentire.«. Filippo Vadi, *De arte gladiatoria dimicandi*, *Codex 1324*, fondo Vittorio Emanuele della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, fol. 5v–6r.

23 »Item ob du ainen pauren wild schaczen so cass/ im dy haut zu samen an seinen hals und stich/ im dar durch als hie memalt stet so maint/er man hab im denn hals ab geschnitten und schat nit'. *Codex Wallerstein*, Cod. I.6.4.2, T. 148.



Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar

Začetek boja brez orožja ali ruvanja (Ringen)

The opening of a fight without weapons or grappling (Ringen).



Foto/Photo: Matej Smrekar

Izpeljava postopka v boju brez orožja ali ruvanju.

A technique in fighting without weapons or grappling.

Borilne veščine poznega srednjega veka niso posebnost v zgodovini bojevanja, njihova tradicija ni nova, iz njih pa se je v novem veku razvil nov način bojevanja, tako s strelnim kot hladnim orožjem. V poznem srednjem veku se ni oblikovala kakšna posebna zvrst bojevanja, vse našete so navedene že v zgodnejših virih. Neobremenjeno pa lahko postavimo v to obdobje množični prehod v sistematizacijo borilnih veščin in njihovih elementov, sestavljanje in objavlanje del o učenju in vadbi bojevanja, oblikovanje tradicij bojevanja in širjenje znanja borilnih veščin v civilno družbo. Tudi korenite spremembe bojnega polja so odprle novo poglavje v vojaški zgodovini. Rekonstrukcija zgodovinskih evropskih borilnih in bojnih veščin že v izhodišču ne more v popolnosti obuditi teh veščin. Njihov namen je v današnjem času nesprejemljiv, škodljiv in neupravičen. Do razumevanja zgodovinske dediščine – gmotne in pisne –, zgodovinskih družbenih procesov in razvoja človeške misli pa se lahko sčasoma dokoplamo ob preučevanju pisnih in gmotnih virov o teh veščinah ter z vadbo, ki vključuje interpretiranje, preizkušanje, vrednotenje, primerjanje in izvajanje.²⁴

Povzetek

Naraščajoče zanimanje za borilno in bojno zgodovino evropskega srednjega veka ter vse večje vključevanje laične zainteresirane javnosti v iskanje in interpretiranje virov ponuja nova izhodišča za prevrednotenje dozdajšnjih ugotovitev in sklepov. Prav tako so nove tehnologije omogočile boljše interdisciplinarno pridobivanje in obdelovanje podatkov, kar je na podlagi ohranjenih virov pripeljalo do ugotovitev, ki so v marsičem podprle potrebo po omenjenem prevrednotenju sklepov.

Sklepi o borilno nepismenem in taktično zakrnelim srednjeveškem bojevniku, ki se zanaša le na premoč svojega orožja po dolžini in teži ter na večjo telesno moč in vzdržljivost, do neke mere veljajo še danes, čeprav vse več pisnih in gmotnih virov opozarja na visoko borilno osmišljanje in taktične usposobljenosti bojevnika, sploh zunaj okvirja vojne in bojnega polja. Vojaška struktura od posameznega roda zahteva njemu določene veščine in disciplino,

material sources on the above mentioned martial and combat arts, as well as with the practice thereof which includes interpretations, testing, evaluations, comparisons and performance.²⁴

Summary

The increasing interest in the martial history of the Middle Ages in Europe, as well as the increasing involvement of the interested laic public in the interpretation of sources, offer new starting points for re-assessment of existing findings and conclusions. New technologies have enabled better interdisciplinary data acquisition and processes which, on the basis of existing sources, have resulted in findings that in many aspects support the need to re-evaluate conclusions.

The conclusions on martially ignorant and tactically inefficient medieval combatants, who relied only on the superiority of their weapon, as well as on their physical strength and endurance, are partially still valid today. However, an increasing amount of written and material sources indicates the existence of a highly efficient combatant, in terms of combat and tactics, especially beyond the framework of wartime and battlefield. While the military structure requires certain qualities and discipline from individual orders for the fulfillment of their tasks, individuals in duels (private or legal), fighting exercises and competitions need much more to be successful. They need a comprehensive training in martial arts and tactics. If to this we add the element of self-defence, typical of all periods of human history, we can look at the level of martial arts in the Late Middle Ages from a new perspective.

However, combat efficiency cannot result from extraordinary physical structure and talent of an individual alone. An existing system of passing the knowledge down and oriented exercise is required. Analyses and reconstructions of written and material sources offer skillful pedagogic and didactical guidelines and methods which enabled a student to make a progress in 'an honourable art of fighting'. The system of martial arts is introduced as a complete system in which an instructor and his student have their own definite roles. They are in a traditionally and professionally set relationship, based on mutual respect and shared responsibility. The sources stress high physical, intellectual, mental and moral standards which a student had to meet in order to develop

24 Gł. Bartłomiej Walczak, The AGISE Research Method, v. *Maîtres & techniques de combat à la fin du Moyen Age et au début de la renaissance* (ur. Fabrice Cognot), Paris 2006, str. 121–141.

24 See Bartłomiej Walczak, The AGISE Research Method, in: *Maîtres & techniques de combat à la fin du Moyen Age et au début de la renaissance* (ed. Fabrice Cognot), Paris 2006, pp. 121–141.

da lahko izvajajo naloge, posameznik pa v dvo-bojih (zasebnih ali pravnih), vadbenih bojih in na tekmovanjih potrebuje veliko več, da je lahko uspešen. Biti mora celovito usposobljen v borilnih veščinah in taktiki. Če dodamo še element samoobrambe, značilen za vsa obdobja človeške zgodovine, lahko odpremo nov pogled na stopnjo borilne veščine v poznem srednjem veku.

Vsekakor pa borilna in bojna usposobljenost ne moreta nastati le na podlagi opevane nadpovprečne telesne razvitosti in nadarjenosti posameznika, potreben je delujoč sistem prenašanja znanja in usmerjene vadbe. Analiza in rekonstrukcija virov, tako pisnih kot gmotnih, poda spretna pedagoška in didaktična vodila in metode, po katerih je vajenec ali učenec napredoval v »častivredni veščini bojevanja«. Sistem borilnih in bojnih veščin se predstavi kot celovit sistem z oblikovanima vlogama učenca in učitelja, med katerima obstaja tradicionalno in strokovno dogovorjen odnos, ki temelji na medsebojnem spoštovanju in deljeni odgovornosti. Viri poudarjajo visoke telesne, intelektualne, duševne in moralne pogoje, ki jih je moral izpolnjevati učenec pri razvijanju borilnih veščin, ter nalagajo odgovorno ravnanje s pridobljenim znanjem in odvrčajo od nasilja.

Pozni srednji vek ne pozna revolucije v konceptu bojevanja s hladnim orožjem ali v miselnosti bojevnika. Vendar v omenjenem obdobju nastaja vse več pisnih virov, ki se s širjenjem tiska v 16. stol. še okrepijo in borilno sfero premaknejo globlje v civilno sfero družbe. To vpliva na večjo sistematizacijo borilnih in bojnih veščin, nastanek in konsolidacijo borilnih tradicij in povečanje števila šol ter uvajanje učenja in vadbe borilnih veščin v družbeno sprejeto pojmovanje osebne omikanosti.

his martial skills, and which required a responsible attitude to the knowledge gained and at the same time deterred from violence.

The Late Middle Ages did not experience a revolution in the concept of fighting with cold weapons or in the mentality of combatants. However, this period saw an increase in the number of written sources which, due to the development of the press in the 16th century, multiplied and pushed the martial sphere deeper into the civil sphere of the society. This influenced the larger systematization of martial arts, the establishment and consolidation of martial tradition and the increase in the number of schools, as well as the introduction of studying and practicing of martial arts into socially accepted comprehension of personal cultivation.

Quo danti homo cecano non uide opabua
 Et aquelle mure fumpas a poto / e / mofua

Yo nipa tanto foy poyto amociz / tohuar
 Cbe la fuggia del colle no mape ouafite

Prudentia

Pia de melione non poyta uie audeo
 Pas de luma foy azafbeduro iuis

Non fono quatro alah in tal gplefio
 Cbi uole amca de moy foy epulio

Echi de nofua uafu hanc lona poyto
 In aima hauca hoto chomo uofalio



Celeritas

Posta dñay apom

Posta fenestray apot



Prudentia

Posta dñay fenestra

Posta fenestray fenestri

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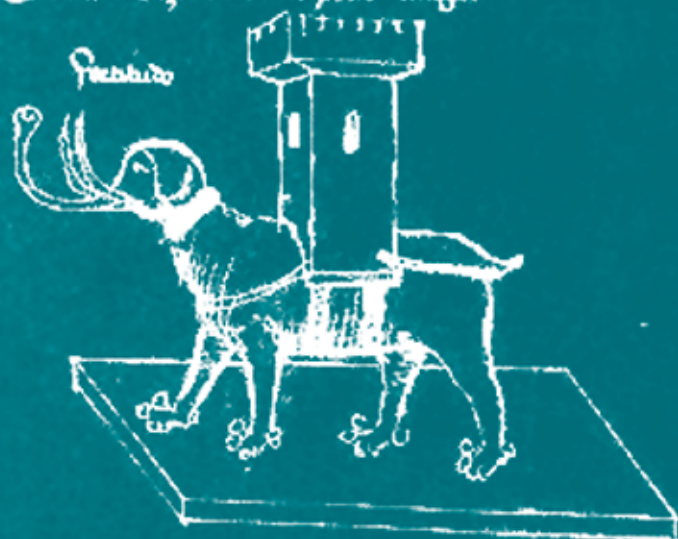
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Tota poeta fcaea

media pōta fca

Dens apu

Ellepit fca e uno castello ho p cargo
 E non me ignoscio ni pcedo uafio



Fecundo

Raziskava o Fioreju dei Liberi in njegovih razpravah, ki opisujejo *L'arte dell'armizare*, ok. 1410

An Examination of Fiore dei Liberi and His Treatises Describing *L'arte dell'Armizare*, c. 1410

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Izvleček

Zapuščini Fioreja dei Liberi, nastali pred 600 leti, v 21. stoletju izkazujemo čast s skrbno rekonstrukcijo in ponovno oživitvijo borilne veščine, ki jo je opisal v svojih razpravah z naslovom *Flos Duellatorum* in *Fior di Battaglia*. Ta spis raziskuje moža po imenu *Fiore* in predstavlja kratko primerjalno analizo treh različic razprave. Te razprave veljajo za pomembne temelje današnjih raziskav in rekonstrukcij zgodovinskih borilnih veščin zahoda zaradi svoje zbirke ilustracij, ki neverjetno jasno pričajo o izročilu te veščine, vsako ilustracijo pa spremljajo povedna besedila.

Ključne besede: Fiore dei Liberi, vojaška zgodovina, zgodovinsko mečevanje, boj v oklepu, zahodne borilne veščine, meči, orožje, oklep, ruvanje, *armizare*.

Povzetek

Zapuščini Fioreja dei Liberi, nastali pred 600 leti, v 21. stoletju izkazujemo čast s skrbno rekonstrukcijo in ponovno oživitvijo borilne veščine, ki jo je opisal v svojih razpravah z naslovom *Flos Duellatorum* in *Fior di Battaglia*. Pričujoči sestavek poskuša približati moža z imenom *Fiore* in predstavlja kratko primerjalno analizo treh različic njegove razprave, ki danes veljajo za temeljni vir pri raziskavah in rekonstrukcijah starih zahodnih borilnih veščin. Njihova največja vrednost je morda v zbirki ilustracij, ki neverjetno jasno pričajo o

Abstract

Fiore dei Liberi's legacy created 600 years ago is honoured in the 21st century with the careful reconstruction and resurrection of the fighting art he described in his treatises entitled "*Flos Duellatorum*" and "*Fior di Battaglia*". This paper will explore the man who bore the name *Fiore* and conduct a brief comparative analysis of the three versions of the treatise. The treatises are considered important cornerstones in today's research and reconstruction of historical Western fighting arts given their collection of illustrations possessing remarkable clarity in conveying the concepts in the art, and the informative text accompanying each illustration.

Keywords: *Fiore dei Liberi*, military history, historical fencing, armoured combat, Western martial arts, swords, arms, armour, grappling, *armizare*.

Synopsis

Fiore dei Liberi's legacy created 600 years ago is honoured in the 21st century with the careful reconstruction and resurrection of the fighting art he described in his treatises entitled *Flos Duellatorum* and *Fior di Battaglia*. This paper will explore the man who bore the name *Fiore* and conduct a brief comparative analysis of the three versions of the treatise. It is evident in the Western fighting arts community that the treatises are considered as important cornerstones in today's research and reconstruction of historical Western fighting arts. The reasons are numerous, but perhaps their greatest value is their

konceptih Fiorejevega sistema, dodatno pa jih pojasnjujejo povedna besedila.¹

O Fioreju

Kljub pomembnemu vplivu, ki ga ima Fiorejeva razprava na sodobne rekonstrukcije zgodovinskih borilnih veščin, zlasti t. i. *armizare*,² je le malo znanega o človeku z imenom Fiore dei Liberi. Vse do danes kljub obsežnim in nenehnim raziskavam, ki jih po vsem svetu izvajajo številne zgodovinske mečevalske šole in akademije,³ edini pravi vir za Fiorejevo biografijo ostaja predgovor, ki ga je napisal sam v vsaki od treh različic svoje razprave.⁴

Razprava, katere avtor je sam Fiore, ga naslavlja kot »*Fior Furlan de Ciuida dostrìa*« v predgovoru Getty,⁵ »*Fiore Furlan de Ciuida dostrìa*« v razpravi Morgan⁶ in »*Fior furlano dei liberi de Ciuidal dostrìa*« v »*alter prologus*« v razpravi Pisani-Dossi. Zapis v Pisani-Dossi lahko prevedemo kot »*Furlan Fiore iz družine Liberi iz Cividaja d'Ostria*«,⁷ kar se navadno skrajša v Fiore dei Liberi. Predgovor pove, da je izviral iz Čedadu, tedaj pod oblastjo oglejskega patriarhata, in da je bil sin »*meser benedetto de la casada dei liberi da premergiago*«,⁸ kar se v

*collection of illustrations possessing remarkable clarity in conveying the concepts in the art, and the informative text accompanying each illustration, together creating a recipe as a comprehensive resource supporting today's research, practice and reconstruction of historical Western fighting arts.*¹

The Man

Despite the significant impact Fiore's treatise has had on the modern reconstruction of historical fighting arts, in particular, armizare,² very little is known of the man who bore the name Fiore dei Liberi. To date, given the extensive and ongoing research being conducted world-wide by a variety of historical fencing schools and academies³ the only definitive source for Fiore's biography has been the prologue written by Fiore himself contained in each of the three versions of the treatise.⁴

The treatise, authored by Fiore himself, styles him as »Fior Furlan de Ciuida dostrìa« in the Getty's⁵ prologue, »Fiore Furlan de Ciuida dostrìa« in the Morgan's version⁶ and »Fior furlano dei liberi de Ciuidal dostrìa« in the »alter prologus« in the Pisani-Dossi version.⁷ The Pisani-Dossi phrase translates into »Fiore Friuli of the family of the Liberi from Cividada d'Ostria«,⁸ which is commonly abbreviated

1 V zadnjih letih so bile objavljene številne knjige, v katerih so prevodi Fiorejevih del in tudi razlage borilnih tehnik. Več sorodnih raziskovalnih projektov je na voljo tudi na spletu. Marco Rubboli, Luca Cesari, *Flos Duellatorum – Manuale di arte del combattimento del XV secolo*, Rimini 2002; Massimo Malipiero, *Il Fiore di battaglia di Fiore dei Liberi da Cividale*, Videm 2006; Robert Lovett, *The Exiles Fiore Project*, <http://www.the-exiles.org/FioreProject/Project.htm> (obiskano 10. maja 2008); Hermes Michelini, Mich Shire, *Fiore de' Liberi, The Flower of Battles*, <http://www.aemma.org/onlineResources/liberi/wildRose/fiore.html> (obiskano 21. januarja 2008). Poleg tega je bila ta tema predmet razprave v številnih člankih na spletu: David M. Cvet, *The Measure of a Master Swordsman*, v: *Journal of Western Martial Art*, http://www.ejmas.com/jwma/articles/2005/jwmaart_cvet_0105.htm (obiskano 28. avgusta 2008); Matt Easton, *Fiore dei Liberi*, <http://www.fioredeiliberi.org/foire/> (obiskano 20. julija 2008); Russ Howe, *Fiore dei Liberi: Origins and Motivations*, v: *Journal of Western Martial Art*, http://www.ejmas.com/jwma/articles/2008/jwmaart_howe_0808.htm (obiskano 4. septembra 2008).

2 Fiore v razpravah nikdar ne izda uradnega imena veščine. Omenja jo preprosto kot *l'arte dell'armizare*, na kratko *armizare*.

3 Zaenkrat še ne poznamo nobene znanstvene študije razprav ali osebnosti Fioreja dei Liberi. Vse razpoložljivo gradivo o tej temi je rezultat večjih skupinskih raziskovalnih prizadevanj posameznikov v številnih šolah in akademijah borilnih veščin po vsem svetu, vključno, a ne zgolj v naštetih: The Exiles CMMA (VB), Schola Gladiatoria (VB), Compagnia de' Malipiero (Italija), Chicago Swordplay Guild (ZDA) in Akademija evropskih srednjeveških borilnih veščin (Kanada).

4 Trenutno obstajajo tri znane različice Fiorejevega dela, imenovane po zbirkah, v katerih so shranjene. Analiza razprav sledi v nadaljevanju tega spisa. Zaradi lažjega razumevanja naj te tri različice vsaj naštejemo: razprava Getty-Ludwig, MS Ludwig XV13, ki se nahaja v Muzeju Johna Paula Gettyja, Los Angeles, ZDA; razprava Morgan, MS M. 383, Knjižnica Pierpoint-Morgan, New York City, ZDA; razprava Pisani-Dossi v zbirki Francesca Novatija.

5 Muzej Johna Paula Gettyja, Los Angeles, Fior di Battaglia: MS Ludwig XV 13.

6 Knjižnica Pierpoint Morgan, New York, Fior di Battaglia, MS M.383.

7 »Dei Liberi«, kar pomeni »iz družine Liberi«, pove, da je imela družina Liberi v tistem času določen plemiški status, vendar stopnja njihovega položaja ni razvidna iz zapisanega brez nadaljnje podrobne raziskave ustreznih občinskih spisov in dokumentov v Premariaccu, Vidmu in Čedadu.

8 Ta fraza je iz »alter prologus« razprave Pisani-Dossi. Sam naziv »meser« bi lahko bil enak nazivu »sir«, ki se uporablja dandanes in pomeni moža plemiškega izvora.

1 In recent years, a number of books have been published containing translations of Fiore's works as well as interpretations of the fighting techniques. Several related research projects are also available online. Marco Rubboli, Luca Cesari, *Flos Duellatorum – Manuale di arte del combattimento del XV secolo*, Rimini 2002; Massimo Malipiero, *Il Fiore di battaglia di Fiore dei Liberi da Cividale*, Udine 2006; Robert Lovett, *The Exiles Fiore Project*, <http://www.the-exiles.org/FioreProject/Project.htm> (accessed May 10, 2008); Hermes Michelini, Mich Shire, *Fiore de' Liberi, The Flower of Battles*, <http://www.aemma.org/onlineResources/liberi/wildRose/fiore.html> (accessed January 21, 2008). In addition, the subject has been discussed in several recent online articles: David M. Cvet, *The Measure of a Master Swordsman*, in: *Journal of Western Martial Art*, http://www.ejmas.com/jwma/articles/2005/jwmaart_cvet_0105.htm (accessed August 28, 2008); Matt Easton, *Fiore dei Liberi*, <http://www.fioredeiliberi.org/foire/> (accessed July 20, 2008); Russ Howe, *Fiore dei Liberi: Origins and Motivations*, in: *Journal of Western Martial Art*, http://www.ejmas.com/jwma/articles/2008/jwmaart_howe_0808.htm (accessed September 4, 2008).

2 Fiore never revealed a formal name of the art in the treatises, simply referring to it as *l'arte dell'armizare* which is briefly referred to as *armizare*.

3 At this time, there has been no formal academic study of the treatises or on Fiore dei Liberi. All materials available on this subject are the result of significant collective research efforts by individuals within a number of martial arts schools and academies worldwide, including but not limited to: The Exiles CMMA (UK), Schola Gladiatoria (UK), Compagnia de' Malipiero (Italy), Chicago Swordplay Guild (USA) and the Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts (Canada).

4 At the present time, there are three known versions of Fiore's work, so named by the collections where the treatises reside. Further examination of the treatises occurs later in this paper. However, for the purpose of convenience at this point, the three versions are: Getty-Ludwig version, MS Ludwig XV13, located in the John Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA; Morgan version, MS M. 383, Pierpoint-Morgan Library, New York City, USA; Pisani-Dossi version, of the Francesco Novati collection.

5 John Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Fior di Battaglia: MS Ludwig XV 13.

6 The Pierpoint Morgan Library New York, Fior di Battaglia, MS M.383.

7 Francesco Novati, *Flos duellatorum: Il Fior di battaglia di maestro Fiore dei Liberi da Premariacco*, Bergamo 1902.

8 »Dei Liberi« which means »of the family of the Liberi« implies that the Liberi family had some measure of a noble status at that time. However, the extent of their status is not clear from what is written without conducting further detailed research on relevant municipal records and documents found in Premariacco, Udine and

prevodu glasi »gospod Benedetto iz hiše Liberi iz Premariacca«. Vas Premariacco in mesto Civida d'Ostria, zdaj znano kot Cividale oziroma Čedad, še danes obstajata v Furlaniji,⁹ pokrajini z lastno edinstveno kulturno in zgodovinsko identiteto. Na podlagi izjav iz predgovorov je Cividale del Friuli tudi zadnje znano Fiorejevo prebivališče.

Fiore v nobeni razpravi ne razkrije ne rojstnega datuma ne letnice, vendar ocenjujemo, da se je rodil okrog leta 1350. Ta letnica postane še verjetnejša ob branju preostalega besedila predgovora. V njem je zapisal, da je bil že v mladih letih naravno nadarjen za bojevanje, zato je zapustil Čedad, da bi se izučil naprednejših tehnik mečevanja in izboljšal svoje spretnosti s potovanji v mnoge dežele, kjer se je učil pri številnih italijanskih in nemških mojstrih. Izjavil je, da se je usposabljal in bojeval več kot 40 let.¹⁰ Glede na čas, ko je začel pisati razpravo, 10. februarja 1409, in predpostavko, da je začel trenirati in mečevati pri 10 letih, bi bil torej v času pisanja razprave star okrog šestdeset let.

Fiore je napisal, da se je učil pri različnih mojstrih v različnih krajih na velike osebne stroške in s tem namignil, da je lahko črpal iz družinskih virov, kar kaže vsaj določeno raven finančne moči, značilne za zmerno premožno plemiško družino. Navedel je, da se je usposabljal pri številnih mojstrih in učenjakih ter tudi na dvorih velikih gospodov, princev, vojvod, mejnih grofov, grofov, vitezov in plemičev. Po imenu je omenil samo enega od mojstrov, pri katerih se je učil, in to samo v različici Pisani-Dossi: »*Et maxime a magistro Johane dicto suueno qui fuit scholaris magistri Nicholai de toblem mexinensis diocesis*«, kar se v prevodu glasi »in predvsem mojster Johannes Suuenus,¹¹ ki je bil učenec mojstra Nicholasa

to Fiore dei Liberi. The prologue tells us that he was from Civida d'Ostria, which belonged to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, and the son of »meser benedetto de la casada dei liberi da premergiago«,⁹ translated as »Sir Benedetto of the House of the Liberi from Premariacco«. The village of Premariacco and the town of Civida d'Ostria, now known as Cividale, both exist today in the region of Friuli,¹⁰ an area with its own unique cultural and historical identity. Cividale del Friuli is the last known residence of Fiore based on the extracts from the prologues.

Fiore does not reveal his birth date nor year in any version of the treatise. However, it is estimated that he was born some time around 1350. This estimated year becomes more apparent upon further examination of the text extracted from the prologue. He wrote that he had possessed a natural combative ability at a young age, having left Cividale to learn more advanced fencing techniques and to increase his skills by traveling to many provinces, training under many Italian and German masters. He stated that he had been training and fighting for more than 40 years,¹¹ and given the timing when he started writing the treatise on 10 February 1409 and the assumption that he started training and fencing at the age of 10 years, would make Fiore somewhere around sixty years of age at the time of writing the treatise.

Fiore wrote that he trained under different masters in different provinces at great personal expense, implying that he was able to draw upon family resources indicating some level of financial stamina in the least, indicative of a modest noble family. He indicated that he trained under many masters and scholars, as well as in the courts of great gentlemen, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, knights and squires. He mentioned by name only one of the masters he studied under and only in the Pisani-Dossi version, »*Et maxime a magistro Johane dicto suueno qui fuit scholaris magistri Nicholai de toblem*

9 Friuli je pokrajina na severovzhodu Italije in na meji s Slovenijo, znana tudi kot Furlanija (slovensko) ali Friaul (nemško), s središčem v Vidmu. Vas Premariacco je približno 13 km vzhodno od Vidma. Čedad leži ob reki Nadiža, približno 15 km vzhodno od Vidma in blizu meje s Slovenijo.

10 Čeprav je vsem trem različicam razprave skupna ista tema, vendarle obstaja nekaj razlik. Na primer, v razpravi Pisani-Dossi besedilo pravi, da je Fiorejeva bojevniška kariera trajala več kot 50 let, v skladu z razpravama Getty in Morgan pa je trajala več kot 40 let. To lahko pomeni, da so rokopisi nastali v različnih letih in zato različice niso kopije ali različice ene same izvorne razprave, temveč primeri neodvisno sestavljenih Fiorejevih razprav. Morda je vsaka od njih nastala za drug namen ali pokrovitelja.

11 To je bil vir silovitih polemik v svetu zgodovinskega mečevanja. Beseda »suueno« lahko pomeni, da je bil mojster Johannes nemškega porekla, natančneje s Švabskega. Po eni od teorij bi bil Johannes Švabski lahko Johannes Liechtenauer, mojster mečevanja iz sredine 14. stoletja. Toda kronologija se ne ujema najbolje, saj se je Fiore v tistem času komaj rodil. Da bo zmeda še večja, je Fiore zapisal, da je bil mojster Johannes učenec mojstra Nikolaja Toblemskega, kar bi pomenilo, da je bil mojster Nikolaj Liechtenauerjev učitelj, vendar v nemških razpravah ni omen-

Civida d'Ostria (now Cividale del Friuli).

9 This phrase is extracted from the »alter prologus« in the Pisani-Dossi version. By virtue of the title »meser« is not unlike the title of »Sir« used today, which indicates a man of noble origin.

10 Friuli is a region located in the north-eastern portion of Italy neighbouring Slovenia, known as Furlanija (Slovenian) or Friaul (German), with Udine as its capital city. The village of Premariacco is located approximately 13km east of Udine. Cividale del Friuli is adjacent to the river Natisone, approximately 15km east of Udine and close to the border of Slovenia.

11 Despite the common subject across the three versions of the treatise, some differences do surface. For example, in the Pisani-Dossi version, the text describes Fiore's fighting career as more than 50 years, yet in the Getty's and Morgan's version, it is described as being for more than 40 years. This may imply that the manuscripts may have been written in different years and therefore, the versions represents not copies or versions of a single original treatise, but are instances of a number of treatises by Fiore, perhaps each created for a different purpose or patron.

Toblemskega iz škofije Mexinensis«. ¹² Žal o omenjenih osebah v Fiorejevi razpravi ni drugih podatkov, zato iz predgovora ne moremo izluščiti nobenega dodatnega namiga o njuni biografiji.

Zanimivo je, da Fiore v predgovoru ne obdela podrobneje desetletij lastne vojaške službe, dvobojevanja ter učenja in poučevanja mečevanja. Toda Zanutto ¹³ je razkril, da je Fiore najverjetneje služboval na strani Vidma v času državljanske vojne, ki je izbruhnila leta 1383 in je sledila – oziroma, natančneje – jo je izzvalo imenovanje Filipa d'Alençon na položaj oglejskega patriarha dve leti poprej, leta 1381. Zabeleženo je, da je bil Fiore tedaj zadolžen za vodenje samostrelcev in topništva ter je tudi nabavljajl orožje in strelivo za obrambo videmskih zaveznikov. ¹⁴ Podrobnosti o državljanski vojni poznamo le malo, toda Videm je v njej prevladal. Vas Premariacco, Videm in Čedad so bili očitno zavezniški kraji, ki so izkazali čast Fiorejevemu prispevku v vojni tako, da so po njemu poimenovali ulico – Via Fiore dei Liberi. Drugi ohranjeni dokumenti nakazujejo, da je bil Fiore leta 1395 tudi v Padovi in leta 1399 v Pavii, toda podrobnejše preučevanje teh primerov presega namen našega sestavka.

jen noben mojster s takšnim imenom, čeprav so odkrili, da Liechtenauer izhaja iz nemške tradicije dolgega meča (Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt 1985). Vse do danes ne poznamo nobenih spisov niti dokumentov, ki bi razgrinjali biografske podatke mojstra Nikolaja ali mojstra Johannesesa.

12 Predhodne analize mečevalca in raziskovalca Matta Galasa (Belgija, avgust 2005) so pokazale, da v takratnih in sodobnih besedilih ni mogoče najti nobene škofije Mexinensis v takšni obliki zapisa, kot jo zasledimo v razpravi. Odkril pa je imena, ki so »blizu« Fiorejevemu zapisom, in sicer bi to lahko bilo Meclinensis (Mechele, Belgija), Megenensis / Meginensis campus (nekdanje okrožje Mayenfeld ob spodnjem toku reke Mosel), Mexentiae pons (Pont-Sainte-Maxence, Francija), Misnensis (Meissen, Saška) in Metensis (Metz, Lorena). Uveljavila se je domneva, da je Toblem izhajal iz nemškega borilnega izročila. Vendar se zdi, da so nedavne razprave (Ariella Eleman, Toronto, in Fabrice Cognot, Belgija, 2006) razpršile to domnevo z razlago, da se škofija Mexinensis pravzaprav lahko nanaša na Messino, kar lahko potrди naslednje delo: Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, *Orbis Latinus, Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Braunschweig 1972. Namen tega spisa ni razjasniti Fiorejeve biografije, vendar je očitno, da bodo drobci informacij v Fiorejevem predgovoru zahtevali dodatne večje neposredne in posredne raziskave ter podrobno jezikovno študijo furlanščine, da bi lahko pridobili več podatkov, ki izhajajo iz pomožnih zgodovinskih virov, potrebnih za razjasnitev Fiorejeve biografije.

13 Luigi Zanutto, zgodovinar, ki je raziskoval Fiorejevo preteklost in napisal knjigo o svoji raziskavi. Luigi Zanutto, *Fiore di Premariacco ed i ludi e le feste marziali e civili in Friuli*, Videm 1907.

14 Zanutto je odkril te podatke v spisih, ki jih je našel v občinskem arhivu Vidma, VII, f. 208 v, z datumom 30. september 1383. V teh spisih piše, da je Fiore po posvetu mestnega sveta dobil nalogo, da skrbi za samostrelce in topništvo.

mexinensis diocesis« translated as »and above all, namely master Johannes Suuenus,¹² who was a scholar of Master Nicholas of Toblem of the Diocese of Mexinensis«. ¹³ Unfortunately, there are no further details on these two gentlemen in Fiore's treatise and therefore, no further illumination on their biographies can be extracted from the prologue.

Interestingly, Fiore does not elaborate on the decades of his own military service, duels and swordsmanship instruction given and/or received in the prologue. However, Zanutto ¹⁴ revealed that Fiore may have been in service of Udine during the civil war which broke out in 1383 following, or more accurately, being provoked by the ascension of Filippo d'Alençon to the Patriarchate of Aquileia two years earlier in 1381. Fiore was recorded as being in charge of the crossbowmen and artillery or ballista crews, as well as procuring arms and gunpowder for the defense of the towns in the alliance with Udine. ¹⁵ Details of the civil war are few. However, Udine did prevail, and the village of Premariacco, Udine and Cividale must have been the towns in the alliance that honoured Fiore's part in the war by naming a street after him in each location – Via Fiore dei Liberi. Other archived documents suggest that Fiore was also in Padua in 1395 and Pavia in 1399, but further detailed examination of these instances is

12 This has been a source of great discussion in the historical fencing community. The word »suueno« may indicate Master Johannes was of German origin, more specifically, from Swabia. One line of thought is that Johannes of Swabia may in fact be Johannes Liechtenauer, a swordmaster from the mid-14th century. However, the timing is not quite right, as Fiore would only have been born around that time. To add to the confusion, Fiore wrote that Master Johannes was a student of Master Nicholas of Toblem, which would mean that Master Nicholas was Liechtenauer's instructor, and there is no mention of Master Nicholas in German treatises, although Liechtenauer's lineage has been mapped out with respect to German longsword tradition (Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*, Frankfurt 1985). To date, there are no other records nor documents which offer clues to flesh out Master Nicholas' or Master Johannes' biographical data.

13 Preliminary examination by practitioner and researcher Matt Galas (Belgium, August 2005) indicated that the Diocese Mexinensis was not found in period and modern texts as spelled in the treatise. However, he did discover names »close« to Fiore's written text which may be one of Meclinensis (Mechele in Belgium), Megenensis / Meginensis campus (the former district of Mayenfeld on the lower Mosel river), Mexentiae pons (Pont-Sainte-Maxence in France), Misnensis (Meissen in Saxony), and Metensis (Metz in Lorraine). The going forward assumption was that Toblem was of German heritage. However, recent discussions (Ariella Eleman, Toronto, and Fabrice Cognot, Belgium, 2006) appear to have vapourized that assumption with suggestions that the Diocese of Mexinensis may in fact be referring to Messina and which may be supported by Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, *Orbis Latinus, Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Braunschweig 1972. This paper is not intended to crystallize the biography of Fiore, however, it is evident that the fragments of information found in Fiore's prologue will require further significant direct and related research effort, as well as a detailed linguistic study of Friulian, in order to tease out more details originating from supporting historical sources necessary to flesh out Fiore's biography.

14 Luigi Zanutto, an historian who conducted research into Fiore's past and authored a book on his research. Luigi Zanutto, *Fiore di Premariacco ed i ludi e le feste marziali e civili in Friuli*, Udine 1907.

15 Zanutto discovered these pieces of information in the records found in the Municipal Archive of Udine, VII, f. 208v dated September 30, 1383. They indicated that after deliberation by the town council Fiore was tasked to take charge of the crossbowmen and artillery.

Fiore je pisal kratka poročila in opisoval junaška dejanja nekaterih svojih učencev,¹⁵ ki so tekmovali na turnirjih. Tako se je gospod Piero del Verde¹⁶, nemški vitez,¹⁷ v Perosi (Perugia) spopadel s svojim rojakom, gospodom Pierom de la Corona.¹⁸ Drugi njegov učenec, gospod Galeazzo iz Mantove,¹⁹ za katerega Fiore pravi, da je bil »hraber in močan vitez«, se je bojeval leta 1395 na polju pred Padova s francoskim vitezem Boucicaultom.²⁰ Ta spopad je bil pravzaprav dvoboj časti, ki ga je izzvala Boucicaultova izjava, da so Italijani strahopetci.²¹ Pisal je o gospodu Nicolu Wričilinu,²² Nemcu, ki se je na polju v Imoli bojeval z Nicolom Inghilesom²³ (»ki je Anglež«). Drugo poročilo opisuje pogumnega plemiča Lanzilotta Beccario²⁴ iz Pavie, ki se je v Imoli na konju spopadel z gospodom Baldassarom,²⁵ Nemcem. Baldassar je prejel šest udarcev Lanzilottovega kopja. Boj sta nato nadaljevala v ogradi.²⁶

Fiore je s ponosom zapisal podrobnosti o hrabrem oprodi Čoaninu da Bavu iz Milana,²⁷ ki se je na polju pri gradu v Pavii spopadel s pogumnim nemškim oprodo Siramom. Dvobojevala sta se na konju na tri sunke s kopjem iz »mehkega železa«.²⁸ Fiore nato poroča o dvoboju, ki sta ga nadaljevala na tleh na šestje treh udarcev s sekuro, treh udarcev z mečem in treh sunkov z bodalom, kar se je dogajalo v navzočnosti »nešteti« visokih plemičev,

beyond the scope of this paper.

What Fiore did write were brief accounts describing feats of arms of some of his students¹⁶ who competed in the barriers. For example, Sir Piero del Verde,¹⁷ a German knight,¹⁸ faced his compatriot Sir Piero de la Corona¹⁹ in Perosa (Perugia). Another of his students, Sir Galeazzo from Mantoa,²⁰ described as a »valiant and strong knight«, fought with the French knight Boucicault²¹ in the field at Padua in 1395 which was more akin to a duel of honour, provoked by Boucicault's allegation that Italians were cowards.²² He wrote of a Sir Nicolo Wriçilino,²³ a German who fought with Nicolo Inghiles²⁴ (»one who is English«) at the field at Imola. Another account describes the valiant squire Lanzilotto Beccario²⁵ of Pavia who faced Sir Baldassar,²⁶ a German, on horseback. Baldassar received six thrusts from Lanzilotto's lance. They continued to fight in the barriers, all occurring in Imola.²⁷

Fiore wrote, with an air of pride, details of a valiant squire Čoanino da Bavo from Milan²⁸ who faced a valiant German squire by the name of Siram set in the field at a castle in Pavia. They duelled with a count of three thrusts of a lance of »soft iron«²⁹ on horseback. Fiore further elaborates on the duel which then continued on foot to the count of three blows of axe, three blows of sword and three blows of dagger, all in the presence of »countless« high ranking nobles including the prince and the Lord and the Lady Duchess of Milan. Details of the outcome of this

15 Kratka poročila, ki opisujejo junaška dejanja, so v predgovoru razprav Getty in Morgan, v razpravi Pisani-Dossi pa prav očitno manjkajo.

16 *MiB piero dal uerde* (Morgan) / *Missier piero del verde* (Getty).

17 Fiore imenuje Nemce »todeschi«. Zaradi političnih in zgodovinskih razmer tiste dobe niso delali večjih razlik med Nemci in Švabi; vsi so bili »todeschi«.

18 *Miser piero dala corona* (Morgan) / *Missier piero dela corona* (Getty).

19 *MiB Galeaz delli capitani de grimello chiamato da Mantoa* (Morgan) / *Missie Galeaco di Captani di Grimello chiamato da Mantoa* (Getty).

20 *Miser Bricichardo de Franza* (Morgan) / *Missier Bucichardo de fraca* (Getty).

21 Fiorejev predgovor ne razkriva datumov dvobojev, vsebuje pa podrobno poročilo, ki opisuje tradicionalni protokol in obred, povezan s to obliko dvoboja, ki se je odvil pred vladarji Padove, Mantove, Ravenne in gospodom Carlom Malatesto, uglednim kondotjerjem. Za nikogar se ni končal usodno, čeprav je Galeazzova sulica zadela Boucicaulta v verižni ovratnik v predel ramena. Poročilo ne razkrije resnosti poškodbe, če je bil Boucicault sploh ranjen, toda gospodje so nemudoma prekinili dvoboj in Galeazzo in Boucicault sta sklenila mir. Galeazzo, Bartolomeo Gatari, Cronaca carrarese, v: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, XVII/1, Perugia 1909-1931, str. 83, 448-9.

22 *Miser Nicholo Wriçilino* (Morgan) / *Missier Nicol Wriçilino* (Getty).

23 *Nicholo Inghiles* (Morgan) / *nicolo Inghiles* (Getty).

24 *Lancilotto / Lanzilotto de Boecharia da Pavia* (Morgan) / *Lancilotto da Becharia de Pauia* (Getty). Ta oseba se je morda pojavila na nemškem grbovniku iz 15. stoletja (latinsko MS 28, Univerza v Manchesteru, knjižnica Ryland Collection). Vendar je na spletni zbirki videti le nekaj slik in vsaj na spletu ni nobenega besedila, ki bi opisovalo grb, zato bodo za opredelitev te sledi potrebna nadaljnja prizadevanja, ki pa presegajo namen tega spisa. Grb omenjamo samo kot referenco in zanimivost.

25 *MiB Baldesar* (Morgan) / *Missier Baldassar* (Getty).

26 Cf. Trevor Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge 2007.

27 *Zohanni de Baio da Milano* (Morgan) / *çoanino da Bavo* (današnja vas Baggio) da Milano (Getty).

28 Najverjetneje se nanaša na topo orožje, ki ga ni bilo mogoče nabrusiti in se je pogosto uporabljalo na turnirjih.

16 The brief accounts describing feats of arms are written in the prologue of the Getty's and Morgan's versions, but are visibly absent in the Pisani-Dossi version.

17 *MiB piero dal uerde* (Morgan) / *Missier piero del verde* (Getty).

18 Fiore refers to Germans as »todeschi«. Given the political and historical landscape at the time, there was little distinction between German and Swabian, all collectively referred to as »todeschi«.

19 *Miser piero dala corona* (Morgan) / *Missier piero dela corona* (Getty).

20 *MiB Galeaz delli capitani de grimello chiamato da Mantoa* (Morgan) / *Missie Galeaco di Captani di Grimello chiamato da Mantoa* (Getty).

21 *Miser Bricichardo de Franza* (Morgan) / *Missier Bucichardo de fraca* (Getty).

22 Fiore's prologue does not reveal dates of the duels. However, there is a detailed account describing the traditional protocol and ceremony surrounding this form of duel held before Lords of Padua, Mantua, Ravenna and Lord Carlo Malatesta, a notable condottiere. It ended non-fatally despite Boucicault receiving a thrust of Galeazzo's spear in the camail around the shoulder. The extent of the injury incurred, if at all, was not revealed in the account but the duel was immediately halted by the Lords and peace was made between Galeazzo and Boucicault. Galeazzo, Bartolomeo Gatari, Cronaca carrarese, in: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, XVII/1, Perugia 1909-1931, pp. 83, 448-9.

23 *Miser Nicholo Wriçilino* (Morgan) / *Missier Nicol Wriçilino* (Getty).

24 *Nicholo Inghiles* (Morgan) / *nicolo Inghiles* (Getty).

25 *Lancilotto / Lanzilotto de Boecharia da Pavia* (Morgan) / *Lancilotto da Becharia de Pauia* (Getty). This person may have made an appearance in a 15th century German armorial (Latin MS 28, University of Manchester, Ryland Collection Library). However, only some of the plates are visible in the online collection and no text describing the arms is available at least online, and therefore, qualifying this potential lead will require more effort which is outside the scope of this paper. The arms are included for reference and interest only.

26 *MiB Baldesar* (Morgan) / *Missier Baldassar* (Getty).

27 Cf. Trevor Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge 2007.

28 *Zohanni de Baio da Milano* (Morgan) / *çoanino da Bavo* (modern-day village of Baggio) da Milano (Getty).

29 Probably referring to »rebat« weapons which were incapable of taking an edge, often employed in tournaments.

vkjučno s princem ter milanskim vojvodo in vojvodinjjo. V predgovoru ni podatkov o izidu tega dvoboja, vendar lahko sklepamo, da je zmagal Fiorejev učenec.

Med drugimi dvoboji njegovih učencev, omenjenih v predgovoru, smo obveščeni še o gospodu Ačču da Castell Barcha,²⁹ ki se je bojeval s Čuannejem di Ordelaflifem,³⁰ ter o pogumnem in dobrem vitezu Jacomu di Bosona,³¹ čeprav ni podatkov, s kom se je pomeril Jacomo.

V predgovoru Pisani-Dossi je v razdelku »alter prologus« zapisan stavek »...che io predito fior o uecudo mille chiamati magistri che non sono de tuti loro quatro boni scholari e de quilli quatro boni scholari non seria uno bon magistro«, v katerem se Fiore skoraj baha, da je bil videl na tisoče samozvanih mojstrov, od katerih pa je imel le štiri za dobre poznavalce in enega samega za mojstra. Te trditve ni najti v predgovoru Getty ne v prologu Morgan. Vendar pa predgovora Getty in Morgan omenjata, da so Fioreja izzvali na pet dvobojev s sečnim in bodnim orožjem, in sicer samo v jopiču³² in usnjenih rokavicah (»chamois«), ker se ni želel bojevati niti ne vaditi z mojstri, ki so ga izzivali. Ti dvoboji so se odvijali na krajih, kjer Fiore ni imel nobenih pomočnikov ali prijateljev, toda očitno mu je uspelo obvarovati svoje dobro ime.

Nedvomno so bila najbolj vznemirljiva poznejša leta Fiorejevega življenja konec 14. in začetek 15. stoletja v času, ko je pisal svoje razprave. Predgovor »alter prologus« v različici Pisani-Dossi poudarja vlogo Nicola III. d'Este in mejnega grofa Ferrarskega³³ ter omenja, da je razprava, tako njen pisni kot tudi ilustrirani del, nastala na njegovo željo. To nas napeljuje k mnenju, da je bil Nicolo Fiorejev pokrovitelj in je zato Fioreju naročil, naj napiše knjigo o bojevanju, ki jo je želel dodati svoji obsežni zbirki knjig. V predgovoru nič ne nakazuje, da je bil Fiore član njegovega dvora. Domnevamo pa, da je borilni priročnik izpod peresa cenjenega in uglednega mečevalca obogatil

duel were not revealed in the prologue, but it can be assumed that Fiore's student was victorious.

Other duels of his students mentioned in the prologue include Sir Aččo da Castell Barcho³⁰ who fought with Čuanne di Ordelaffi,³¹ and the valiant and good knight Sir Jacomo di Boson,³² although there are no details on whom Jacomo faced in the duel.

In the Pisani-Dossi prologue, in the »alter prologus« section of the prologue, the phrase »...che io predito fior o uecudo mille chiamati magistri che non sono de tuti loro quatro boni scholari e de quilli quatro boni scholari non seria uno bon magistro« is written in which Fiore almost boasts having seen thousands of self-styled masters of which he would consider only four good scholars and just one a master. This claim is not included in the Getty nor the Morgan prologue. However, in the Getty and Morgan prologues it is mentioned that Fiore was challenged



III. 1: Grbovne podobe Lanzilotta Beccarie
III. 1: Armorial Bearings of Lanzilotto Beccaria

to five duels, using cut and thrust weapons, wearing only an arming doublet³³ and leather gauntlets (»chamois«) because he did not wish to fight nor practice with the masters who challenged him. These duels occurred in locations without any supportive relations and friends, but apparently, his honour was and remained secured.

Without a doubt, the most vexing part of Fiore's life were his later years, at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century during the period of time of the composition of his treatise or treatises. The »alter prologus« in the Pisani-Dossi version

29 Miser Azo da Castelbarcho (Morgan) / Missier Aččo da Castell Barcho (Getty).

30 Miß Zohanni di li ordelaffig (Morgan) / çuanne di Ordelaffi (Getty).

31 Miß Jacomo da Besen (Morgan) / Missier Jacomo di Boson (Getty).

32 Mišljen je podložen jopič z dolgimi rokavi, ki se nosi pod oklepom, pogosto opremljen z nastavki, na katere se pričvrsti ploščni oklep. Fiore v svojem predgovoru omenja, da se je raje bojeval v oklepu, ker je bilo to veliko varneje, če je bojevniki naredili napako, saj je ploščni oklep zagotavljal dobro zaščito. Izjavil je, da bi se na turnirju raje trikrat bojeval v oklepu kot pa enkrat samkrat brez oklepa z ostrim mečem.

33 Nicolo III., rojen 9. novembra 1383. Ko je leta 1394 umrl njegov oče Alberto V., je Nicolo podedoval posestvo v Este, ki je takrat vključevalo Ferraro, Modeno, Adrio, Comacchio, Rovigo in več posesti v Romagni.

30 Miser Azo da Castelbarcho (Morgan) / Missier Aččo da Castell Barcho (Getty).

31 Miß Zohanni di li ordelaffig (Morgan) / çuanne di Ordelaffi (Getty).

32 Miß Jacomo da Besen (Morgan) / Missier Jacomo di Boson (Getty).

33 An arming doublet is a long-sleeved padded jacket worn under armour, often fitted with arming points to which plate armour would have been tied to. Fiore mentioned in his prologue that his preference was to fight in armour because it was far more forgiving should the combatant make a mistake by virtue of the protection offered by the plate armour. He stated that he would rather fight three times in armour in the barriers than a single unarmoured duel with a sharp sword.

Nicolojevo knjižnico. Različica Pisani-Dossi razkriva, da je Fiore začel pisati svojo razpravo 10. februarja 1409 in jo končal približno šest mesecev pozneje.

Zanimivo je, da ferrarski mejni grof ni omenjen v predgovoru razprave Morgan. Pravzaprav ni omenjen nihče, ki bi si ga lahko razlagali kot Fiorejevega pokrovitelja. Fiore piše o svojih učencih in njihovih junaških dejanjih ter prav očitno izpusti Nicola III. s tega seznama. Ko je Fiore začel pisati »Flos Duellatorum« (različico Pisani-Dossi), je Nicolo štel 21 let, torej bi se že lahko izučil in preskušal svoje spretnosti v turnirski ogradi.

Nicolo d'Este pa je vendarle omenjen v predgovoru Getty. V bistvu se zdi, da je dal Fioreju navodila, kako strukturirati razpravo. Ob tem se ponuja vprašanje, ali je bil Nicolo Fiorejev pokrovitelj ali pa eden od njegovih učencev, ki je imel dovolj vpliva in sredstev, da je naročil kopijo *armizare* samo zase. Morda si je Nicolo želel postati izkušen mečevalec ali vsaj dajati takšen vtis, zlasti še, če pomislimo, da je Fiore v predgovoru izjavil, da nihče nima dovolj dobrega spomina, da bi si zapomnil vse spretnosti brez pomoči tovrstne knjige. In vendar predgovor Getty ne omenja Nicola kot enega Fiorejevih učencev, ki bi dokazoval junaška dejanja, znanja in spretnosti na enak način kot drugi.

V nobenem od predgovorov razumljivo ne najdemo letnice Fiorejeve smrti in vse do danes ne poznamo zapisov, arhivskih ali drugačnih, ki bi razkrivali Fiorejeve dejavnosti po letu 1410. Najverjetneje je umrl med leti 1410 in 1420.

Razprave – kratka primerjalna analiza

Trenutno obstajajo tri znane različice Fiorejevih razprav o *armizare*. Spodaj so točne navedbe:

Fior di Battaglia: MS M.383 – knjižnica Pierpoint Morgan (rokopis »Morgan«);

Fior di Battaglia: MS Ludwig XV 13 – Muzej Johna Paula Gettyja (rokopis »Getty«);

Flos Duellatorum (Pisani-Dossi MS): Francesco Novati, *Flos duellatorum: Il Fior di battaglia di maestro Fiore dei Liberi da Premariacco*, Bergamo 1902.

highlights Nicolo III d'Este and Marquis of Ferrara³⁴ and mentions that the composition of the treatise including both the writing and the illustrations was done at the request of Nicolo. This implies that Nicolo was Fiore's patron and therefore commissioned Fiore to compose a book on combat to satisfy Nicolo's desire to add to his extensive bibliographic collection. There is nothing in the prologue which may indicate that Fiore was a member of the Marquis' court. It is thought that given Fiore was a reputable and notable swordsman, Nicolo's library was enhanced with the addition of Fiore's treatise. The Pisani-Dossi version indicates that he started writing on 10 February 1409 and completed the treatise some six months later.

Interestingly, there is no mention of the Marquis de Ferrara in the Morgan's prologue. In fact, there is no mention of anyone who may be interpreted as being Fiore's patron. Fiore writes of his students and their feats of arms, with an obvious omission of Nicolo III from the list of his students. By the time Fiore began his composition of »Flos Duellatorum« (Pisani-Dossi version), Nicolo would have been 21 years of age and therefore would have received instruction and would have been able to test his skills in the barriers.

*However, we do find Nicolo d'Este, Marquis de Ferrara, etc., mentioned in the Getty's prologue. In fact, it appears that the Marquis had provided instructions to Fiore on how to structure the treatise. This raises the question about whether Nicolo was Fiore's patron, or perhaps he was one of Fiore's students, and wielded enough power and resources to request a copy of the art for his own reference to *armizare*? Perhaps Nicolo had the desire to become or at least be perceived as a skilled swordsman, given that Fiore stated in the prologue that no man has a great enough memory to remember the complete art without the aid of such a book. Yet, the Getty's prologue had no mention of Nicolo as one of his students demonstrating feats of arms of the knowledge and skills in the same manner as the other scholars mentioned.*

Unfortunately, the prologues obviously do not include the year of Fiore's death, and to date, there are no records, archived or otherwise which reveal Fiore's activities after 1410. Presumably, he died some time between 1410 and 1420.

³⁴ Nicolo III, born on 9 November 1383. When his father Alberto V died in 1394, Nicolo inherited the Estense state whose dominions at that time included Ferrara, Modena, Adria, Comacchio, Rovigo and various possessions in Romagna.

Provenienca različice Morgan je naslednja:³⁴

MS M.383 je izgubljeni rokopis MCCLXI knjižnice Biblioteca Soranzo v Benetkah (knjižnica Jacopa Soranza, beneškega senatorja, 18. stoletje), prodan leta 1780;

Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805); prodal (London Sotheby's, 15. junij 1836, št. 40): častiti Walter Sneyd iz župnije Bagington, Coventry; prodal (London, Sotheby's, 19. december 1903, št. 720):

Ellis; Tammaro de Marinis, katalog 8, 1908, slika 9;

kupil John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) od T. de Marinisa leta 1909;

J. P. Morgan (1867-1937).

Trenutno in splošno priznana provenienca za različico Getty je:³⁵

Niccolò Marcello di Santa Marina, Benetke;

Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750);

Luigi Celotti (ok. 1789 do ok. 1846) – prodano pri Sotheby's leta 1825 ;

Thomas Phillipps – št. Ms.4204 – prodano pri Sotheby's leta 1966;

Peter in Irene Ludwig iz Aachna, Nemčija; prodano:

Muzej Johna Paula Gettyja leta 1983, in od tod zdajšnje ime.

Različica Pisani-Dossi ima predgovor, ki ga sestavljata dva dela, prvi v latinščini in drugi, obsežnejši del, »alter prologus«, v beneški italijanščini.³⁶ Njen predgovor ni prav nič podoben drugima dvema različicama, saj je brez vsakršnega opisa junaških dejanj Fiorejevih učencev. Poleg tega omenja, da je Fiorejeva kariera trajala 50 let, ne pa 40, kot navajata drugi dve različici. Vendar samo v različici Pisani-Dossi naletimo na točen datum. Fiore je zapisal, da je začel sestavljati svoje delo 10. februarja 1409 (1410 po sodobnem koledarju), in namiguje, da ga je dokončal približno v šestih mesecih. Ali je drugačna navedba časa trajanja Fiorejeve kariere v drugih dveh različicah

34 Podatki o provenienci priročnika Morgan so povzeti z besedila na platnici, ki opisuje rokopis z Oddelka za srednjeveške in renesančne rokopise knjižnice Pierpoint Morgan, in tudi povzema izvor virov, naštetih v omenjenem dokumentu, iz objave Francesca Novatija leta 1902.

35 Podatki o provenienci priročnika Getty, so povzeti po spletni strani Matta Eastona: <http://www.fioredeiliberi.org/fiore/>. Prvotno jih je sestavil Matt Galas.

36 Gl. John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues*, London 1611.

The Treatises – a Brief Comparative Analysis

There are presently three known versions of Fiore's treatises on armizare. The following are the exact citations:

Fior di Battaglia: MS M.383 - The Pierpoint Morgan Library (Codex »Morgan«)

Fior di Battaglia: MS Ludwig XV 13 - J. Paul Getty Museum (Codex »Getty«)

Flos Duellatorum (Pisani-Dossi MS): Francesco Novati, Flos duellatorum: Il Fior di battaglia di maestro Fiore dei Liberi da Premariacco, Bergamo 1902.

*The provenance for the Morgan version is:*³⁵

MS M.383 is the lost codex MCCLXI of the Biblioteca Soranzo in Venice (Library of Jacopo Soranzo, Venetian senator, 18th century) sold in 1780;

Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805); his sale (London Sotheby's, 15 June 1836, no. 40) to:

Rev. Walter Sneyd of Bagington Rectory, Coventry; his sale (London, Sotheby's, 19 December 1903, no. 720) to:

Ellis; Tammaro de Marinis, catalogue 8, 1908, plate 9; purchased by John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) from T. de Marinis in 1909;

J.P. Morgan (1867-1937).

*The currently understood and generally accepted provenance for the Getty version is:*³⁶

Niccolò Marcello di Santa Marina Venezia;

Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750);

Luigi Celotti (1789 ca.-1846 ca.) – sold at Sotheby's in 1825;

Thomas Phillipps – Nr. Ms.4204 – sold at Sotheby's in 1966;

Peter and Irene Ludwig from Aachen, Germany; sold to the:

John Paul Getty Museum in 1983, thus getting its present name.

The Pisani-Dossi version has a prologue comprised of two portions, the first in Latin, and the second more comprehensive portion »alter prologus« in a Venetian dialect of Italian.³⁷ Its prologue is quite

35 The provenance listed for the Morgan version is extracted from the cover information page describing the manuscript from the Pierpoint Morgan Library Department of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, and which describes the source of the provenance listed in that document from the publication by Francesco Novati in 1902.

36 The provenance listed for the Getty version is extracted from Matt Easton's website: <http://www.fioredeiliberi.org/fiore/>. It was originally compiled by Matt Galas.

37 Cf. John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues*, London 1611.

napaka? Lahko bi zagovarjali dejstvo, da bi se v tako oseben podatek težko prikradla tako očitna napaka, zato lahko domnevamo, da je bila različica Pisani-Dossi spisana približno 5 do 10 let po dokončanju različice Getty in Morgan, kar pomeni, da sta ta dva rokopisa nastala kmalu po začetku 15. stoletja. Med zgodovinarji se okrog tega še vedno odvija vneta razprava, namen tega sestavka pa ni nadalje razpravljati ali raziskovati v tej smeri.

Najnenavadnejša razlika med rokopisom Pisani-Dossi in drugima dvema različicama je zgradba besedila, ki spremlja ilustracije. To je sestavljeno iz rimanih kupletov, morda zato, da bi vključili borilne pojme v kar najkrajšo obliko, ki si jo je najlažje zapomniti in tako priklicati iz spomina dele obsežnega sistema *armizare*. Naše mnenje, s katerim se strinjajo tudi drugi raziskovalci in vaditelji zgodovinskega mečevanja, je, da je imela oblika tega rokopisa morda podoben namen kot mnemotehnika, ki jo uporabljamo za pomnjenje določenih podatkov, dejstev ali pojmov.³⁷ Različica Pisani-Dossi je morda temeljila na podobnih spominskih tehnikah kot drugi pisni sestavki tiste dobe, namenjeni kot iztočnice in pomoč za lažje pomnjenje. Isto tehniko lahko razširimo v skupek mnemotehničnih fraz, kot so denimo priljubljeni zapiski »Coles Notes«,³⁸ ki so jih študentje dolga leta uporabljali kot vodilo za študij in učno pomoč. Zanimivo je, da se približno 68 % prologa v Pisani-Dossi osredotoča na opisovanje zgradbe in oblike priročnika, v primerjavi s približno 47 % v različici Getty in pičlimi 26 % predgovora v različici Morgan. Tako podrobno obravnavanje njene zgradbe potrjuje misel, da je bila različica Pisani-Dossi morda res namenjena za šolski učbenik in usposabljanje.

Med vsemi tremi različicami Getty vsebuje najpodrobnejše odstavke ob ilustracijah (glej Sl. 2). Sledi Morgan z nekoliko krajšim besedilom. Poleg tega ilustracije v različicah Getty in Morgan ne dajejo toliko vtisa šablonskih upodobitev kot tiste v Pisani-Dossi. Vendar vsebina različice Morgan – čeprav je podobnejša različici Getty – ni popolna, saj ji manjkajo pomembna poglavja, na primer »*abrazare*«

unlike the other two versions inasmuch as it is completely devoid of any description of the feats of arms of Fiore's students, and mentioned Fiore's career as 50 years as opposed to 40 years in the other two versions. However, only in the Pisani-Dossi version is a date explicitly stated. Fiore wrote that he started his composition on 10 February 1409 (1410 using the modern calendar) and alludes to taking approximately six months to complete. Were the differences in the years of Fiore's career an error in the other two versions? It could be argued that such a personal detail would hardly succumb to such an obvious error, and therefore one can postulate that the Pisani-Dossi version was composed approximately 5 to 10 years after the completion of the Getty's and Morgan's versions, meaning the Getty's and the Morgan's versions were written some time shortly after the turn of the 14th century. This debate continues with vigour in the historical community and further discussion or research on this particular subject is outside the scope of this paper.

*The most extraordinary difference between the Pisani-Dossi and the other versions is in the structure of the text accompanying the illustrations. The text is comprised of rhyming couplets, which may have been designed to inject combative concepts into the shortest and most memorable prose to aid in recalling and remembering the great expanse of *armizare*. It is the opinion of this author, which is shared by other researchers and practitioners of historical fencing, that the design of this manuscript may have served a similar purpose as mnemonics is used to remember details of certain information, facts or concepts.³⁸ The Pisani-Dossi version may have employed similar memorial techniques consistent with other period writings as memorial cues and aids. This technique can be extended to a conglomeration of mnemonic phrases and the popular »Coles Notes«³⁹ used by students for many years as a study guide and learning aid. Interestingly, approximately 68% of the prologue in the Pisani-Dossi is focused on describing the structure and order of the treatise, as compared to approximately 47% in the Getty's version and only 26% of the prologue in the Morgan's version. Such detail in its structure adds credence to the notion that perhaps the Pisani-Dossi version was indeed oriented towards a student's learning and training guide.*

37 Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory – A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990.

38 Zapiski »Coles Notes« so bili prvič objavljeni leta 1948 v Veliki Britaniji in so zdaj v lasti založbe Indigo Books v Kanadi. »Coles Notes« so imeli podoben namenu kot ameriška različica »Cliff Notes«, prvič objavljena leta 1958.

38 Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory – A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990.

39 Coles Notes were first published in 1948 in the UK, and are now owned by Indigo Books in Canada. Coles Notes served a similar function to the American's version called »Cliff Notes«, first published in 1958.



III. 2: 1. igra – abrazare (Getty)
 III. 2: 1st play – abrazare (Getty)

(ruvanje) in »daga« (boj z bodalom), ki jih najdemo v različnih Pisani-Dossi in Getty.

Sledi podrobnejši pregled predstavitve magistra rimedia (op. prev. prvega mojstra bojevanja z bodalom, ki se zna braniti in hkrati napasti) prve igre *abrazare*. Like v različici Pisani-Dossi spremlja naslednje besedilo:

*Cum questa presa in terra andare ti farò
 Ouero el braço senistro ti deslogaro.*³⁹

Kar pomeni v prevodu:

S tem prijemom te bom spravil na tla
 ali pa ti bom izpahnil levo roko.

Čeprav kuplet ni toliko mnemotehničen, temveč bolj poenostavljen verz, ki predstavi določeno načelo klasičnega prijema za ramo in protinapada proti takšnemu prijemu, ga učenec borilne veščine zlahka prevede v fizično realnost.

Besedilo v različici Getty ob enakih likih se glasi:

*Questo sie lo primo zogho de abrazare
 et ogni guardia*

³⁹ Veliko transkripcij iz rokopisa v razpravah je povzetih iz Rubboli – Cesari 2002. Te transkripcije se bolj ali manj ujemajo s številnimi drugimi, ki so na voljo na spletu. Dodali smo le nekaj manjših popravkov, da so bolj v skladu z izvirnim besedilom.



III. 3: 1. igra – abrazare (Pisani-Dossi)
 III. 3: 1st play – abrazare (Pisani-Dossi)

Of the three versions, the Getty's offers the most detailed paragraphs accompanying the illustrations (see Ill. 2), followed by the Morgan's with a slightly abbreviated text. To add, the illustrations found in the Getty's and Morgan's are less »cartoon« like than the illustrations found in the Pisani-Dossi. Moreover, the contents of the Morgan, despite being more similar to the Getty's version, are not a complete treatise, with significant portions not included such as the »abrazare« (grappling) and »daga« (dagger) sections found in both the Pisani-Dossi and Getty's.

A more detailed examination of the presentation of the First Remedy Master of the first play of *abrazare* follows. The text accompanying the figures in the Pisani-Dossi version reads as:

*Cum questa presa in terra andare ti farò
 Ouero el braço senistro ti deslogaro,*⁴⁰

which translated becomes:

*I will make you go to the ground with this hold
 Or else I will dislocate your left arm.*

Although the couplet is not as much a mnemonic as it is a simplified verse to convey a particular principle with respect to the classic shoulder grab and the

⁴⁰ Much of the transcriptions from the script found in the treatises were extracted from Rubboli – Cesari 2002. These transcriptions are more or less consistent with the many other transcriptions available online in the Internet and some minor corrections were edited into the transcriptions to improve their consistency with the original text.

*d'abrazare si po 'riuare in questo zogho
e in questa presa
zoe
pigli cum la man stancha lo suo brazo dritto
in la
piegadura del suo brazo dritto
e la sua dritta mano
metta chosi dritta apresso lo suo cubito
e poy subito faza
la presa del secondo zogho
zoe piglilu in quello modo
e daga la uolta ala persona
E per quello modo
o ello an-
dara in terra
ouero lo brazo gli serà dislogado.*

To je prva igra *abrazare* in vsak stav v *abrazare* lahko preide v to igro in ta prijem,⁴⁰ in sicer da z levo roko primeš njegovo desno roko v pregib njegove desne roke in desno roko daš za njegov komolec in potem nenadoma izvedem prijem »presa« druge igre, ujel ga bom namreč tako in mu zasukal telo in na ta način ga bom spravil na tla ali mu bom izpahnil roko.

Gettyjevo besedilo vsebuje podrobnejši opis in obravnavo manj očitnih podrobnosti napada, ki spremlja ilustracijo, in je bolj izdelano v primerjavi s prejšnjo razpravo. Vendar obe različici podajata zelo podobna koncepta in dosežata enak učni cilj. Tako dosledni sta celotni razpravi Pisani-Dossi in Getty.

Če si ogledamo različico Morgan, primerjava z Gettyjevo razkrije, da je besedilo obeh razprav skoraj dobesedno enako, vendar je različica Morgan urejena popolnoma drugače kot Getty in se začne s poglavjem o bojevanju na konju s kopji, medtem ko se Getty začne z *abrazare* ali ruvanjem. Različica Morgan je tudi najkrajša od vseh treh razprav, saj manjkata poglavji *abrazare* in *daga*. Vsebuje pa slike, ki prikazujejo bojevanje na konju, in nekaj slik bojevanja z bodalom proti meču.

Splošno razmišljanje o tem, zakaj je različica Morgan toliko krajša od drugih dveh

counter to such an attack it can easily be translated into a physical reality by a student of the art.

Continuing on with the Getty's text accompanying the same figures in its version, it reads as:

*Questo sie lo primo zogho de abrazare
et ogni guardia
d'abrazare si po 'riuare in questo zogho
e in questa presa
zoe
pigli cum la man stancha lo suo brazo dritto in la
piegadura del suo brazo dritto
e la sua dritta mano
metta chosi dritta apresso lo suo cubito
e poy subito faza
la presa del secondo zogho
zoe piglilu in quello modo
e daga la uolta ala persona
E per quello modo
o ello an-
dara in terra
ouero lo brazo gli serà dislogado.*

This is the first play of abrazare and every guard of abrazare can arrive in this play and in this hold,⁴¹ namely take hold with the left hand his right arm in the bend of his right arm and your right hand is put like this right behind his elbow and then suddenly I will make the hold »presa« of the second play, namely I catch him in this way and give a turn to his body and in this way I have him go to the ground or I shall dislocate the arm of his.

The Getty's text offers more detailed description and examination of the subtleties of the actions involved accompanying the illustration, which were rendered with greater sophistication as compared to the former treatise. Yet both versions convey very similar concepts and achieve the same instructional objective. This is consistent across the entire Pisani-Dossi and Getty's treatises.

The examination of the Morgan's version, as compared to the Getty's reveals that the Morgan's text is near word-for-word similar to the Getty's. However, the organization of the Morgan's is completely different from the Getty's in that it begins with a section on combats on horseback with lances, whereas

40 V tej zvezi je »prijem« samostalniik, ki opisuje »nekaj«, kar se nanaša na prijem ali »preso«. Nobena druga beseda ne bi mogla bolje opisati ta »nekaj«, medtem ko v nadaljevanju istega stavka drugi »prijem« opisuje dejanje.

41 In this context, »hold« is a noun describing a »thing« referring to a grab or »presa«. There are no other appropriate English words to describe the »thing«, whereas, continuing in the same statement, the next instance of »hold« describes an action.

razprav, namiguje, da rokopis najverjetneje ni bil dokončan zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev ali dogodkov, ki so ovirali njegovo izvedbo. Morda je dal Fiore prednost drugim projektom in je različica Morgan ostala v obliki nedokončanega rokopisa. Poleg tega v predgovoru ni nobenega posvetila pokrovitelju niti ne omenja Nicola III.

Za konec

Čeprav je bil Fiore dei Liberi neznatna osebnost v zgodovinskih analih, vsekakor ne v istem razredu kot nekateri veliki možje njegove dobe, lahko v 21. stoletju jasno vidimo in občutimo njegov vpliv v številnih šolah in akademijah zgodovinskih borilnih veščin in mečevanja po vsem svetu. Rekonstruirati podobo moža z imenom Fiore zahteva obsežne raziskave arhivov, osebnih zbirk in knjižnic, ki so še danes nedotaknjeni ali nedostopni. Izdelava popolnejše in podrobnejše Fiorejeve biografije bo vsekakor prispevala k boljšemu razumevanju, razvoju in nadgradnji *armizare* ter morda zagotovila, da se bo ta ponovno oživljena oblika bolj približala »resnici«, kot bi pričakoval sam Fiore.

In končno, rekonstrukcija in praksa *armizare* ne moreta biti popolni brez obravnave in analize vseh treh priročnikov. Vsak ima določene edinstvene vrline in lastnosti, ki prispevajo k osvetlitvi te veščine. Upamo, da bomo s temeljito analizo razprav in raziskavami sekundarnih virov, kot so arhivska poročila in dokumenti, ter boljšim poznavanjem Fioreja kot zgodovinske osebnosti, *armizare* spet povrnili prvotni status celovite ter učinkovite napadalne in obrambne borilne veščine – učinkovite alternative današnjim priljubljenim vzhodnjaškim sistemom.

Povzetek

Zapuščini Fioreja dei Liberi, nastali pred 600 leti, je v 21. stoletju izkazana čast s skrbno rekonstrukcijo in ponovno oživitvijo borilne veščine, znane kot "l'arte dell'armizare", ki jo je opisal v svojih razpravah z naslovom "Flos Duellatorum" in "Fior Battaglia". Ta spis se začne z osvetlitvijo moža, ki je nosil ime Fiore, in razkrije njegovo željo, da bi se učil in vadil starodavne borilne veščine pri največjih nemških in italijanskih mojstrih tiste dobe.

the Getty's starts with abrazare or grappling. The Morgan's is also the shortest of the three treatises, whereby the abrazare and daga sections are completely absent. However, there are plates which depict wrestling on horseback and some plates depicting dagger against sword.

The general thinking about why the Morgan's is so much shorter than the other two suggests that the manuscript was in all probability not completed due to lack of funds or events which precluded its completion. Perhaps other projects took precedence and the Morgan's version was left as an incomplete manuscript. To add, there is no dedication in the prologue to a patron nor any mention of Nicolo III.

In Conclusion

Although Fiore dei Liberi was merely a footnote in the annals of history, definitely not in the same league as some of the great men of the period, his influence in the 21st century can be vividly seen and experienced across many historical fighting and fencing schools and academies throughout the world. The challenge of rebuilding the man who bore the name Fiore will require exhaustive research into archives, personal collections and libraries which remain untouched or inaccessible today. Cultivating a more complete and detailed biography of Fiore will most definitely aid in our understanding, development and evolution of armizare, perhaps ensuring that the resurrected form of armizare is closer to the »truth« as expected by Fiore himself.

Lastly, the reconstruction and practice of armizare cannot be complete without referencing and studying all three treatises. Each has certain unique qualities and attributes which contribute to fleshing out the art. It is hoped that as we learn more about Fiore, through closer examination of the treatises and through research of secondary sources such as archived records and documents, armizare will once again reacquire its original status as a complete and viable offensive and defensive fighting art system – a viable alternative to today's popular Eastern systems.

Summary

Fiore dei Liberi's legacy created 600 years ago is honoured in the 21st century with the careful reconstruction and resurrection of the fighting art known as "l'arte dell'armizare" he described in his treatises entitled "Flos Duellatorum" and "Fior di Battaglia". This paper will begin with an exploration of the man who bore the name Fiore revealing his desire



Ill. 4: Trije igralci (Getty)
 Ill. 4: *The three players* (Getty)



Ill. 5: Trije igralci (Morgan)
 Ill. 5: *The three players* (Morgan)

Njegova spretnost z orožjem je bila ključnega pomena za usposabljanje številnih pomembnih “kondotjerjev” in opisovanje njihovih dosežkov na turnirjih, ki so se jih udeleževali. Spis vsebuje tudi kratko primerjalno analizo treh različic razprave, ki vključujejo: različico Getty-Ludwig, MS Ludwig XV13 v muzeju John Paul Getty, Los Angeles, ZDA; različico Morgan, MS M. 383, knjižnica Pierpoint-Morgan Library, New York, ZDA; različica Pisani-Dossi iz zbirke F. Novatija. In končno, rekonstrukcija in praksa *armizare* ne moreta biti popolni brez sklicevanj na vse te razprave in njihove analize. Vsaka ima določene edinstvene prednosti in lastnosti, ki prispevajo k osvetlitvi te veščine, da se izdelata celovit sistem samoobrambne in napadalne borilne veščine, primerljiv s številnimi današnjimi azijskimi in vzhodnjaškimi borilnimi sistemi. V svetu borilnih veščin zahoda je povsem jasno, da imajo razprave mesto pomembnih temeljev današnjih raziskav in rekonstrukcij zgodovinskih borilnih veščin zahoda. Razlogov je veliko, toda njihova največja vrednost je morda prav zbirka ilustracij, ki neverjetno jasno pričajo o izročilu te veščine, informativna besedila ob vsaki ilustraciji pa skupaj s slednjo predstavljajo recept, ki je kot izčrpen vir v pomoč današnjim raziskavam, praksi in rekonstrukciji zgodovinskih borilnih veščin zahoda.

to learn and train in the ancient fighting arts under the greatest German and Italian masters of the time. His skills as a man at arms were critical in his training of numerous notable “condottiere” and the description of their conquests in the tournaments they had participated in. The paper will also conduct a brief comparative analysis of the three versions of the treatise which include: Getty-Ludwig version, MS Ludwig XV13 located in the John Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA; Morgan version, MS M. 383, Pierpoint-Morgan Library, New York City, USA; Pisani-Dossi version, of the F. Novati collection. The reconstruction and practice of armizare cannot be complete without referencing and studying all three treatises as each possess certain unique qualities and attributes which contribute to fleshing out the art creating a complete self-defence and offensive fighting art system comparable to many of today’s Asian and Eastern fighting systems. It is evident in the Western fighting arts community that the treatises are considered important cornerstones in today’s research and reconstruction of historical Western fighting arts. The reasons are numerous, but perhaps their greatest value is their collection of illustrations possessing remarkable clarity in conveying the concepts in the art, and the informative text accompanying each illustration, together creating a recipe for a comprehensive resource supporting today’s research, practice and reconstruction of historical Western fighting arts.

11
Vnser Zorgen
an die Kunst
die Gedicht von
Johanne Lieche
Hocher Meister
Ganzes ist
niedig so
dem langen so
nach mit dem
Schwert zu roß
dem Buzzen so

Borilna doktrina Johannesesa Liechtenauerja v interpretaciji Hanka Döbringerja in Sigmunda Ringecka

Johannes Liechtenauer's Martial Arts Doctrine Interpreted by Hanko Döbringer and Sigmund Ringeck

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Izveček

Nemška mečevalska oz. borilna šola je skupni naziv za borilni sistem, katerega utemeljitelj je bil Johannes Liechtenauer. V srednjeevropskem prostoru je bil v rabi od druge polovice 14. do konca 16. stol., opisan pa je v priročnikih (*Fechtbücher*) takratnih mojstrov. Liechtenauerjeva borilna doktrina, opisana v zapletenih verzih, nerazumljivih laikom, obsega bojevanje z različnim orožjem, za njim pa so jo razvijali in širili drugi mojstri, kot sta bila Hanko Döbringer in Sigmund Ringeck. Z njenim odkrivanjem od konca 19. stol. pa do danes se bistveno spreminja pogled na nekdanje bojevanje, ki je bilo v resnici tehnično do podrobnosti izdelano in je pomenilo tako rekoč visoko šolo borilne umetnosti tako peš kot na konju. Vse to je tudi del slovenske zgodovine.

Ključne besede: nemška mečevalska šola, mečevanje, borilne veščine, Johannes Liechtenauer, Hanko Döbringer, Sigmund Ringeck, Fechtbuch.

Nemška mečevalska šola

Nemška mečevalska šola izhaja iz druge polovice 14. stoletja, gre pa za borilni sistem, ki so ga mečevalski mojstri po vsej srednji Evropi oziroma v svetem rimskem cesarstvu

Summary

The German School of Fencing respectively *Martial Arts* is a common term denoting the combat system established by Johannes Liechtenauer. In Central Europe it was used from the second half of the 14th century until the end of the 16th century, and is described in martial arts manuals (*Fechtbücher*) written by the then masters. Liechtenauer's *Martial Arts Doctrine*, written in complex verses in a manner incomprehensible to the laic, addresses combat with various weapons. The doctrine was further developed by other masters, such as Hanko Döbringer and Sigmund Ringeck.

Since its discovery at the end of the 19th century the general view on Medieval combat, which was technically perfected and actually presented a high educational institution of martial arts, both, on foot and on horse, has considerably changed. All this is also a part of Slovenian history.

Key words: the German School of Fencing, fencing, martial arts, Johannes Liechtenauer, Hanko Döbringer, Sigmund Ringeck, Fechtbuch.

The German School of Fencing

The German School of Fencing was established in the second half of the 14th century and is the martial arts system taught by fencing masters in Central Europe respectively the Holy Roman Empire from the

poučevali od sredine 14. pa vse do konca 16. stoletja in je opisan v takratnih učbenikih ali boljše priročnikih o bojevanju, t. i. *Fechtbücher*.

Velika večina avtorjev teh mečevalskih učbenikov je sledila (zares ali pa vsaj deklarativno) učenju Johannesa Liechtenauerja, najpomembnejšega nemškega mojstra in mečevalskega učitelja 14. stoletja. Liechtenauer se je najverjetneje rodil v Liechtenauu na srednjem Frankovskem v prvi četrtini 14. stoletja, to pa je pravzaprav tudi vse, kar vemo o njem. Edini in najzgodnejši vir o njem in njegovem učenju je namreč rokopis, znan kot kodeks MS 3227a (Nürnberger Handschrift GNM 3227a) iz leta 1389, ki ga danes hrani Germanisches Nationalmuseum v Nürnbergu. V njem o Liechtenauerju izvemo le to, da je bil »veliki mojster«, ki je »prepotoval številne dežele«, da bi izpopolnil svojo veščino.

V Nürnberškem rokopisu, pa tudi v številnih poznejših borilnih priročnikih, je Liechtenauerjev nauk ohranjen v obliki rimanih verzov, zapisanih »mit verdeckten und verborgen worten«, izjemno hermetično oziroma namerno zapleteno in za laike nerazumljivo. Iz njegovega nauka pa se je razvilo to, kar so pozneje poimenovali nemška mečevalska šola: borilni sistem, ki je temeljil na preprostosti, hitrosti in skrajni učinkovitosti, ki so skupaj tvorile smrtonosno borilno veščino.

Liechtenauerjev sistem so že konec 14., potem pa v 15. in 16. stoletju razlagali, razvijali, delno pa tudi spreminjali – natančneje prilagajali – številni mečevalski mojstri od Hanka Döbringerja, čigar komentar Liechtenauerjevih verzov najdemo v Nürnberškem rokopisu, prek Sigmunda Ringecka in Petra von Danziga do Paula Hectorja Maira in Joachima Meyerja. V priročnikih iz druge polovice 15. stoletja tako najdemo tudi seznam pripadnikov t. i. Liechtenauerjeve družbe, *Gesellschaft Liechtenauers*, v katerem so naštetih učitelji, ki so izhajali iz mojstrovega učenja in gradili na tej podlagi. Pripadati Liechtenauerjevi šoli je v drugi polovici 15. stoletja postalo skoraj stvar strokovnega in osebnega prestiža, tako da so se za njegove učence razglašali celo učitelji, katerih učenje je bilo le malo povezano z Liechtenauerjevim v mnogih delih pa pogosto celo v nasprotju z njim.

Na tem mestu je smiselno tudi opozoriti, da je izraz »nemška mečevalska šola« v resnici

mid-14th century to the end of the 16th century as described in the martial arts manuals (*Fechtbücher*), written at that time.

Most of the authors of these martial arts manuals were in the tradition, or claimed to be, of Master Johannes Liechtenauer's teachings. Johannes Liechtenauer was the most important 14th century German fencing master and teacher and was most probably born in Liechtenau in Mittelfranken (Franconia) in the first quarter of the 14th century. What little is known about his person and his teachings is preserved in the only and earliest source about him, the manuscript known as codex MS 3227a (Nürnberger Handschrift GNM 3227a) dating from around 1389, now exhibited by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (German National Museum) in Nürnberg. According to this manuscript's author, Liechtenauer was a "great master" who had travelled to "many lands" to learn his art.

In the Nürnberger Handschrift, and also in later martial arts manuals, Liechtenauer's teachings are preserved in rhyming couplets, possibly intentionally obscured ("mit verdeckten und verborgen worten"), in an outstandingly hermetic or deliberately complicated style in order to prevent the amateur from understanding the techniques he presented. Liechtenauer's teachings gave rise to what was later called the German School of Fencing: a martial arts system with emphasis on simplicity, speed and extreme effectiveness, forming a deadly martial art.

By the end of the 14th century and throughout the 15th and the 16th centuries, Liechtenauer's system was commented on, expanded and partly also modified or - to put it in other words - adapted by a range of fencing masters, including Hanka Döbringer, whose commentaries on Liechtenauer's verses are found in the Nürnberger Handschrift, Sigmund Ringeck and Peter von Danzig, and continued by Paulus Hector Mair and Joachim Meyer. Manuals originating from the second half of the 15th century contain lists of members of the so-called "Society of Liechtenauer" (*Gesellschaft Liechtenauers*), which listed fencing masters who were standing in the tradition of Master Liechtenauer. In the second half of the 15th century, it became in fact almost compulsory for any self-respecting fencing master to present himself as standing in Liechtenauer's tradition, even if the influence was sometimes tenuous, or some elements in outright conflicted with certain tenets of Liechtenauer's.

At this point, it should be emphasised that the term "German School of Fencing" is in reality confusing and inappropriate, yet it gained ground throughout

zavajajoč in neustrezen, vendar se je v zgodovini tako uveljavil, da ga še danes uporabljamo. Izraz »fechten«, ki se danes dejansko uporablja prvenstveno v pomenu »mečevati«, je imel namreč v srednjeveški nemščini dosti širši pomen, saj je obsegal bojevanje z različnim orožjem, ne le z mečem. Že v Liechtenauerjevem času se nauk ni omejeval zgolj na eno orožje. V fechtbuchih so tako opisani postopki uporabe dolgega meča, meča in ščitka, bodala, sablje (*langes Messer*), postopki pri rokoborbi, vseh vrstah boja v oklepu in tudi pri bojevanju na konju. Zato bi bilo verjetno ustrezneje uporabiti izraz »nemška borilna šola«. Vendar se je izraz »mečevalska« že tako zakoreninil, in to ne le v slovenskem, marveč tudi (in predvsem) v drugih jezikih, da bo najverjetneje ostal v splošni uporabi.

Nemška mečevalska oziroma borilna šola se je v praksi ohranila približno 250 let, od leta 1350 do 1600, in je dala celo vrsto pomembnih mojstrov in priročnikov, na podlagi katerih poskušamo danes rekonstruirati t. i. *Kunst des Fechtens* oziroma veščino bojevanja. Že najzgodnejši vir, ki je na voljo, kodeks MS 3227a, omenja nekaj mojstrov, ki so bili tako kot Hanko Döbringer bodisi Liechtenauerjevi učenci bodisi sodobniki, ki so vzporedno z njim razvijali svoje sisteme. Omenjeni so Andreas Jud, Jost von der Nyssen in Niklaus Preussen. Na začetku 15. stoletja sta najverjetneje sledila Martin Hundsfeld in Jud Ott. Svoj vrh je nemška šola nedvomno dosegla sredi 15. stoletja z mojstri, kot so bili Sigmund Ringeck, Peter von Danzig, Andreas Lignitzer, Hans Talhoffer in končno Paul Kal.

V drugi polovici 15. stoletja je nemška *Kunst des Fechtens* postala tako priljubljena, da so po vsej srednji Evropi druga za drugo rasle borilne šole oziroma družbe, med katerimi velja omeniti vsaj Bratovščino sv. Marka (*St. Marks Bruderschaft*), ki je od leta 1478 do 1570 obvladovala pouk bojevanja. Med pomembnejšimi učitelji, ki so pustili svoj pečat v razvoju borilne doktrine v zadnji četrtini 15. stoletja, so bili mojstri Johannes Lecküchner, Peter Falkner in Hans von Speyer. Jörg Wilhalm, Hans Wurm, celo Albrecht Dürer so nadaljevali njihovo delo na začetku 16. stoletja – čeprav za Dürerja, ki skoraj zagotovo ni poučeval borilnih veščin, ni popolnoma jasno, ali je le ilustriral enega od priročnikov ali je na podlagi svojih borilnih izkušenj napisal svojega. Pomembno delo je

history and is still used in this day and age. The term *fechten* is nowadays primarily used in the sense of 'fencing', but had a broader meaning in the medieval German language, as it denoted fighting with a variety of weapons and not only swords. Already in Liechtenauer's time, instructions in martial arts were not limited to a single weapon. The martial arts manuals of that time also described a range of techniques for using the longsword, sword and buckler, dagger, *langes Messer*, and for unarmed wrestling in both armoured and unarmoured combat, and sometimes also in mounted combat. It would, therefore, be more appropriate to use the term "German School of Martial Arts". Nevertheless, the term "fencing" took root in various languages, including Slovenian, and will most probably remain in general use.

The history of the German School of Fencing, respectively the School of Martial Arts, spans roughly 250 years, from 1350 to 1600, and produced a range of significant fencing masters and manuals, which serve as a basis for reconstructing the *Kunst des Fechtens* (art of fighting). Our earliest source, codex MS 3227a, already mentions a number of masters, who were - as Hanko Döbringer considered them - peers or students of Liechtenauer and along with him developed their own systems. Furthermore, the document mentions Andreas Jud, Jost von der Nyssen and Nikolaus Preussen. Fencing masters at the beginning of the 15th century include Martin Hundsfeld and Ott the Jew. Undoubtedly, the mid-15th century marks the peak of the German School of Fencing and included fencing masters such as Sigmund Ringeck, Peter von Danzig, Andreas Lignitzer, Hans Talhoffer and, finally, Paul Kal.

During the second half of the 15th century, the German *Kunst des Fechtens* became very popular and various new martial arts schools or associations rose all around Europe, among which the Brotherhood of St. Mark (*St. Marks Bruderschaft*) should be pointed out, as it governed combat teaching from 1478 to 1570. The most significant masters who greatly influenced the development of the martial arts doctrine in the late 15th century were Johannes Lecküchner, Peter Falkner and Hans von Speyer. Jörg Wilhalm, Hans Wurm and even Albrecht Dürer continued their work at the beginning of the 16th century. However, it is not obvious, whether Dürer, who almost certainly did not teach martial arts, only illustrated one of the manuals or wrote his own manual, based on his own combat experience. Around the mid 16th century, Paulus Hector Mair undertook the significant work of rewriting and illustrating the one-hundred-year-old *Fechtbuch* by Sigmund Ringeck, and along with

v Augsburgu proti sredini 16. stoletja opravil tudi Paul Hector Mair, ki je dal prepisati in ilustrirati približno sto let star *Fechtbuch* Sigmunda Ringecka, poleg tega je zbral in objavil več zbornikov različnih avtorjev 15. in 16. stoletja. Zadnji mojster, čigar delo poznamo in je neposredno izhajal iz Liechtenauerjeve šole, je bil Joachim Meyer. Njegov priročnik je izšel leta 1570. Istega leta so na Dunaju ustanovili tudi borilno šolo *Federfechter*, ki je nadaljevala tradicijo nemške mečevalske šole.

Fechtbücher

Borilni priročniki, ki so jih začeli odkrivati v 19. stoletju, so postavili na glavo dotedanje prepričanje, da je bilo bojevanje v srednjem veku predvsem brutalno klanje, za katerega ni bilo potrebno posebno znanje. Temeljilo naj bi namreč na goli sili, mečevanje v Evropi pa naj bi se po tej teoriji razvilo v pravo borilno veščino šele v visoki renesansi s pojavom rapirjev in povsem nove rapirske tehnike. S tem prepričanjem se srečujemo še danes, predvsem zaradi filmov, v katerih lahko vidimo »mečevanje«, ki s pravim žal nima ničesar skupnega, in zaradi sodobnih oblik športnega mečevanja, ki pa v resnici izhaja iz poznejše, že baročne italijanske in španske mečevalske šole. Športni mečevalci so namreč v veliki meri še vedno prepričani, da so sodobne oblike sabljaškega športa najrazvitejše oblike evropskega mečevanja in da zahtevajo neprimerljivo več znanja in veščine kot katera koli starejša oblika mečevanja, ki se je v preteklosti razvila v Evropi. Kar seveda nikakor ne drži. Sabljaški šport se je namreč razvil prvenstveno iz urbanega samoobrambnega mečevanja, ki so ga v 18. stoletju razvili po evropskih mestih. Pri njem so uporabljali izjemno lahko orožje, in to v popolnoma drugačnih razmerah, kot je bilo običajno na bojiščih in turnirjih srednjeveške Evrope. Ta oblika mečevanja se je pozneje razvila v t. i. »*gentlemen's art*«, ki s pravim bojevanjem na bojnem polju ni imela nič skupnega. V 19. stoletju so jo formalizirali in končno je iz nje nastal olimpijski šport, kot ga poznamo danes.

Srednjeveško mečevanje torej ni in ne more biti nekakšna zgodnejša in temu ustrezno primitivnejša oblika mečevanja, ki bi se pozneje razvila v prefinjeno veščino. Upoštevati je namreč treba tudi neverjetne spremembe pri

that he compiled all the knowledge on the art of fencing and published several bulletins of various 15th to 16th century's authors. The last fencing master, whose work is known today and who directly descended from Liechtenauer's tradition, was Joachim Meyer. His martial arts manual was published in 1570. The foundation of the martial arts school Federfechter, which continued the tradition of the German School of Fencing, in Vienna, falls into the very same year.

Fechtbücher

Martial arts manuals were discovered in the 19th century and upturned the general opinion that medieval combat was mere brutal slaughtering, which did not require any specific expertise. According to this opinion, medieval martial arts were mainly based on sheer physical strength, whereas fencing, according to this theory, developed into a real martial art only in the High Renaissance with the occurrence of rapiers and completely new rapier fencing techniques. This conviction is present even nowadays, in particular as a result of movies which show 'fencing' that has nothing in common with this type of martial arts and also as a result of modern competitive fencing which, as a matter of fact, derived from the latter, the baroque Italian and Spanish fencing school. Competitive fencers are to a great extent convinced that the modern form of the sport of fencing is the most developed form of European fencing and that it is by far more demanding in terms of knowledge and skills than any other older form of fencing which developed in Europe in the past. Yet, this is not true. The sport of fencing originates mainly in urban self-defence fencing which was developed in European cities in the 18th century. For this purpose, extremely light weapons were used and they were employed in completely different circumstances than those common on battlefields and tournaments held in medieval Europe. This technique developed later into the so-called "gentlemen's art" of fencing, which had absolutely nothing in common with combat on battlefields. In the 19th century, it was formalised and finally developed into the Olympic sports discipline as we know it today.

Hence, medieval fencing is not, and cannot be, an earlier type of fencing and, thus, a primitive form of it, which later developed into a refined and sophisticated skill. Outstanding modifications in the development of weapons and combat techniques, which occurred already in the Renaissance, and even later in the Baroque, had a significant impact on the changes in the use of fencing techniques. Similarly,



Domnevna slika Johannesa Liechtenauerja iz borilnega priročnika Petra von Danziga (1452)

Painting most likely depicting Liechtenauer, Peter von Danzig's martial arts manual (1452)

razvoju orožja in bojne tehnike, ki so se pojavile že v renesansi, še bolj pa pozneje v baroku, in so odločilno vplivale na spremembe v uporabi mečevalskih tehnik. Prav tako ne gre zanemariti že pregovornega pragmatizma evropskega človeka, ki z nečim, kar ni več imelo praktične uporabne vrednosti, nikakor ni hotel izgubljati časa. Zaradi tega se je znanje, veščina, ki je nastajala tisočletja, v nekaj generacijah izgubila, tisto, kar jo je nadomestilo, pa je imelo z njo le nekaj stičnih točk.¹

the proverbial paradigm of the European man should be considered, who did not want to lose time with something that was of no practical value. Therefore, the knowledge and expertise that had developed during thousands of years was lost within a few generations and, thus, what it was replaced with had retained just a few common aspects.¹

Certainly, one needs to be aware of the fact that the techniques described in martial arts manuals belong to the high school of the art of fencing and that the real combat on the battlefields proceeded in a

¹ John Clements, *Medieval Swordsmanship: Illustrated Methods and Techniques*, Boulder 1998, str. 4–5.

¹ John Clements, *Medieval Swordsmanship: Illustrated Methods and Techniques*, Boulder 1998, pp. 4–5.

Seveda se je treba zavedati tudi, da sodijo večšine, opisane v borilnih priročnikih, tako rekoč v visoko šolo mečevalske umetnosti ter da je bila bitka na bojnem polju videti popolnoma drugače. Postopki, opisani v nemških *Fechtbücher*, so bili namreč namenjeni predvsem dvobojevalcem, in to v formalnih sodnih dvobojih. Ti so bili načelno že sicer izjemni bojevniki, če pa so se znašli v položaju, ko so se morali pomeriti z nasprotnikom na življenje in smrt v sodnem dvoboju, so običajno najeli borilnega učitelja, da bi se čimbolje pripravili na dvoboj. Temu so bili v največji meri namenjeni borilni priročniki, obravnavani v tem prispevku. *Fechtbücher* torej niso bili priročniki za bojevnike, še manj učbeniki za bodoče bojevnike. Lahko bi rekli, da so bili namenjeni borilnim mojstrom (*fechtmeister* ali *schirmmeister*), ki so borilne večšine že poznali do podrobnosti, vendar so posegli po priročnikih, kadar so trenirali bodoče dvobojevalce. Uporabljali so jih najbrž kot nekakšne oporne točke, da so lahko dokaj sistematično in v kratkem času naučili svoje stranke določenih postopkov, od obvladovanja katerih bi utegnil biti odvisen izid dvoboja. Le če so priročnike uporabljali poznavalci, ki so učili že večše bojevnike, so bili – v taki obliki, kot so napisani – tudi smiselni in koristni. Navodila, ki jih vsebujejo, so namreč brez dodatne razlage za večino ljudi popolnoma nerazumljiva, predvsem pa niso dovolj podrobna, da bi jih širši krog uporabnikov lahko interpretiral brez pomoči izvedenca. Zato so bila tudi napisana »*mitt verborgen vnd verdeckten worten, darumb das die kunst nitt gemain solt werden*« – »s skrivnostnimi in dvoumnimi besedami, da večšina ne bi mogla postati običajna« (t. j.: splošno znana – op. prev.).²

Seveda obstajajo med posameznimi danes znanimi borilnimi priročniki velike razlike. Pristop k snovi je bil pri nekaterih, denimo pri Hanku Döbringerju, pogojno rečeno bolj konceptualen, pristop drugih, na primer Sigmunda Ringecka in Petra von Danziga, pa izrazito tehničen. Nekateri so poudarjali filozofijo bojevanja, temeljne principe Liechtenauerjeve doktrine, drugi so se lotili tehničnih podrobnosti uporabljenih postopkov. Tako prvi kot drugi

completely different way. The techniques described in the German *Fechtbücher* were designed for duellists, especially duellists participating in formal judicial duels. These were, in the majority of the cases already skilled warriors but when they found themselves in a situation where they had to meet an opponent in a judicial duel to the death, they usually hired a martial arts teacher to prepare them for the duel as well as possible. Martial arts manuals, referred to in this article, were mainly written for that purpose. The *Fechtbücher*, hence, were neither manuals for warriors nor manuals for future warriors, but were intended for fencing masters (*Fechtmeistern* or *Schirmmeistern*), who were already familiarised with all the details of martial arts, but used the manuals for training future duellists. Most likely, they used them as support material that enabled them to teach certain procedures to their clients in a relatively systematic way and in the shortest time possible, on which the result of the duel depended upon. Hence, these manuals had to be used reasonably and were helpful only if used by experts for training skilled warriors. The instructions that are provided by these documents are given without any explanation and are, hence, for the majority of people, completely incomprehensible. Above all, they are not detailed enough for a broader circle of users who are not able to interpret them without the assistance of an expert. They were written "mitt verborgen vnd verdeckten worten, darumb das die kunst nitt gemain solt werden" – "in a coded and ambiguous language, so that the skill could not be commonly known".²

There are, indeed, considerable differences among individual martial arts manuals that are presently known to us. While the approach in the manuals written by some authors like Hanko Döbringer was, to a limited extent, of a more conceptual nature, others, for example Sigmund Ringeck and Peter von Danzig, used a more technical approach. While some focused on the philosophy of combat and the basic principles of Liechtenauer's doctrine, others dealt with the technical details of the techniques. The first as well as the second approach are of exceptional value, as both offer a satisfactory insight into and enable an understanding of the German School of Fencing. Furthermore, the manuscripts differ not only in terms of approach, but also in terms of illustrations. The first two currently known

2 Sigmund Ringeck, Mscr. Dresd. C 487, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, fol. 10v. Rokopis je dostopen na internetni strani društva AEMMA: <http://www.aemma.org>. Transkripcijo Martina Wierschina lahko najdemo na strani društva Die Freifechter: <http://www.freifechter.org> (obiskano 19. 11. 2008).

2 Sigmund Ringeck, Mscr. Dresd. C 487, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, fol. 10v. The manual is accessible on the web page of the association AEMMA: <http://www.aemma.org>. The transcription by Martin Wierschin can be found on the web page of the association Die Freifechter: <http://www.freifechter.org> (accessed 19 November 2008).

pristop sta za današnje raziskovalce izjemno dragocena, saj nam le oba skupaj ponujata zadovoljiv vpogled in omogočata razumevanje tega, kar imenujemo nemška borilna šola. Posamezni rokopisi se izrazito razlikujejo ne le po pristopu, temveč tudi po opremljenosti. Prva doslej znana priročnika, kodeks MS 3227a in delo Sigmunda Ringecka, ne vsebujeta nobene ilustracije, temveč zgolj besedilo. Tudi priročnika Martina Hundsfelda o boju z bodalom in boju v oklepu ter Juda Otta o rokoborbi, oba iz prve polovice 15. stoletja, očitno nista vsebovala risb, saj jih ne najdemo niti v delu Petra von Danziga, ki je leta 1452 vključil besedili obeh mojstrov v svojo redakcijo Liechtenauerjevega učenja. Sicer pa je von Danzigov priročnik prvi, ki je izšel neposredno iz Liechtenauerjeve tradicije in je bil vsaj delno ilustriran. Že pred njim, leta 1443, je nastal t. i. kodeks iz Gothe Hansa Talhofferja, ki je bil bogato ilustriran, vendar je besedilni del v njem izrazito pomanjkljiv, kar velja tudi za druge, poznejše Talhofferjeve priročnike. V njih je običajno ob vsaki ilustraciji le nekaj besed. Popolno skrajnost pa predstavlja Codex Vindobonensis iz sredine 15. stoletja, ki sicer ne sodi neposredno v okvir del Liechtenauerjeve tradicije, sestavljen pa je izključno iz risb, brez kakršnega koli besedila.

Nauk Johannesesa Liechtenauerja v kodeksu MS 3227a izpod peresa njegovega učenca, klerika Hanka Döbringerja

Osnovo Liechtenauerjeve mečevalske doktrine predstavljajo štiri preže (*vier leger*), pet udarcev (*fünf hewe*), prizadevanje biti v prednosti (*vor*), t. j. prevzeti in obdržati pobudo, ter občutenje (*fühlen*) pritiska nasprotnikovega meča v vezavi, ki se vzpostavi ob dotiku mečev nasprotnikov.

Preže

Eden od osnovnih principov Liechtenauerjevega učenja je bila skrajna učinkovitost, povezana s preprosto izvedbo različnih postopkov. Glede tega je bil veliki mojster izjemno dosleden, kar se kaže že na začetku, saj je iz velikega nabora prež, ki so jih uporabljali v njegovem obdobju, izbral le štiri, ki so po njegovem mnenju popolnoma zadostovale.

manuals, codex MS 3227a and the manuscript by Sigmund Ringeck do not include any illustrations and consist only of written text. Furthermore, the manuals written by Martin Hundsfeld on combat with daggers and combat in armour, as well as the manual by Ott the Jew, both originating from the 15th century, do not include any drawings. These are not even found in Peter von Danzig's manuscript, an interpretation of Lichtenauers teachings, dating from 1452, which includes texts of both above-mentioned masters. However, von Danzig's Fechtbuch is the first manual that was published in the direct tradition of Liechtenauer's work and was partly illustrated. Before this manuscript, the Gotha Codex by Hans Talhoffer was known. This document, dating from 1443, was lavishly illustrated, yet its textual part is considered as insufficient, which is valid also for other, subsequent Talhoffer's manuals. All illustrations in the manuals are accompanied by a few words only. Another extreme is presented by the Codex Vindobonensis from the mid-15th century, which, although it does not belong in the context of Liechtenauer's tradition, contains drawings without any written texts.

Johannes Liechtenauer's Teachings in the Codex MS 3227a Written by His Student, the Clergyman Hanka Döbringer

*The basis of Liechtenauer's martial arts doctrine are the four fencing postures or the guards (*vier leger*), five strikes (*fünf hewe*), the effort of being in control of the engagement (*vor*), that is to take over and maintain the lead as well as 'feeling' (*fühlen*), that is to sense the pressure of the enemy's sword which occurs when the swords of both opponents make contact.*

Guards

One of the basic principles of Liechtenauer's teachings was extreme effectiveness linked with the performing simplicity of various techniques. In this regard, the great master was exceptionally consistent. His consistency is evident from the very beginning as for the large variety of guards that were used in his lifetime, he selected but four which were, according to his opinion, absolutely adequate.

"Lichtnawer helt nur etzwas von der vier leger dorubme das sy aus den ober und under hengen gehen doraus man schure mag gefechte brengen

Das ist von den vier leger

Vier leger alleyne / do von halt und flewg dy

»Lichtnawer helt nur etzwas von der vier leger dorubme das sy aus den ober und under hengen gehen doraus man schure mag gefechte brengen

Das ist von den vier leger

Vier leger alleyne / do von halt und flewg dy gemeyne / Ochse pflug / alber / vom tage nicht sy dir ümmer...«

»Liechtenauer ohranja le štiri preže, ki izhajajo iz zgornjega in spodnjega visenja in iz katerih je mogoče varno mečevati.«

O štirih prežah

Štirih prež se drži in izogni se običajnim: vol, plug, norec, vrhnje ne smeš pozabiti.³

Ochs – volovska preža:

Stoj z levo nogo spredaj in drži meč na desni strani svoje glave, s konico, usmerjeno v nasprotnikov obraz.

Pflug – plužna preža:

Stoj z levo nogo spredaj in drži meč na desni strani, nad desnim kolonom, s prekrižanima rokama in s konico, usmerjeno v nasprotnikov obraz.

Alber – norčeva preža:

Stoj z desno nogo spredaj in drži meč pred seboj, in sicer z iztegnjenima rokama in konico, usmerjeno v tla.

Vom Tag – vrhnja preža:

Stoj z levo nogo spredaj in drži meč na strani nad svojo desno ramo ali nad glavo z iztegnjenima rokama.

Udarci

Gre za pet osnovnih udarcev, po Liechtenauerju edinih, ki jih je v boju vredno uporabljati. Poznejši avtorji so jih poimenovali »mojstrski udarci« (meisterhawen). Na začetku so bili to, če izvzamemo zornhaw, najverjetneje skrivni udarci; ti so neprijetno presenetili nasprotnika, ki ni bil seznanjen z Liechtenauerjevim učenjem, pozneje pa so s priljubljenostjo borilnih veščin in njegove šole nasploh postali splošno znani.

gemeyne / Ochse pflug / alber / vom tage nicht sy dir ümmer...»

“Liechtenauer holds only these four guards that come from the upper and lower hangings, and from these one can fence safely.”

This is regarding the four guards [Vier Leger]

Four guards only, and leave the common ones alone. The ox [Ochse], plough [Pflug], fool [Alber], from above/the roof [Vom Tage], these should not be unknown to you.”³

Ochs – ‘the ox’:

Stand with the left foot forward and hold the sword to the right side of your head, with the point aiming at the opponent’s face.

Pflug – ‘the plough’:

Stand with the left foot forward and hold the sword to the right side above your right knee, with your hands crossed and the point of the sword aiming at the opponent’s face.

Alber – ‘the fool’s guard’:

Stand with the right foot forward, with the sword held extended out and the point aiming towards the ground.

Vom Tag – ‘from the roof’:

Stand with the left foot forwards, hold the sword extended to the side above the right shoulder or the head.

Strikes

There are five basic strikes which, according to Liechtenauer, are also the only ones that are worth employing during combat. Subsequent authors called these the “master strikes” (meisterhawen). With the exception of Zornhaw, these were hidden attack techniques which surprised the attacker who was not familiar with Liechtenauer’s teachings. Later, with the success of the martial arts practised in Liechtenauer’s schools, they became common knowledge.

“Funf hewe lere / von der rechten hant were dywere / Zornhaw krump twere / hat schiller mit scheidlere...”

3 Germanisches Museum, Nürnberg, Cod. HS. 3227a; David Lindholm, Cod. HS. 3227a or Hango Döbringer Fechtbuch from 1389, http://www.thearma.org/Manuals/Dobringer_A5_sidebyside.pdf (obiskano 19. 11. 2008).

3 Germanisches Museum, Nürnberg, Cod. HS. 3227a; David Lindholm, Cod. HS. 3227a or Hango Döbringer Fechtbuch from 1389, http://www.thearma.org/Manuals/Dobringer_A5_sidebyside.pdf (accessed 19 November 2008).

»*Funf hewe lere / von der rechten hant were dywere / krump twere / hat schiller mit scheidlere...*«

»Pet udarcev z desne strani se nauči proti obrambi: besnega, zakrivljenega, prečnega, drsečega s temenskim.«⁴

Czornhaw – besni ali besneči udarec

Zgornji udarec, ki izhaja iz vrhnje preže nad desno ramo, običajno usmerjen proti nasprotnikovi zgornji levi strani.

Krumphaw – zakrivljeni udarec

Zgornji udarec, ki izhaja iz zgornje preže nad ramo, usmerjen od strani na rezilo nasprotnikovega meča ali na njegove roke. Sekamo s prekrižanimi rokami, lahko s sprednjim ali z zadnjim robom rezila.

Twerchhaw – prečni udarec

Zgornji udarec, ki izhaja iz vrhnje ali volovske preže. Sekamo s prekrižanimi rokami in z zadnjim robom rezila vodoravno na levo stran nasprotnikove glave, pri tem pa ves čas držimo roke nad svojo glavo in pred njo.

Schilhaw – drseči udarec

Zgornji udarec, ki izhaja iz vrhnje preže, usmerjen frontalno v nasprotnikovo glavo ali prsi. Sekamo z vrha in z zadnjim robom rezila na notranjo plat nasprotnikovega meča. Nasprotnikov meč vedno vežemo z močnim delom rezila in ga tako preusmerimo, istočasno pa sekamo, režemo ali bodemo v odkrito tarčo ob njegovem rezilu.

Scheitelhaw – temenski udarec

Zgornji udarec s konico rezila, ki izhaja iz vrhnje preže, usmerjen v nasprotnikovo glavo ali prsi. Sekamo z rokami, dvignjenimi nad svojo glavo in pred njo.

Prednost in občutenje pritiska

»...*vor noch swach stark Indes an den selben wörtern leit alle kunst meister lichtnawers Und sint dy gruntfeste und der kern alles fechtens czu fusse ader czu rosse blos ader in harnüsche.*«

»Prej, potem, šibak, močan, v tem – te bese-de vodijo vso večino mojstra Liechtenauerja

“Five strikes learn to do them from the right against the defence. Wrathful strike [Czornhaw], crooked [Krumphaw], cross [Twere], squinting [Schiler], with the scalp strike [Scheidlere].”⁴

Czornhaw – ‘wrathful strike’

A strike dealt from ‘the roof guard’ above the right shoulder, usually directed towards the opponents upper left side.

Krumphaw – ‘crooked strike’

A strike dealt from above the right shoulder, directed from the side towards the blade of the opponent’s sword or his hands. The strikes are made with crossed hands, with the front or back side of the blade’s edge.

Twerchhaw – ‘horizontal strike’

A strike from above, dealt from ‘the roof guard’ or the ‘ox guard’. The strikes are performed with crossed hands and the back edge of the blade horizontally to the left side of the enemy’s head while you keep your hand above and in front of your head.

Schilhaw – ‘squinting strike’

A strike dealt from the ‘roof guard’ and directed frontally towards the opponent’s head or chest. The strike is made from above and with the back-side edge of the blade towards the inner side of the opponent’s sword. The opponent’s sword is always in a bind with the stronger part of the blade and can, thus, be redirected. Simultaneously, you can strike cut, slice or thrust into the uncovered target along his blade.

Scheitelhaw –scalp strike

An upper strike with the point of the blade dealt from the ‘roof guard’, directed towards the opponent’s head or chest. Strikes are made with the hands raised above and in front of one’s head.

Advantage and feeling of pressure

“...*vor noch swach stark Indes an den selben wörtern leit alle kunst meister lichtnawers Und sint dy gruntfeste und der kern alles fechtens czu fusse ader czu rosse blos ader in harnüsche.*”

“Before [Vor], After [Nach], Weak [Weich], Strong [Hart], in that instant/just as [Indes]. On these words hinge the whole art of Liechtenauer, and they are the foundation and corner stone of all fencing

4 MS 3227a, fol. 23r.

4 MS 3227a, fol. 23r.

in so temelj in jedro bojevanja peš ali na konju, brez oklepa ali z njim.«⁵

»Prej« (*vor*), »potem« (*nach*) in »v tem« (*in-des*) so po Liechtenauerju najpomembnejše stvari, na katere je treba biti pozoren med bojem. »Prej« pomeni biti v prednosti, imeti pobudo, torej napadati, biti tisti, ki narekuje potek boja, nasprotnik pa se mora braniti, kar pomeni, da je v zaostanku, »potem«. Če se zgodi, da te nasprotnik prehití in se sam znajdeš v zaostanku, moraš »v tem« (*in-des*) ugotoviti, kako naprej, da boš znova prevzel pobudo in prišel v prednost. »V tem« pomeni, da se moraš v hipu, ko se meča znajdeta v vezavi, odločiti, katero potezo boš izbral. Na podlagi tega, ali močni (*stark*) del tvojega meča veže šibki (*swach*) del njegovega ali obratno in pa na podlagi čutenja (*fühlen*), ali je nasprotnikov pritisk na tvoj meč močan (*stark*) ali šibak (*swach*), moraš presoditi, kateri postopek boš uporabil, da boš lahko znova napadel in prešel v »prednost«, kjer imaš več možnosti za uspeh. Z močnim delom svojega meča je mogoče – v vezavi s šibkim delom nasprotnikovega – nadzorovati njegov meč. S šibkim delom to ni mogoče, lahko pa se uporabi druge, prav tako učinkovite postopke. Prav tako je od jakosti pritiska nasprotnikovega meča na tvojega odvisno, katere postopke je v določenem položaju najbolje uporabiti. Zato pa, da ostaneš v prednosti in obdržiš pobudo v boju, je zelo pomembno tudi, da nadaljuješ napade, takoj ko se nasprotnik obrani enega od njih. To pomeni, da ne smeš vztrajati pri istem napadu, temveč moraš začeti novega na drugi strani. In tudi o tem se moraš odločiti »v tem«, hipno, v trenutku, ko ugotoviš, da se je tvoj napad izjalovil.

Kako velik pomen so Liechtenauer in njegovi učenci pripisovali prevzemu in ohranjanju pobude ter čutenju pritiska rezil, lahko sklepamo že iz obsežnosti obravnavanja te teme v kodeksu MS 3227a. Od sedeminštiridesetih strani, ki obravnavajo bojevanje z dolgim mečem po Liechtenauerju, jih je namreč Döbringer tej temi namenil več kot šest.

Postopki

V nadaljevanju kodeksa MS 3227a najdemo opisane osnovne postopke, ki jih je po Liechtenauerju treba uporabljati v boju:

on foot or on horseback, in armour [Harnusche] or without [Blos].»⁵

The terms 'before' (vor), 'after' (nach) and 'in that instant' (in-des) are, according to Liechtenauer, the core elements that one has to be paying attention to during combat. 'Before' means to be in control of the engagement, to have the initiative, to attack, and to be the one to dictate the course of the combat, while the opponent has to defend himself and to respond to actions, that is in the 'after'. In the case that the opponent forruns you and you have to respond, you have to find out 'in that instant' (in-des) how to regain the lead and to gain advantage over the opponent. At the instant of contact with the opponent's blade, you have to decide which move you are going to make next. Based on whether the strong (stark) part of your sword is in the bind with the weak (swach) part of your opponent's sword, or the opposite, and based on the feeling (fühlen), according to which you immediately sense that the opponent's pressure on your sword is strong (stark) or weak (swach), you have to estimate which technique you are going to apply in order to be able to attack again and regain advantage, giving you opportunity to achieve success. With the strong part of your sword it is possible – in the bind with a weak part of the opponent's sword – to control his sword. This is not possible with a weak part. Yet, other equally efficient techniques can be employed. Which techniques are best to be used in a certain posture depends on the strength of the pressure of your opponent's sword on your sword. Therefore, in order to remain in control of the engagement and maintain the initiative, it is very important to continue the attacks as soon as your opponent defends one of them. This means that you should not insist on using the same attack, but you have to start a new one from a different direction. Even in this case, you have to take a decision "in that instant", immediately in the moment when you realise that your attack ended in failure.

The significance that Liechtenauer and his students attributed to taking over and keeping the lead as well as feeling the pressure of the blades is evident from the scope of dealing with this topic in codex MS 3227a. Of forty seven pages that discuss longsword combat according to Liechtenauer, more than six pages have been dedicated to this topic by Döbringer.

⁵ MS 3227a, fol. 20r.

⁵ MS 3227a, fol. 20r.

Vorsetzzen – odvrčanje
Nochreisen – sledenje
Überlawfen – prehitevanje
Abesetzzen – protinapad s preusmerjanjem
Durchwechseln – zamenjava strani
Czucken – poteg nazaj
Durchlawfen – prodor
Abeschneiden – rezanje po rokah
Hende drücken – odrivanje rok (z dvojnimi rezom)
Hengen – visenje (bojevanje z mečem v večem položaju)
Winden – zavijanje na meču ali zavijanje v vezavi.

Konec dela o dolgih mečih v kodeksu MS 3227a

Liechtenauerjevemu nauku izpod peresa Döbringerja sledi še enajst strani, katerih avtorji so sam Hanko Döbringer, Andreas Jud, Jost von der Neissen in Niklas Preussen. Zanimivo je, da so na teh straneh tudi navodila, kako ravnati, če te na poti napade več nasprotnikov, česar v drugih nemških priročnikih skorajda ni, saj so bili, kot sem že omenil, namenjeni predvsem učenju postopkov v formalnih dvobojih. V nadaljevanju pa je opisanih še osem postopkov, ki po Döbringerjevih besedah sodijo k Liechtenauerjevemu učenju, vendar jih ni mogoče zaslediti nikjer drugje:

»Hie merke und wisse / das ich vil deser meistergefachte underwegen lasse / dorumbe daz man sie gar / und auch gerecht / yn lichtnawers kunst und fechten / vor hat / noch worhaftiger kunst / Doch durch übunge und schulfechtens wille / wil ich etzliche stocke und gesetze ihres gefechtens / mit schlechter und korczzer reden schreiben...«

»Tu vedi, da izpuščam veliko mojstrskih postopkov, ker jih lahko najdeš podrobno in pravilno opisane v Liechtenauerjevi umetnosti in postopkih, ki so prava večšina. Vendar bom za vadbo in borilne šole na hitro in na kratko zapisal nekatere postopke in pravila njegovega bojevanja.«⁶

V teh osmih primerih so omenjene preže (npr. *Schrankhute* – zaporna preža), ki jih Liechtenauer ne uporablja, druge so imenovane drugače. Tako *Alber* – norčevo prežo tu

Techniques

The codex MS 3227 continues with a description of basic techniques which are, according to Liechtenauer, necessary to be used in combat:

Vorsetzzen – displacing
Nochreisen – travelling after or attacking after
Überlawfen – overrunning
Abesetzzen – deflecting while counter attacking
Durchwechseln – changing through
Czucken – twitching
Durchlawfen – running through
Abschneiden – slicing off (hands)
Hende drücken – pressing hands
Hengen – hanging (fighting in a hanging position)
Winden – winding.

Conclusion on the section on longwords in codex MS 3227a

Liechtenauer's teachings, recorded by Hanko Döbringer, are followed by eleven pages written by Döbringer himself, Andreas Jud, Jost von der Neissen and Niklas Preussen. It is an interesting fact that these pages include also instructions on how to react if, on your way, you are attacked by several opponents, which cannot be found in other manuals. These were, as had been already mentioned, primarily intended for learning techniques in formal duels. The manuscript continues with a description of eight techniques, which - according to Döbringer - are part of Liechtenauer's teachings, yet cannot be traced elsewhere:

»Hie merke und wisse / das ich vil deser meistergefachte underwegen lasse / dorumbe daz man sie gar / und auch gerecht / yn lichtnawers kunst und fechten / vor hat / noch worhaftiger kunst / Doch durch übunge und schulfechtens wille / wil ich etzliche stocke und gesetze ihres gefechtens / mit schlechter und korczzer reden schreiben...»

»Here take note that I have decided to leave out several of the master techniques since they are well described [earlier] in the art of Liechtenauer, and that is a true art. But for practice and school fencing I want to describe a few easy techniques by some short and simple rules.«⁷⁶

In these eight examples, guards are mentioned (for example *Schrankhute* – 'barrier guard'), which were not used by Liechtenauer, whereas others are named differently. Thus, *Alber* – the 'fool's guard' is referred to as *Eyserynen pforten* – iron gates, similar

⁶ MS 3227a, fol. 44r.

⁷⁶ MS 3227a, fol. 44r.

imenujejo *Eyserynen pforten* – železna vrata, tako kot v Italiji (*porta di ferro mezzana*, mogoče pa je tudi, da gre za italijansko *tutta porta di ferro*, pri kateri je konica meča usmerjena proti tloravnju na desni strani; v tem primeru bi bil namen te preže podoben namenu zaporne preže). Poleg tega so opisani postopki z imeni, kot so *Pfobenczagen*, *Krauthacken*, *Noterczunge* itn., ki jih v drugih priročnikih ni. Vendar je način razmišljanja, ki je razviden iz teh opisov, popolnoma v skladu z Liechtenauerjevo doktrino, uporabljeni pa so tudi določeni udarci, ki sodijo med Liechtenauerjevih pet. Zato lahko sklepamo, da so mojstrov nauk zelo zgodaj začeli spreminjati oziroma razvijati že njegovi neposredni učenci. Ta razvoj se je nadaljeval še prihodnjih dvesto let, vendar se osnovni principi, ki jih je začrtal Liechtenauer, niso nikoli tako zelo spremenili, da bi ne bili več prepoznavni.

Sigmund Ringeck in njegovi komentarji Liechtenauerjevih verzov

Fechtbuch Sigmunda Ringecka je sestavljen iz 128 rokopisnih listov, vendar je 22 strani praznih. Na začetku svojih komentarjev Ringeck sebe imenuje *schirmeistra* oziroma borilnega učitelja na dvoru kneza Albrehta, renskega palatina in bavarskega vojvode. Najverjetneje gre za Albrehta III. (1401–60), ki je bil od leta 1438 bavarski vojvoda. *Fechtbuch* Petra von Danziga iz leta 1452 temelji na Ringeckovem besedilu,⁷ iz česar lahko sklepamo, da ga je Ringeck napisal na začetku štiridesetih let 15. stoletja. Kdaj konkretno je nastala kopija, ki jo hranijo v Dresdnu, ni znano, vendar gre prav gotovo za prepis. Nekateri raziskovalci celo menijo, da je delo dveh piscev, vendar razlike v rokopisu nisem zasledil. Da gre za prepis, je razvidno iz dejstva, da so določeni deli besedila pomešani med seboj, zelo verjetno pa je vanj vstavljeno tudi besedilo drugega avtorja (ali pa vsaj iz nekega

to the Italian expression (*porta di ferro mezzana* or it might also be the Italian expression *tutta porta di ferro*, where the point of the sword is aiming towards the ground at the right side.

The purpose of this guard is similar to the purpose of the barrier guard.) Additionally, there are descriptions of techniques, such as *Pfobenczagen*, *Krauthacken*, *Noterczunge* etc. that do not occur in other manuals. Yet, these considerations, which are evident from these descriptions, are in absolute accordance with Liechtenauer's doctrine. There are also certain attack techniques that are used and that belong to Liechtenauer's five types of strikes. It can, therefore, be concluded, that the Master's teachings were early on started to be modified or expanded by his students. This development was continued in the following two hundred years, yet the basic principles which were laid down by Liechtenauer never changed that much so not to be recognised.

Master Sigmund Ringeck's Commentaries on Liechtenauer's Verses

Sigmund Ringeck's *Fechtbuch* consists of 128 folia with 22 of them empty. Ringeck is mentioned as *schirmaister* (fencing master) at the court of Albrecht, the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the Duke of Bavaria, most probably corresponding to Albert III (1401 – 1460), who carried the title Duke of Bavaria from 1438. Peter von Danzig's *Fechtbuch* of 1452 draws on Ringeck's text⁷, so that the most likely date of composition of Ringeck's *Fechtbuch* is sometime at the beginning of the 15th century.

The exact time of when the copy of the manual preserved in Dresden was made is not known, yet it is certain that it is a copy. Some researches advocate the opinion that the manuscript was the product of two writers. However, I could not perceive any differences in the handwriting. The fact that it is a copy is evident from the fact that certain parts of the text are mixed up, and it is very likely that a text written by another author was inserted into it (or that it is a text from another of Ringeck's treatises which has not been preserved). Ringeck's manual is the first currently

⁷ Peter von Danzig, Cod. 44 A 8 (Cod. 1449) 1452, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Roma. Transkripcija Grzegorza Zabinskega in Stefana Diekeja je dostopna na spletni strani <http://www.freifechter.org> (obiskano 19. 11. 2008).

⁷ Peter von Danzig, Cod. 44 A 8 (Cod. 1449) 1452, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Roma.

drugega neohranjenega Ringeckovega dela). Ringeckov rokopis je prvi do danes znani primerik borilnega priročnika ki izhaja neposredno iz učenja Johannesesa Liechtenauerja, po nürnberškem rokopisu iz leta 1389, torej po dobrih petdesetih letih.

Ohranjena je tudi ilustrirana kopija Ringeckovega priročnika iz leta 1539.⁸ To knjigo je najverjetneje naročil Paul Hector Mair, čigar rokopis je na prvi strani knjige. Kot eden od mojstrov, ki so sledili Liechtenauerjevemu učenju in kot pripadnik »Liechtenauerjeve družbe« je Sigmund Ringeck imenovan v *Fechtbuchu* Paula Kala (druga polovica 15. st., vsekakor pa pred letom 1479), in sicer kot Sigmund Amring.

Ringeckovo delo se že v pristopu zelo razlikuje od dela njegovega predhodnika. Döbringerjev pristop je, kot rečeno, bolj konceptualen, Ringeck pa je v svojih komentarjih izrazilo praktičen. Svoje delo začne z Liechtenauerjevimi verzi, ki se skoraj ne razlikujejo od tistih pri Döbringerju, vendar nadaljuje s podrobnimi razlagami posameznih verzov in nam (v nasprotju z Döbringerjem) vsakokrat ponudi vrsto praktičnih postopkov, ki osvetljujejo zakrito vsebino mojstrovih verzov.

Knjiga je razdeljena na pet sklopov:

1. Bojevanje z dolgim mečem brez oklepa (fol. 3r–54r, vendar skoraj vse besedilo o dolgi preži in začetek poglavja o koncu učenja najdemo na straneh 123r–125 v, poglavju o boju z mečem in ščitkom pa sledi še povzitek dolgega meča na straneh 55v–59v).
2. Boj z mečem in ščitkom (54r–55v)
3. Rokoborba (66r–86v)
4. Bojevanje v oklepu (89r–108r), ki se po nenadni vmesni prekinitvi nadaljuje po poglavju o bojevanju na konju. Po peti vrstici na str. 101r, po »*die ander hutt mitt dem kurtzen schwert zu kampff*« (drugi preži v boju s preprijetim mečem) in »*ain bruch wider das durchsetzen*« (obrambi pred bodenjem) se izvirno besedilo nadaljuje z »*Item du vindest och hernach geschriben wie du vs der drytten hut die schlag die man schlächt mitt dem knopff versetzen sollt*« (tu najdeš zapisano tudi, kako iz tretje preže z glavičem odvrneš nasprotnikov napad) in z »*die vierd hutt mitt dem kurtzen schwert zu kampff*« (četrt

known example of a martial arts manual after the *Nürnberger Handschrift* of 1389 which is directly based on Liechtenauer's teachings, thus, written fifty years later.

An illustrated copy of Ringeck's manuscript dating around 1539 is also preserved.⁸ This copy might have been commissioned by Paul Hector Mair, whose handwriting appears on the first page. As a member of the Society of Liechtenauer, Sigmund is also mentioned in the manual of Paul Kal (second half of the 15th century, most likely before 1479), namely as Sigmund Amring.

Ringeck's manual differs very much, even in its approach, from the manual written by his predecessor. As it has already been mentioned, Döbringer's approach is of a more conceptual nature, whereas Ringeck was very practical in his commentaries. He begins with Liechtenauer's verses which resemble very much those that can be found in Döbringer's work, continues then with detailed explanations of individual verses and (as distinguished to Döbringer) offers always a series of practical procedures, which explain the hidden meaning of the Master's verses.

The book is divided into five sections:

1. Fighting with a longsword without armour (fol. 3r–54r, however, almost the entire text on the "long guard" and the beginning of the chapter concerning the conclusion of the training are found on pages 123r–125v, the chapter on fighting with a sword and buckler is followed by a summary on the long sword, pp. 55v–59v).
2. Fighting with a sword and buckler (54r–55v).
3. Wrestling (66r–86v).
4. After a short pause, armoured fighting (89r–108r) is resumed after the section on fighting on horseback. After the first line on p. 101r, "*die ander hutt mitt dem kurtzen schwert zu kampff*" (the other strikes with the half-sword) and "*ain bruch wider das durchsetzen*" (defence against stabbing), the original text continues with "*Item du vindest och hernach geschriben wie du vs der drytten hut die schlag die man schlächt mitt dem knopff versetzen sollt*" (and here you find how to displace the opponent's attack from the third guard) and with "*die vierd hutt mitt dem kurtzen schwert zu kampff*" (the fourth guard in the fighting with the half-sword). Hence, the continuation of the text on fighting from the second guard with a half-sword and the text on the third guard when fighting with a half-sword is omitted. This text can

⁸ Sigmund Schninig, Cod. I.6.20.5, Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg.

⁸ Sigmund Schninig, Cod. I.6.20.5, Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg.

prežo v boju s preprijetim mečem). Izpuščeno je torej nadaljevanje besedila o boju iz druge preže s preprijetim mečem in besedilo o tretji preži v boju s preprijetim mečem, ki ga v rokopisu najdemo na straneh 122r–123r po boju z mečem na konju.

5. Bojevanje v oklepu na konju (109r–121v)

Bojevanje z dolgim mečem

Ringeck začne svoje delo s citiranjem Liechtenauerjevih *Merkversen*, potem pa komentira posamezne verze. V uvodu se dosledno drži Liechtenauerjevega nauka, kot ga poznamo že iz Döbringerjevega dela, vendar pa kljub temu, da sicer zagovarja uporabo le štirih Liechtenauerjevih prež, že takoj na začetku uvede novo – *Zornhut* – prežo izza hrbta, iz katere je treba sekati s *Zornhauom*. V obdobju, ko so napisali MS 3227a, so namreč s *Zornhauom* sekali iz vrhnje preže. Preža izza hrbta se od vrhnje razlikuje po tem, da meča ne držimo več dvignjenega nad desno ramo, temveč pustimo, da njegovo rezilo visi prek nje za našim hrbtom s konico navzdol. S tem po eni strani nasprotniku dajemo vtis, da smo odkriti, in ga s tem vabimo, da napade, po drugi pa je udarec izza hrbta ter s tem naš odgovor na napad veliko močnejši kot udarec iz vrhnje preže. V zaključnem delu sklopa o bojevanju z dolgim mečem Ringeck priporoča še dve drugi preži, ki jih Liechtenauer ni upošteval, in sicer stransko prežo (*Nebenhut*) in zaporno prežo (*Schrankhut*), ki jo poznamo že iz MS 3227a.

Seveda pa je način uporabe teh »neliechtenauerških« elementov, kot ga priporoča Ringeck, popolnoma v skladu z mojstrovno doktrino:

»Wie wol sy in der zedel nict benampt sin so kommen doch die stuck vsß der zedel die man daruß vichtet.«

»Kakor koli že (kar sledi – op. prev.) ni omenjeno v učenju, vsi postopki, ki jih uporabljamo v mečevanju, izhajajo iz njega.«⁹

In že smo pri naslednji Ringeckovi nedoslednosti, saj v isti sapi pravi, da moramo stransko prežo uporabljati na levi strani, kar je v popolnem nasprotju z Liechtenauerjevim naukom, ki izrecno odsvetuje napade z leve strani, če seveda nismo levičarji. Nekateri preučevalci srednjeveškega mečevanja menijo, da Ringeck

be found in the manuscript on pages 122r–123r, after fighting with a sword on horseback.

5. Mounted fighting in armour (109r–121v)

Fighting with a longsword

Ringeck's manuscript opens with the quotation from Liechtenauer's *Merkversen* (verses), and continues with an interpretation of its verses. In this introduction, Ringeck strictly follows Liechtenauer's teachings, as we know them from Döbringer's treatises. Yet, despite that he advocates the use of only four Liechtenauer's guards, he introduces, at the very beginning, a new guard – the *Zornhut* – the guard 'from behind the back', from which a strike with the *Zornhau* has to be made. At the times, when MS 3227a was written, the *Zornhau* was usually generated from the 'roof guard'. The guard 'from behind the back' differs in as much from the 'roof guard' that the sword is not held above the right shoulder, but that its blade is held hanging from the shoulder, behind one's back with the point directed downwards. Thus, the opponent may think that one is uncovered and, hence, inviting him to attack. On the other hand, it is a strike from behind and, thus, one's response to the attack is much stronger than the strike from the roof guard. In conclusion to the part on fighting with the longsword, Ringeck suggests two different guards, which Liechtenauer did not consider. These two guards are the 'close guard' (*Nebenhut*) and the 'barrier guard' (*Schrankhut*), which has already been mentioned in the MS 3227a.

As suggested by Ringeck, the method of these elements, which were not part of Liechtenauer's teachings, is absolutely in accordance with the Master's doctrine:

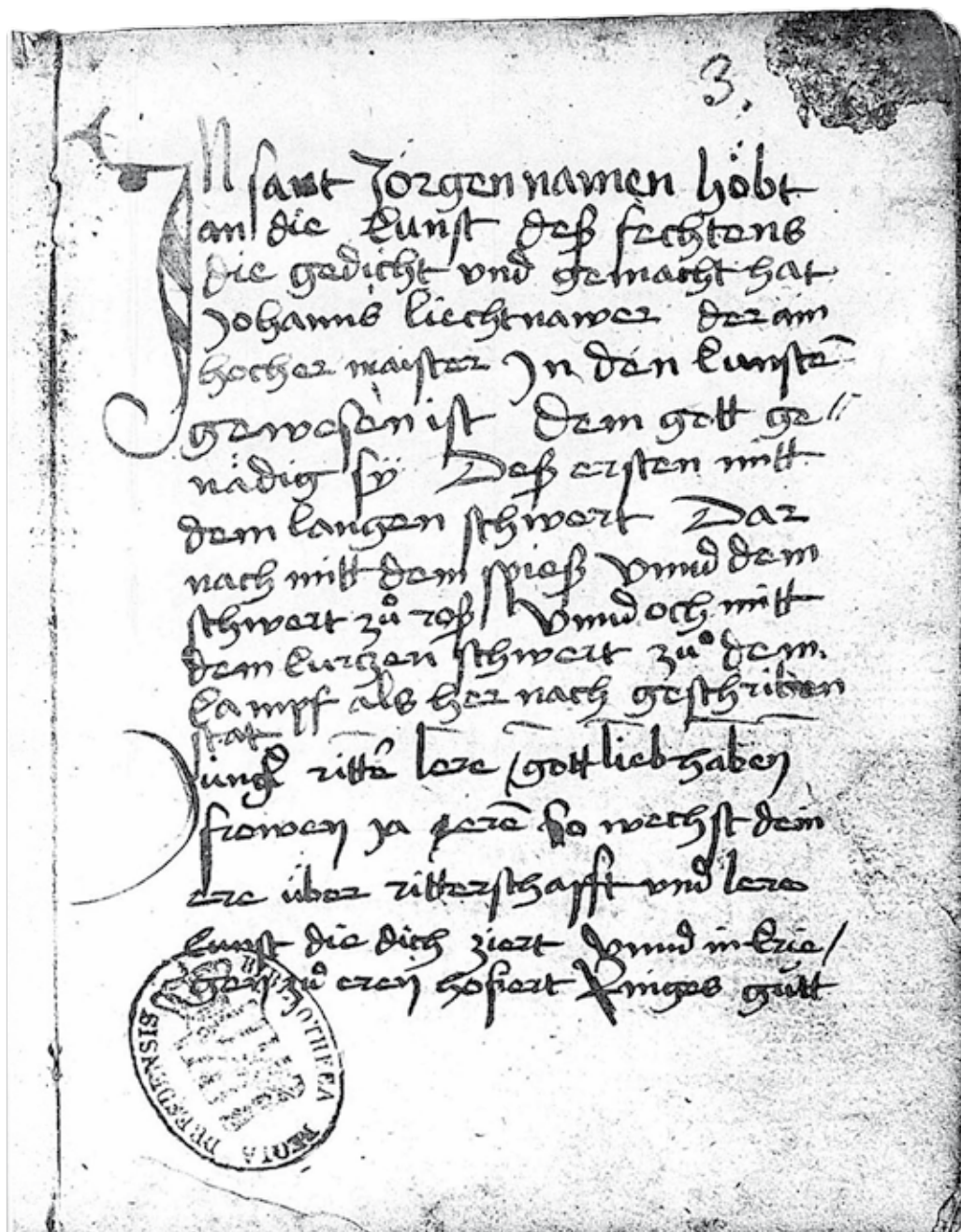
»Wie wol sy in der zedel nict benampt sin so kommen doch die stuck vsß der zedel die man daruß vichtet.«

»Although it is not mentioned in the teachings, all techniques that are used originate from it.«⁹

The second inconsistency that can be found in Ringeck's transcription is that he states that the close guard has to be used at the left side, which is in absolute contrast to Liechtenauer's teachings that explicitly dissuades from employing attacks from the left side, unless one is left-handed. Some researchers of medieval fencing techniques are of the opinion that Ringeck recommends the attack from the left guard so as to mislead the opponent. They came to this idea based on his words: "from the side guard – that is

9 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 49r.

9 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 49r.



Začetek besedila v priročniku Sigmunda Ringecka (1440–45)

The beginning of Sigmund Ringeck's manual (1440–45)

priporoča napad iz leve stranske preže zato, da bi zavedel nasprotnika. Na to misel so jih napeljale njegove besede: »iz stranske preže – to je iz udarca – v boj« in »dobro mečevanje izhaja iz udarca«. ¹⁰ Tako naj bi po njihovem mnenju zavestno zavedli nasprotnika, ki stoji v eni od desnih prež, s tem, da bi še dokaj daleč od njega sekali npr. z udarcem izza hrbta s svoje desne strani (in ga seveda zgrešili) ter končali udarec v levi stranski preži. Ko bi nasprotnik napadel s svoje desne, bi odgovorili na njegov napad z udarcem iz leve stranske preže. Sam se s to razlago ne strinjam, čeprav je to sicer

from the strike – into the fighting”, and “good fencing results from the strike”. ¹⁰ According to their opinion, this would deliberately mislead the opponent who is standing in one of the right guards, by hitting the opponent from a relatively great distance with a strike from behind to one’s right side (and deliberately missing) and concluding the strike in the left side guard. When the opponent would attack from his right side, we would then respond to his attack with a strike from the left side guard. Personally, I do not agree with this, although it is possible to carry this out. This technique is extremely risky, and can be carried out only if the opponent doesn’t attack

10 Prav tam.

10 Ibidem.

mogoče izvesti. Postopek je namreč izjemno tvegan, saj je izvedljiv le, če nasprotnik ne napade takoj, ko naš meč preleti pred njim na drugo stran. Če napade takoj zatem, nas bo zadel, še preden bomo lahko odgovorili nanj. Zato menim, da je treba zgornje Ringeckove besede razumeti v luči siceršnjega Liechtenauerjevega učenja. Po Liechtenauerju ne smemo nikoli samo ustaviti nasprotnikovega napada. Edina dobra obramba je namreč tista, ki je hkrati tudi že protinapad ali pa nam vsaj zagotavlja možnost takojšnjega protinapada, da torej iz *nach* preidemo v *vor*, to pa je mogoče le z dinamično obrambo, torej z udarcem. O nepravilni obrambi, t. j. o odvrčanju nasprotnikovega napada, ki ne ponuja možnosti protinapada, pa tole:

»Das ist das du nicht versetzen solt als die gemeinen vechter thun / wann sie vorsetzn so haltenn sie irn ort in die hohe oder auf ein / seitn unnd das ist zuversten das sie in der versatzung mit dem / ort nit wissen zusuchn darumb werden sie oft geschlagenn oder / wen du versetzn wild, so versetz mit deinem hau oder mit deinem / stich und such inndes mit dem ort die nechst plos so mag dich kein / meyster on sein schadn geschlagenn...«

»To pomeni, da ne smeš odvrčati, kot to počnejo običajni (slabi – op. prev.) mečevalci. Ko odvrnejo, držijo konico visoko ali pa na eni strani. In iz tega lahko sklepamo, da pri odvrčanju ne vedo, kako s konico iskati (najbližjo tarčo – op. prev.), zato jih pogosto zadenejo. Ko hočeš odvrčati, torej odvrni z udarcem ali vbodom in »v tem« poišči najbližjo tarčo, tako da ti noben mojster ne bo mogel z udarcem prizadejati škode.«¹¹

V zvezi s tem je zanimivo, da je kljub temu, da Liechtenauer in seveda tudi Ringeck ves čas poudarjata pomen prevzemanja in ohranjanja pobude, večina postopkov pri dolgem meču v Ringeckovem priročniku defenzivnih. V sklopu, posvečenem dolgemu meču, je opisanih 105 različnih postopkov. Od teh jih je več kot polovica izrazito defenzivnih, pri vsaj polovici preostalih pa lahko iz opisa postopkov sklepamo, da je nasprotnik napadel prvi, da je torej pobuda na njegovi strani.

immediately after our sword is swung in front of him to the other side. If he does not attack immediately, he will strike us even before we could take action. I am, therefore, convinced that Ringeck's above-mentioned words have to be understood in light of Liechtenauer's teachings. According to Liechtenauer, we should never stop attacking the opponent. The best defence is namely that one which is at the same time a counter-attack or offers us the possibility of an immediate counter-attack. That signifies that we proceed from the nach into the vor, which is only possible with a dynamic defence, a strike. The following quote refers to the incorrect defence, the repulsion of the opponent's attack, which does not offer the possibility of a counter-attack:

»Das ist das du nicht versetzen solt als die gemeinen vechter thun / wann sie vorsetzn so haltenn sie irn ort in die hohe oder auf ein / seitn unnd das ist zuversten das sie in der versatzung mit dem / ort nit wissen zusuchn darumb werden sie oft geschlagenn oder / wen du versetzn wild, so versetz mit deinem hau oder mit deinem / stich und such inndes mit dem ort die nechst plos so mag dich kein / meyster on sein schadn geschlagenn...«

»You should not displace as the common fencer does. When they displace then they hold their point high or to one side, so understand that they do not know how to use the point in the displacement to seek onward and are often hit. Thus when you would displace, then displace with your strike or with your stab and immediately search for the next opening with the point, thus you will not be overtaken and struck.«¹¹

In connection with this, it is interesting that most of the longsword techniques in Ringeck's manual are defensive, although Liechtenauer and also Ringeck continue to emphasise the meaning of taking and preserving the initiative. The part on longswords describes 105 different techniques. Half of them are explicitly defensive and for the other half we can conclude, from the description, that the opponent has attacked first so that they lead.

How can a system that emphasises the take-over of initiative include only a few offensive techniques? In fact, the inconsistencies in this manual are apparent. Indeed, Liechtenauer and Ringeck had said everything that was to be said about tactics ensuring the takeover of the initiative and control of the combat:

11 Borilni priročnik *Goliath* (1510–1520), Biblioteka Jagiellonski, Krakow, Ms. Germ. Quart. 2020.

11 Fencing manual *Goliath* (1510–1520), Biblioteka Jagiellonski, Krakow, Ms. Germ. Quart. 2020.

Kako to, da je v sistemu, ki poudarja pomen prevzemanja pobude, tako malo ofenzivnih postopkov? Gre le za navidezno nedoslednost. V resnici sta Liechtenauer in Ringeck o taktiki, ki zagotavlja prevzem pobude in nadzora nad bojem, povedala vse, kar se je dalo:

»*Wer nach gät hawen der darff sich kunst wenig frawen...*«

»Tistemu, ki na udarce odgovarja, večšina le malo veselja podarja.«¹²

»*Vier blossen wisse reme so schlechtstu gewysse an alle far on zwifel wie er gebar wilt du dich rechen die vier blossen künstlichen brechen oben duplier unden recht mutier ich sage dir für war sich schützt kain man an far haust du recht vernommen zu schläge mag er clain kummen...*«

»Štiri tarče spoznaj, nanje boš tolkel seveda, na vse pojdi, ne glej na to, kar počne. Če se hočeš maščevati, razbiti obrambo štirih tarč: podvôji udarec zgoraj, tarčo zamenjaj s spodnjo; resnično ti povem: nihče se ne more dolgo braniti in če si to pravilno dojel, bo redko prišel do udarca.«¹³

»*...veller zwyfach trifft man den schnit mit mach zwifach fürbass...*«

»Prevaraj dvakrat, zadeni moža, potlej pa reži še dvakrat ...«¹⁴

»*Vier sind versetzten die die leger ser letzten ... setz an vier enden belyb daruff ler wilt du enden...*«

Odvračanja, ki preže zelo slabijo, so štiri ... napadi štiri konce, vztrajaj, če se želiš naučiti, kako končati.«¹⁵

»*... ste frölich besich sein sach schlag nider das er erssnab wer sich vor dir zücht ab ich sage dir für war sich schützt kain man on far hastu es vernommen zu schlachen mag es clain kummen...*«

»Stoj sproščeno, glej, kaj počne, udari, da se odzove. Ko bo pred tabo potegnil proč, povem ti zares: nihče se ne more dolgo braniti, če si to dojel, bo redko prišel do udarca.«¹⁶

»*Wer nach gät hawen der darff sich kunst wenig frawen...*»

»*He who responds to strikes shall not find much happiness in this skill.*»¹²

»*Vier blossen wisse reme so schlechtstu gewysse an alle far on zwifel wie er gebar wilt du dich rechen die vier blossen künstlichen brechen oben duplier unden recht mutier ich sage dir für war sich schützt kain man an far haust du recht vernommen zu schläge mag er clain kummen...*»

»*Get to know four openings that you will strike from, do not hesitate, do not be upset by what the opponent does. If you want to break one of the four openings by force, then 'dupliere' at the upper opening, against the Starke (strong) of his sword, and then 'mutiere' to another opening. Against this, he cannot defend himself and he will not be able to either strike or thrust.*»¹³

»*...veller zwyfach trifft man den schnit mit mach zwifach fürbass...W*

»*Deceive twice, hit the opponent, and then laugh twice...*»¹⁴

»*Vier sind versetzten die die leger ser letzten ... setz an vier enden belyb daruff ler wilt du enden...*«

»*There are four displacements that weaken the guards ...attack four ends, insist if you want to learn how to end.*«¹⁵

»*... ste frölich besich sein sach schlag nider das er erssnab wer sich vor dir zücht ab ich sage dir für war sich schützt kain man on far hastu es vernommen zu schlachen mag es clain kummen...*»

»*Stand at ease, observe what he is doing, strike and let him respond. When he will withdraw I tell you: no one will be able to continue to defend. If you have understood this, he will seldom come to an attack.*»¹⁶

In his commentaries on Liechtenauer's verses, Ringeck offers a variety of techniques that an experienced fencer may use to defeat his opponent at the very beginning of their fight. Hence, Liechtenauer and Ringeck recommend to constantly change guards or to follow and to adequately respond to the opponent's guards during the *Zufechten* – that is approaching

12 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 11r.

13 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 5r.

14 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 6r.

15 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 7r–7v.

16 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 9r.

12 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 11r.

13 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 5r.

14 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 6r.

15 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 7r–7v.

16 Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 9r.

V svojih razlagah Liechtenaurjevih verzov Ringeck ponuja številne postopke, s katerimi lahko izkušen mečevalec že na začetku boja premaga nasprotnika. Tako Liechtenauer kot Ringeck med t. i. *Zufechten* – približevanjem nasprotniku – priporočata nenehno menjavanje prež oziroma sledenje in ustrezno odgovarjanje na nasprotnikove preže zato, ker lahko z vsakim od petih glavnih udarcev odločimo boj že, ko nasprotnik še stoji v eni od prež. Prav tako pa lahko mečevalec z zamenjavo preže prepreči nasprotniku, da bi ga napadel z ustreznim udarcem. Vendar se lahko zgodi, da je nasprotnik prav tako izkušen in enako dobro pozna doktrino. V tem primeru utegne tudi dober bojevnik hitro izgubiti pobudo, ko pride do vezave mečev, zato je Ringeck v svojih postopkih poudarjal predvsem to, kako odgovoriti na napad tako, da bomo spet pridobili pobudo, t. j. da bomo *in des* – v hipu, ko se meča prekrížata, iz *nach* – zaostanka prešli v *vor* – prednost. Zato je to, kar je glede na principe Liechtenauerjeve šole na prvi pogled videti kot nedoslednost, v resnici praktičen pristop mojstra, ki je skozi dolga leta bojevanja in poučevanja spoznal vse pasti, v katere se lahko ujame dvobojevalec, in je zelo dobro vedel, kako pomembno je naučiti bojvnika, da se zna rešiti iz še tako nemogočega položaja.

Pri sklopu, ki obravnava boj z dolgim mečem, je zanimiv tudi del, ki se začne na str. 55v spodaj, po delu, ki obravnava boj z mečem in ščitkom. Gre namreč za delni povzetek učenja o uporabi dolgega meča. Pri tem besedilu najprej opazimo to, da je umeščeno po delu, ki obravnava bojevanje z enoročnim mečem in ščitkom, kar je že samo po sebi nelogično. Poleg tega so zapisani le iztrgani deli Liechtenauerjevih verzov, razlaga, čeprav je zgolj delna, pa je tudi popolnoma drugačna od tiste, ki smo je vajeni pri Ringecku. V preostalem besedilu je Ringeck izrazito praktičen, v tem delu pa je njegov pristop do snovi bolj teoretičen oziroma konceptualen. Od kod in kdaj je besedilo prišlo v ta prepis, seveda ni jasno. Možno je, da izvira iz kakega drugega Ringeckovega dela in ga je nekdo pozneje dodal, čeprav ne vemo, zakaj v tako okrnjeni obliki. Je pa to še en dokaz, da ohranjeni dresdenski rokopis nikakor ni prvotni izvirnik, temveč eden od poznejših prepisov.

the opponent - as with each of the main strikes one can decide the fight while the opponent is still standing in one of the guards. Similarly, the fencer can, by changing his guard, prevent the opponent from attacking him with an appropriate strike. Yet, it can occur that the opponent is equally experienced and equally acquainted with the doctrine. In this case, it is possible that a good warrior loses the initiative when the swords are in a bind. Therefore, Ringeck focused in his techniques particularly on how to respond to such an attack in order to regain the initiative – signifying that we will indes (instantly), when the swords are in a bind, from the nach – the ‘after’– and change into the vor – the ‘before’ or the advantage. Therefore, when, at first glance, there seem to be inconsistencies in Liechtenauer’s teachings, it is, in fact, a practical approach of the master who, across many years of practicing and teaching the art of fencing, understood all the traps in which a duellist may be caught. He understood very well what was important to teach to a warrior, so that he would learn how to save his life in the direst of situations.

The section dealing with the longsword includes a very interesting part that starts on page 55v, after the part that describes the fighting with the sword and the buckler. It is a partial summary of how to learn the use of the longsword. The first thing that can be noticed in the text is that it follows the part that deals with fighting with the one-handed sword and the buckler which is actually illogical. Additionally, only extracts of Liechtenauer’s verses are written down, whereas the explanation is, irrespective of that it is only partial, also completely different from the one we are used to from Ringeck. While Ringeck used a very practical approach in the rest of the text, his approach to the topic in this section is more of a conceptual nature. It is not clear where and when this text became part of this copy. It is possible that it originates from another of Ringeck’s treatises and was later added by someone, although it is not evident why in such a curtailed form. Yet, this is another proof that the preserved Dresden manuscript is not the original manual, but a copy written at a later time.

Fighting with a sword and buckler

The second section, fighting with a sword and buckler, is the shortest text in Ringeck’s manual comprising only four pages of the manuscript. The section describes six techniques and if we compare this part with the chapter on fighting with the longsword, we might be surprised by the way of how Ringeck dealt with it. He did not present any guards or individual

Bojevanje z mečem in ščitkom

Drugi sklop, boj z mečem in ščitkom, je najkrajši v Ringeckovem delu, saj obsega le štiri strani rokopisa. Predstavljenih je le šest postopkov in če ta del primerjamo s poglavjem o boju z dolgim mečem, preseneča način, kako je Ringeck opravil z njim. Predstavil ni niti prež niti posameznih udarcev, ničesar ni povedal niti o tehniki bojevanja. Zanimivo je, da v poznejšem priročniku Petra von Danziga iz leta 1452 najdemo iste postopke, takrat izpod peresa Andreja Lignitzerja, v skoraj enaki in prav tako okrnjeni obliki. V tem delu je izrecno omenjeno, da je Lignitzer avtor sklopa o boju z mečem in ščitkom, zato je povsem mogoče, da je Ringeck njegov prispevek vključil v svoje delo. To bi lahko pojasnilo razliko med tem sklopom in drugimi deli Ringeckove knjige. Poleg tega v njem ne najdemo Liechtenauerjevih verzov, v nasprotju s poglavji, ki obravnavajo boj z dolgim mečem ter bojevanje v oklepu na konju ali peš.

Zaradi načina opisa tega dela bojevanja sodobnemu raziskovalcu ne preostane drugega, kot da se za razumevanje bojevanja z mečem in ščitkom vrne v obdobje pred Liechtenauerjem, na konec 13. oziroma začetek 14. stoletja. Iz tistega obdobja namreč izvira najstarejši do zdaj znan srednjeveški *Fechtbuch* sploh, ki ga danes hranijo v muzeju Royal Armouries v Londonskem Towerju pod oznako MS I.33 (ena trintrideset) in opisuje izključno boj z mečem in ščitkom. Poznavanje tega dela lahko precej pomaga pri razumevanju Lignitzerjevega besedila, ne glede na to, da sodi v predliechtenauersko obdobje. Sicer pa tudi boj z mečem in ščitkom v Ringeckovem priročniku v celoti sledi temeljnemu principom Liechtenauerjevega učenja. Kot sem že omenil, je bila namreč – ne glede na posamezne tehnične podrobnosti – Liechtenauerjeva doktrina v svojem času revolucionarna predvsem zaradi svoje enostavnosti in specifičnega pristopa k bojevanju.

Rokoborba

Tudi v tem sklopu ne zasledimo neposrednih Liechtenauerjevih navodil. Čeprav je, kot vsi bojevniki svoje dobe, izvrstno obvladal rokoborbo, očitno ni uporabljal svojih specifičnih postopkov, zato tudi ni čutil potrebe, da bi jih podrobneje opisoval. Ringeckova rokoborba se tako navezuje predvsem na učenje Juda Otta,

strikes. Equally, he did not say anything about fighting techniques. An interesting fact is that in the subsequent manual by Peter von Danzig of 1452, we may find the same techniques, but now written by Andreas Lignitzer, in an almost similar and equally shortened form. As this part of the text emphasises that Lignitzer is the author of this section on fighting with a sword and buckler, it is possible that Ringeck included it into his treatise. This could also explain the difference between this section and the rest of the text in Ringeck's manual. Furthermore, this part does not include Liechtenauer's verses, which differs from the other chapters dealing with longsword fighting and fighting in armour on horseback and on foot.

Because of the style of the description of this part of fighting, modern researchers have to examine the time before Liechtenauer, that is the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century, to understand the method of fighting with a sword and buckler. From this time, a document has been preserved which is known to be the earliest medieval martial arts manual and is currently in the collection of the museum Royal Armouries in London Tower known as the codex MS I.33 (One-thirty-three). It deals entirely with the use of the sword and buckler. Knowing this document may help to understand Lignitzer's text, although it belongs to the period before Liechtenauer. Also the description of fighting with a sword and buckler in Ringeck's manual follows the basic principle of Liechtenauer's teachings. As I have mentioned earlier – irrespective of individual technical details – Liechtenauer's doctrine was in its times revolutionary, in particular because of its simplicity and its specific approach to combat as such.

Wrestling

Also, this part does not include Liechtenauer's direct teachings. Although he was, as many other warriors of his era, an excellent wrestler, he evidently did not use his own specific techniques and, therefore, also, did not think it was necessary to detail them in his manual. Ringeck's wrestling techniques are in close connection with the teachings of Otto Jud, the Austrian wrestling master who worked at the Habsburg court in the first decades of the 15th century. His teachings can be found in the Manual of Peter von Danzig and had a huge impact on other treaties of this type originating from the 15th century, for example the codex of Wallerstein and Talhoffer's manuals.¹⁷

¹⁷ Codex Wallerstein, Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg, Cod. I.6.4° 2, fol. 16r–20v,

avstrijskega mojstra ruvanja, ki je v prvih desetletjih 15. stoletja deloval na habsburškem dvoru. Njegovo učenje najdemo v priročniku Petra von Danziga, močno pa je vplivalo tudi na druga dela te vrste iz 15. stoletja, npr. kodeks Wallerstein ter Talhofferjevih *Fechtbuchih*.¹⁷

Bojevanje v oklepu in na konju

V zadnjih dveh sklopih Ringeckovega dela spet naletimo na skrivnostne Liechtenauerjeve verze in njihovo razlago. Navodila se začnejo z naštevanjem orožja, ki ga mora dvobojevalec pri boju v oklepu uporabljati, in sicer sulico, dolgi meč in bodalo. Dejstvo, ki tudi v tem delu Ringeckovega besedila najbolj preseneča, pa je, da tudi tu manjkajo postopki z bodalom, enako kot v delu, ki obravnava t. i. *blös fechten*, bojevanje brez oklepa. Mogoče je sicer, da jih je Ringeck namerno izpustil, ker se Liechtenauer, kolikor je doslej znano, ni izrecno ukvarjal z njimi, vendar bi se v tem primeru moral odpovedati tudi obravnavanju boja z mečem in ščitkom ter rokoborbe. Mogoče pa je tudi, da je prvotno Ringeckovo besedilo vsebovalo tudi postopke bojevanja z bodalom, a so se pozneje izgubili. K temu me napeljuje dejstvo, da tudi del, ki obravnava bojevanje na konju, ni popoln, temveč je nenadoma brez kakršnega koli razloga prekinjen, iz česar sklepam, da se je nadaljevanje izgubilo.

V sklopu o bojevanju v oklepu lahko znova zasledimo vse značilnosti Liechtenauerjevega sistema bojevanja. Če primerjamo samo njegove preže in tiste, ki so jih v njegovem času uporabljali drugi mojstri, takoj opazimo, da je Liechtenauer njihovo število omejil na le tri osnovne preže in končno četrto, ki pa jo uporablja le v ob koncu za odrivanje nasprotnika. Italijanski mojster Fiore dei Liberi proti njegovim trem uporablja kar šest osnovnih prež. Tu pride spet do izraza Liechtenauerjeva težnja po racionalizaciji in poenostavitvi postopkov, uporabljenih v boju. Prav tako je v oklepljenem boju izrazita njegova težnja, da bi boj kar najhitreje končal, čeprav je to v tem primeru iz razumljivih razlogov precej težje doseči. In končno se spet srečamo z Liechtenauerjevim in Ringeckovim stalnim poudarjanjem pomena

Fighting in armour and on horseback

In the last two sections of Ringeck's manual, one can once more come across Liechtenauer's obscure verses and their commentaries. The teachings begin with the enumeration of weapons that a duellist needs to use when fighting in armour. These weapons are the spear, longsword and the dagger. Most surprisingly in this part of Ringeck's text is that the dagger techniques are missing again, similarly to the part dedicated to Bloßfechten, unarmoured fencing. Yet, Ringeck might have omitted them on purpose, as Liechtenauer, as far as we know by now, did not explicitly deal with these techniques. However, in this case he should have omitted also the fighting with the sword and the buckler as well as wrestling. Another possible explanation is that originally, Ringeck's text did also include dagger fighting techniques, which were later lost. I came to this conclusion based on the fact that the part dealing with horseback fighting is not complete, but is suddenly interrupted without any particular reason. From this I gather that the continuation of the text was lost.

In the section referring to armoured fighting one can again trace all characteristics of Liechtenauer's combat system. If his guards are compared to those used by other master's in his lifetime, one can immediately observe that Liechtenauer limited their number to just three basic guards, and a final fourth guard which, yet, was used only in the final part of the fighting, to push the opponent away. Unlike Liechtenauer, who advocates three guards, the Italian master Fiore dei Liberi uses as many as six basic guards. This fact again emphasises Liechtenauer's tendency to rationalise and simplify the techniques used when fighting. This reveals his tendency to conclude the fighting as quickly as possible, although, in this case, quite difficult to achieve due to obvious reasons. Finally, we again come across Liechtenauer's and Ringeck's constant emphasising of the meaning of taking over and keeping the initiative in fighting:

“Vor vnd nach: die zway ding brieffe wyßlicher...”

“Above all other things, you must understand the principles of ‘before’ (Vor) and ‘after’ (Nach).”¹⁸

In order to gain the advantage, one has, if possible, to attack first, maintain the initiative and constantly attack so that the opponent cannot respond with a counter-attack. If the opponent overruns and

¹⁷ *Codex Wallerstein*, Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg, Cod. I.6.4^o.2, fol. 16r–20v, 33r–67v, spletni dostop na strani <http://www.aemma.org> (obiskano 19. 11. 2008); Mark Rector, *A Fifteenth Century Illustrated Manual of Swordfighting and Close-Quarter Combat by Hans Talhoffer*, London 2000, sl. 190–221.

¹⁸ 33r–67v; Mark Rector, *A Fifteenth Century Illustrated Manual of Swordfighting and Close-Quarter Combat by Hans Talhoffer*, London 2000, sl. 190–221.
¹⁸ Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 102r.

prevzemanja in ohranjanja pobude v boju:

»Vor vnd nach: die zway ding brieffe wyßlicher...«

»Prej in potem – ti dve stvari spoznaj.«¹⁸

Da pridobiš prednost, moraš torej, če je le mogoče, napasti prvi, potem pa obdržati pobudo in ves čas napadati, da nasprotnik ne more odgovoriti s protinapadom. Če pa te nasprotnik prehití in napade prvi, se ne smeš zadovoljiti le z odvracanjem, temveč moraš uporabiti tako preusmerjanje nasprotnikovega meča, ki ti nudi možnost takojšnjega protinapada in prevzema pobude. Prav tako spet najdemo pojme, znane že iz bojevanja z dolgim mečem, kot so »sledenje z odgovorom«, »prodor«, »poteg nazaj«, »prehitevanje«, predvsem pa *winden am schwert* (zavijanje v vezavi), ki je vrhunec Liechtenauerjeve borilne veščine.

Sklep

Borilne šole, ki so se navezovale na Liechtenauerjevo tradicijo in so pokrivalle tudi naš prostor, so približno 250 let po mojstrovni smrti izginile v pozabo. Za njimi ni ostalo skoraj nič: nekaj obskurnih mojstrovih verzov in nekaj rokopisov v stari nemščini. In vendar so del naše zgodovine in tradicije, saj smo pripadali istemu kulturnemu prostoru, v katerem so delovali tudi Johannes Liechtenauer, Hanko Döbringer in Sigmund Ringeck. Veščina, ki so jo razvijali, se je razvijala tudi na našem ozemlju in med našimi ljudmi. Zato je bil skrajni čas, da smo ta del naše vojaške in bojevniške zgodovine začeli odkrivati tudi v Sloveniji, pozno sicer in počasi, vendar sem prepričan, da se nam bo z delom in vztrajnostjo nekaj zagnancev, ki poskušajo tako v teoriji kot v praksi preučevati srednjeveške borilne veščine našega prostora, odkril izjemno bogat segment naše in širše evropske zgodovine. Kajti človek se je, poleg tega, da se je ukvarjal z obrtjo, kmetoval, trgoval, kulturno in umetniško ustvarjal, vedno tudi bojeval, način njegovega bojevanja pa nam lahko veliko pove o njegovem značaju in miselnosti v skrajnih razmerah. In le iz spoznavanja človeka v vseh pogojih njegovega bivanja bomo lahko razumeli tudi vzgibe, ki so naše prednike pripeljali do tega, da so ustvarili tako zgodovino, kakršno so.

attacks first one should not defend only, but deflect the opponent's sword, which then allows the possibility of an immediate counterattack and takeover of the initiative. Again, one can find terms that were used in the section of fighting with the longsword: 'travelling after', 'running through', 'twitching', 'overrunning', and most important of all winden am schwert ('winding at the sword'), which represent the clou of Liechtenauer fighting techniques.

Conclusion

Martial arts schools that directly derived from Liechtenauer's tradition and also covered the Slovenian area disappeared approximately 250 years after the master's death and were forgotten. Almost nothing of them was preserved, but a few obscure verses of the master and a few manuscripts in old German. Still, they are part of Slovenian history and tradition as we were part of the same cultural circle as Johannes Liechtenauer, Hanko Döbringer and Sigmund Ringeck. The martial arts they were developing undoubtedly saw its further development also on our soil and among our people. It is, therefore, overdue to discover this part of Slovenia's military and combat legacy as well. Although late and slow, I am convinced that the work and the perseverance of a few enthusiasts, who study medieval martial arts of this region in theory and practically, will reveal an exceptionally rich part of the Slovenian as well as European history. Man has, along with engaging in crafts, farm work, trade, as well as cultural and artistic creativeness, also participated in combat. His combat methods can tell us a lot about his character and way of thinking in extreme situations. Only by understanding man in all the circumstances of life will we have the opportunity to learn more about the course of history as we know it today.

Abstract

*The German School of Fencing was established in the second half of the 14th century. This is a combat system, taught by fencing masters across Central Europe from the middle of the 14th century until the end of the 16th century. It is described in the then textbooks or manuals on combat, the so called *Fechtbücher*. The majority of authors followed the principles of Johannes Liechtenauer, the most important German master and fencing instructor of the 14th century. Already at the end of the 14th century,*

¹⁸ Mscr. Dresd. C 487, fol. 102r.

Povzetek

Nemška mečevalska šola izhaja iz druge polovice 14. stoletja, gre pa za borilni sistem, ki so ga mečevalski mojstri po vsej srednji Evropi učili od sredine 14. pa vse do konca 16. stoletja. Opisan je v takratnih učbenikih oz. priročnikih o bojevanju, t. i. *Fechtbücher*. Velika večina avtorjev teh mečevalskih učbenikov je sledila učenju Johannesa Liechtenauerja, najpomembnejšega nemškega mojstra in mečevalskega učitelja 14. stoletja. Liechtenauerjev sistem so že konec 14., potem pa v 15. in 16. stoletju razlagali, razvijali, delno pa tudi spreminjali ali natančneje rečeno prilagajali številni mečevalski mojstri: od Hanka Döbringerja prek Sigmunda Ringecka in Petra von Danziga pa do Paula Hectorja Maira in Joachima Meyerja.

Borilni priročniki, ki so jih začeli odkrivati v 19. stoletju, so postavili na glavo dotedanje prepričanje, da je bilo bojevanje v srednjem veku predvsem brutalno klanje, za katero ni bilo potrebno posebno znanje. Seveda pa se je treba zavedati, da sodijo večine, opisane v teh priročnikih, tako rekoč v visoko šolo mečevalske umetnosti ter da je bil boj med bitko na bojnem polju videti popolnoma drugače. Postopki, opisani v nemških *Fechtbücher*, so namreč namenjeni predvsem dvobojalcem, in to zlasti na uradnih sodnih dvobojih.

Med posamičnimi danes znanimi borilnimi priročniki pa obstajajo velike razlike. Če je bil pristop k snovi denimo pri Hanku Döbringerju pogojno rečeno bolj konceptualen, je npr. pristop Sigmunda Ringecka izrazito tehničen. Prvi je poudarjal filozofijo bojevanja, temeljne principe Liechtenauerjeve doktrine, drugi pa se je lotil tehničnih podrobnosti uporabljenih postopkov. Svoj *Fechtbuch* je začel z Liechtenauerjevimi verzi, ki se skoraj ne razlikujejo od tistih pri Döbringerju, vendar je nadaljeval s podrobnimi razlagami posameznih verzov in (v nasprotju z Döbringerjem) vsakič ponudil številne praktične postopke, ki osvetljujejo zakrito vsebino mojstrovih verzov. Tako prvi kot drugi pristop sta za današnje raziskovalce izjemno dragocena, saj le oba skupaj ponujata zadovoljiv vpogled in omogočata razumevanje tega, kar imenujemo nemška borilna šola.

Osnovni princip Liechtenauerjevega učenja je bila skrajna učinkovitost, povezana s preprosto izvedbo različnih postopkov in nenehnim

and then also in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Liechtenauer's system was explained, developed and partially also modified by a range of fencing masters, including Hanka Döbringer, Sigmund Ringeck, Peter von Danzig, Paul Hector and Joachim Meyer.

Manuals on martial arts, which started to be discovered in the 19th century, completely changed the conviction that medieval combat was mainly a brutal slaughter for which no special knowledge was required. We must also bear in mind that the martial arts, described in these manuals, belong to the category of higher fencing arts and that the combat during a battle on a battlefield looked completely different. The procedures, described in German *Fechtbücher*, were dedicated mainly to duelists, especially at formal judicial court duels. Of course we can find some considerable differences among manuals on martial arts we know today. For example, Hanka Döbringer's approach was more conceptual, while Sigmund Ringeck's was more technical. Döbringer was focused on the philosophy of combat, as well as on basic principles of Liechtenauer's doctrine, while Ringeck addressed technical details of the procedures used. His *Fechtbuch* begins with Liechtenauer's verses which barely differ from the ones Döbringer used, however, he continues with detailed explanations of individual verses and (unlike Döbringer) offers a range of practical procedures which try to explain the hidden content of the verses. Both approaches are very valuable in current research since only together do they offer a satisfactory review and understanding of the German School of Fencing.

The basic principle of Liechtenauer's doctrine was ultimate efficiency, related to a simple execution of various procedures and constant endeavours to gain and maintain the initiative during combat. In this context the master was extremely consistent from the very beginning, since, from a range of guards used at that time, he chose only four which, in his opinion, would be sufficient. He also used only five basic strikes which, in his opinion, were the only strikes worth using in combat, and which later authors called 'master strikes' (*Meisterhauen*). The most important things that deserve our attention during combat are 'before' – vor, 'then' – nach and 'in this' – indes. 'Before' – vor – means to be in an advantageous position, to hold an initiative, to be the one who dictates the course of the combat. The opponent must defend himself, which means that he lags behind, 'then' – nach. If the opponent overtakes you and you lag behind, you must 'in this' – indes – find out how to continue to regain the initiative and achieve an advantageous position.

prizadevanjem prevzeti in obdržati pobudo v boju. Glede tega je bil veliki mojster izjemno dosleden že na začetku, saj je iz velikega nabora prež, ki so jih uporabljali v njegovem obdobju, izbral le štiri, ki so po njegovem mnenju popolnoma zadostovale. Uporabljal je tudi le pet osnovnih udarcev, po njegovem mnenju edinih, ki jih je v boju vredno uporabljati in ki so jih poznejši avtorji poimenovali »mojstrski udarci« (*Meisterhauen*). Najpomembnejše, na kar je treba biti pozoren med bojem, pa je »prej« - *vor*, »potem« - *nach* in »v tem« - *indes*. »Prej« - *vor* pomeni biti v prednosti, imeti pobudo, torej napadati, narekovati potek boja, nasprotnik pa se mora braniti, kar pomeni, da je v zaostanku, »potem« - *nach*. Če te nasprotnik prehiti in se ti znajdeš v »zaostanku«, moraš »v tem« - *indes* ugotoviti, kako naprej, da boš znova prevzel pobudo in prešel v prednost.

Mojstrov nauk so že zelo zgodaj začeli spreminjati oz. razvijati njegovi neposredni učenci. Ta razvoj se je nato nadaljeval še v naslednjih dvesto letih, vendar se osnovni principi, ki jih je načrtoval Liechtenauer, nikoli niso tako zelo spremenili, da bi ne bili več prepoznavni.

The master's doctrine very soon started to be changed and developed by his immediate followers. This development continued for another 200 years, however, the basic principles, established by Liechtenauer never changed to the extent of not being recognizable.



Vojni pohod koroškega vojvode Henrika proti Cangrandeju della Scali poleti 1324

The Military Campaign of Duke Henry of Carinthia against Cangrande della Scala, Summer of 1324

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Izvleček

V 14. st. so v severni Italiji delovale številne enote tujih najemniških vojakov, ki so prihajali tudi iz slovenskega etničnega prostora in njegove neposredne okolice. Posebej množično so vojake z našega ozemlja zajele vojaške dejavnosti proti veronskemu vladarju Cangrandeju della Scali. Vrhunec so dosegle s pohodom goriškega grofa Henrika, ki se je končal z zmago pri Padovi avgusta 1320, ter z napadom koroškega vojvode Henrika na Monselice junija in julija 1324. Pohod vojvode Henrika se je končal predčasno in brez uspeha, vendar je za vojaško zgodovino posebej zanimiv zaradi ohranjenih virov, ki izčrpno opisujejo zapletene finančne in logistične priprave nanj.

Ključne besede: srednji vek, vojaška organizacija, Italija, Henrik Goriški, Henrik Koroški, Cangrande della Scala, Padova, Treviso, Monselice, najemniki, logistika.

Zgodovinar si težko ustvari objektivno mnenje o vojaški organiziranosti v srednjem veku. Naj se tega zavedamo ali ne, to tematiko presojamo pod vtisi sodobnega vojskovanja, kar nas utegne zavesti v anahronizme. Ob površnem izvajanju Clausewitzove teorije in pristranskem branju virov so številni vojaški zgodovinarji, predvsem pa obramboslovci, pogosto neupravičeno podcenjevali zmogljivosti

Abstract

In the 14th century, numerous foreign mercenaries operated in Northern Italy. Some of them originated from the Slovenian lands or their direct surrounding area. A great number of soldiers from the Slovenian territory were involved in military actions against the Veronese ruler, Cangrande della Scala. These actions culminated in the military campaign of Duke Henry of Carinthia against Monselice in June and July 1324. The campaign of Duke Henry ended early and achieved little success, yet, it is of particular military historical interest due to the well-preserved sources which give an exhaustive description of the complicated financial and logistical preparations.

Key words: Middle Ages, military organisation, Italy, Count Henry of Gorizia, Duke Henry of Carinthia, Cangrande della Scala, Padua, Treviso, Monselice, mercenaries, logistics.

For a modern historian, it is not that easy to form an objective opinion on the military organisation of the Middle Ages. Whether we are aware of it or not, our analyses are influenced by the experience of modern warfare, which might be misleading and result in anachronisms. As a result of a superficial implementation of Clausewitz's theory and a biased understanding of the primary sources, military historians, and above all defence analysts, have often wrongfully underestimated the capabilities of medieval military systems.¹

¹ The extensive treatise *Vom Kriege* by the Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz is

srednjeveških vojaških sistemov.¹

V nasprotju z razvitim sodobnim svetom je bila totalna vojna v srednjeveški Evropi redka. Razmeroma malo je celo primerov odločilnih bitk. Vojaške operacije so imele praviloma omejene cilje – povsem v skladu z znamenito Clausewitzovo trditvijo, po kateri je vojskovanje preprosto nadaljevanje politike z drugačnimi sredstvi – in so se pogosto končale brez velikega spopada. Preden so nastale »sodobne« nacionalne države s centralizirano upravo in učinkovitim birokratskim aparatom, je bila organizacija oboroženih sil stvar vladarjev oziroma višjega plemstva, neposredno odvisna od trenutnih zmogljivosti njihove blagajne, politične moči in učinkovitosti upravnega aparata, ki jim je bilo treba dodati še omejitve prometnega in komunikacijskega sistema. To je pomenilo, da tudi vladarji najnaprednejših evropskih držav v poznem srednjem veku niso bili nikoli sposobni mobilizirati vseh zmogljivosti, temveč so vojaške operacije izvajali z maloštevilnimi enotami, ki so jih delno novičili po fevdalnih ali zasebnih zvezah, vse bolj pa so jih popolnjevali s poklicnimi vojaki, ki jih je bilo treba plačevati.²

Zato so številni pisci brez omahovanja sklenili, da je vojna večšina v srednjem veku doživela zaton, iz katerega je napredovala v višjo obliko šele od 16. ali 17. st. naprej. Toda ob poglobljenem pregledu virov se kmalu pokaže, da je tako poenostavljeno razmišljanje sporno.³ Dokaj dobro dokumentirani zgodnejši operaciji, ki kažeta na skrbno izdelano strategijo in dobre zmogljivosti tedanjih vojsk, sta normansko zavzetje Anglije z odločilno zmago pri Hastingsu leta 1066 in prva križarska vojna.⁴ Iz številčnejših in bolj izpovednih virov, ki so na voljo, si lahko ustvarimo še natančnejšo

In contrast to the developed modern world, total wars rarely erupted in medieval Europe. Even the number of decisive battles was relatively small. As a rule, the objectives of military operations were limited – which fully conforms to Clausewitz's famous argument that war is a continuation of politics with other means – and usually ended without a major battle. Before the advent of 'modern' national states with a centralised administration and an effective bureaucratic machinery, the organisation of armed forces was left to rulers or powerful lords who depended directly on the current limits of their financial resources, their political power and the limitations of the administrative system, taking furthermore consideration of the constraints of the contemporary traffic and communication system.

Thus, even sovereigns of the most developed European countries in the late Middle Ages were not able to mobilise their entire capabilities, but had to conduct their military operations relying on small-sized units that were partly recruited through feudal and private connections and even more so by hiring professional soldiers who, of course, had to be paid.²

Consequently, many authors concluded unhesitatingly that military skill waned in the Middle Ages, and developed to a higher form only from the 16th and the 17th centuries onward. Yet, a thorough examination of primary sources soon reveals that such a simplified perception is rather questionable.³ There are two early and relatively well-documented military operations demonstrating a carefully elaborated strategy and well-developed capabilities of the contemporary military forces – namely, the Norman conquest of England with the decisive victory at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 and the First Crusade.⁴ Thanks to more numerous and informative sources, it is possible to gain even better insight into the military organisation of the Late

1 Obsežni traktat pruskega generala Carla von Clausewitzja *Vom Kriege* velja za temeljno delo vojaške filozofije, čeprav je zaradi zapletenega dialektičnega sistema zahtevno branje. To dodatno otežujejo nezadostni prevodi in velika razširjenost skrajšanih izdaj, ki nehoti odstopajo od izvirnika. Zato je med obramboslovci in drugimi raziskovalci vojaške teorije spodbudilo različne razlage in sklepe, včasih tudi takšne, ki se dejansko ne ujemajo več s Clausewitzevimi izjavami ali pa jih neutemeljeno potencirajo. K negativnemu odnosu do vojskovanja v srednjem veku je zlasti prispevala precej razširjena teza novejših analitikov, po kateri naj bi bila vrhunec bojnega delovanja »absolutna« vojna oziroma aktivni spopad, v katerem odločilno uničimo nasprotnikove vojaške zmogljivosti. Vojno z omejenimi cilji so po drugi strani velikokrat obravnavali kot manjvredno kategorijo. Prim. Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, München 2002, str. 369–372, 591sl., 637–647.

2 John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000–1300*, Ithaca 1999, str. 128–138; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages; The English Experience*, New Haven 1996, str. 57 sl.

3 Prim. Jans F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1997, str. 1–18.

4 Prim. Tomaž Lazar, Vojaška problematika prve križarske vojne, v: *Vojaška zgodovina*, 8/2 (2007), str. 6–126.

considered to be one of the foundations of military philosophy, although it is, due to its complicated dialectical method, a very demanding read. Furthermore, this is made more difficult by unsatisfactory translations and the popularity of abbreviated editions which unintentionally deviate from the original. This has resulted in a variety of interpretations and conclusions made by defence analysts and other researchers, which, as a matter of fact, are not necessarily in accordance with Clausewitz's implementations or which intensify them for no reason. The negative attitude towards medieval warfare is mainly the result of a widely accepted thesis advocated by modern analysts according to which the highest form of military operations is represented by the "absolute" war or active conflict in which the enemy's military capabilities are decisively destroyed. On the other hand, limited war has often been treated as an inferior category. Cf. Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, München 2002, pp. 369–372, 591 ff., 637–647.

2 John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000–1300*, Ithaca 1999, pp. 128–138; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages; The English Experience*, New Haven 1996, p. 57 ff.

3 Cf. Jans F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 1–18.

4 Cf. Tomaž Lazar, Vojaška problematika prve križarske vojne, in: *Vojaška zgodovina*, 8/2 (2007), pp. 6–126.

podobo vojaške organizacije v poznem srednjem veku. Iz tistega obdobja imamo izčrpnije podatke o vojnih pohodih, ki so zajeli tudi slovensko ozemlje. Podrobnejšo obravnavo si zaslužijo vojaške dejavnosti goriškega grofa Henrika II. in koroškega vojvode Henrika v severni Italiji, ki so dosegle vrhunec v letih od 1320 do 1324 z velikima ofenzivama proti veronskemu vladarju Cangrande della Scali.⁵



Smejoči se Cangrande della Scala v popolni bojni opremi na nagrobniku v Veroni

Smiling Cangrande della Scala in full combat gear on his tomb in Verona.

Middle Ages. In regard to the Slovenian territory, one chapter of military history that deserves a more thorough examination are the military operations of Count Henry II of Gorizia and Duke Henry of Carinthia in Northern Italy, which culminated from 1320 to 1324 with two major offensives against Cangrande della Scala, ruler of Verona.⁵

Vladavina Henrika Koroškega

Dogodki, zaradi katerih se je goriški grof in koroški vojvoda, titularni češki kralj, v dvajsetih letih 14. st. sprl z vladarjem Verone, imajo dolgo predzgodovino. Vladavina vojvode Henrika Koroškega se je začela spodbudno – po smrti sposobnega očeta, Majnharda Tirolskega, je nasledil bogato dediščino in dobre družinske vezi. Takšna zapuščina mu je zagotavljala pomembne prednosti, ki se jih je dobro zavedal, kar kaže že njegov samozavestni nastop na veliki povizezitenveni ceremoniji 16. oktobra 1298 v Šentvidu na Koroškem.⁶

Henrikove ambicije so že zgodaj prerasle lokalne okvire, za njihovo uresničitev pa je bil prisiljen poseči tudi po orožju. Vojaške izkušnje si je leta 1298, še pred povizezitivjo, nabiral kot eden od vidnejših poveljnikov v službi avstrijskega vojvode Albrehta, ki je 2. julija istega leta pri Göllheimu odločilno porazil odstavljenega kralja Adolfa Nassauskega.⁷ Na to, da so vojvoda Henrik in njegovi bratje prav tedaj načrtno izboljševati svoje vojaške zmogljivosti, kaže njihova trgovina s severno Italijo. V

The Rule of Duke Henry of Carinthia

The actions that pushed Henry, Count of Gorizia and Duke of Carinthia, the titular king of Bohemia, into a dispute with the ruler of Verona were the result of a much longer chain of events. The beginning of Henry Duke of Carinthia's rule was promising – after the death of his competent father, Meinhard of Tyrol, he received a wealthy inheritance and succeeded good family connections. This inheritance offered him significant advantages that he was well aware of, which became obvious as early as during his knighting ceremony in St. Veit an der Glan in Carinthia on 16 October 1298.⁶

Duke Henry's ambitions soon outgrew local boundaries, and he had to take up arms in order to fulfil them. Even before his knighting ceremony, Henry gained military experience in 1298 as one of the most distinguished commanders in the service of the Austrian Duke Albrecht, who decisively defeated the deposed King Adolf of Nassau in the Battle of Göllheim on 2 July in the same year.⁷ The fact that Duke Henry and his brothers were systematically building up their military capabilities during this period is proven by their trade with Northern Italy. From 1297 to 1298, they purchased, in addition to other supplies, considerable amounts of weapons and

⁵ Ti dogodki v slovenskem zgodovinopisju še niso bili celovito obdelani. Na tem mestu velja zahvala dr. Mihi Kosiju za izdatno pomoč pri zbiranju virov. Za krajši pregled kontingentov, udeleženi na obeh pohodih, prim. Miha Kosi, *Potujoči srednji vek*, Ljubljana 1998, str. 76–77; Dušan Kos, Pamet pod šlemom, v: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2 (1995), str. 222–223.

⁶ Walter Friedensburg, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, 14. Jahrhundert*, 8, Leipzig 1899, str. 122; Claudia Fräss-Ehrfeld, *Geschichte Kärntens*, I, Klagenfurt 1984, str. 365–366.

⁷ Friedensburg 1899, str. 96, 117–120.

⁵ These events have not yet been thoroughly researched by Slovenian historians. At this point I would like to thank Dr. Miha Kosi for his substantial assistance in collecting the primary sources. For a short overview of the contingents participating in both campaigns, Cf. Miha Kosi, *Potujoči srednji vek*, Ljubljana 1998, pp. 76–77; Dušan Kos, Pamet pod šlemom, in: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2 (1995), pp. 222–223.

⁶ Walter Friedensburg, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, 14. Jahrhundert*, 8, Leipzig 1899, p. 122; Claudia Fräss-Ehrfeld, *Geschichte Kärntens*, I, Klagenfurt 1984, pp. 365–366.

⁷ Friedensburg 1899, pp. 96, 117–120.

letih 1297/8 so poleg številnih drugih dobrin v Firencah in Milanu nakupili tudi večje količine orožja in konjeniške opreme: sedel, ostrog, ščitov in oklepov.⁸

V naslednjih letih je vojvoda Henrik iskal primerne priložnosti za politično uveljavitev. Leta 1306 se je oženil z Ano, hčerko češkega kralja Venceslava II. Po spletu okoliščin – že avgusta istega leta se je namreč češki prestol izpraznil z umorom Venceslava III. – je Henrik precej nepričakovano postal resen pretendent za krono. Čeprav so ga na Češkem sprva dobro sprejeli, se je moral takoj spopasti z nevarnostjo habsburškega protinapada, saj je kralj Albrecht prestol namenil svojemu sinu Rudolfu. V dvojni ofenzivi, ki mimogrede sodi med dobre primere srednjeveškega strateškega načrtovanja, so habsburške sile poleti 1307 napadle Češko ter Henrikove koroške in kranjske posesti. Konradu von Aufensteinu, ki mu je vojvoda Henrik zaupal obrambo Češke, je uspelo ubraniti močno utrjeno Kutno Horo in tako v začetku zime Albrehta prisiliti k umiku. Toda na Koroškem in Kranjskem je vojvoda doživel popoln poraz.⁹

Smrt kralja Albrehta je prekinila sovražnosti in od avgusta 1308 je lahko Henrik neovirano vladal na Češkem. Vendar se je zaradi pretirano pasivnega vodenja države odtujil od prebivalstva, zaradi slabe politične presoje pa je izgubil še naklonjenost novega nemškega kralja Henrika VII. Ta je nestabilne razmere na Češkem izkoristil tako, da je na prestol posadil svojega sina Janeza Luksemburškega. Henrik Koroški je v začetku leta 1310 še enkrat mobiliziral svoje sile – s Tirolskega in Koroškega enote pod vodstvom Konrada von Aufensteina, meissenski mejni grof Friderik pa mu je prišel na pomoč s 600 težko oboroženimi vojniki. Kljub temu je do konca leta povsem izgubil nadzor nad dogajanjem. Prisiljen je bil odstopiti in se umakniti osamljen in osramočen. Priladniki luksemburške stranke mu sprva niso hoteli zagotoviti niti varnega odhoda.¹⁰

Henrik Koroški se ni nikoli sprijaznil z izgubo krone. Vnovič se je utrdil na Koroškem in Tirolskem ter na Kranjskem, ki ga je imel v zastavi, a je vse do smrti uporabljal kraljevski

*cavalry kit: saddles, spurs, shields and armour.*⁸

*In the following years, Duke Henry searched for suitable opportunities to assert his political position. In 1306, he married Ann, daughter of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia. After a series of events – in which Wenceslaus III was murdered in August of the same year and, as a consequence, the Bohemian throne was left empty – Henry became somewhat unexpectedly a serious contender to the Bohemian crown. Initially, he was well accepted in Bohemia, but was immediately confronted with the threat of a counter-attack by the House of Habsburg, as King Albrecht intended the throne for his son, Rudolf. In the double offensive, which, as a matter of fact, presents a good example of medieval strategic planning, Habsburg forces simultaneously attacked Bohemia and Henry's Carinthian and Carniolan estates in the summer of 1307. Conrad von Aufenstein, whom Henry entrusted with the defence Bohemia, managed to defend the heavily fortified Kutna Hora and thus forced Albrecht to withdraw his forces at the beginning of the winter. However, the duke was defeated in Carinthia and Carniola.*⁹

*The hostilities soon ended with the death of King Albrecht and as a result Duke Henry could rule Bohemia without any disturbances. However, his extremely passive governance estranged the population and due to his impaired political judgement he lost the affection of King Henry VII. King Henry took advantage of the unstable situation in Bohemia to enthrone his son, John of Luxemburg. In the beginning of 1310, Henry of Carinthia remobilised his forces – the units from Tyrol and Carinthia under the command of Conrad von Aufenstein. Furthermore, the Margrave of Meissen offered him the assistance of 600 heavily armed men-at-arms. Yet, he completely lost control of the situation at the end of the year and was forced to resign and to retreat, alone and disgraced. Luxembourg's followers did not even want to grant him safe conduct.*¹⁰

*Henry of Carinthia never reconciled himself to the loss of the crown. He reconsolidated in Carinthia and Tyrol as well as in Carniola, which he held in mortgage, and used the royal title until his death.*¹¹ *In the following years, he attempted several times to regain power in Bohemia, yet, his plans failed. Therefore, he directed his aspirations towards Northern Italy, a region which was geographically*

8 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 367.

9 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 368–372; Friedensburg 1899, str. 136–147

10 Friedensburg 1899, str. 152–163, 174; Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 375–376

8 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, p. 367.

9 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 368–372; Friedensburg 1899, pp. 136–147.

10 Friedensburg 1899, pp. 152–163, 174; Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 375–376.

11 Henry's estates in Carinthia, Carniola and the Windisch Mark are listed in a document dating from 1311. Hermann Wiessner, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae, VIII*, Klagenfurt 1958, document no. 47.



Politični zemljevid prostora, v katerem so potekale vojaške dejavnosti Henrika II. Goriškega in Henrika Koroškega proti Cangrandeju della Scali

Political map of the area where military campaigns of Henry II of Gorizia and Duke Henry of Carinthia against Cangrande della Scala took place.

naziv.¹¹ V naslednjih letih si je večkrat poskusil vrniti oblast na Češkem, vendar so njegovi načrti spodleteli. Zato je svoje upe preusmeril v severno Italijo, na ozemlje, ki mu je bilo geografsko bliže in kjer je kot naslednik Majnharda Tirolskega užival velik ugled. V drugem in tretjem desetletju 14. st. je obstoječe razmerje sil v omenjenem prostoru omajala agresivna politika veronskega vladarja, gibelina Cangrandeja della Scala, ki si je prizadeval razširiti oblast na Padovo, Treviso in druga pomembnejša mesta v okolici. Koroški vojvoda Henrik je v takšnem položaju leta 1313 diplomatsko posredoval, saj je bil zelo primeren za to, še posebej zaradi starih družinskih vezi z rodbino Scala.¹² Od leta 1314 je bil dejaven Cangrandejev zaveznik v sklopu gibelinske politike. Poslal mu je celo 500 vojakov, ki so tvorili prvo od štirih bojnih linij pod Cangrandejevimi poveljstvom pri San Nicolu 12. februarja 1318.¹³

closer to him and where he was highly esteemed as the successor of Meinhard of Tyrol. In the second and the third decade of the 14th century, the existing geopolitical system in the area was shaken by the aggressive policy of the ruler of Verona, the Ghibelline Cangrande della Scala, who intended to spread his power to Padua, Treviso and other significant cities in the region. In this context, Duke Henry of Carinthia served as a diplomatic mediator in 1313, as he was the appropriate choice for this task due to his old family connections with the Scala family.¹² Since 1314, he was an active ally of Cangrande in his Ghibelline policy. He even provided 500 soldiers who formed the first of four combat formations under Cangrande's command at San Nicolo on 12 February 1318.¹³

Count Henry II of Gorizia against the Ruler of Verona

In these times, regional political relations were aggravated. Cangrande led his forces to an attack on the Paduan estates in December 1317. By February,

11 Henrikove posesti na Koroškem, Kranjskem in v Marki popisuje listina iz julija 1311. Hermann Wiessner, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae*, VIII, Klagenfurt 1958, listina št. 47.

12 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 381–383.

13 MHDC VIII, listina št. 401, s. 1., 1318 februar 12.

12 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 381–383.

13 MHDC VIII, document no. 401, s. 1., 1318 February 12.

Goriški grof Henrik II. proti vladarju Verone

V tistem obdobju so se regionalne politične razmere zaostrele. Cangrande je decembra 1317 svojo vojsko povedel v napad na padovanske posesti. Do februarja je zavzel Monselice in Este ter Padova prisilil v mirovni sporazum.¹⁴ Vendar si je s temi uspehi odtujil zaveznike, ki so imeli vsak svoje cilje. Koroški vojvoda ni bil edina velika osebnost iz vzhodnoalpskega prostora, sodelujoča v tem sporu. Vanj je še bolj uspešno posegel tudi njegov sorodnik, goriški grof Henrik II. Kot verjetno najuspešnejši član albertinske veje Goriških si je vojaške izkušnje nabiral že od mladosti, vsaj od leta 1289, ko je vodil goriško enoto na pomoč patriarhu v vojni z Benetkami.¹⁵ Šteli bi ga lahko med najbolj nadarjene vojskovodje, ki so v poznem srednjem veku izhajali iz slovenskega etničnega prostora.¹⁶ Že od zadnjih let 13. st. je vodil ambiciozno ekspanzivno politiko, od leta 1312 kot zaveznik Cangrandeja della Scale. Naslednje leto je Cangrandeja – očitno predvsem na pobudo oglejskega patriarha – vojaško podprl na pohodu proti Trevisu in Padovi, ki se je končal z zmago pri Montagnani julija 1313. V naslednjih letih je še nekajkrat priskočil na pomoč Cangrandeju: oktobra 1316 pri Vicenzi, decembra 1317 pa se je s 300 oklepniki udeležil pohoda na Monselice.¹⁷

Ob koncu leta 1318 se je kralj Friderik Lepi odločil, da na položaj državnega vikarja v Trevisu in Coneglianu postavi Henrika Goriškega, kar je uresničil v naslednjih mesecih.¹⁸ Ta poteza je razumljivo razburila Cangrandeja, ki jo je občutil kot poseg v svoje interesno območje. Vendar je v goriškem grofu našel nasprotnika, ki ga je v vojaški veščini občutno prekašal.

Cangrande je najprej usmeril močan napad na Padova. Kot poroča Villani, so veronske sile do poletja 1320 mesto oblegale že več kot leto dni z 2.000 konjeniki in 10.000 pešaki. Predmestja Padove so zavzeli, obzidano mesto pa obkolili z utrjenimi položaji ter tako preprečili dotok okrepitev in logistične podpore.

he occupied Monselice and Este and forced Padua to agree on a peace agreement.¹⁴ Yet, Cangrande's success alienated his allies who pursued their own objectives. The Carinthian duke was not the only leading personality from the eastern-alpine area participating in this dispute. His relative, Count Henry II of Gorizia, interfered in this conflict as well, gaining even more success. As probably the most successful member of the Albertine line of the Counts of Gorizia, he gained military experience from his early youth, at least from 1289 on, when he led Gorizia's forces to assist the Aquileian Patriarch in the war against Venice.¹⁵ He may also be considered one of the most talented medieval commanders to come from the Slovenian ethnic region.¹⁶ During the last years of the 13th century, he led an ambitious expansive policy and became an ally of Cangrande della Scala in 1312. In the following year, probably on the initiative of the Patriarch, he supported Cangrande's campaign against Treviso and Padua which ended in victory at Montagnana in July 1313. In the following years, he once more assisted Cangrande in his endeavours: that is in October 1316 at Vicenza and in December 1317, when he participated in the campaign against Monselice with 300 armoured soldiers.¹⁷

At the end of 1318, King Frederick the Fair decided to appoint Henry of Gorizia as Imperial Vicar of Treviso and Conegliano, which he also put into effect in the following months.¹⁸ This move irritated Cangrande who felt it as interference into his sphere of interest. However, in the count he found an opponent who surpassed his military skills.

First, Cangrande launched a major attack on Padua. As reported by Villani, Veronese forces attacked the city and by the summer of 1320 had already besieged it for more than a year with 2,000 horsemen and 10,000 footsoldiers. The suburbs of Padua were occupied and the city itself, surrounded by a defensive wall, was encircled by fortified positions preventing the inflow of reinforcements and logistic supplies. The Veronese army was so large that it had to be accommodated in as many as three camps.¹⁹ A long-lasting attack exhausted the defenders and, as a consequence, the surrender of the town was soon to be expected. Yet, Count Henry assured immediate and effective assistance.²⁰ By the begin-

14 Philip Henry Wicksteed, *Villani's Chronicle*, s. I. 1906, str. 438.

15 Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem*, Ljubljana 1994, str. 215.

16 O vojaških zmogljivostih grofov Goriških prim. Štih 1994, str. 206–215.

17 Pio Paschini, *Storia del Friuli, II*, Udine 1935, str. 216, 219.

18 MHDC VIII, listina št. 473, Gradec, 1319 april 3.

14 Philip Henry Wicksteed, *Villani's Chronicle*, s. I. 1906, p. 438.

15 Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem*, Ljubljana 1994, p. 215.

16 About military capabilities of the Counts of Gorizia Cf. Štih 1994, pp. 206–215.

17 Pio Paschini, *Storia del Friuli, II*, Udine 1935, pp. 216, 219.

18 MHDC VIII, document No. 473, Graz, 1319 April 3.

19 Wicksteed 1906, p. 445.

20 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 382–383, Paschini 1935, p. 219; Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogadro, *Memorie del beato Enrico, I*, Venezia 1760, p. 196.

Veronska vojska je bila tolikšna, da so jo nastanili kar v treh taborih.¹⁹ Po dolgotrajnih napadih so bili branilci že izčrpani, zato je bilo kmalu pričakovati padec mesta. A grof Henrik jim je obljubil hitro in učinkovito pomoč.²⁰ Do začetka leta 1320 je v Trevisu z intenzivnimi pripravami v kratkem času zbral veliko, dobro opremljeno vojsko najemniških konjenikov in pešcev. Najprej se mu je pridružil Greif Čreteški iz Slovenske marke z 80 oklepniki in prav toliko samostrelci, kmalu zatem pa še drugi kontingenti. Na pohodu proti Cangrandeju so ga podprli ugledni plemiči iz avstrijskega in ogrskega prostora. Ob popisu je vojska pod Henrikovim poveljstvom štela 1477 težko obo-roženih konjenikov, 1423 samostrelcev, 700 lokostrelcev in še neznano, a veliko število pešakov in podpornih enot.²¹ Med pomembnejšimi kontingenti je Ulrik Walsee prispeval 100 oklepnikov, 100 samostrelcev iz Avstrije in Štajerske ter 200 ogrskih lokostrelcev. Kontingent bana Babonića je štel 100 oklepnikov, 100 samostrelcev in 50 lokostrelcev. Albert in Majnhard Ortenburška sta prijezdila s 50 oklepniki in 50 samostrelci, enako kot Hugo Devinski, ki pa je imel poleg tega še 100 pešakov. Turjaški so prispevali 12 oklepnikov in 12 samostrelcev, oglejski patriarh po 100 oklepnikov in strelcev. Daleč največji kontingent je seveda organiziral sam Henrik Goriški: iz Čedad, območja Trevisa, Gorice, Ljubljane in vseh drugih posesti je zbral 500 oklepnikov, 500 samostrelcev in »nešteto« pešakov.²²

Vsak oklepnik je s seboj pripeljal tri konje: bojnega zase, jezdnega za samostrelca in še roncina,²³ vendar brez lokostrelcev, ki so se zbrali v Trevisu pred božičem. V celoti je bilo v vojski 8360 konjev različnih vrst ter več kot 300 vitezov.ocene približno sočasnih ali nekoliko poznejših piscev, po katerih naj bi se skupna moč vseh bojnih enot gibala od nekaj več kot 8000 do 10.000 mož, torej niso bile pretirane. V prvih dneh leta 1320 je bil goriški grof verjetno že povsem pripravljen na spopad, vendar bitke tedaj še ni bilo. V takšnih razmerah je Henrik Koroški ob koncu januarja spet preizkusil svoje diplomatske sposobnosti

ning of 1320, he made intensive preparations in Treviso and gathered a large and well-equipped army of mercenary horsemen and infantry soldiers. He was first joined by Greif von Reutenberg (Čretež) from the Windisch Mark with 80 armoured soldiers and the same number of crossbowmen. Soon, other contingents followed. In his campaign against Cangrande, Count Henry was supported by distinguished noblemen from the Austrian and Hungarian lands. Henry's army counted as many as 1,477 heavily armed horsemen, 1,423 crossbowmen, 700 archers and an unknown, yet considerable number of infantry soldiers and support units.²¹ As one of the most important contingents, Ulrich von Walsee contributed 100 armoured soldiers, 100 crossbowmen from Austria and Styria and 200 Hungarian mounted archers. The contingent of Ban²² Babonić consisted of 100 armoured soldiers, 100 crossbowmen and 50 archers. Albert and Meinhard von Ortenburg came on horseback followed by 50 armoured soldiers and 50 crossbowmen. Equally, Hugo of Tübein (Duino) additionally contributed another 100 infantry soldiers. The Counts of Auersperg (Turjak) contributed 12 armoured soldiers and 12 crossbowmen, and the Aquileian Patriarch offered 100 armoured soldiers and crossbowmen. The largest contingent was, of course, organised by Henry Count of Gorizia himself: he gathered 500 armoured soldiers, 500 crossbowmen and an "infinite" number of infantry from Cividale del Friuli, the area of Treviso, Gorizia and Ljubljana and all other estates.²³

Each man-at-arms had three horses: a war horse for himself, a palfrey for the crossbowman and a rouncey used for transportation. The archers all gathered in Treviso before Christmas. As a whole, the army included 8,360 horses of various breeds and more than 300 knights. Thus, estimations made by contemporary or subsequent writers, according to which the entire size of the combat units amounted up to approximately 8,000 to 10,000 men, were not exaggerated. At the beginning of 1320, the Count of Gorizia was probably already prepared for a conflict, yet a battle did not take place. In this context, Henry of Carinthia put his diplomatic skills again to the test by taking on the role of a mediator. He succeeded in reconciling the opponents, at least for a short period of time.²⁴

19 Wicksteed 1906, str. 445.

20 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 382–383, Paschini 1935, str. 219; Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogadro, *Memorie del beato Enrico, I*, Venezia 1760, str. 196.

21 Številka je omenjena na koncu popisa ob seštevku enot. Mogoče je, da kategorija »lokostrelcev« vključuje tudi del pehote goriškega grofa.

22 Azzoni Avogadro 1760, str. 196–199.

23 Cenejši jezdni konj, primeren za transport.

21 The number mentioned at the end of the list of the total number of soldiers. It is possible that the category of archers includes also some of the infantry of the Count of Gorizia.

22 Civil governor.

23 Azzoni Avogadro 1760, pp. 196–199.

24 Azzoni Avogari 1760, p. 199. Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 382–383; MHDC VIII, document no. 499, s. l., 1319 September; document no. 517, Graz, 1320 January 23.

v vlogi posrednika. Nasprotnika mu je uspelo pomiriti, čeprav le začasno.²⁴

Cangrande vseeno ni prekinil obleganja, zato se je Henrik Goriški odločil za napad. Skupaj z Ulrikom Walseejem mu je uspelo neopaženo vstopiti v mesto z vojsko, katere jedro je tvorilo 500 težko oboroženih konjenikov iz Furlanije in »nemških« dežel.²⁵ Če je ta številka točna, to pomeni, da so se zbrane Henrikove sile od prvotnega stanja konec prejšnjega leta že občutno zmanjšale ali pa je grof operacijo izpeljal le s svojim kontingentom in morebiti še ob pomoči Walseejevega spremstva. 23. avgusta so njuni najemniki skupaj z mestno posadko pripravili nenaden izpad. Presenečena veronska vojska, nepripravljena na bitko, kljub svoji velikosti ni mogla zadržati napada. Goriške sile so Verončane razbile v naskoku in jim zadale hude izgube. Cangrande je bil v spopadu ranjen in je komaj ubežal v Monselice, velik del njegovih vojakov pa so zmagovalci skupaj s plenom zajeli v veronskem taboru.²⁶

Pohod vojvode Henrika leta 1324

V začetku septembra 1321 je Friderik Lepi položaj državnega vikarja v Padovi zaupal koroškemu vojvodi Henriku.²⁷ Cangrande je izgubil še enega podpornika, ki v nasprotju z grofom Goriškim ni bil spreten strateg, vendar je imel na voljo velika finančna sredstva. V želji po maščevanju so začele veronske sile vnovič ogrožati Padovo. Vojvoda Henrik je za zavarovanje mesta že novembra poslal prvo enoto 200 težko oboroženih konjenikov pod vodstvom izkušenega poveljnika Konrada von Aufensteina, naslednje leto še 400. Spomladi 1322 so se pojavili tudi novi poskusi diplomatske rešitve. Friderik Lepi je namreč Henrika pooblastil za pogajanja s Cangrandejem in meščani Padove.²⁸ Tudi ta mirovna prizadevanja so spodletela, oboroženi vpadi Verončanov pa so se nadaljevali. Nenehni spopadi so zelo

Cangrande, still, did not raise his siege, and Henry of Gorizia consequently decided to launch an attack. Together with Ulrich von Walsee, he managed to enter the city with his troops, which consisted of 500 heavily armed horsemen from Friuli and German states, without being noticed.²⁵ If this number is accurate, Henry's forces were considerably reduced compared to the initial size at the end of the previous year or it may signify that the count wanted to conduct this operation only with his own contingent and with the assistance of Walsee's escort. On 23 August, their mercenaries together with the Paduan garrison took positions around the city and prepared a sudden charge. The Veronese army, surprised and unprepared, could not defy the assault. Henry's forces routed the Veronese and inflicted great losses on them. Cangrande was wounded in the battle and could hardly escape to Monselice. A great number of his soldiers was captured by the victorious side together with the rich booty in the Veronese camp.²⁶

The Campaign of Duke Henry in 1324

At the beginning of September 1321, Frederick the Fair offered the position of the state vicar of Padua to Duke Henry of Carinthia.²⁷ Cangrande lost another of his supporters, who in contrast to the Count of Gorizia, was not a skillful strategist, yet disposed of great financial assets. Hoping to avenge themselves, the Veronese again started to threaten Padua. In November, Duke Henry sent the first unit of 200 heavily armed horsemen under the command of the experienced Conrad von Aufenstein to protect the city and in the following year another unit of 400 troops. In the spring of 1322, several attempts were made to find diplomatic solutions. Frederick the Fair authorised Henry to negotiate with Cangrande and the citizens.²⁸ Yet, these endeavours to promote peace failed, and armed incursions continued to shake Verona. These constant conflicts affected Henry's financial assets severely, as the costs of the war greatly surpassed the income generated by Paduan estates.²⁹

24 Azzoni Avogadro 1760, str. 199. Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 382–383; MHDC VIII, listina št. 499, s. I., 1319 september; listina št. 517, Gradec, 1320 januar 23.

25 Tu nastaja očitno nesoglasje v Villanijevem poročilu – pisec najprej trdi, da je veronska vojska popolnoma obkolila Padovo in zavarovala vse dostope v mesto, po drugi strani pa ni opazila prihoda sil goriškega grofa. Torej je Villani morda pretiral o celovitosti Cangrandejevega obroča okrog Padove. Po drugi strani ne moremo izključiti možnosti, da je zaradi nepazljivosti del oblegovalcev zanemaril varovanje določenega dela obkolitvenega obroča.

26 Wicksteed 1906, str. 446–7.

27 MHDC VIII, listina št. 593, Judenburg, 1321 september 5; listina št. 594, Judenburg, 1321 september 6.

28 MHDC VIII, listina št. 614, Briksen, 1322 marec 30.

25 There is an obvious discrepancy in Villani's report – the author maintains that Veronese forces had completely encircled Padua and protected all entrances into the city. On the other hand, they did not notice the arrival of the forces led by the Count of Gorizia. Thus, Villani perhaps exaggerated on the effectiveness of Cangrande's encirclement. On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that, as a result of negligence, the besiegers failed to guard a certain portion of the perimeter.

26 Wicksteed 1906, pp. 446–7.

27 MHDC VIII, document no. 593, Judenburg, 1321 September 5; document no. 594, Judenburg, 1321 September 6.

28 MHDC VIII, document no. 614, Brixen, 1322 March 30.

29 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, p. 384.

osiromašili Henrikovo blagajno, saj so stroški za vojskovanje močno presejali prihodke s padovanskih posesti.²⁹ 7. aprila je koroški vojvoda ostal brez pomembnega zaveznika in odličnega vojskovodje, goriškega grofa Henrika, ki je nenadoma umrl, verjetno zaradi posledic srčnega napada. Strah pred Cangrandejem je bil v Trevisu tako močan, da so meščani oblast takoj izročili grofovemu sinu, vendar je tedaj realno vodenje obrambe v celoti pripadlo Henriku Koroškemu.³⁰

Visoki stroški obrambe pred Verončani so vojvodo Henrika prepričali, da je poskusil spor rešiti s tveganim spopadom na bojnem polju. Decembra 1323 se je v Čedadu sešel s Friderikom Lepim, ki je odobril akcijo in jo tudi podprl.³¹ Poleti 1324 se je v Padovi zbrala velika vojska, ki sta ji uradno poveljevala avstrijski vojvoda Oto in koroški vojvoda čeprav je bojni pohod organiziral predvsem slednji. Prvi kontingent, ki je prispel v mesto, je obsegal 400 konjenikov pod poveljstvom Konrada von Aufensteina. Sledila mu je precej nedisciplinirana glavnina vojske, ki je 3. junija prišla v Treviso. Že v Dravski dolini je povzročila nekaj škode podeželskemu prebivalstvu, nato pa doobra upustošila Furlanijo in okolico Trevisa do Mester.³²

Prihod tako močnih sil je v Veroni povzročil razburjenje. Cangrande se verjetno nikoli ni nameraval resno spopasti z njimi, temveč je poskušal zavladevati. Njegov zaupnik Bailardino de Nogarola, *podesta* v Vicenzi, je v prvi polovici junija odpotoval k vojvodi Henriku in poskušal doseči premirje. Tako mu je vsaj za nekaj tednov uspelo odložiti prodor sovražnih sil.³³ Henrik Koroški in Oto Avstrijski sta po tem premoru 21. junija vstopila v Padovo. Tedaj so tudi popisali njune najemniške enote, zato lahko na podlagi ohranjenih dokumentov dobro rekonstruiramo vsaj del sil, s katerimi sta poskušala uničiti veronskega potentata.

Osnovne sile vojvode Henrika je tvorilo najmanj 1368 težko oboroženih konjenikov in

*On 7 April, the Duke of Carinthia lost his important ally and outstanding commander, the Count Henry of Gorizia, who suddenly died, probably due to a heart attack. The fear of Cangrande was so great in Treviso that the citizens immediately conferred power to the count's underage son. Nevertheless, at that instant, defence was actually carried out by Henry of Carinthia.*³⁰

As a result of the high costs associated with the defence against the Veronese army, Duke Henry decided to try to settle the conflict with a risky engagement on the battlefield. In December 1323, he met Frederick the Fair in Cividale del Friuli who approved the operation and also agreed to support it.³¹ In the summer of 1324, a large army gathered in Padua which was formally commanded by the Austrian Duke Otto and Duke Henry of Carinthia. Yet, the campaign was in fact mainly organised by the latter. The first contingent that arrived in the city was composed of 400 horsemen under the command of Conrad von Aufenstein. He was followed by a fairly undisciplined core of the army, which arrived in Treviso on 3 June. During their march, they caused damage to the population in the Drau (Drava) valley, and finally ravaged through Friuli and the surroundings of Treviso and Mestre.³²

The arrival of such strong forces must have caused great commotion in Verona. Probably, Cangrande never intended to seriously oppose them, but instead tried to stall their advance. His confidant, Bailardino de Nogarola, podesta in Vicenza, set out to the duke in the first half of June and tried to negotiate a truce. Thus, he succeeded to delay the breakthrough of the enemy forces for at least a few weeks.³³ Henry of Carinthia and Otto of Austria managed to enter Padua after this truce on 21 June. At that time, a list was drawn up of their mercenary forces. These documents now enable us to reconstruct at least a part of the structure of the army that tried to destroy the Veronese potentate.

The core of Duke Henry's forces consisted of 1,368 heavily armed horsemen and 415 crossbowmen.³⁴ According to contemporary reports, the entire army consisted of 2,000 heavily armed armoured soldiers,

29 Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 384.

30 MHDC VIII, listina št. 660, s. l., 1323 april 24.

31 MHDC VIII, listina št. 684, s. l., 1323 december.

32 MHDC VIII, listina št. 722, s. l., 1324 konec maja; listina št. 723, Treviso, 1324 junij 3.; listina št. 777, Salzburg, 1325 maj 16.

33 MHDC VIII, listina št. 726, s. l., 1324 sredina junija.

30 MHDC VIII, document no. 660, s. l., 1323 April 24.

31 MHDC VIII, document no. 684, s. l., 1323 December.

32 MHDC VIII, document no. 722, s. l., 1324 end of June; document no. 723, Treviso, 1324 June 3.; document no. 777, Salzburg, 1325 May 16.

33 MHDC VIII, document no. 726, s. l., 1324 mid-June.

34 Considering the fact that the exact number of soldiers in certain detachments is not stated, and it is assumed that each of the detachments included at least one heavily armed horseman or archer. The total number listed in the registering book amounts up to 1,330 heavily armed soldiers and 294 archers, which is possibly a result of a calculation mistake. Josef Riedmann, *Die Beziehungen der Grafen und Landesfürsten von Tirol zu Italien bis zum Jahre 1335*, Wien 1977, p. 546.

415 samostrelcev,³⁴ po sočasnih poročilih pa je celotna vojska obsegala 2000 težko oboroženih oklepnikov, 200 ogrskih lokostrelcev na konjih, 800 samostrelcev, 7000 suličarjev ter 4000 lažje oboroženih konjenikov in kmetov oziroma pomožnih enot.³⁵ Ta seštevek, skupno 14.000 vojakov, je morda videti previsok, vendar je treba upoštevati, da ne gre le za pavšalno oceno kronista, temveč za administrativni podatek. Sprejemljivejši postane, če ga primerjamo s podatki o silah Henrika Goriskega, prav tako pa je treba pripomniti, da je v celotni številki »le« skupno 3000 težko oboroženih konjenikov, samostrelcev in lokostrelcev na konjih, torej tistih profesionalcev, po katerih so dejansko merili udarno moč vojske. Kolikšen delež vseh sil je Henrik tudi v resnici odvedel pred Monselice, je nemogoče natančno oceniti. Smiselno bi bilo pričakovati, da je za obrambo zaledja oddelil občutne sile, zlasti pehoto in slabše opremljeno moštvo, ki mu v spopadu na bojnem polju ne bi veliko koristilo. Kljub temu se najbrž ne bi prenažili z domnevo, da je bilo v aktivni del operacije vključenih najmanj 2000 težko oboroženih konjenikov in samostrelcev ter vsaj še enkrat toliko pomožnega osebja in lažjih enot.³⁶ Vsekakor pa je šlo za spoštovanja vredno oboroženo silo, ki kaže na velike razsežnosti Henrikove resnične moči. Jedro njegovih enot je prihajalo iz Koroške, Kranjske in Štajerske, pridružili pa so se mu tudi najemniki iz sosednjih dežel in severne Italije.

200 Hungarian mounted archers, 800 crossbowmen, 7,000 spearmen and 4,000 lightly armed horsemen and peasants, respectively auxiliary units.³⁵ This total number of 14,000 troops might seem to be too high, yet one has to consider that it is not an approximation of a chronicler, but that it is based on administrative data. The number may become more acceptable when it is compared with the data on the forces of Henry of Gorizia. It should also be mentioned that the entire number of the forces includes "only" 3,000 heavily armed horsemen, crossbowmen and mounted archers, that is, the professionals that formed the real striking force of the army. It is impossible to estimate the precise extent of the actual number of forces that were led by Henry to Monselice. It would be reasonable to expect that he assigned a large number of troops to the rear defence; these forces comprised infantry and lightly armed auxiliary troops, which would not be of great use in an engagement on the battlefield. Despite all of this, we would not risk to make too hasty assumptions by presuming that the active component participating in the operation consisted of at least 2,000 heavily armed horsemen and crossbowmen, as well as at least twice as many auxiliary personnel and lighter units.³⁶ Nevertheless, it was an army of a respectable size, which demonstrated Henry's real power. The core of his units originated from Carinthia, Carniola and Styria, which were also joined by mercenaries from neighbouring countries and Northern Italy.

34 ... če upoštevamo, da natančno število vojakov v nekaterih oddelkih ni navedeno, ter predvidevamo, da je bil v vsakem od njih najmanj en težko oboroženi konjenik ali strellec. Seštevek v računski knjigi znaša 1330 težko oboroženih vojakov in 294 strelcev, kar je morda posledica računске napake. Josef Riedmann, *Die Beziehungen der Grafen und Landesfürsten von Tirol zu Italien bis zum Jahre 1335*, Wien 1977, str. 546.

35 MHDC VIII, listina št. 722, s. I., 1324 konec maja; listina št. 723, Treviso, 1324 junij 3.
36 Podatki o nakupu kruha, ki so podrobneje opisani v nadaljevanju, dajejo slutiti, da je ta številka vsaj realna, če že ne precej prenizka. Zlasti zanimivi sta dve največji pošiljki, ena za skoraj 55.000 in druga za 30.000 hlebcev. Ker je kruh pokvarljivo živilo, je posamezna pošiljka najbrž zadostovala največ za tri dni. Če domnevamo, da sta vsakemu vojaku pripadala dva hlebca na dan, bi tako s 55.000 hlebci v treh dneh lahko nasitili skoraj 9200 ljudi, s 30.000 hlebci pa 5.000. Povsem mogoče je tudi, da je dnevni obrok obsegal le en hlebec ali pa so celotno zalogo kruha porabili že prej, torej je bilo jedcev še več.

35 MHDC VIII, document no. 722, s. I., 1324 end of May; document no. 723, Treviso, 1324 June 3.

36 The purchase of bread which is detailed in the continuation of the text gives a hint that this number is real, if not considerably conservative. Particularly interesting are the two greatest supplies of bread, one of almost 55,000 and the other of 30,000 loaves. As bread is a perishable food, each supply could not be expected to last much longer than three days. If we assume that each soldier was provided with two loaves of bread a day, 55,000 loaves would feed almost 9,200 persons in three days and 30,000 loaves 5,000 persons. It is also possible that a day's ration consisted only of one loaf or that the entire supply of bread was consumed in a shorter time, therefore meaning that the actual number of troops may have been even higher.

Vodja najemniškega oddelka	Številčno stanje ob skupnem popisu ³⁷		Številčno stanje do 21. junija ³⁸	
	Težko oboroženi konjeniki	Strelci	Težko oboroženi konjeniki	Plačilo 3. junija ³⁹ (v lb.)
Henrik Graland	16	6	16	576 lb.
Henrik von Aufenstein	4			
Ch. von Arberg	15			
Jakob von Sankt Michaelsburg	5			
Dietmar von Sankt Lamprechtsburg	4			
Oto von Prey	1			
Flachsperger ml. ⁴⁰	6	4		
Jurij von Vilanders	10			
Viljem von Gerrenstain	2			
Huntlin Laurencius s tovariši	18	6		
Sebnerius	4			
H. Aeuster	4			
Ch. Puchaer	1	1		
Volkmar	?			
Ulrik von Schwangau	1			
Chaerlingerji	4			
Mulser	2			
Jakob Vollrer	1			
grof von Escheloch, Jurij von Angerheim in njegov stric Janez	9			
Ch. von Seben	4			
Fritz ab dem Berg	3			
Teyser	3			
H. von Pradel	2			
Tobias von Rodninch	2			
Diabolus von Mulbach	2			
Schonegger in Althaimer	2			
Zaissinger	1			
Hans von Furmian	1			
Laurein in njegov brat	2			
Oto von Schroffenstein in njegov brat H., vitez Jurij	2			
Potzner, Kristjan, Wernlin, Gabriel	4			
dva Avstrijca	2			
Ulrik Wadler in Kristjan von Gehage	3			
salzburški najemniki	10			
Obulus, Helblinch, Unger	1			
Andrej Naerrenpech	1			
H. Austrunch	1			
Goczze iz Regensburga	2	1		
dva »Franchones«	2			
Paebel Chreyger	1			
Jurij Schroffenstein	12	4		
Meusenreuter	4			
Hartnid von Weißenegg	4			
avstrijski vojvoda Oto	250	130		
lavantinski škof ⁴¹	36	16	16	576 lb.
			20	720 lb.
grofa Majnhard in Albreht Ortenburški ⁴²	58	20	61 ⁴³	2196 lb.
grof Schaubnerški	34	16	34	1224 lb.
grof Pfannberški	50	30	50	1800 lb.
gospod Hohenloch	22	15	11	396 lb.
			11	396 lb.
Herdegen Ptujski	50	16	25	900 lb.
			25	900 lb.
Hugo Svibenski	24	11	12	432 lb.
			12	432 lb.
Žovneški	24	8	12	432 lb.
			12	432 lb.

37 Riedmann 1977, str. 544–546.

38 Riedmann 1977, str. 547–551.

39 Po ključcu: 1 marka (m.) = 10 liber (lb.) = 120 grošev (g.).

40 Kolon von Flaschberg je bil upravičen do 300 m. bernske teže odškodnine za službovanje pri Padovi. Herman Wiessner, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae, IX*, Klagenfurt 1963, listina št. 70, Innsbruck, 1327 januar 5.

41 Vojvoda Henrik je lavantinskemu škofu Ditriku 12. maja 1325 izplačal dodatnih 160 m. za vino in žito, ki ga je dobil na Koroškem, 32 m. za škofovega bojnega konja, kupljenega za bojni pohod na Padovo, za 36 oklepnikov in 16 strelcev pa še 480 m. oglejskih denaričev. Ker vojvoda teh zneskov ni bil sposoben plačati v gotovini, je škofu začasno prepustil grad pri Freibergeru na Koroškem. MHDC VIII, listina št. 776, Innsbruck, 1325 maj 12.; listina št. 778, Innsbruck, 1325 maj 16.

42 Vojvoda Henrik je grofu Albrehtu Ortenburškemu 16. septembra 1326 za službovanje pred mestom Monselice priznal odškodnino v višini 400 m. oglejskih denaričev ter mu zato zastavil Kostanjevico na Krki. MHDC IX, listina št. 46, Innsbruck, 1326 september 16.

43 K tej enoti je poleg oddelka ortenburških grofov Majnharda in Albrehta štet še vitez Ulrik von Silberberg z dvema spremljevalcema s Frankovskega.

Rudolf von Stattegg	7	4	7	252 lb.
Konrad von Aufenstein ⁴⁴	97	46	100	3600 lb.
štirje Liebenbergerjevi ⁴⁵	52	14	57	2052 lb.
rodbina Glanegg	6	1	6	216 lb.
Ostroviški	12	2	12	432 lb.
Truchsner	6	2	6	216 lb.
Gradenegger z bratrancem	4		4	144 lb.
Ungnad	14	8		
Greif Creteški	32	14	8	288 lb.
			24	864 lb.
Friderik Čreteški s stricem	16	?	8	288 lb.
			8	288 lb.
Turjaški	10	2	5	180 lb.
			5	180 lb.
Ulrik Pilchgraetzzler	3	1	3	108 lb.
Ch. Starchenberger	2	1	2	72 lb.
Wispech z bratrancem	11		11	396 lb.
Hugo Devinski ⁴⁶	50	20	50	1800 lb.
Stuhsee	10	?		
Gall von Liebegg	2		2	72 lb.
vsi Gotterji	20	6		
Strassauer	8		8	288 lb.
Gukaeniaer	8			
Spengenberger	10			
Galuaeniger / Galuen iz Maniaga	2	?	2	72 lb.
Rubeyner / Nikolaj Rubiner	1		1	36 lb.
enote v Trevisu	50			
enote v Padovi	200			
Wachspeutel	8	5		
Ortolf iz Šentvida			22	792 lb.
			22	792 lb.
... von Gundoluingen			2	72 lb.
vitez von Silberberg			6	216 lb.
baselski najemniki			4	144 lb.
			4	144 lb. ⁴⁷
babenerški najemniki			14	504 lb.
Wispech in njegov bratranec, vodji skupine salzburških najemnikov			11	396 lb.
Janez Goldegg			1	36 lb.
Janez Goldegg in Ludvik Merer			2	72 lb.
Herman von Althofen (Oufhouen)			1	36 lb.

44 25. avgusta 1325 je vojvoda Henrik Konradu za službovanje pri Padovi in obleganje Monselic leto prej, za potne stroške in odkupnino za nürnberškega grofa v Šentvidu priznal še odškodnino v višini 1600 m. oglejskih denaričev. MHDC VIII, listina št. 802, Innsbruck, 1325 avgust 25.

45 22. oktobra 1325 je vojvoda Henrik Petru Liebenbergerju za službovanje pri Padovi in gradnjo v Ribnici na Vrbskem jezeru izplačal odškodnino 440 m. oglejskih denaričev ter mu za to vsoto zastavil 24 kmetij. MHDC VIII, Tirol, 1325 oktober 22. Več kot dve leti pozneje mu je povrnil še 100 m. za bojnega konja, ki ga je odkupil pri Padovi. MHDC IX, listina št. 147, Sct. Zenoberg, 1328 januar 21.

46 17. maja 1328 je vojvoda Henrik Hugu Devinskemu za službovanje pri Padovi in obleganje Monselic priznal odškodnino 1200 m. oglejskih denaričev, ki jih je nameraval pokriti iz prihodkov na Kranjskem. MHDC IX, listina št. 179, Gries, 1328 maj 17.

47 Le za drugi mesec.

Leaders of mercenary detachments	Total size ³⁷		Size by 21 June ³⁸	
	Heavily armed horsemen	Archers	Heavily armed horsemen	Payment on 3 June ³⁹ (in lb.)
Heinrich Graland	16	6	16	576 lb.
Heinrich von Aufenstein	4			
Ch. von Arberg	15			
Jakob von Sankt Michaelsburg	5			
Dietmar von Sankt Lamprechtsburg	4			
Otto von Prey	1			
Flachsperger jr. ⁴⁰	6	4		
Georg von Vilanders	10			
Wilhelm von Gerrenstein	2			
Huntlin Laurencius and comrades	18	6		
Sebnerius	4			
H. Aeuster	4			
Ch. Puchaer	1	1		
Volkmar	?			
Ulrich von Schwangau	1			
Chaerlinger	4			
Mulser	2			
Jakob Vollrer	1			
Count of Escheloch, Georg von Angerheim and his uncle Johannes	9			
Ch. von Seben	4			
Fritz ab dem Berg	3			
Teyser	3			
H. von Pradel	2			
Tobias von Rodninch	2			
Diabolus von Mulbach	2			
Schonegger and Althaimer	2			
Zaissinger	1			
Hans von Furmian	1			
Laurein and his brother	2			
Otto von Schroffenstein and his brother H., Knight Georg	2			
Potzner, Christian, Wernlin, Gabriel	4			
Two Austrians	2			
Ulrich Wadler and Christian von Gehage	3			
Mercenaries from Salzburg	10			
Obulus, Helblinch, Unger	1			
Andreas Naerrenpech	1			
H. Austrunch	1			
Goczze from Regensburg	2	1		
Two »Franchones«	2			
Paebel Chreyger	1			
Georg Schroffenstein	12	4		
Meusenreuter	4			
Hartnid von Weißenegg	4			
Duke Otto of Austria	250	130		
Bishod of Lavant ⁴¹	36	16	1620	576 lb.
				720 lb.
Counts Meinhard and Albrecht of Ortenburg ⁴²	58	20	61 ⁴³	2196 lb.
Count Schaunberg	34	16	34	1224 lb.
Count Pfannberg	50	30	50	1800 lb.
Hohenloch	22	15	11	396 lb.
			11	396 lb.
Herdegen von Pettau (Ptui)	50	16	25	900 lb.
			25	900 lb.
Hugo von Scharffenberg (Svibno)	24	11	12	432 lb.
			12	432 lb.
The Saneęęs (Žovnek)	24	8	12	432 lb.
			12	432 lb.

37 Riedmann 1977, pp. 544–546.

38 Riedmann 1977, pp. 547–551.

39 According to key: 1 mark (m.) = 10 libras (lb.) = 120 groschen (gr.).

40 Cholo von Flaschberg was entitled to 300 m. Bernese weight of reimbursement for his service in Padua. Herman Wiessner, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae, IX*, Klagenfurt 1963, document no. 70, Innsbruck, 1327 January 5.

41 On 12 May 1325, Duke Henry paid Dietrich, the Bishop of Lavant, an additional 160 m. for water and grain, which he obtained from Carinthia, 32 m. for the Bishop's war horse bought for the campaign in Padua and 480 m. of Aquileian Pfennigs for 36 armoured soldiers and 16 archers. As the Duke was not able to pay all these amounts in cash, he had to temporarily resign his castle in Freiberg in Carinthia to the Bishop. MHDC VIII, document no. 776, Innsbruck, 1325 May 12.; document no. 778, Innsbruck, 1325 May 16.

42 On 16 September 1326, Duke Henry allowed Count Albrecht von Ortenburg a reimbursement of 400 m. of Aquileian Pfennigs for his service in Monselice and gave him Kostanjevica on Krka in pledge. MHDC IX, document no. 46, Innsbruck, 1326 September 16.

43 In addition to the detachment led by the Counts of Ortenburg, Meinhard and Albrecht, the unit included the Knight Ulrich von Silberberg with two followers from Franconia.

Rudolf von Stattegg	7	4	7	252 lb.
Conrad von Aufenstein ⁴⁴	97	46	100	3600 lb.
Four members of the Liebenberg family ⁴⁵	52	14	57	2052 lb.
The Glanegg family	6	1	6	216 lb.
Osterwitz	12	2	12	432 lb.
Truchsner	6	2	6	216 lb.
Gradenegger and his cousin	4		4	144 lb.
Ungnad	14	8		
Greif von Reutenberg (Čretež)	32	14	8	864 lb.
			24	288 lb.
Friedrich von Reutenberg (Čretež) and his uncle	16	?	8	288 lb.
			8	288 lb.
The Auerspergs (Turjak)	10	2	5	180 lb.
			5	180 lb.
Ulrich Pilchgraetzzer (Polhov Gradec)	3	1	3	108 lb.
Ch. Starchenberger	2	1	2	72 lb.
Wispech and his cousin	11		11	396 lb.
Hugo von Tübein (Duino) ⁴⁶	50	20	50	1800 lb.
Stuhsee	10	?		
Gall von Liebegg	2	2	2	72 lb.
All members of the Gotters family	20	6		
Strassauer	8		8	288 lb.
Gukaeniaer	8			
Spengenberger	10			
Galuaeniger/Galuen from Maniago	2	?	2	72 lb.
Rubeyner/Nicholas Rubiner	1		1	36 lb.
Units in Treviso	50			
Units in Padua	200			
Wachspeutel	8	5		
Ortolf from St. Veit			22	792 lb.
			22	792 lb.
... von Gundoluingen			2	72 lb.
Knight von Silberberg			6	216 lb.
Mercenaries from Basel			4	144 lb.
			4	144 lb. ⁴⁷
Mercenaries from Babenberg			14	504 lb.
Wispech and his cousin, leaders of the mercenary groups from Salzburg			11	396 lb.
Johann Goldegg			1	36 lb.
Johann Goldegg and Ludwig Merer			2	72 lb.
Hermann von Althofen (Oufhouen)			1	36 lb.

44 On 25 August 1325, Duke Henry, allowed a reimbursement to Conrad for his service in Padua and during the siege of Monselice in the previous year, for his travel expenses and ransom for a certain count from Nuremberg in St. Veit in the amount of 1,600 m. of Aquileian Pfennigs. MHDC VIII, document no. 802, Innsbruck, 1325 August 25.

45 On 22 October 1325, Duke Henry paid Peter Liebenberger for his service in Padua and the construction of the castle of Reifnitz on the Wörtersee a reimbursement of 440 m. of Aquileian Pfennigs and gave him 24 farmsteads in pledge. MHDC VIII, Tyrol, 1325 October 22. More than two years later, he paid him 100 m. for a war horse which he bought for him in Padua. MHDC IX, document no. 147, Sct. Zenoberg, 1328 January 21.

46 On 17 May 1328, Duke Henry allowed Hugo of Tübein for his service in Padua and the siege in Monselice a reimbursement of 1,200 m. of Aquileian Pfennigs which he intended to cover with the income from Carniola. MHDC IX, document no. 179, Gries, 1328 May 17.

47 Only for the second month.

S seznama je mogoče jasno razbrati sestavo nanovačenih enot. Podobno kot v drugih evropskih deželah v tistem obdobju je tudi koroški vojvoda pridobival najemnike iz različnih virov. Močnejše samostojne kontingente so prispevali njegovi zavezniki in premožni, ugledni plemiči. Nižje plemstvo oziroma poklicni vojaki so prihajali v manjših skupinah, nekateri celo sami. Formalne fevdalne obveznosti so bile pri tem manj pomembne kot družinske vezi in plačila, ki so pripadala vsem udeleženi najemnikom. Zato je organizacijska struktura Henrikove vojske videti zelo barvita ali celo *ad hoc* narave, saj so jo sestavljali številčno različni oddelki, ki jih je bilo treba za bojno delovanje še smiselno urediti v taktične enote.⁴⁸

Na medsebojno povezanost nekaterih kontingentov, bodisi zaradi ozemeljske bližine bodisi zaradi sorodstvenih povezav, osebnih poznanstev ali službovanja pri istem fevdalnem gospodu kaže dejstvo, da so tako v prvem popisu kot v plačnem seznamu, izdanem v Padovi, navedeni bolj ali manj v enakem zaporedju. To lahko opazimo prav pri oddelkih s slovenskega etničnega ozemlja ali neposredne bližine: lavantinskem škofu, Aufensteinih, Herdegnu Ptujskem, Hugu Svibenskem, Žovneških, Čreteških, Turjaških. Da jih v plačnem seznamu najdemo zapisane drugega za drugim, gotovo ni naključje, temveč dokazuje, da so v Padovo prišli približno istočasno ter so v pravnih poslih – zelo verjetno pa tudi pozneje pri izvajanju vojaških operacij – nastopali skupaj. V tistem obdobju je v okviru sil koroškega vojvode deloval še poseben kontingent Goriških s skupno 87 težko oboroženimi konjeniki.⁴⁹

Poleg kontingentov na zgornjem seznamu, ki jih je vojvoda očitno zaposlil za dobo trajanja pohoda, je junija še pred napadom na Monselice za krajši čas najel tudi nekaj drugih enot po dnevni tarifi 10 s. na konja. Tako je Konrada von Schennana najprej vzel v službo za 10 dni z 260 konjeniki za skupno vsoto 1300 lb., nato pa za isto dobo s 37 konjeniki za 185 lb. Kontingentu Konrada Aufensteina se je za 10 dni pridružil Silberberger z 81 konji za plačilo 405 lb.⁵⁰ Prav tako je v okviru

From the list, it is possible to deduce the structure of the recruited units. Similar to other countries of this period, the Duke of Carinthia recruited mercenaries from a variety of sources. Stronger and more independent contingents were contributed by his allies and well-situated, distinguished noblemen. Gentry or professional soldiers arrived in smaller groups as part of families or, occasionally, on their own. Formal feudal commitments were of less importance than family relations and payment which appertained to all participating mercenaries. Therefore, as with most late-medieval armies, the organisational structure of Henry's forces was very colourful. It may even convey the impression of an ad hoc army, being composed of detachments of various sizes which had yet to be transformed into tactical units appropriate for combat operations.⁴⁸

The interconnection between some contingents that may be a result of territorial vicinity, family relations, personal acquaintances or service to the same feudal lord, is proven by the fact that they appear in a more or less identical order on both the first register as well as on the payment roll issued in Padua. This can also be noticed particularly among the detachments originating from the Slovenian territory or its immediate vicinity: the Bishop of Lavant, the Aufensteins, Herdegen von Pettau, Hugo von Scharffenberg, the Saneggs, the Reutenbergs, the Auerspergs. That the payment bill lists them behind each other cannot be a coincidence, but demonstrates that they arrived in Padua at the same time and conducted their legal affairs together (most likely also later on, when participating in military operations). In this period, there was also a special contingent from Gorizia serving the Duke with a total of 87 heavily armed horsemen.⁴⁹

Along with the contingents listed in the above-mentioned registers, which were evidently employed by the duke for the entire period of the campaign, Henry also hired other units at the daily cost of 10 shillings per horse in June, before the attack on Monselice. Thus, he employed Conrad von Schennan, initially for 10 days with 260 horsemen for the total sum of 1300 lb, and later on, once again for the same period with 37 horsemen for 185 lb. The contingent of Conrad von Aufenstein was reinforced by a certain Silberberger for 10 days with 81 horses against the payment of 405 lb.⁵⁰ Similarly, an infantry unit

48 Podoben sistem novačenja, v katerem so prevladovali številčno majhni najemniški oddelki, je bil običajen tudi drugod v poznosrednjeveški Evropi. Prim. Prestwich 1996, str. 41–48; Sergio Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant 1356–1406*, Woodbridge 2004, zlasti str. 196 sl.

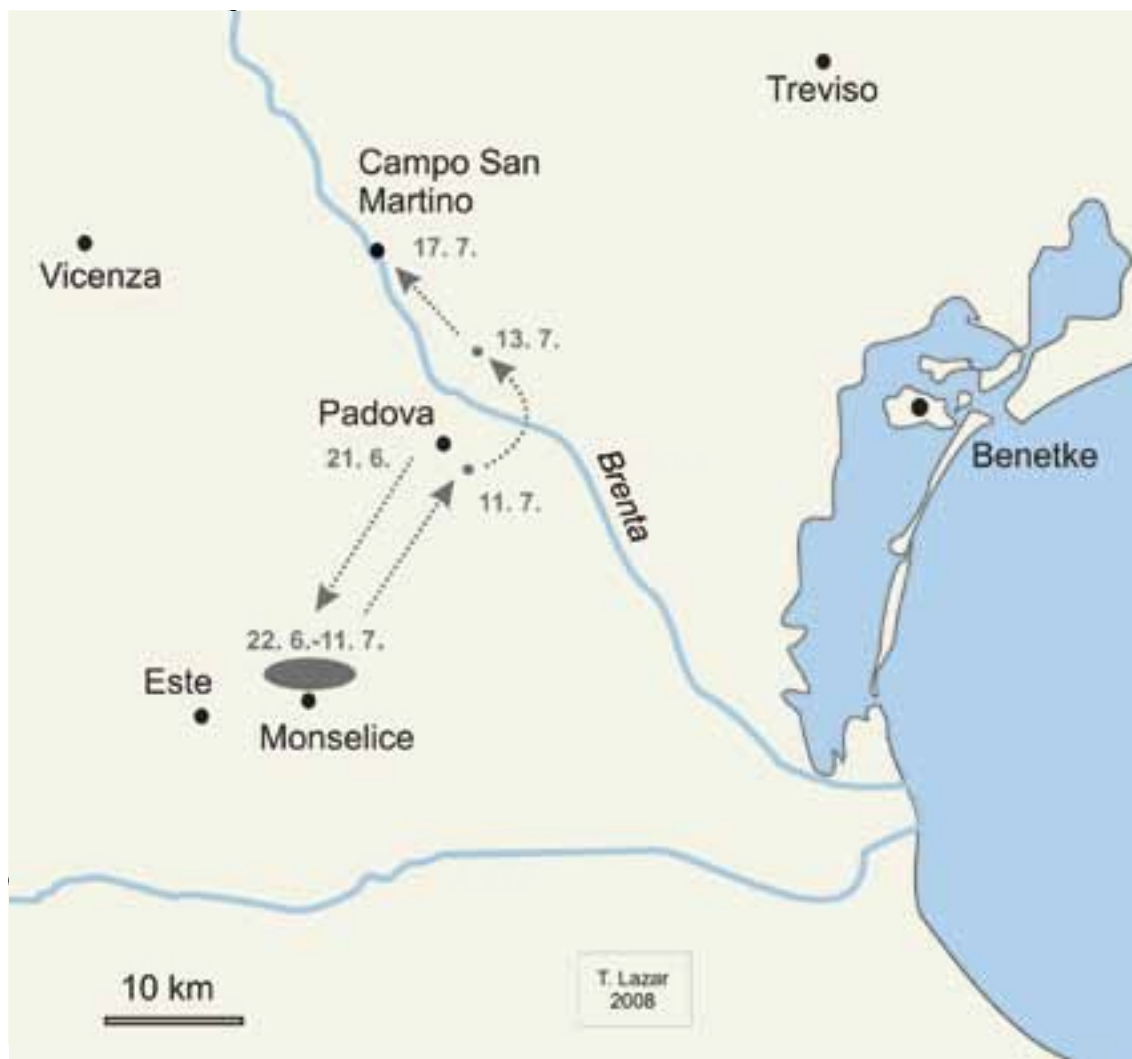
49 Za skupno plačilo 2052 lb. Riedmann 1977, str. 547–551.

50 Riedmann 1977, str. 548–549.

48 A similar recruitment system in which smaller-sized mercenary detachments prevailed was commonly used in other parts of late medieval Europe. Cf. Prestwich 1996, pp. 41–48; Sergio Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant 1356–1406*, Woodbridge 2004, in particular p. 196 ff.

49 For the total payment of 2052 lb. Riedmann 1977, pp. 547–551.

50 Riedmann 1977, pp. 548–549.



Potek pohoda koroškega vojvode Henrika junija in julija 1324

The course of the campaign of Duke Henry in June and July 1324.

Henrikove vojske delovala enota pešakov pod poveljstvom nekega Hermanina. To so 4. julija plačali s 13 m. 8 lb. 7 g., vendar ne vemo, kolikšna je bila niti za kako dolgo so jo najeli.⁵¹

under the command of a certain Hermanin operated as part of Henry's army. This unit was paid on 4 July with 13 m. 8 lb. 7 gr. Unfortunately, neither the exact size nor the duration of their service are known.⁵¹

O Henrikovih kratkoročnih ciljih lahko sklepamo le na podlagi ohranjenih poročil, vendar je vsaj strateško očitno, kaj je želel doseči – zavarovati Padovo, vsaj zastrašiti Cangrandeja, morda pa v ugodnih okoliščinah celo izzvati odločilni spopad. Kolikor lahko presodimo, je bila zadnja možnost še najmanj verjetna. Razvoj dogodkov pa je bil odvisen zlasti od odziva Cangrandeja.

Conclusions on Henry's short-term objectives can be only inferred on the basis of the preserved reports. However, it is, at least from a strategic point of view, evident what he wanted to achieve – to protect Padua, deter Cangrande and possibly, in more favourable conditions, provoke a decisive encounter. As far as we can estimate, the latter possibility was least possible. Yet, the development of the events depended on Cangrande's reactions.

Henrikova vojska si je po zboru v Padovi izbrala za cilj Monselice, mesto, ki je šele malo pred tem prišlo pod veronsko oblast. Kljub velikim in dragim pripravam pa je napad propadel. Na močvirnem zemljišču, prepredenem s kanali, so vojvodovo vojsko zdesetkale bolezni,

Upon assembling in Padua, Henry's army advanced against Monselice, a town which only recently had fallen under Veronese authority. Despite extensive and expensive preparations, the attack failed. On swampy terrain, covered with channels, the duke's army was decimated by disease and had

⁵¹ Riedmann 1977, str. 554.

⁵¹ Riedmann 1977, p. 554.

zato se je umaknila že po treh tednih.⁵² Ob tem očitno ni bilo niti enega večjega spopada. Cangrande se je modro izognil neposrednemu merjenju moči in prepustil Henriku, da svoje sile izčrpa pred Monselicami.

Potek pohoda lahko najbolje rekonstruiramo iz dveh računovodskih spisov, ki sta pravzaprav pregled prejemkov in izdatkov, povezanih z organiziranjem te neuspešne odprave.⁵³ 21. junija so Henrikove enote zapustile Padova, dan pozneje pa so že prišle pred Monselice in tam postavile tabor. Razdalja med mestoma je le 21 km v zračni črti, torej dovolj obvladljiva, da bi jo tudi pešaki s pratežem lahko prepotovali v enem dnevu. Seznam nato popisuje stroške za hrano in druge potrebščine do 11. julija, ko se je Henrikova vojska umaknila in prenočila na travniku pri Padovi. Tam je ostala ves dan in se spet premaknila šele dan pozneje. Nato je še nekaj dni manevrirala – 13. julija je obšla Padova in prečkala Brento, istega dne pa je vojvoda Henrik tudi uradno končal obleganje Monselice in sklenil premirje s Cangrandejem.⁵⁴ Njegove sile so se nato počasi pomikale še približno 10 km navzgor ob rečnem toku po severnem bregu in 17. julija obstale pri vasi San Martino, 17 km severozahodno od Padove.⁵⁵

Operacija je bila torej presenetljivo kratkotrajna in vojaško ni dosegla ničesar. Zdi se, da je bila namenjena predvsem razkazovanju moči. Upravičeno lahko dvomimo o tem, ali je vojvoda Henrik sploh resno nameraval zasesti Monselice. Navsezadnje na celotnem seznamu transakcij ni zaslediti nobenih plačil, povezanih z inženirskimi strokovnjaki, izdelavo ali transportom oblegovalnih naprav. Brez takšne opreme pa ne bi bilo mogoče zasesti utrjenega, primerno branjenega mesta; prav tako ni podatkov o tem, da bi Henrik poskusil tvegati frontalni naskok na mesto.

Stroški pohoda in logistična podpora

Henrikova odprava kljub velikopoteznemu načrtovanju ni obrodila pravih sadov. Vseeno je za raziskovanje srednjeveške vojaške zgodovine zanimiva vsaj po eni plati – zaradi računovodskih popisov obstajajo natančni podatki

to withdraw after just three weeks without a single major engagement.⁵² Cangrande wisely avoided a direct confrontation and left Henry to exhaust his forces around Monselice. The course of the campaign can be best reconstructed with the help of two accounting statements, which are actually a register of income and expenses referring to the organisation of the failed campaign.⁵³ On 21 June, Henry's units left Padua and arrived at Monselice on the following day, setting up a camp. The distance between the cities is only 21 km as the crow flies, no more than a day's march even for infantry. The list states the costs for rations and other requirements up to 11 June, when Henry's army withdrew and spent the night on a meadow near Padua. It remained there all day and moved on the following morning. Then, it manoeuvred for another few days, bypassed Padua on 13 July and crossed the Brenta. On the same day, Duke Henry formally abandoned the siege of Monselice and concluded a truce with Cangrande.⁵⁴ His forces slowly moved 10 km upward along the river stream on the northern banks and stopped in the village of San Martino, 17 km northwest of Padua, on 17 July.⁵⁵

The entire operation was surprisingly short and failed to accomplish any of its goals. It seems that it was intended as a mere show of force. In fact, we can reasonably doubt whether Duke Henry had serious intentions to occupy Monselice. After all, it is not possible to trace any payments in the accounts related to engineers, the construction or transport of siege engines. Without such equipment, it was not possible to conquer a fortified and adequately defended city. There is also no information available that Henry's troops ever risked scaling the walls of Monselice in a direct assault.

Costs of the Campaign and Logistic Support

Despite meticulous plans, Henry's military expedition did not bear fruit. Nevertheless, at least one aspect of it is interesting for the research of medieval history – payment statements deliver detailed information on the expenses of the entire campaign, which allows us a much better understanding of the financial aspect of warfare in the first half or the 14th century. As early as in the concluding phase of the concentration of units from 3 to 21 June, the financial resources of Duke Henry were heavily burdened.

52 Friedensburg 1899, str. 202.

53 Riedmann 1977, str. 547–555.

54 MHDC VIII, listina št. 731, s. l. 1324 julij 13.

55 Prim. Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, str. 384–385, 388.

52 Friedensburg 1899, p. 202.

53 Riedmann 1977, pp. 547–555.

54 MHDC VIII, document no. 731, s. l. 1324 July 13.

55 Cf. Fräss-Ehrfeld 1984, pp. 384–385, 388.

o stroških pohoda, kar omogoča veliko boljše predstavo o finančni plati vojskovanja v prvi polovici 14. st. Že v sklepnem delu zbiranja enot od 3. do 21. junija so bile finance vojvode Henrika močno obremenjene. Sproti je moral namreč plačevati vojaške kontingente, ki so prispeli na zbirno mesto,⁵⁶ ter vsaj delno poskrbeti za njihovo osnovno preskrbo, torej kruh in vino. Na računovodskih seznamih pa so tudi različna izplačila določenim poimensko navedenim najemnikom, zlasti tistim višjega stanu, ki ne sodijo med običajne obveznosti najemnih pogodb. Včasih je šlo morda za velikodušna nadomestila za poškodovano oziroma izgubljeno opremo ali pa nagrade oziroma reprezentančna darila – na primer 400 lb. za bojnega konja enemu od Čreteških, H. Schennanu za enak namen 200 lb., 100 lb. za meč vitezu Ortolfu iz Šentvida, 4 lb. za par pozlačenih ostrog. Veliko je tudi izdatkov za potne stroške, najmanjše služinčadi in pomožnega osebja, skratka za plačila, povezana z vzdrževanjem plemiškega življenjskega sloga.⁵⁷

To je pomemben podatek, ki opozarja na socialne vidike srednjeveškega najemništva. Najemniške plače so bile same po sebi morda vir zaslužka vojakov nizkega rodu ali članom nižjega plemstva, vendar niso zadostovale za nepredvidene stroške. Predvsem pa so bile veliko prenizke, da bi bilo mogoče z njimi opremiti in plačevati številčnejše, razkošnejše spremstvo. Brez tega se pomembnejši plemič ni mogel udeležiti vojaškega pohoda, vsaj ne, če je želel obdržati družbeni ugled. Povedno je, da so bili izplačani zneski za takšne reprezentančne izdatke dokaj veliki. Očitno pred kratkim povitezeni Jakob Vollrer je za »viteški stan« prejel še nizko vsoto 10 lb., Nikolaj, služabnik viteza Nigrina, 50 lb. »*ex gracia speciali*«. Arnold Liebenberger in kaplan Aufensteinov sta iz neznanega vzroka dobila 100 lb., vitez Oton Vollrer prav toliko za poroko, vitez Schroffensteinski in Hartnid von Weißenegg 200 lb., nekateri drugi pa še večje zneske. Avstrijski vojvoda je za svoje »stroške« 21. junija prejel 500 lb., že prej pa so njegovim služabnikom plačali kar 2.640 lb., torej precej več, kot so stale najemniške plače celotnega goriškega kontingenta s 87 težko oboroženimi vojaki. Našteta so tudi manjša plačila različnim uradnikom, na

That is to say, he had to pay his military contingents immediately as they arrived at the assembly site⁵⁶ and to partly provide for their basic supplies of bread and wine. The payment statements also show that various payments were made to certain mercenaries, in particular noblemen, that were not part of ordinary obligations of recruitment contracts. These payments might sometimes be generous reimbursements for damaged or lost equipment or rewards and formal gifts – for example 400 lb. for a war horse to one of the Reutenbergs and 200 lb. to H. Schennau for the same purpose, 100 lb. for the sword of Knight Ortolf from St. Veit, 4 lb. for a pair of gilded spurs. There were also a lot of financial resources dedicated for the payment of travel expenses, hiring of servants and auxiliary personnel, in short payments related to maintaining the extravagant knightly lifestyle.⁵⁷

*This is a significant factor pointing out the social aspects of medieval mercenaries. Mercenaries' wages were, in itself, a source of income for soldiers of lowborn origin or members of the gentry, yet they did not meet the requirements of unpredicted costs. Above all, they were much too low for equipping and upkeeping a large, luxurious retinue. Without such a retinue of attendants and other followers, no nobleman was able to participate in a military campaign, at least not as long as he tried to maintain his social image. The fact that the sums paid for such representative expenses were quite high is very suggestive. The recently knighted Jakob Vollrer received a still fairly modest gift of 10 lb. Nicholas, servant of Knight Nigrinus, received 50 lb *ex gracia speciali*. Arnold Liebenberger and the chaplain of the Aufensteins each received 100 lb. for an unknown reason while Knight Otto Vollrer received the same amount as a wedding gift. Knight Schroffenstein and Hartnid von Weißenegg received 200 lb., some other persons were given even higher amounts of money. The Austrian duke received 500 lb. for his expenses on 21 June, and previously, his servants had been paid as much as 2.640 lb., which is incidentally much more than the mercenary wages of the entire Gorizian contingent with 87 men-at-arms. Listed are also smaller payments to various officials, for example 50 lb. to magister Blanzardino, 300 lb. to a certain magister H. for his work and travelling expenses. There were also presents and items which had little direct link with war: for example 32 empty barrels of which each cost 4 lb., and 22 lb. for a chalice as part of*

⁵⁶ Ta plačila so naštetá v prvi tabeli.
⁵⁷ Riedmann 1977, str. 547–551.

⁵⁶ These payments are listed in the first table.
⁵⁷ Riedmann 1977, pp. 547–551.

primer 50 lb. *magistru* Blanzardinu, 300 lb. za delo in potne stroške *magistru* H., pa tudi darila in predmeti, ki niso bili neposredno povezani z vojskovanjem: na primer 32 praznih sodov, ki so stali vsak 4 lb., ter 22 lb. za kelih, namenjen liturgični opremi.⁵⁸ Poleg zahtevnega logističnega načrtovanja in izplačil najemnikom je torej načrtovalca vojaškega pohoda bremenila še kopica drugih dejavnikov, ki so zahtevali primerno rezervo gotovine ter izkušeno finančno službo, ki je zagotavljala dober pregled nad blagajno. Še preden je Henrik odrinil iz Padove, je moral samo junija za sold in oskrbo odšteti skupno kar 47.930 lb. 12 s.

Stroške, ki jih je moral vojvoda poravnati med dejanskimi vojaškimi operacijami, so njegovi računovodje zaokroženo zapisali v preglednem poročilu, ki so ga sestavili približno pol leta pozneje, 23. januarja 1325, na domačem Tirolskem.⁵⁹ Henrik je lahko črpal finance predvsem iz dveh virov: s svojih domačih posesti in od italijanskih zaveznikov. Da bi si zagotovil primerno podlago za pohod, je nujno potreboval pomoč svojih italijanskih komun. To je v Padovi in Trevisu tudi dobil, kar ne preseneča, saj sta bili obe mesti dobro motivirani za prispevek k obrambi pred Cangrandejem, ki je ogrožal njihove interese. Tako je vojvoda Henrik prejel 850 m, pomembno finančno podporo, brez katere bi se težko vojskoval na bojnem polju.

Veliko daljši je seznam odhodkov. Ta v prvem delu obsega transakcije, povezane še s pripravo pohoda, diplomatska poslanstva in transport zalog od Udine, kjer je bilo očitno vojvodovo izhodišče oziroma preskrbovalna baza, do Sacile in Trevisa. Čeprav je Henrikova vojska delovala na geografsko omejenem prostoru, je bila za njeno preskrbo nujna dobra logistična podpora. Nedvomno so se vojski pridružili še trgovci in najrazličnejši drugi, po večini nezaželeni spremljevalci, ki so običajno sledili srednjeveškim vojskam. Najprej je bilo treba najti primerna prevozna sredstva, torej vozove in voznike, pomembna postavka so bili tudi sodi za prevoz vina. Tega so za pitje praviloma mešali z vodo, ki je bila sicer oporečna, dodatek alkohola pa naj bi zmanjšal tveganje za okužbe. Ob tem je opazna velika cenovna

*the liturgical equipment.*⁵⁸ *Along with the required logistical planning and payments to the mercenaries, commanders were also burdened with a range of other factors that required an adequate reserve of ready cash and an experienced financial service which provided a good overview of the funds. Even before Henry set off to Padua, he had to pay as much as 47,930 lb. 12 s. for wages and supplies in June.*

*The expenses, which the duke had to cover before the actual military operations could begin, were taken down by his accountants and rounded off in a transparent report, which was drawn up around half a year later, on 23 January 1325 in Tyrol.*⁵⁹ *Henry could draw his financial assets from two sources – his estates and from his Italian allies. In order to provide an adequate foundation for the campaign, Henry urgently needed the assistance of his Italian communes. He received support from Padua and Treviso, which should not come as a surprise as both cities were highly motivated to contribute to the defence against Cangrande, who was a threat to their interests. Thus, Henry received 850 m., a significant financial assistance without which he would hardly have been able to engage himself on the battlefield.*

The list of expenses was much longer. Its first part includes transactions referring to the preparation of the campaign, diplomatic representations and transport of supply from Udine, which was clearly their supply base, to Sacile and Treviso. Although Henry's army operated on a geographically limited area, it still needed good logistic support. We may expect that the troops were also joined by traders and various other, generally unwanted, accompanying individuals who usually followed medieval armies. Firstly, it was necessary to find the appropriate means of transportation, such as carts and their drivers. A significant issue was also the transport of wine. This was mixed with water that was usually contaminated, yet, the addition of alcohol supposedly reduced the risk of infections. There was a large difference in the price of the wine served to the duke and the most respectable noblemen to that drunk by the rest of the personnel participating in the campaign.

Staple food that was consumed by all included bread which was occasionally ordered from Padua and perhaps partly from bakers from the surrounding area. Principally, it can be estimated that one or two loaves per day pertained to each soldier and member of the escort. Bread was transported in an

⁵⁸ Glede na višino zneska in velikost vojvodovega vojaškega kontingenta se termin *ministrantes* skoraj zagotovo nanaša na služinčad ali pomožno osebje, ne pa na vojake.

⁵⁹ Riedmann 1977, str. 551–555.

⁵⁸ Considering the amount of money and the size of the duke's contingent the term *ministrantes* is almost definitely referring to servants or auxiliary personnel and not to soldiers.

⁵⁹ Riedmann 1977, pp. 551–555.

razlika med kakovostnim vinom za vojvodo in najuglednejše plemstvo ter tistim slabšim, ki so ga pili preostali udeleženci pohoda.

Osnovno živilo za vse je bil kruh. Tega so vsaj včasih naročali iz Padove, delno morda še pri okoliških pekarnah. Načelno je mogoče predvidevati, da je vsakemu vojaku in članu spremstva pripadal vsaj en hlebec na dan, morda celo dva. Transporti kruha so si sledili v nekajdnevni presledki. Že pred začetkom pohoda je Henrik naročil skoraj 55.000 hlebcev, tovor je zasedel kar 33 vozov. Manjši transporti so pred Monselice očitno prihajali skoraj vsak dan, občasno pa tudi zelo veliki, tako na primer 30.000 hlebcev v nedeljo, 1. julija. Slama in krma za konje se po drugi strani med računskimi vpisi ne pojavljata zelo pogosto, čeprav je bilo v vsej vojski več tisoč jezdnih in tovornih živali. Najverjetneje so za oskrbo konj morali največkrat poskrbeti vojaki in tovarniki sami, morda pa so krmo v zadostnih količinah našli tudi na kraju, kjer so se znašli.

Kakovost hrane ob različnih dneh lahko poskusimo oceniti na podlagi vsakodnevnih izplačil. Kuhinja je blagajno vojvode vsak dan obremenila povprečno za približno 60 lb. Bolj pičli, več kot polovico cenejši so bili postni obroki ob petkih, praznični ob nedeljah pa skoraj še enkrat dražji. Upoštevati je treba tudi, da so večje nakupe vina in kruha vodili ločeno, kot je razvidno iz seznama. Občasno so za kuhinjo nakupili še mast, sir in začimbe, vsaj enkrat tudi slaščice. Kljub neuspeli operaciji in menda slabim razmeram v taboru sredi močvirne ravnice torej med obleganjem niso živeli povsem špartansko.

Končni seštevek odhodkov je po preračunu 856 m. 7 lb. 6,5 g.⁶⁰ Z 850 m. prihodkov je bila torej razlika za to obdobje, ki je neposredno bremenila blagajno vojvode Henrika, le dobrih 6 m. Na prvi pogled Henrika torej pohod finančno ni bistveno oslabil. Prava slika pa se pokaže, če k tem stroškom prištejemo skoraj 4800 m, porabljenih v prvih treh tednih junija. Plačila najemniških plač in preskrbovanje kontingentov na zbirnem mestu so torej Henrika stali skoraj šestkrat več kot sam pohod. Ti izdatki so močno presejali sredstva, ki so mu jih lahko kratkoročno zagotovili italijanski zavezniki.

interval of a few days. Before the campaign began, Henry ordered almost 55,000 loaves, which made up a cargo that fitted onto as much as 33 carts. Smaller amounts were brought to Monselice almost on a daily basis. Larger transports were conducted periodically, for example on Sunday, 1 July. References on hay and fodder for the horses, on the other hand, do not occur frequently in the accounting statements. Most probably, soldiers and personnel responsible for the transportation had to provide these themselves. Probably, they found sufficient quantities of it on the location itself.

The quality of the rations on various days can be estimated based on daily payments. On an average, the kitchen of the duke burdened the funds dedicated for the campaign for 60 lb. per day. More frugal and half cheaper were the fasting rations each Friday whereas the food cooked on Sundays was twice as expensive. It has to be considered that larger purchases of wine and bread were made separately, as is evident from the list. At times, grease, cheese and spices, and at least once, sweets, were purchased. Despite the failure of the operation and presumably bad conditions in the camp located in midst of swampy flat-lands, the conditions during the siege were not completely spartan.

The total sum of expenses was calculated to have amounted up to 856 m. 7 lb. 6,5 g.⁶⁰ With 850 m. of income, the difference for this period, which directly burdened the funds of Duke Henry, was only 6 m. At a first glance, it might seem that the military campaign did not impair Henry's financial resources. However, one can get a clearer idea of the expenditures by adding the amount of almost 4,800 m. to this sum, which were paid in the first three weeks of June. The payment of mercenaries' wages and the supply of the contingents in the assembly therefore cost Henry almost six times more than the actual campaign. These expenses significantly exceeded the resources that he was provided with by his Italian allies.

It should be emphasised that these accounting statements certainly do not include all expenses of the campaign. In particular considering the payment of reimbursement, delays over several years occurred in individual cases. Dietrich, the Bishop of Lavant, Conrad von Aufenstein, Peter Liebenberger, Albrecht and Otto von Ortenburg and Hugo von Tübein had to wait long for the payment of their expenses – Hugo von Tübein even until May 1328. In December 1327,

⁶⁰ Po ugotovitvah računovodje 841 m., vendar ta znesek zaradi več računskih napak ni pravilen.

⁶⁰ According to the accounting statements it amounts to 841 m., but this sum is not correct due to several calculation mistakes.

Opozoriti je treba tudi, da računski spisi še zdaleč ne obsegajo vseh stroškov pohoda. Zlati pri plačilih odškodnin so v posameznih primerih zamujali več let. Lavantinski škof Ditrik, Konrad von Aufenstein, Peter Liebenberger, Albrecht in Oton Ortenburški ter Hugo Devinski so morali na plačilo dolgov čakati dolgo, Hugo Devinski celo do maja 1328. Vojvoda Henrik je Greifu Čreteškemu še decembra 1327 za plače najemnikov in odškodnine dolgoval 420 m. Greifu je naročil, naj se obrne na ljubljanske sodnike, ki mu bodo do sv. Jakoba izplačali 120 m., nato pa v prihodnjih treh letih še zaporedne letne obroke po 100 m.⁶¹ Tako so neizplačani najemniki še več let ostajali vojvodovi upniki. Koliko je bilo še drugih takšnih skritih stroškov, o katerih se ne ve, lahko le ugibamo. Nedvomno so neuspešni vojaški podvigi zelo resno obremenili blagajno vojvode Henrika ter navsezadnje privedli k razpadu njegove italijanske politike. Ker Padovi ni bil sposoben zagotoviti varnosti, so se meščani septembra 1328 z zaroto otresli njegove oblasti. 17. julija 1329 je doživel še en poraz – tega dne so meščani Trevisa za svojega oblastnika sprejeli Cangrandeja. Vendar tudi veronskemu vladarju ni bilo usojeno uživati v tem dosežku, saj je že nekaj dni pozneje umrl v sumljivih okoliščinah, najverjetneje zaradi posledic zastrupitve.⁶²

Sklep

Politično razdrobljen sever Italije je v poznem srednjem veku postal interesno območje, v katerem so se za prevlado bojevali tako domači kot tuji vladarji in višje plemstvo. Da so obeti za ozemeljsko širitev ali vsaj dober zaslužek privabili tudi velikaše in najemniške vojake iz vzhodnoalpskega prostora, je razumljivo že zaradi geografske bližine. O osebnih motivacijah goriškega grofa in koroškega vojvode, da se utrdita v Trevisu in Padovi, vemo zelo malo. Najverjetneje je šlo predvsem za pragmatične poteze, s katerimi sta želela izkoristiti priložnosti, ki so se jima nenadoma ponudile, manj pa plod dolgotrajnejšega načrtovanja. Oba sta se s takšno odločitvijo neposredno vmešala v tekmo s svojim nekdanjim

Duke Henry still owed Greif von Reutenberg 420 m. for the wages of the mercenaries and reimbursement. He ordered Greif to turn to the Ljubljana judges who would pay him 120 m. by St. Jacob's day, and then in the following three years subsequent annual instalments of 100 m.⁶¹ Thus, the unpaid mercenaries remained the duke's creditors for several years. We can only vaguely estimate how many of such hidden expenses actually existed which are still unknown to us. Yet, it is clear that these unsuccessful military endeavours seriously burdened the financial resources of Duke Henry and eventually resulted in the downfall of his Italian strategy. As he was not able to ensure security to Padua, the citizens organised a coup in 1328 to overthrow his authority. On 17 June 1329, he experienced another defeat. On that day, the citizens of Treviso accepted Cangrande as their ruler. Yet, even the Veronese ruler could not enjoy his achievement, as he died a few days later in suspicious circumstances, most likely as the result of poisoning.⁶²

Conclusion

The politically fragmented north of Italy became a scene of interest in which local and foreign rulers and high nobility fought for power. Expectations of a territorial expansion and lucrative profit invited also magnates and mercenaries from the eastern alpine area, which is understandable due to the geographic vicinity. Little is known about the personal motivations of the Count of Gorizia and the Duke of Carinthia to strengthen their positions in Treviso and Padua. Most likely, these were pragmatic moves through which they wanted to grasp the opportunities which suddenly presented themselves rather than being a result of a long-term strategic planning. By doing so, both became involved in competition with their former ally Cangrande della Scala, though presumably they were well aware that meant the possible outburst of military conflicts.

In the wars against the Veronese ruler, both Henry II of Gorizia and Henry of Carinthia found themselves in an awkward situation. The core of their estates was geographically quite distant from potential battlefields, which aggravated the preparations for the campaigns. It also made it more difficult to organise a swift and responsive defence against the Veronese attacks, not to mention the problems with

61 *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane v srednjem veku, I*, Ljubljana 1956, listina št. 26, Tirol, 1327 december 10.

62 MHDC IX, listina št. 200, s. I., 1328 september; listina št. 203, Treviso, 1328 september 5; listina št. 258, Treviso, 1329 julij 17; Friedensburg 1899, str. 228.

61 *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane v srednjem veku, I*, Ljubljana 1956, document no. 26, Tyrol, 1327 December 10.

62 MHDC IX, document no. 200, s. I., September 1328; document no. 203, Treviso, 1328 september 5; doc. no. 258, Treviso, 1329 July 17; Friedensburg 1899, p. 228.

zaveznikom Cangrandejem della Scalo, gotovo pa sta se tudi zavedala, da bo to pomenilo izbruh vojaških spopadov.

V vojnah z veronskim vladarjem sta bila tako Henrik II. Goriški kot Henrik Koroški v neugodnem položaju. Jedro njunih posesti je bilo geografsko precej bolj oddaljeno od možnih bojišč, kar je oviralo priprave pohodov in organiziranje obrambe, ki bi se pravočasno odzivala na veronske vpade, pa tudi učinkovito upravljanje njunih novih italijanskih posesti. Goriški grof je kljub bolj pičlemu gospodarskemu zaledju s sposobnim in dejavnim vodstvom nadoknadil svoje šibke točke in vsaj kratkoročno odbil grožnje Cangrandeja. Kako uspešno bi se razvijala njegova strategija, če ga ne bi prehitela nenadna smrt, ni mogoče oceniti.

Poseg koroškega vojvode Henrika je po drugi strani kljub velikopoteznim pripravam hitro spodletel. Henriku Koroškemu pri vprašanih logistiki ne bi mogli očitati nesposobnosti. Urejal jih je z izšolano in izkušeno administracijo, ki je očitno delala temeljito. Vendar je veliki pohod poleti 1324 dejansko dosegel prav nasprotni učinek od želenega – spodkopal je položaj vojvode Henrika, ki je izčrpal svoja sredstva, ne da bi nasprotniku zadal kakršno koli škodo. Zaostanki s plačili in odškodninami najemnikov dajejo slutiti, da so bile njegove finance zaradi pohoda ohromljene še več let, to pa mu je končno onemogočilo pripravo obrambe v letih, ki so sledila.

Tako zbiranje sil goriškega grofa konec leta 1319 kot natančno popisani pohod Henrika Koroškega kažeta, kako zapletena in draga je bila priprava večjih vojaških operacij v tistem času. Uspešni srednjeveški poveljniki torej niso bili le nagonski individualni bojevniki, temveč predvsem strategji, ki so se sistematično ukvarjali z logistiko in vojnimi financami. Neslavni konec ofenzive na Monselice leta 1324 je poučen, vendar nas ne sme zavesti k pretirano negativnim presojam. Razlogov za neuspelo operacijo je bilo več, med njimi nedosledno izvajanje ali celo pomanjkanje enotnega strateškega načrta, nezdravo podnebje in izbruh epidemij, morda še podcenjevanje nasprotnika. Vendar je bil poraz vojvode Henrika predvsem plod človeških napak, zmotnih presoj in premalo sposobnega vodstva, nikakor pa ne dokaz slabih zmogljivosti poznosrednjeveškega vojaškega sistema.

efficient administration of their new Italian estates. The Count of Gorizia could, despite a more modest economic background, compensate his weak points through a capable and active military leadership and was able to temporarily repel Cangrande's threats. How successful his strategy could have continued to develop if it had not been stopped by his sudden death is of course impossible to predict.

The intervention of Duke Henry of Carinthia, on the other hand, failed quickly despite large-scale preparations. Henry of Carinthia could not be reproached with incapability in dealing with logistics-related issues. He approached them with a well-trained and experienced administration that completed their work meticulously. However, the great campaign in summer 1324 achieved just the opposite effect – it undermined Duke Henry's situation who had exhausted his resources without having inflicted any damage to his enemy. The delays in the payments of wages and reimbursement to the mercenaries give a hint that his financial resources had been paralysed for several years, which in turn impeded him from protecting his Italian territories in the following years.

The recruitment of forces by the Count of Gorizia in 1319 and the detailed records on the campaign of Henry of Carinthia demonstrate how complex and expensive the organisation of larger-scale military operations in this time were. Successful medieval commanders were not only intuitive warriors, but strategists who systematically dealt with logistics and military finances. The infamous end of the offensive against Monselice in 1324 provides an excellent lesson learned. Yet, it should not tempt us to draw exaggerated negative conclusions. There are several reasons for the failure of the campaign – inconsistent implementation or even lack of a unified strategic plan, unhealthy climate and epidemic outburst, or – probably – underestimation of the enemy. Yet, the defeat of Duke Henry was a result of human error, wrong judgement and an inadequate leadership. But it is by no means proof of poor capabilities of the late medieval military system.

Summary

Most military operations in the Middle Ages did not have the character of total war, but were rather temporarily and geographically limited campaigns with the objective to destroy the enemies' estates and, thus, weaken their financial foundations. In the 14th century, such methods of warfare were particularly widespread in Northern Italy. Foreign mercenaries

Povzetek

Večina vojaških operacij v srednjem veku ni imela značaja totalnega spopada, temveč časovno in geografsko omejenih pohodov, katerih poglavitni cilj je bilo opustošenje nasprotnikovih posesti ter s tem slabitev njegove gospodarske moči. V 14. st. je bilo takšno bojevanje najbolj razširjeno v severni Italiji. V njem so se množično udeleževali tuji najemniki, zlasti tisti iz širšega nemškega prostora ter tudi slovenskih dežel.

V dvajsetih letih 14. st. so se vojaki iz slovenskega prostora in bližnje okolice posebej množično udeležili dveh dobro dokumentiranih pohodov Henrika Goriškega in koroškega vojvode Henrika proti veronskemu vladarju Cangrandeju della Scali, ki je tedaj poskušal razširiti oblast nad Padovo, Treviso in okoliške posesti. Goriški grof Henrik si je v tem sporu pridobil odličen ugled, saj je avgusta 1320 uspešno razbremenil oblegano Padovo in v protinapadu povsem razbil veronsko vojsko.

Še ambicioznejšo italijansko politiko je vodil koroški vojvoda Henrik, titularni češki kralj, ki je po smrti grofa Goriškega ostal zadnji branilec Padove in Trevisa pred vpadi Cangrandeja. Poleg obsežnih diplomatskih prizadevanj je bil vojvoda Henrik ogrožene posesti prisiljen varovati tudi z vojaško silo. Postopno pošiljanje manjših najemniških enot ni zagotovilo zadostne varnosti, zato je Henrik leta 1324 končno pripravil velik pohod proti mestu Monselice.

Zaradi nepravilne strateške presoje in močvirnega zemljišča, kjer so vojsko zdesetkale bolezni, je ofenziva že po treh tednih propadla, ne da bi dosegla katerega od zastavljenih ciljev. Pohod pa je za vojaško zgodovino vendarle zelo zanimiv, saj ohranjeni računski spisi natančno popisujejo stroške celotne operacije ter način zbiranja enot in finančnih sredstev, omogočajo pa tudi dober vpogled v logistično podporo večtisočglave vojske. To je hkrati prvovrsten dokaz, da je bilo načrtovanje vojaških operacij v poznem srednjem veku zahtevna naloga, ki so se je vojskovodje lotevali načrtno, ob pomoči šolanega uradniškega osebja, ki je skrbelo za finance in logistiko.

massively participated in them, in particular the ones from the wider German area including the Slovenian lands.

In the first twenty years of the 14th century, a vast number of soldiers from the Slovenian territory and the nearby surroundings participated in two well-documented campaigns of Henry of Gorizia and Duke Henry of Carinthia against the Veronese ruler Cangrande della Scala, who at that time tried to spread his power over Padua, Treviso and the surrounding estates. Count Henry of Gorizia won great respect in this conflict, as in August 1320 he successfully relieved the besieged Padua and completely destroyed the Veronese armed forces in a counter-attack.

A more ambitious Italian policy was led by Duke Henry of Carinthia, the titular Bohemian king, who after the death of the Count of Gorizia remained the last defender of Padua and Treviso against Cangrande's incursions. Along with his diplomatic endeavours, Duke Henry had to use military force to protect the threatened estates. As piecemeal commitment of smaller mercenary units did not provide sufficient security, Henry finally prepared a large campaign against the town of Monselice in 1324.

As a result of wrong strategic assessment and swampy terrain where the units were decimated by disease, the offensive failed after three weeks without achieving any of the set objectives. The campaign is nonetheless, an interesting example of medieval military planning since the preserved accounts give a detailed description of the expenses of the entire operation, the method of gathering units and financial assets, and also provide a remarkable insight into the logistic support of an army consisting of several thousand members. Simultaneously, it provides crucial evidence that the planning of military operations in the Late Middle Ages was a demanding task which was approached by commanders in a planned manner with the assistance of trained administration personnel that took care of financial and logistical matters.



Celjski grofje in najemništvo

The Counts of Cilli (Celje) and Mercenarism

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Izvleček

Članek obravnava različne vidike najemništva, ki so vplivali na gospodarski in družbeni razvoj rodbine celjskih grofov v 13. in 14. stoletju. Najemništvo je različnim pripadnikom rodbine po eni strani omogočilo, da so si pridobili in utrdili velik družbeni ugled, ki je presegal socialni status rodbine, po drugi strani so celjski grofje s premišljenim vlaganjem sredstev, pridobljenih z najemništvom, vzpostavili močno gospodarsko podlago, hkrati pa so si zgradili močno socialno mrežo stikov, ki so segali do uglednih kraljevih rodbin. Tako so ustvarili močne gospodarske in družbene temelje za poznejši vzpon rodbine.

Ključne besede: celjski grofje, pozni srednji vek, najemništvo, vojska, križarski pohod, Prusija, gradovi, diplomatski stiki.

Engelbert iz Admonta, benediktinec, ki je konec 13. in v prvih desetletjih 14. stoletja deloval na Štajerskem in je v admontskem samostanu opravljal funkcijo opata, se je v enem od svojih številnih spisov ukvarjal tudi z lastnostmi, ki naj bi jih imel vladar.¹ Besedilo, ki je nastalo okrog leta 1300, je naslovil *Speculum virtutum moralium*.² Posvetil ga je sinovom avstrijskega vojvode in nemškega kralja Albrehta I. Habsburškega. Po njegovem prepričanju, ki sicer temelji že na antičnih zgledih, vladarjev ne naredita pripadnost plemstvu ali kri, ampak predvsem vrline. Poleg modrosti

Abstract

The article addresses various aspects of mercenarism which influenced the economic and social development of the Counts of Cilli in the 13th and 14th century. On one hand mercenarism provided the Counts of Cilli with the opportunity to gain and consolidate their social reputation which far exceeded the social status of the family. On the other hand, the Counts of Cilli deliberately invested the sources, earned with mercenarism activities, thus forming a strong economic base and establishing a firm social network of contacts which included distinguished royal families. The result was strong economic and social foundations which served as a basis for the subsequent rise of the family.

Key words: the Counts of Cilli, Late Middle Ages, mercenarism, army, crusades, Prussia, castles, diplomatic relations.

Engelbert of Admont, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Admont in Styria, who functioned there at the end of the 13th century and during the first decades of the 14th century, in one of his numerous works addressed also the qualities that rulers¹ should possess. The text, written in approximately 1300, was entitled *Speculum virtutum moralium*,² and was dedicated to the sons of Albrecht I of Habsburg, Duke of Austria and German King. In his opinion, based on ancient examples, an individual does not become a ruler due to his noble origin or aristocrat blood, but mostly due to his qualities. Besides wisdom (*prudentia*), righteousness (*iustitia*)

1 O Engelbertu in njegovem opusu prim. Kurt Ruh idr. (ur.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters; Verfasserlexikon, II*, Berlin 1981, str. 535–549.

2 Kritična izdaja teksta ne obstaja. Edina tiskana objava je v: Bernhard Pez, *Bibliotheca ascetica antiquo-nova, III*, Ratisbonae 1723, str. 1–498.

1 On Engelbert and his opus, Kurt Ruh et al. (ed.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters; Verfasserlexikon, II*, Berlin 1981, pp. 535–549.

2 A critical issue of the text does not exist. The only printed copy is in: Bernhard Pez, *Bibliotheca ascetica antiquo-nova, III*, Ratisbonae 1723, pp. 1–498.

(*prudencia*), pravičnosti (*iustitia*) in zmernosti (*temperantia*) je najvidnejše mesto zasedala *fortitudo*, neustrašnost, pogum.³ Naštete vrline naj ne bi bile le odlike vladarja, ampak so se prenašale tudi po hierarhični lestvici navzdol. Modrost, pravičnost, zmernost in neustrašnost naj bi bile – vsaj teoretično – tudi odlike nižjega plemstva.

Vsaka od teh vrlin se je lahko izrazila v različnih oblikah in ob različnih priložnostih. Modrost je plemiča usmerjala pri odločanju, pravičnost se je kazala pri njegovem ravnanju z drugimi, zmernost ga je vodila skozi življenjske skušnjave. *Fortitudo* je bila drugačna od prvih treh vrlin. Kazala se je veliko bolj eruptivno in bila mogoče prav zato najbližja povprečnemu plemiču. Biti pogumen je pomenilo biti neustrašen bojevnik, brez strahu zreti smrti v obraz. *Fortitudo* se je najbolj očitno pokazala v neposrednem boju s stvarnim ali namišljenim nasprotnikom. Vojskovanje je bilo pomemben del srednjeveškega vsakdana. *Pugnatores* so bili – spet že po antičnem zgledu – eden od stebrov družbe. Biti vojak je hkrati pomenilo tudi biti svoboden, svobodno razpolagati s svojim in z življenjem svojega nasprotnika. Vojskovanje je bilo privilegij, ki ni bil dan vsakomur. Od druge polovice 13. stoletja je bilo njegov sestavni del najemništvo.

Žovneški se kot najemniki pojavijo v virih že dokaj zgodaj. Dedna pogodba, ki sta jo maja 1262 sklenila Leopold III. Žovneški in njegov brat Ulrik II., daje slutiti, da jima takšna dejavnost ni bila povsem tuja. Ne samo pravno dejanje sklenitve dedne pogodbe – take pogodbe, pogosto tudi v obliki testamenta, so v poznejših stoletjih celjski grofje običajno izdajali pred odhodom na vojaški pohod – ampak tudi določbe v pogodbi dopuščajo to možnost. Poleg osnovnega dogovora, da bi, če bi eden od njiju umrl brez dedičev, vse ljudi, dobrine, posesti in stvari podedoval preživeli, sta Leopold in Ulrik v pogodbo vključila tudi nenavadno določbo, ki nakazuje, da se brata nista držala samo »domačega praga«, ampak so bile lahko destinacije njunih potovanj tudi precej oddaljene. Izrecno sta namreč zapisala, da mora preživeli poskrbeti tudi za pokop umrlega. Če bi eden od njiju umrl v oddaljenem kraju in bi

and temperance (*temperantia*), *fortitudo*, boldness, courage,³ was among the most important ones. These qualities should not have been inherent only to rulers, but transposed down the whole hierarchical line. Wisdom, righteousness, temperance and boldness should be, at least in theory, typical also of the low aristocracy.

Each of these qualities could be reflected in various forms and at various opportunities. Wisdom guided an aristocrat when making decisions; his righteousness was reflected in his dealing with other people, while temperance helped him to resist the temptations of life. *Fortitudo* was different from the first three values. It was much more eruptive and perhaps due to this also the closest to an average aristocrat. To be courageous meant to be a fearless combatant, to face death without fear. *Fortitudo* was most clearly reflected in direct combat with a real or imaginary opponent. Warfare was an important part of Medieval everyday life. Following the ancient example, *pugnatores* presented one of the pillars of the society. Being a soldier also meant to be free and to freely manage your own life and the life of your opponent. Warfare was a privilege, not given to everyone. From the second half of the 13th century on, its integral part was also mercenarism.

Sources show that the *Freien* of Sannek (Žovnek) relatively early appear as mercenaries. On the basis of a hereditary contract, concluded in May 1262 by Leopold III of Sannek and his brother Ulrich II, we can assume that they were familiar with mercenarism. Not only the legal act of concluding a contract – such contracts, often in a form of a testament, were in the following centuries usually concluded by the Counts of Cilli before going on a military campaign – but also the provisions of the contract allow this possibility. Apart from a basic agreement stating that if either dies without heirs, all the people, goods, properties and things are inherited by the other, Leopold and Ulrich included also an unusual provision from which it is clear that the brothers did not stick only to their homeland, but that their destinations could also be rather remote. The contract explicitly states that in the event of the death of one of the brothers the funeral must be handled by the other. If either dies in a far-away land and the transport of his body is too expensive, the other is obliged to donate 80 marks denarii to various churches in the vicinity in return for the funeral.⁴ Obviously the brothers found

3 Kratka vsebina dela v: Ruh 1981, str. 546.

3 A short revision of the work is in: Ruh 1981, str. 546.

4 Dušan Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin*, I, Ljubljana, Celje 1996, p. 31. » ... Sed si locus ille in tanta remocione fuerit, quod supervivens eundem locum ubi prius mortuus defunctus ex nobis fuerit absque gravi dispendio attingere non valebit det Ober-

bil prevoz njegovega trupla do doma povezan s prevelikimi stroški, se je preživel obvezal, da bo v zameno za pogreb namenil različnim cerkvenim institucijam v okolici Žovneka skupno 80 mark denarijev.⁴ Očitno se torej bratoma smrt v oddaljenem kraju le ni zdelo povsem nemogoča in sta v oporoki predvidela tudi to možnost. Verjetno tudi motiv na pečatu Ulrika II. Žovneškega ni povsem naključen. Na trikotnem pečatnem polju je namreč upodobljen vitez, ki v desnici vihti meč, v levici pa drži ščit z žovneškimi grbom. Ta motiv na pečatu vsekakor nakazuje tudi dejavnost njegovega imetnika.

Prvič so Žovneški kot udeleženci vojaškega pohoda – verjetno kot najemniki – omenjajo leta 1278. Nemški kralj Rudolf Habsburški je tedaj sklenil dokončno obračunati z nasprotnikom v vzhodnoalpskih deželah, češkim kraljem Otokarjem Premyslom. Otokar je namreč izkoristil obdobje interregnuma in se postopno polastil oblasti v Avstriji, na Štajerskem, Koroškem in Kranjskem. Omenjene dežele so po izumrtju rodbin Babenberžanov 1246 in Spanheimov 1269 ostale brez deželnih gospodov, kar je Otokarju dalo dovolj manevrskega prostora, da se je delno s silo, delno prek dnevih pogodb uveljavil kot njihov naslednik. To seveda ni bilo po volji kralju Rudolfu, ki je v teh deželah videl možnost za krepitev svoje vladarske oblasti. Odločilen spopad med Rudolfovimi privrženci in Otokarjem je bil tisti avgusta 1278 pri Dürnkrutu. Bitke se je na Rudolfovi strani udeležil tudi Leopold III. Žovneški. Pred odhodom v boj je Leopold, kot pravi sam v listini, *timens ne in dicto prelio occumbere aut aliquo subito casu interire* samostanu v Gorenjem Gradu podaril patronat nad župnijo v Braslovčah.⁵ V tradiciji se je ohranilo, da njegova vloga v bitki ni bila zanemarljiva. Ko se je namreč spopad končeval in je Otokar Premysl sprevidel, da bo poražen, se je pognal v beg, za njim pa tudi skupina štajerskih plemičev, ki ga je ujela in ubila. Thomas Ebendorfer je dvesto let pozneje v svoji Avstrijski kroniki zapisal, da je bil med omenjenimi Štajerci tudi Žovneški, ki je skupaj s tovariši tako – kot so

the possibility of dying in a far-away land completely possible and thus predicted it in their will. It is also possible that the motif on the seal of Ulrich II of Sannek is not completely accidental. A triangle seal features a knight with a sword in his left hand and a shield with the Sannek coat of arms in his left hand. Such a motif on the seal ultimately indicated the activity of its owner.



Foto/Photo: Jože Hanc

Stari grad nad Celjem od jugovzhoda
Old castle above Celje from south-east

As participants on a military campaign the Freien of Sannek are, probably as mercenaries, mentioned for the first time in 1278 when German King Rudolf of Habsburg decided to have done with his rivalry in the East Alpine countries, Czech King Ottokar II, who took advantage of the period of interregnum and gradually assumed power in Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Following the extinction of the Spanheims and Babenbergs these countries were left without their provincial dukes. Ottokar II was thus given enough maneuver space to, partially with force and partially through hereditary contracts, establish himself as their heir. This was of course not favoured by King Rudolf who saw in these lands a possibility to enhance his power. A decisive battle between Rudolf and Ottokar II's armies took place in August 1278 near Dürnkrut. Leopold II of Sannek on the side of King Rudolf, also participated in the battle. Before his departure he, as stated by him in

⁴ Dušan Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin*, I, Ljubljana, Celje 1996, str. 31. »... Sed si locus ille in tanta remocione fuerit, quod supervivens eundem locum ubi prius mortuus defunctus ex nobis fuerit absque gravi dispendio attingere non valebit det Obernburgensi monasterio quinquaginta marca, domusi de Geyrav decem marcas, domui de Seicz decem marcas domusi de Studenicz decem marcas, plebi de Vrazlauz decem marcas, plebi de Ponikel decem marcas monete pradicte.«

⁵ Kos 1996, str. 48.

nburgensi monasterio quinquaginta marca, domusi de Geyrav decem marcas, domui de Seicz decem marcas domusi de Studenicz decem marcas, plebi de Vrazlauz decem marcas, plebi de Ponikel decem marcas monete pradicte.«

Otokarju na njegovo moledovanje za usmiljenje odgovorili zasledovalci – maščeval nasilno smrt svojega stanovskega tovariša Sigfrida Marenberškega.⁶

V prvi polovici 14. stoletja se je vojaška dejavnost Žovneških navezovala predvsem na Habsburžane. V dogajanje ob spopadu za češko krono med Habsburžani in koroškim vojvodo Henrikom je bil Ulrik II. Žovneški vključen že od začetka. Skupaj z nekaterimi koroškimi plemiči se je verjetno udeležil poroke Henrika Koroškega in Ane, sestre češkega kralja Vaclava III., 13. februarja 1306 v Pragi. Ulrik je bil namreč konec februarja tistega leta v Landshutu na Bavarskem, kjer je skupaj z nekaterimi drugimi plemiči potrdil, da je Henrik ženi Ani podaril mesto Hall na Tirolskem in nekatere druge posesti.⁷ Kako so bili Žovneški vpleteni v potek vojne, ki je izbruhnila jeseni 1307 po izvolitvi Henrika za češkega kralja, iz virov ni jasno razvidno. Ohranjeni sta le dve podrobnosti, ki pa jasno potrjujeta, da je Ulrik v spopadih sodeloval na strani Habsburžanov. Aprila 1308 je namreč avstrijskemu vojvodi Frideriku – kot pravi sam v listini, po nasvetu svojih prijateljev – izročil svojo alodialno posest gradova Žovnek in Ostrovico ter stolpa Šenek in Libenštajn in vse skupaj takoj nato od Friderika dobil nazaj v fevd, s čimer je stopil v vazalni odnos s Habsburžani.⁸ Drugo podrobnost o vlogi Žovneških v tistem obdobju prinaša Otokar iz Geule. V svoji Avstrijski rimani kroniki namreč na kratko poroča, da je avgusta 1308 po sklenitvi miru med sprtima stranema vojvoda Friderik izročil Ulriku v upravo pred kratkim osvojeni grad in mesto Slovenj Gradec.⁹

V desetletjih, ki so sledila, so Žovneški – tedaj že kot njihovi vazali – tesno sodelovali s Habsburžani, čemur lahko sledimo predvsem po listinskem gradivu. Tako je leta 1330 ali 1331 Friderik Žovneški sodeloval v bojih proti Bavarski, za kar je leta 1331 dobil 40 mark srebra.¹⁰ Sodelovali so tudi v spopadih med Habsburžani in Luksemburžani leta 1335. Povod za spor je bil diplomatski maneuver avstrijskih

the testament, “timens ne in dicto prelio occumberem aut aliquo subito casu interirem”, awarded the monastery in Gornji Grad with the patronage over the parish in Braslovče.⁵ According to sources his contribution to the battle was not negligible. When the engagement was coming to an end, Ottokar II realized he was going to be defeated. He escaped, followed by a group of Styrian aristocrats who caught and killed him. 200 years later Thomas Ebendorfer in his *Chronica Austriae* reports that one of the Styrian aristocrats was also Leopold II of Sannek who, with his comrades, by killing Ottokar II despite his begging for mercy, revenged a violent death of the aristocrat Siegfried of Marenberg.⁶

In the first half of the 14th century the military activity of the Freien of Sannek was mainly related to the House of Habsburg. Ulrich II of Sannek had participated in the battle for the Czech crown between the House of Habsburg and the Carinthian Duke Henry since the very beginning. Together with some Carinthian aristocrats he probably attended the wedding of the Carinthian Duke Henry and Ana, a sister of Czech King Vaclav III, in Prague, 13 February 1306. At the end of February of the same year Ulrich was in Landshut in Bavaria with some other aristocrats which confirms that Henry gave his wife Anna a town Hall in Tyrol and some other properties.⁷ The sources do not clearly state how the Freien of Sannek were involved in the war which broke out in autumn 1307, following the election of Henry as Czech King. Only two details are preserved which clearly confirm that during the combats Ulrich was on the side of the House of Habsburg. In April 1308 he gave Frederick, Duke of Austria, following the advice of his friends, as he states in the testament, his allodial property of the castles Žovnek and Ostrovica, as well as the towers Šenek and Libenstein, and then got it all back from Frederick as a feudal property, thus establishing a vassal relationship with the House of Habsburg.⁸ The other detail on the role of the Freien of Sannek in this period is provided by Ottokar of Geul who in his rhymed Austrian Chronicle (*Österreichische Reimchronik*) briefly reports that in August 1308, following the peace agreement between the warring factions, Frederick delegated the administration of the shortly conquered castle and the town Slovenj

6 Alphons Lhotsky (ur.), *Thomas Ebendorfer, Cronica Austriae; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, N.S. XIII*, Berlin 1967, str. 149–150.

7 Kos 1996, str. 73.

8 Kos 1996, str. 80.

9 Joseph Seemüller (ur.), *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken, V/2*, München 1980 (ponatis), verz 95.642–95.654.

10 Kos 1996, str. 131.

5 Kos 1996, p. 48.

6 Alphons Lhotsky (ed.), *Thomas Ebendorfer, Cronica Austriae; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, N.S. XIII*, Berlin 1967, pp. 149–150.

7 Kos 1996, pp. 73.

8 Kos 1996, pp. 80.

vojvod Albrehta in Otona, ki sta uspela po smrti Henrika Koroškega od nemškega kralja Ludvika Bavarca dobiti v podelitev še deželo Koroško ter pri tem zaobiti Henrikovo hčerko in edino dedinjo po tirolski veji goriških grofov Margareto Maultasch. Ker je bila Margareta poročena z Janezom Henrikom, sinom češkega kralja Janeza, prvega Luksemburžana na češkem prestolu, ki je prav tako imel svoje načrte z dediščino po Henriku Koroškem, je bil vojaški spopad neizbežen. V njem se je na strani Habsburžanov spet pojavil tudi Friderik Žovneški. 4. januarja 1336 sta avstrijska vojvoda Albreht in Oton za Friderika izdala zadolžnico, s katero sta mu poplačala svoje dotedanje dolgove. Za sodelovanje na pohodu proti Čehom leto pred tem (*den er uns dez vordern jares gen Peheim getan hat*) sta mu bila dolžna 270 mark srebra graške teže, za službo pri varovanju ogrske meje, kjer je Žovneški očitno predvsem bdel nad morebitnim posredovanjem ogrskega kralja Karla Roberta, pa sta mu namenila 600 mark srebra. K vsoti sta prištela še 900 mark oglejski pfenigov, ki jih je Friderik zanju založil pri Janezu iz Liemberga, ter mu za celoten znesek zastavila gradove Laško, Freudenek, Klausenstein in Radeče.¹¹

V letih, ki so sledila, se je intenzivnost sodelovanja Žovneških oziroma po letu 1341 celjskih grofov na različnih vojaških pohodih povečala, zlasti z Ulrikom I. Celjskim pa se je razširil tudi nabor njihovih naročnikov. Z ogrskimi vladarji so verjetno sodelovali že vsaj leta 1341, če že ne prej. Zdi se namreč, da je 400 goldinarjev, ki jih je Rudleinu Kacenštajnskemu dal komornik ogrskega kralja, izviralo iz enega od takih vojaških sodelovanj. Rudlein je omenjenih 400 goldinarjev predal Hansu iz Kunšperka, ta pa se je decembra 1341 obvezal, da bo denar izročil Frideriku Celjskemu.¹²

Najpomembnejši najemnik med celjskimi grofi je bil nedvomno Friderikov sin Ulrik I. Zanj najemništvo ni bilo le priložnost za dodaten zaslužek, ampak že skoraj način življenja. Njegovo vojaško kariero je najbolj plastično opisal Peter Suchenwirt, avtor različnih pesnitev iz druge polovice 14. stoletja.¹³ Kmalu po Ulrikovi smrti je Suchenwirt spesnil 229

*Gradec to Ulrich.*⁹

In the following few decades the Freien of Sannek, now as their vassals, closely cooperated with the House of Habsburg which is confirmed by documentary material. Thus in the year 1330 or 1331 Friderick of the Sannek participated in battles against Bavaria for which he earned 40 marks worth of silver in the year 1331.¹⁰ The Freien of Sannek participated also in engagements between the House of Habsburg and the House of Luxemburg which broke out in 1335. The reason for the conflict was mainly a diplomatic maneuver of Austrian Dukes Albrecht and Otto who, following the death of Austrian Duke Henry, managed to obtain from German King Louis of Bavaria the country Carinthia, leaving without everything Henry's daughter Margaret Maultasch, the only Tyrol heir of the Counts of Gorizia.

*Since Margareta was married to John Henry, the son of Czech King John, the first member of the House of Luxembourg on the Czech throne, who also had certain plans with the heritage left by Carinthian Duke Henry, the engagement was inevitable. Again in attendance was Friederick of the Sannek on the side of the House of Habsburg. On 4 January 1336 Austrian Dukes Albrecht and Otto issued a debenture for Frederick with which they paid to him all their debts. For his participation in the march against the Czechs a year before (*den er uns dez vordern jares gen Peheim getan hat*) they owed him 270 marks worth of silver, and for his participation in guarding the Hungarian border, waiting for the potential intervention of Hungarian King Charles Robert, they gave him 600 marks worth of silver. He was also given 900 marks worth of Aquileia pfennigs, which Frederick paid to John of Liemberg, and pledged to him the castles Laško, Freudenek, Klausenstein and Radeče for the whole amount.¹¹*

In the following years the Freien of Sannek, or the Counts of Cilli after the year 1341, increased the intensity of their participation in various military marches. Especially with Ulrich I of Cilli the circle of their "contractors" expanded. They probably cooperated with Hungarian rulers at least in 1341, if not before. It seems that 400 florins given to Rudlein Katzenstein by the Chamberlain of the Hungarian King, resulted from one of such military participations. Rudlein gave 400 florins to Hans of Kunšperk who in 1341 committed himself to give this money to

11 Kos 1996, str. 160.

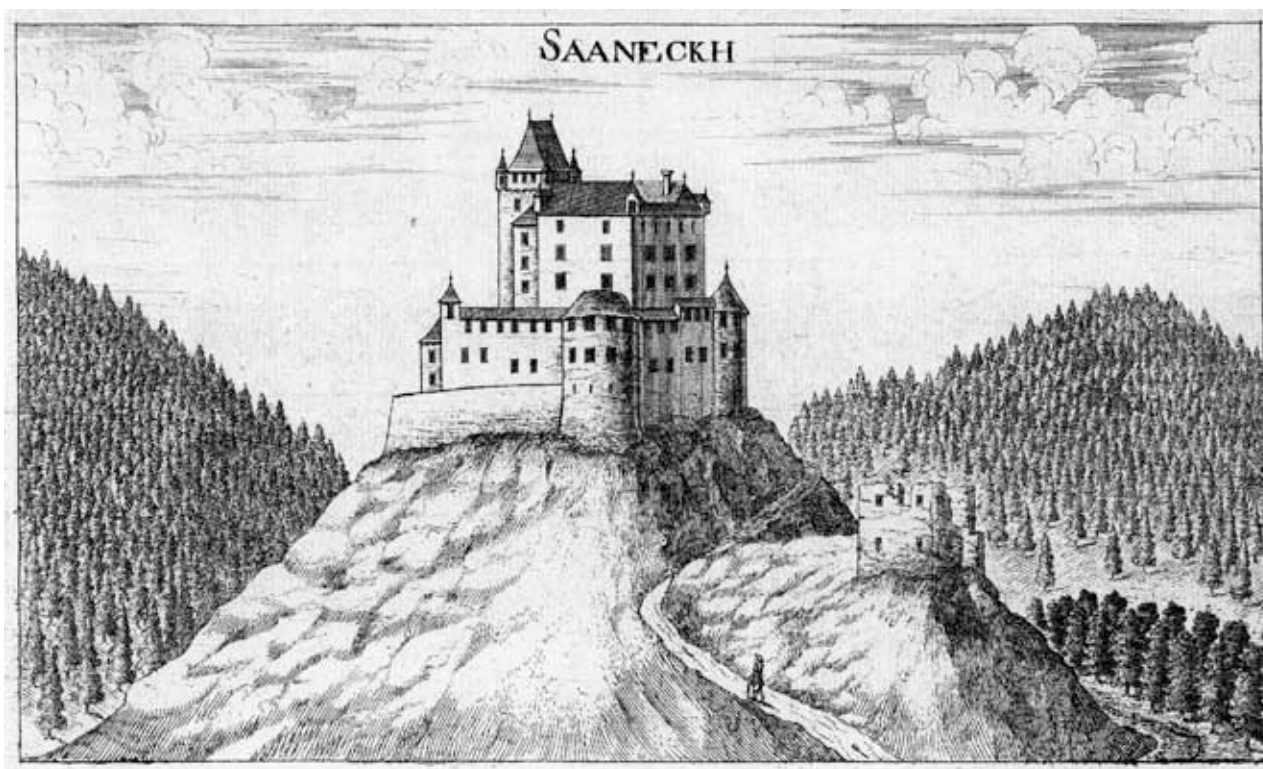
12 Božo Otorepec, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev 1246–1500*, Centralna kartoteka Zgodovinskega inštituta Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU (tipkopis), 1431 december 5., Celje.

13 O Suchenwirtu prim. Verfasserlexikon, IX, str. 481–488.

9 Joseph Seemüller (ed.), *Ottokars Österreichische Reichchronik; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken, V/2*, München 1980 (reproduction), verses 95.642–95.654.

10 Kos 1996, p. 131.

11 Kos 1996, p. 160.



Grad Žovnek (G. M. Vischer, Topographia ducatus Stiriae, 1681)

Castle Žovnek (G. M. Vischer, Topographia ducatus Stiriae, 1681)

verzov dolgo heraldično objokovalno pesem, v kateri je po zgledu antičnih *laudatio funebris* opisal pokojnikova slavna dejanja, jih povelil in hvalil, ob koncu pesnitve pa – kar je Suchenwirtova posebnost – dodal še opis Ulrikovega grba.¹⁴ Pesnitev je seveda pristranska, saj avtor pri pisanju sledi latinskemu reku *de mortuis nil nisi bene*. Ulrik je bil vedno neustrašni junak – *degen*, njegove vrline so bile vsem dobro znane in so jih vsi spoštovali. Kljub vsebinskemu pretiravanju pa je pesnitev osnovni pregled Ulrikove pestre vojaške kariere.

Po Suchenwirtu naj bi Ulrik na svoj prvi pohod (*sein erst geverte*) odšel z ogrskim kraljem Ludvikom na pomoč dalmatinskemu mestu Zadar (*Saders*).¹⁵ Meščani so namreč leta 1345 prosili Ludvika, naj jih osvobodi izpod beneške nadoblasti, Benetke pa so njihovo prošnjo razumele kot izdajo in so se nanjo odzvale z obleganjem mesta. Junija 1346 je Ludvik prišel na pomoč obleganemu mestu z najemniki,

Frederick of Cilli.¹²

The most important mercenary among the Counts of Cilli was definitely Frederick's son Ulrich I. For him mercenarism was not only an opportunity to earn extra money, but almost a way of life. His military career was best described by Peter Suchenwirt, the author of various poems from the second half of the 14th century.¹³ Soon after Ulrich's death Suchenwirt wrote a heraldic grieving poem with 229 verses in which he, following the example of the ancient *laudatio funebris*, described, glorified and praised his notorious deeds. At the end of the poem he also described Ulrich's coat of arms,¹⁴ which was typical of him. The poem is certainly not objective since the author followed the Latin saying *de mortuis nil nisi bene*. Ulrich was always a fearless hero – *degen*, his qualities were well known and respected by everybody. Despite all its exaggerations the poem provides a basic review of Ulrich's rich military career.

According to Suchenwirt Ulrich went on his first march (*sein erst geverte*) with Hungarian King

14 Alois Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert; Ein Beytrag zur Zeit- und Sittengeschichte*, Wien 1827 (ponatis 1961), Lied XVI: Von graff Ulreichen von Tzili, str. 51.

15 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 24–37.

12 Božo Otorepec, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev 1246–1500*, Centralna kartoteka Zgodovinskega inštituta Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU (typescript), 1431 December 5., Celje.

13 On Suchenwirt cf. *Verfasserlexikon*, IX, pp. 481–488.

14 Alois Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert; Ein Beytrag zur Zeit- und Sittengeschichte*, Wien 1827 (reproduction 1961), Lied XVI: Von graff Ulreichen von Tzili, p. 51.

vendar je bil pri tem neuspešen. Leto pozneje je Ulrik sodeloval z brandenburškim mejnim grofom Ludvikom, sinom nemškega kralja Ludvika Bavarca in možem Margarete Maultasch, v spopadih z Luksemburžani zaradi Tirolske.¹⁶ Očitno se je izkazal, saj ga je Ludvik Brandenburški povabil na sever, kjer so mu v Brandenburg v obdobju bivanja na Tirolskem stvari ušle z vajeti. Jeseni 1348 je sodeloval pri neuspešnem obleganju Strausberga vzhodno od Berlina. Uspesnejši je bil pri obleganju mesta *Newenstat*. Suchenwirt se je slikovito izrazil, da so Ulrikovi nasprotniki poznali samo dve besedi: »*ach und awe! daz was ir chrey*«. ¹⁷

Bivanje na severu je Ulrik očitno izkoristil tudi za »izlet« v Prusijo in križarski pohod proti Litvi.¹⁸ Pohodi na skrajni severovzhod tedanjega krščanstva so bili v 14. stoletju nekaj povsem običajnega, saj je po padcu Akkona 1291 boj proti poganskim Litovcem postal institucija plemiškega življenja do te mere, da je bilo vsaj v drugi polovici tega stoletja več verjetnosti, da je bil plemič vsaj enkrat v Prusiji kot pa nasprotno.¹⁹ Za Ulrika je bilo pomembnejše od pohoda v Litvo, ki je po Suchenwirtovih besedah trajal dobrih deset dni, to, da je na tem pohodu postal vitez.²⁰

Po vrnitvi je skupaj z enim od Walseejevcev sodeloval pri uspešnem obleganju mesta *Newnhaus*,²¹ nato pa spremljal nemškega kralja Karla IV. na cesarsko kronanje v Rim.²² Druge okoliščine Ulrikovega sodelovanja v kraljevem spremstvu niso znane in lahko o njih zgolj ugibamo. Ulrik bi se kraljevi skupini najlaže pridružil v Vidmu, kamor je kralj Karl prispel 14. oktobra 1354.²³ Do kdaj je Ulrik vztrajal s spremstvom, ni znano. Kronanje je bilo v Rimu 5. aprila 1455,²⁴ v začetku julija istega leta pa je bil Karl že v Augsburgu na Bavarskem.²⁵

Ulrik je nato po Suchenwirtovem pripovedovanju odšel v Avstrijo, se spet pridružil ogrskemu kralju Ludvik, sodeloval pri oblega-

Louis to help the Dalmatian town Zadar (Sadars).¹⁵ In 1345 the citizens asked Louis to liberate them from Venetian rule. However, the Venetians considered this request to be treason and started to besiege the town. In June 1346 Louis and mercenaries came to the besieged town to help it, but they were not successful. In the following year Ulrich participated in engagements for Tyrol against the House of Luxembourg. In these battles he cooperated with Louis, the Margrave Count of Bradenburg, the son of German King Louis of Bavaria and the husband of Margaret Maultasch.¹⁶ He obviously performed very well in these battles since Louis of Bradenburg invited him to the north where in Bradenburg during his stay in Tyrol things got out of control. In the autumn of 1348 he participated in an unsuccessful besiege of Strausberg, east of Berlin. He was more successful in besieging the town Newenstat. Suchenwirt said that Ulric's opponent knew only two words: 'ach und awe! daz was ir chrey'.¹⁷

Ulrich took advantage of his stay in the north also for a 'trip' to Prussia and a crusade against Lithuania.¹⁸ Crusades to the far north-east, of then Christianity, were in the 14th century completely normal, since following the fall of Akkon in 1291 the fight against the Pagan Lithuanians became an institution of nobility to the point that, at least in the second half of that century, it was more likely for an aristocrat to be in Prussia at least once, than not.¹⁹ For Ulrich the march to Lithuania, which according to Suchenwirt lasted about ten days, was not as important as the fact that during this campaign he was knighted.²⁰

After his return he participated in the successful siegl of the town Newnhaus²¹ with one of the Walsee and then accompanied German King Charles IV to the Emperor's Coronation in Rome.²² Other circumstances of Ulrich's participation in the King's escort are not known and can only be speculated on. The easiest for Ulrich would have been to join the king's escort in Udine where King Charles arrived on 14 October 1354.²³ It is not known until when Ulrich remained in the escort. The coronation took place in

16 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 38–45.

17 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 46–74.

18 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 75–93.

19 Werner Paravicini, Die Preussenfahrten des europäischen Adels, v: *Historische Zeitschrift*, 232 (1981), str. 26.

20 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 86–89: »Der edel zu dem seelben mal/enphie den ritters segen, / den trug der stolzte degen / mit ern alle seine tag.«

21 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 94–100.

22 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 101–110.

23 Alfons Huber, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346–1378; Regesta imperii, VIII*, Innsbruck 1877 (ponatis 1934).

24 Huber 1877, listina št. 2014a.

25 Huber 1877, listina št. 2167.

15 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 24–37.

16 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 38–45.

17 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 46–74.

18 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 75–93.

19 Werner Paravicini, Die Preussenfahrten des europäischen Adels, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, 232 (1981), p. 26.

20 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 86–89: »Der edel zu dem seelben mal/enphie den ritters segen, / den trug der stolzte degen / mit ern alle seine tag.«

21 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 94–100.

22 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 101–110.

23 Alfons Huber, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346–1378; Regesta imperii, VIII*, Innsbruck 1877 (Reproduction 1934).

nju Trevisa (*Terveys*) ter odpotoval v Srbijo.²⁶ Datuma pohoda proti Srbiji iz pesnitve ni moč razbrati, z veliko verjetnostjo pa ga lahko umestimo v obdobje notranjih vrenj po smrti carja Dušana Silnega 1355, ko so se ob šibkem Dušanovem nasledniku Urošu v državi pojavile močne centrifugalne težnje, v katerih so iskali svojo priložnost številni lokalni srbski fevdalci.

Ulrik I. Celjski je z Ludvikom po kratki prekinitvi sodeloval še sredi šestdesetih let 14. stoletja. Takrat se je po Suchenwirtovih besedah pod kraljevim vodstvom udeležil dveh vojaških pohodov na balkanski polotok. Prvi pohod, poleti 1363, je bil naperjen proti bosanskemu banu Tvrtku.²⁷ Ta je kazal vse večje težnje po samostojnosti in neodvisnosti od ogrske krone, česar Ludvik ni smel dovoliti. Drugi pohod, leta 1365, pa je bil usmerjen proti Bolgariji.²⁸ Ogrska vojska je – spet po Suchenwirtu – prišla vse do bolgarske prestolnice Vidin (*Püdeyn*). To naj bi bil po Suchenwirtu tudi zadnji Ulrikov vojaški pohod.

Pomembno vlogo so Celjski odigrali v sporu med oglejskim patriarhatom in Habsburžani, ki je izbruhnil sredi 14. stoletja. Habsburžani so namreč po polastitvi Koroške in Kranjske 1335 začeli načrtno širiti svojo posest na Krašu in v Primorju, kar je šlo na račun oglejske posesti. Celjski so bili v sporu sprva vsaj zadržani, če ne celo bolj naklonjeni oglejskemu patriarhu. Oglej jih je vse do konca februarja 1360 večkrat prosil za posredovanje pri Rudolfu Habsburškem ali jim je pošiljal vprašanja, povezana z Rudolfovimi načrti.²⁹ Marca istega leta je oglejski patriarh Ludvik celo pooblastil Ulrika in Hermana Celjska, da pridobita nazaj posesti, odtujene oglejski cerkvi.³⁰ Žal listina ne pove, katere so bile te posesti in kdo jih je odtujil. Stališče Celjskih se je spremenilo poleti 1362, ko je Rudolf imenoval Ulrika I. Celjskega za svojega deželnega glavarja na Kranjskem in mu zagotovil, da mu bo povrnil vso škodo, ki jo bo utrpel na tem položaju.³¹ Rezultati so bili vidni takoj. Ulrik je prej kot v enem mesecu zasedel trdnjavo Kluže pri Možacu in jo do

Rome on 5 April 1355,²⁴ however, at the beginning of July of the same year Ulrich was already in Augsburg in Bavaria.²⁵

According to Suchenwirt, Ulrich went to Austria, joined Hungarian King Louis one more time, participated in besieging of Treviso (*Terveys*) and went to Serbia with him.²⁶ It is not clear from the poem when the march towards Serbia took place, but most probably it occurred during the internal unrest following the death of Dušan the Mighty in 1355. During the rule of his weak successor Uroš, the country was faced with strong centrifugal tendencies through which many local Serbian feudal lords tried to prosper.

After a short suspension of contacts with Louis, Ulrich I of Cilli cooperated with him again in the mid-1360s. According to Suchenwirt, in that period he participated in two campaigns on the Balkans peninsula, led by the king. The first campaigns in the summer of 1363 was oriented against Bosnian Ban Tvrtko²⁷ who wanted to gain independence from the Hungarian crown, however, Louis could not let that happen. The second campaigns followed in 1365 and was aimed against Bulgaria.²⁸ According to Suchenwirt, the Hungarian army came all the way to the Bulgarian capital Vidin (*Püdeyn*). According to Suchenwirt this was also Ulrich's last military campaigns.

The Counts of Cilli played an important role in the conflict between the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the House of Habsburg which broke out in the middle of the 14th century. After having appropriated Carinthia and Carniola in 1335, the House of Habsburg started to deliberately expand its property in the Karst and Slovenian Littoral, to the detriment of Aquileia property. In this conflict the Counts of Cilli were at first reserved, if not even in favour of the Patriarchate of Aquileia. By the end of February 1360 they had received by the Patriarch of Aquileia several requests to intercede with Rudolf of Habsburg, as well as various questions, related to Rudolf's plans.²⁹ In March of the same year the Aquileia Patriarch Louis even authorized Ulrich and Hermann of Cilli to recover the properties, alienated from the Aquileian Church.³⁰ Unfortunately the document does not state which these properties were and who alienated them. The Counts of Cilli's view

26 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 111–129.

27 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 130–137.

28 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verz 138–159.

29 Joseph Zahn, *Austro-Friulana; Sammlung von Actenstücken zur Geschichte des Conflictes Herzog Rudolfs IV. von Österreich mit dem Patriarchate von Aquileja 1358–1365; Fontes rerum Austriacarum, III/40*, Wien 1877, listina št. 87 ali 89.

30 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1360 marec 23., Čedad.

31 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1362 avgust 26., Dunaj.

24 Huber 1877, Document No. 2014a.

25 Huber 1877, Document No. 2167.

26 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 111–129.

27 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 130–137.

28 Primisser 1827, Lied XVI, verses 138–159.

29 Joseph Zahn, *Austro-Friulana; Sammlung von Actenstücken zur Geschichte des Conflictes Herzog Rudolfs IV. von Österreich mit dem Patriarchate von Aquileja 1358–1365; Fontes rerum Austriacarum, III/40*, Wien 1877, Document No. 87 or 89.

30 Otorepec – Material, 1360 March 23, Cividale dei Friuli.

razsodbe madžarskega kralja Ludvika o njeni pripadnosti izročil v upravo opatu samostana v Možacu.³² Marca 1363 je avstrijski vojvoda Rudolf pooblastil Ulrika, da se v njegovem imenu pogaja in dogovarja o vseh medsebojnih sporih s potestatoma, sodniki, svetom in komuno mesta Trst. Rudolf je Ulriku zaupal do te mere, da se je obvezal spoštovati in sprejeti vse dogovore, ki bi jih ta dosegel v njegovem imenu.³³ Pismo oglejskega patriarha Ludvika, ki ga je avgusta tega leta poslal mestu Gemona, daje slutiti, da se je Ulrik v Rudolfovem imenu pogajal tudi s samim patriarhom.³⁴ Posledice dogovora celjskih grofov je čutila predvsem njihova blagajna. Oktobra 1363 je Rudolf izdal listino, s katero je Ulriku in Hermanu za dolžnih 2000 goldinarjev, ki sta si jih prislužila z vojaško službo v Poadižju, zastavil Vojnik, Sachsenwart in trg Žalec.³⁵ Že čez dva meseca jima je Rudolf za dolžnih 5000 goldinarjev, od katerih sta mu jih za potrebe njegovih dežel že posodila 3400, preostalih 1600 goldinarjev pa jima je bil dolžan za vojaško službo proti Bavarcem, zastavil še mesto Kamnik na Kranjskem s sodiščem, mitnico in vsemi dohodki do dokončnega vračila dolga.³⁶ Podobno intenzivno so sodelovali tudi naslednje leto. Aprila 1364 se je Rudolf spet spopadal z Bavarsko. Za pohod, ki naj bi trajal od Jurijevega do sv. Martina tistega leta, je bil Rudolf Ulriku in Hermanu dolžan 2150 goldinarjev, za kar jima je vnovič zastavil gradova Vojnik in Sachsenwart ter trg Žalec. V zameno sta se brata obvezala, da se bosta pohoda udeležila s 100 težko oboroženimi konjeniki ter prav toliko strelci.³⁷

Herman, za katerega se po virih zdi, da je bil vojaško nekoliko manj dejaven kot njegov brat Ulrik, je nekaj mesecev pred bratovo smrtjo s 50 dobrimi najemniki spremljal avstrijskega vojvodo Albrehta v Rim, za kar je od njega dobil skupno 4500 goldinarjev. Za to vsoto sta mu vojvodi Albreht in Leopold zastavila za 2000 goldinarjev mesto Radgona, za preostalih 2500 pa Kamnik.³⁸ Nekaj mesecev pozneje sta mu za to potovanje zastavila Bistrico za

changed in the summer of 1362 when Rudolf appointed Ulrich I of Cilli as the Hauptmann of Carniola and promised him to compensate him for all damages he would suffer in this position.³¹ The results arrived immediately. In less than a month Ulrich conquered the fortification Chiusaforte near Moggio and gave it into the administration of the Moggio Monastery Abbot until Hungarian King Louis reached the verdict on its ownership.³² In March 1363 Austrian Duke Rudolf authorized Ulrich to, on behalf of his name, negotiate and conclude agreements with the podestà, judges, the council and the parish of the town Trieste. Rudolf trusted Ulrich to the extent that he was committed to accept all agreements reached by Ulrich of Cilli on his behalf.³³ The letter written by the Aquileian Patriarch Louis, sent to the town Gemona in August of that year, indicates that, on behalf of Rudolf, Ulrich negotiated also with the Patriarch.³⁴ The consequences of the Counts of Cilli engagement were mainly financial. In October 1363 Rudolf issued a document with which he promised the castles Vojnik and Sachsenwart and the town Žalec to Ulrich and Hermann, since he owed them 2000 florins for their military action in the area of the river Adige.³⁵ Only two months later Rudolf owed to Ulrich and Hermann 5000 florins; he borrowed 3400 florins from them for the needs of his countries, while they earned 1600 florins with their participation in military engagements against the Bavarians. For this reason Rudolf promised them the town Kamnik in Carniola, including the court, tool both, as well as all incomes until the final repayment of the debt.³⁶ The following year their cooperation was just as intensive. In April 1364 Rudolf was again involved in engagements with Bavaria. For the campaign, which was supposed to last from St. George's day to St. Martin's day of that year, Rudolf owed Ulrich and Hermann 2150 florins. For this amount of money he once again promised the castles Vojnik and Sachsenwart and the town Žalec. In return the brothers undertook to participate on the campaign with 100 heavily armed cavalrymen and 100 archers³⁷.

A few months before his brother's death Hermann, who according to sources was less active in the

32 Zahn 1877, listina št. 144.

33 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1363 marec 16, Graz.

34 Zahn 1877, listina št. 157. »... *conventiones et pacta dudum habita et firmata inter nos et nostros fideles et subditos predictos ex parte vna et spectabilem Vlticum comitum Cilie nomine ... Rudolphi ducis Austrie, Styrie et Karinthie parte ex altera ...*«

35 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1363 oktober 25., Innsbruck.

36 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1363 december 21., Salzburg.

37 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1364 april 11., Dunaj.

38 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1368 april 20., Dunaj.

31 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1362 August 26, Vienna.

32 Zahn 1877, Document No. 144.

33 Otorepec – Material, 1363 March 16, Graz.

34 Zahn 1877, Document No. 157. »... *conventiones et pacta dudum habita et firmata inter nos et nostros fideles et subditos predictos ex parte vna et spectabilem Vlticum comitum Cilie nomine ... Rudolphi ducis Austrie, Styrie et Karinthie parte ex altera ...*«

35 Otorepec – Material, 1363 October 25, Innsbruck.

36 Otorepec – Material, 1363 December 21, Salzburg.

37 Otorepec – Material, 1364 April 11, Vienna.

900 goldinarjev³⁹ ter za 1000 goldinarjev še dohodke gradu in urbarja v Laškem.⁴⁰ Herman se je v službi Habsburžanov pojavil še leto pozneje. Marca 1369 sta mu vojvodi Albrecht in Leopold za 1300 goldinarjev, ki sta mu jih dolgovala za njegovo službo v Lombardiji, zastavila grad Žibenek.⁴¹

Vrhunec Hermanove vojaške kariere je bila njegova udeležba na križarskem pohodu avstrijskega vojvode Albrehta III. Križarski pohod opisuje že omenjeni Suchenwirt v svoji pesnitvi, ki jo je posvetil vojvodi Albrehtu.⁴² Podatki o številu udeležencev se sicer v različnih virih nekoliko razlikujejo. Poleg Albrehta naj bi se po Wigiandu iz Marburga pohoda udeležilo 62 *militibus et nobilis*,⁴³ med njimi 5 grofov. Poleg Hansa iz Magdeburga in Huga Montfortskega iz Bregenza so z Albrehtom odšli na sever kar trije celjski grofje. Hermana I. sta spremljala njegov petnajstletni sin Herman II. in Viljem, sin pokojnega Ulrika I. Septembra 1377 se je vojska zbrala na Dunaju in prek Znojma, Wroclawa, Toruna in Marienburga odpotovala do Königsberga (današnjega Kaliningrada v Rusiji), kjer je bila rezidenca velikega mojstra nemškega viteškega reda. Od tam so šli prek reke Memel do Žemaitije (*Samayt*) na ozemlju Litovcev. Po



Grof Herman II. Celjski na koncilu v Konstanci 1415 (Ulrich von Richental, *Das Concilium zu Costenz*, Augsburg 1536)

Count Hermann II. of Celje in council in Costance 1415 (Ulrich von Richental, *Das Concilium zu Costenz*, Augsburg 1536)

military sense than his brother Ulrich, accompanied Austrian Duke Albrecht to Rome with 50 experienced mercenaries and received from him 4500 florins. For this amount of money Albrecht and Leopold promised him the town Radgona, for 2000 florins, and the town Kamnik, for 2500 florins.³⁸ A few months later, for the same journey, he was promised Bistrica for 900 florins,³⁹ as well as the incomes of the castle and land register in Laško for another 1000 florins.⁴⁰ Hermann cooperated with the House of Habsburg also a year later. In March 1369 Albrecht and Leopold promised the castle Žibenek for 1300 florins which they owed to him for his military involvement in Lombardy.⁴¹

The peak of Hermann's military career was his participation in a crusade led by Austrian Duke Albrecht III. The crusade was described already by the above mentioned Suchenwirt in his poem, dedicated to the Duke.⁴² Various sources provide different information regarding the number of participants. According to Wigiand of Marburg, the campaign included Albrecht and 62 *militibus et nobilis*,⁴³ including five counts. Besides Hans of Magdeburg and Hugo of Montfort from Bregenz, three Counts of Cilli went on a journey with Albrecht. Hermann I was accompanied also by his 15-year old son Hermann II, and William, the son of late Ulrich I. In September 1377

39 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1368 junij 23., Dunaj (A).

40 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1368 junij. 23., Dunaj (B).

41 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1369 marec 20., Dunaj.

42 Primisser 1827, Lied IV, Von herczog Albrechts riterschafft.

43 *Chronik Wigiands von Marburg. Scriptorum rerum Prussicarum, II*, Frankfurt 1965 (ponatis), str. 584.

38 Otorepec – Material, 1368 April 20, Vienna.

39 Otorepec – Material, 1368 June 23, Vienna (A).

40 Otorepec – Material, 1368 June 23, Vienna (B).

41 Otorepec – Material, 1369 March 20, Vienna.

42 Primisser 1827, Lied IV, Von herczog Albrechts riterschafft.

43 *Chronik Wigiands von Marburg. Scriptorum rerum Prussicarum, II*, Frankfurt 1965 (Reproduction), p. 584.

Suchenwirtu so v neimenovani vasi bñli edino bitko na pohodu, v kateri so križarji obračunali z Litovci ter na koncu požgali vas. Toda pomembnejše od bitke je bilo tisto, kar je sledilo. Albreht, čigar glavni cilj odhoda na sever je bil pravzaprav postati vitez, si je namreč s tem spopadom prislužil viteško čast, ki mu jo je podelil – vsaj tako trdi Suchenwirt – sam Herman Celjski. Herman je dvignil meč visoko v zrak, izrekel besede »Bolje vitez kot pa hlapec!« ter se z rezilom dotaknil Albrehta. Sledila je gostija, ki jo je v čast Albrehtu pripravil Herman. Povabljenih je bilo 82 ljudi, ki jim je Herman postregel z devetimi jedmi ter z vipavskim (*Wippacher*) in ljutomerskim (*Lutenberger*) vinom ter (verjetno) renskim rizlingom (*Rainfal*).⁴⁴ Večino hrane ter vse vino je moral Herman pripeljati iz domačih krajev!

Omeniti je treba še dva pohoda, na katerih so sodelovali celjski grofje. Prvi je bil pohod, ki ga je 1392 organiziral (takrat še zgolj) ogrski kralj Sigismund proti Turkom. Udeležil se ga je tudi Viljem Celjski. V listini iz leta 1397, s katero je Sigismund Hermanu Celjskemu podelil mesto Varaždin z mitnico in pristaniščem na Dravi in v kateri našteva tudi zasluge Celjskih,⁴⁵ izvemo nekaj več o pohodu. Viljem naj bi se ga udeležil s praporjem in svojimi oboroženci, se srečal s turško vojsko pri Kovinu (*Kewe*) ter se umaknil proti trdnjavi *Tzril*. Pozneje je sodeloval še pri plenjenju in požiganju pokrajine. Ob vrnitvi je umrl na Dunaju.⁴⁶

Drugi tak pohod, ki ga je spet organiziral ogrski kralj Sigismund, je bil leta 1396. Udeležil se ga je Herman II. Pred odhodom je naredil oporoko in s preostalo križarsko vojsko odšel proti Bolgariji.⁴⁷ Križarji so najprej osvojili bolgarsko prestolnico Vidim ter se nato obrnili proti Rahovem (*Oryho*) in Donavi. Septembra 1396 se je vnela bitka, ki se je za križarsko vojsko končala s katastrofo. Večina vojakov je bila ubita ali pa so utonili v Donavi. Pobegniti je uspelo le peščici, med njimi tudi kralju Sigismundu, ki ga je pomagal rešiti prav Herman. Pred Turki se jim je uspelo umakniti do Konstantinopla, od tam pa prek Rodosa in Dubrovnika nazaj na Ogrsko, kjer sledijo novi

the army gathered in Vienna and travelled through Znojmo, Wrocław, Torun and Marienburg to the final destination Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad in Russia), where the Master of German Knight Order had its residence. From there the army travelled across the river Memel to Samogitien (lit. Žemaitija) on Lithuanian territory. According to Suchenwirt the only battle during the march took place in an unknown village during which crusaders had done away with the Lithuanians and burnt down the village.

However, more important than the battle itself was what followed. Albrecht, whose main goal of his travelling to the north was to become a Knight, received knighthood which, according to Suchenwirt, was awarded to him by Herman of Cilli. Herman lifted his sword up in the air and said: 'Better to be a knight than a servant!' and touched Albrecht with the blade. A feast followed, organized by Hermann in Albrecht's honour. 82 people were invited. They were served nine dishes and wine from Vipava (Wippacher), Lutomer (Lutenberger) and (probably) White Riesling (Rainfal).⁴⁴ Most of the food and all the wine had to be brought by Hermann from his homeland!

Worth mentioning are also two campaigns, involving the Counts of Cilli. The first was the march against the Turks, organized in 1392 by (in that period only) Hungarian King Sigismund. William of Cilli also participated in the campaign. In a document from 1397, with which Sigismund donated to Herman of Cilli the town Varaždin with a toll station and a port at the river Drava, and which states also merits of the Counts of Cilli, we can find more information on the campaign itself.⁴⁵ William participated with a banner and his armed men, met the Turkish army near Kovin (Kewe) and withdrew towards the fortification Tzril. Later he participated also in plundering and burning villages. On his way back William died in Vienna.⁴⁶

The second campaign, also organized by Hungarian King Sigismund, took place in 1396. Hermann II also participated in this march. Before his departure he made a testament and set off towards Bulgaria with the rest of the crusaders⁴⁷ who first conquered the Bulgarian capital Vidin and then continued the march towards Rahovo (Oryho) and

44 Primisser 1827, Lied IV, verz 392–409.

45 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1397 avgust 14. Objavljeno tudi v: Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, XVIII*, Zagreb 1990, str. 168.

46 O Viljemovi smrti na Dunaju poročajo Leopold z Dunaja, Dunajski anali in Celjska kronika. Prim. Janez Mlinar, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih; Historia, XI*, Ljubljana 2005, str. 184.

47 Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, *Allgemeine Urkundenreihe*, 1396 junij 23.

44 Primisser 1827, Lied IV, verses 392–409.

45 Otorepec – Material, 1397 August 14. Also published in: Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, XVIII*, Zagreb 1990, p. 168.

46 In Vienna William's death was reported by Leopold of Vienna, the Vienna Annals and the Cilli Chronicles. Cf. Janez Mlinar, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih; Historia, XI*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 184.

47 Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, *Allgemeine Urkundenreihe*, 1396 June 23.

viri o Sigismundu aprila 1397.⁴⁸ Ker je šlo za križarski pohod, verjetno niti Viljem niti Herman nista imela pred očmi zaslужka, vendar je imela udeležba na pohodu zlasti za Hermana ogromne posledice. Celjski so namreč kot zahvalo od ogrskega kralja Sigismunda dobili obsežne posesti v Zagorju ter se rodbinsko – s poroko Hermanove hčerke Barbare – povezali z njim. Bitka je bila odskočna deska za uspešno politično kariero Hermana Celjskega, ki je na koncu pripeljala do pokneženja rodbine leta 1436.⁴⁹

Kaj sta torej celjskim grofom prinesla najemništvo in vojaško udejstvovanje? Sodelovanje na vojaškem pohodu ni bilo le priložnost za bojevanje in avanturo, ampak je udeležencu ponujalo veliko več. Ena od pomembnih posledic takšnega sodelovanja je bilo utrjevanje ugleda posameznika in rodbine. Ugled pa je bil eden od najpomembnejših atributov v srednjeveški družbi. Vsaj toliko kot »kdo si«, je bilo pomembno tudi »kaj si«. Brez ugleda ni bilo napredovanja po družbeni lestvici. Žovneški so bili – kar poudarja tudi nemški kralj Ludvik Bavarski v listini, s katero jih je povišal⁵⁰ – povzdignjeni v celjske grofe na njihovo lastno in ne na vladarjevo pobudo. Janez Vetrinjski za povišanje navaja precej trivialne razloge, ki pa nazorno kažejo pomen ugleda za takratno družbo. Najpomembnejši razlog za Friderikovo pobudo, naj jih povišajo v grofe, naj bi bilo namreč vztrajno nadlegovanje (*frequentibus stimulis*) njegove žene Diemut Walseejevske, ki je bila pred tem poročena z nekim ogrskim grofom. Ob vnovični poroki se ji je zdelo poniževalno, da je ne bi več naslavljali enako kot prej.⁵¹ Vendar prošnja vladarju ne bi zadostovala, če ne bi rodbina že prej neformalno dosegla tolikšnega ugleda med drugimi pripadniki okoliškega plemstva, kot ga je morala imeti rodbina grofov. Uspešna vojaška kariera je vsekakor močno prispevala k izpolnitvi tega prvega pogoja.

Po drugi strani je najemništvo preudarne- mu posamezniku omogočalo kopičenje precejšnjih finančnih sredstev, ki so mu ob pametni

the Danube. In September 1396 a battle took place which ended in disaster for the crusaders. Most of the men were either killed or drowned in the Danube. Few crusaders managed to escape. Among them was also King Sigismund who was helped in escaping by Hermann. They managed to run away from the Turks and withdrew to Constantinople, and from there through Rodos and Dubrovnik back to Aquileia where King Sigismund appeared again in April.⁴⁸ Since this was a crusade William and Hermann probably did not think of making money, however, their participation had far-reaching consequences, especially for Hermann. In order to thank the Counts of Cilli, King Sigimund gave them large properties in Zagorje, while Herman's daughter Barbara married into King Sigismund's family. This battle was actually the starting point of his political career which ended with his family members being awarded the title Prince.⁴⁹

*So what did mercenarism and military engagements bring to the Counts of Cilli? Participation on military campaign did not offer only an opportunity for combat and adventure, but much more. One of the significant outcomes of such participation was the building of reputation, both, of an individual and his family. Reputation was one of the most important values on which Medieval society was based. It was just as important 'who you were' as 'what you were'. Without reputation there was no advancement within society. In a document with which he promoted the Sannek,⁵⁰ King Louis of Bavaria stressed that they were promoted to Counts of Cilli on their own, and not on the King's initiative. The reasons for the promotion, mentioned by John of Viktring, are rather trivial, however, they reflect the meaning of reputation for Medieval society. The main reason for Frederick's initiative regarding the promotion to count was constant pestering (*frequentibus stimulis*) of his wife Diemut Walsee who had already been married to a Hungarian count. She found it humiliating not to be addressed as Countess any more.⁵¹ It is obvious that the request for promotion alone would not have been enough for King Louis to comply with it if the Sannek had not achieved the level of reputation within the aristocrat society that was expected from families of counts. A successful military*

48 O bitki prim. Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London 1934. V slovenskem jeziku: Ignacij Voje, *Bitka pri Nikopolju leta 1396 – prelomnica za celjske grofe*, v: *Slovenica Balcanica; Zgodovinske študije*, Ljubljana 2005, str. 23–32.

49 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1436 november 30., Praga.

50 Kos 1996, str. 212.

51 Fedor Schneider, *Johannis Abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum; Monumenta Germaniae Historica in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 36/2, Hannover, Leipzig 1910, str. 188.

48 On the battle, Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London 1934. In Slovenian language: Ignacij Voje, *Bitka pri Nikopolju leta 1396 – prelomnica za celjske grofe*, in: *Slovenica Balcanica; Zgodovinske študije*, Ljubljana 2005, pp. 23–32.

49 Otorepec – Material, 1436 November 30, Praga.

50 Kos 1996, p. 212.

51 Fedor Schneider, *Johannis Abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum; Monumenta Germaniae Historica in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 36/2, Hannover, Leipzig 1910, p. 188.

naložbeni politiki omogočila vzpostavitev trdne ekonomske podlage. Zdi se, da so celjski grofje znali modro izkoristiti sredstva, pridobljena v vojaških službah. Tako je na primer Friderik Žovneški, za vsoto, ki jo je dobil v začetku leta 1336 za svojo službo na ogrski meji, dobro leto pozneje kupil grad Podsredo z vsem, kar je sodilo zraven.⁵² Podobno sta Ulrik I. in Herman I. sredstva, ki sta jih pridobila v službi vojvode Rudolfa v vojni proti oglejskemu patriarhatu, porabila za nakup gradu Polhov Gradec, za katerega sta Ulriku Polhograjskemu in Konradu Gallu maja 1364 odštela 7000 goldinarjev.⁵³ Druga polovica 14. stoletja je bilo sploh obdobje, ko so celjski grofje z nakupi močno razširili svojo posest.

Najemniški pohodi so bili tudi izjemna priložnost za vzpostavljane stikov in širjenje poznanstev. Medsebojno zaupanje, ki se je stkalo na vojaškem pohodu, se je pogosto nadaljevalo tudi v obdobju miru. Celjski so ta vidik najemništva znali zelo dobro izkoristiti. Herman I. se je tako po posredovanju ogrskega kralja Ludvika poročil z njegovo svakinjo Katarino Kotromanić, dedinjo bosanske krone. Da je bil prav Ludvik močno zainteresiran za sklenitev tega zakona, nakazuje dejstvo, da je doto v višini 10.000 dukatov Katarini daroval prav on. K tej vsoti je Herman I. dodal še 5000 dukatov za jutrnjo ter ji septembra 1374 za celotno vsoto zastavil grad Krško in Gornjo Vipavo.⁵⁴ Ludvik je bil tudi posrednik pri poroki Hermanovega nečaka Viljema, sina Ulrika I. Viljem se je namreč poročil z Ludvikovo sestrično, hčerko poljskega kralja Kazimirja.⁵⁵ Vrhunec takšnih stikov pa je bila poroka Barbare Celjske, hčere Hermana II., s Sigismundom Luksemburškim, ogrskim, češkim in poznejšim nemškimi kraljem in cesarjem. Ta je bila posledica Hermanovih dejanj, ki so koristila Sigismundu.

14. stoletje je bilo zelo pomembno v razvoju rodbine celjskih grofov. Friderik I. ter njegova sinova Ulrik I. in Herman I. so utirali pota svojim potomcem. Z modro politiko, v kateri sta odigrali pomembno vlogo njihova vojaška spretnost in sposobnost, jim je uspelo preseči ozke lokalne štajerske okvire in se uveljaviti v širšem srednjeevropskem prostoru. Vsi trije so

career certainly made a considerable contribution to fulfillment of this prerequisite. On the other hand, mercenarism could be exploited by wise individuals for earning a considerable amount of money, which, if invested well, could provide firm economic foundations. It seems that the Counts of Cilli wisely invested the assets, gained during their military service. For example, for the money he earned in 1336 during his service at the Hungarian border, Frederick of Sannek bought the castle Podsreda only a year later.⁵² Similarly, Ulrich I and Hermann I spent the money, earned during service with Duke Rudolf in a war against the Patriarchate of Aquileia, on buying the castle Polhov Gradec, for which, in May 1364, they paid to Ulrich of Polhov Gradec and Konrad Gall 7000 florins.⁵³ In general, during the second half of the 14th century the Counts of Cilli considerably expanded their property.

Military campaign were also an ideal opportunity for expanding networks of contacts. Mutual trust, established during campaign, often continued also after the conflicts. The Counts of Cilli knew how to best exploit this aspect of mercenarism. For example, following the mediation of Hungarian King Louis, Hermann I married his sister-in-law, Katarina Kotromanić, an heir to Bosnian crown. That Louis was extremely in favour of this marriage is reflected in the fact that he himself contributed a dowry for Katarina, worth 10,000 ducats. To this amount Hermann I added another 5,000 ducats as a wedding present and in September 1374 pledged the castles Krško and Gornja Vipava for this amount.⁵⁴ Louis was also a mediator at the wedding of Hermann's nephew William, the son of Ulrich I. William married Louis' cousin, the daughter of Polish King Kazimir.⁵⁵ The peak of these contacts was a wedding between Barbara of Cilli, the daughter of Hermann II, and Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Hungarian and Czech King and later also German King and Emperor. This wedding was a result of Hermann's actions in favour of Sigismund.

The 14th century was extremely important in the development of the Counts of Cilli. Frederick I, as well as their sons Ulrich I and Hermann I paved the path for their descendants. Through their wise policy, including their military skills and capabilities, they managed to go beyond narrow local Styrian frameworks and established themselves in Central

52 Kos 1996, str. 173.

53 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1364 maj 18.

54 Otorepec – Gradivo, 1374 september 16.

55 Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli; Zweiter Teil: Die Cillier Chronik*, Graz 1883, str. 72–73. Prim. tudi Ludovik M. Golia, *Kronika Grofov Celjskih*, Celje 1972, str. 14.

52 Kos 1996, p. 173.

53 Otorepec – Material, 1364 May 18.

54 Otorepec – Material, 1374 September 16.

55 Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli; Zweiter Teil: Die Cillier Chronik*, Graz 1883, pp. 72–73. Also Ludovik M. Golia, *Kronika Grofov Celjskih*, Celje 1972, p. 14.

svojim naslednikom pripravili močne socialne in ekonomske temelje, ki so bili pogoj za vrhunec rodbine pod Hermanom II. in njegovim vnukom Ulrikom II. Brez prvih zagotovo ne bi bilo drugih.

Povzetek

Najemništvo je v gospodarskem in družbenem razvoju rodbine celjskih grofov odigralo pomembno vlogo. Z začetki v 13. stoletju je ta dejavnost pri Celjskih dosegla vrhunec z Ulrikom I. in Hermanom I. v drugi polovici 14. stoletja. Z najemništvom si je rodbina ustvarila trdno podlago, ki je pomenila odskočno desko za poznejše pospešeno napredovanje na socialni lestvici.

Najemništvo je na razvoj rodbine vplivalo na več načinov. Po eni strani so njeni člani z udeležbo na vojaškem pohodu pridobili možnost, da so si z vojaškimi uspehi večali ugled med preostalim plemstvom ali pa utrjevali že pridobljenega. Celjski so ta vidik najemništva znali dodobra izkoristiti, kar se je odlično pokazalo na križarskem pohodu avstrijskega vojvode Albrehta III. leta 1377, na katerem so izmed Celjskih sodelovali Herman I., Herman II. in Viljem I. in kjer je Herman I. odigral vlogo nekakšnega doajena zbranega plemstva.

Po drugi strani je najemništvo omogočilo celjskim grofom, da so zbrali precejšnja finančna sredstva, ki so jih znali gospodarno uporabiti. Po večini so jih vložili v nakupe zemljiške posesti (npr. Podsreda 1336, Polhov Gradec 1364). Zlasti v drugi polovici 14. stoletja so predvsem Habsburžani poplačevali vojaške storitve Celjskih tako, da so jim zastavljali svoje posesti. Z vlaganjem tako pridobljenih sredstev so si celjski grofje zagotovili stabilen in dolgoročen vir dohodka ter si s tem utrjevali gospodarski položaj.

Tretji vidik najemništva, ki so ga Celjski prav tako kar se da dobro izkoristili, je širitev socialne mreže. Najemniški pohodi so bili namreč odlična priložnost za širjenje in poglobljanje stikov med plemstvom. Tako sklenjena zaveznitva in osebna prijateljstva so bila tudi zaradi okoliščin nastanka veliko trdnejša, kot bi bila sicer. Celjskim grofom je ob pomoči teh stikov uspelo sklepati zakonske zveze z vidnimi kraljevimi rodbinami. Po posredovanju ogrskega kralja Ludvika se je Herman I. poročil z Ludvikovo svakinjo Katarino Kotromanić,

European territory. The three of them provided their successors with strong social and economic foundations which were a prerequisite for achieving the peak of family development under the rule of Hermann II and his grandson Ulrich II. Without the former there would not have been the latter!

Summary

Mercenarism played an important role within the economic and social development of the Counts of Cilli who started with mercenary activities in the 13th century. These reached their highest point in the second half of the 14th century under the rule of Ulrich I and Hermann I. Through mercenarism activities the family formed strong economic foundations which served as a basis for their subsequent rapid rise on the hierarchical line.

Mercenarism influenced the development of the family in various ways. On one hand the participation in military campaigns provided the family with the opportunity to increase their reputation among the nobility and to consolidate the already gained reputation. The Counts of Cilli successfully exploited this aspect of mercenarism which was reflected also in the crusade led by Austrian Duke Albrecht III in 1377. Hermann I, Hermann II and William I participated in this crusade, and Hermann I played the role of the doyen within the participating nobility.

On the other hand mercenarism provided the Counts of Cilli with the opportunity to accumulate considerable financial resources which they used very efficiently; they mostly spent them on buying the property (e.g. Podsreda in 1336, Polhov Gradec in 1364). In the second half of the 14th century the House of Habsburg paid the Count of Cilli for their military services by pledging them land. By investing these resources the Counts of Cilli created a stable and long-term source of income and consolidated their economic basis.

The third aspect of mercenarism, also effectively exploited by the Counts of Cilli, was the expansion of social contacts, since military campaigns presented an excellent opportunity for this. Alliances and friendships made in war were stronger than those made in normal circumstances. Through these contacts the Counts of Cilli managed to marry into distinguished royal families. Following the mediation of Hungarian King Louis, Hermann I married Lois sister-in-law, Catherine Kotromanić, an heir to Bosnian crown. Louis was also a mediator at the wedding of Hermann's nephew William, the son of Ulrich I, who married Louis' cousin, the daughter of

dedinjo bosanske krone. Ludvik je bil posrednik tudi pri poroki Hermanovega nečaka Viljema. Ta se je namreč poročil z Ludvikovo sestrično, hčerko poljskega kralja Kazimirja. Ti stiki so dosegli vrhunec s poroko Barbare, hčere Hermana II., z ogrskim kraljem ter poznejšim nemškimi kraljem in cesarjem Sigismundom.

Premišljena politika pripadnikov rodbine celjskih grofov že v 14. stoletju je bila družbena in ekonomska podlaga za poznejši vzpon rodbine, ki je doživela vrhunec s Hermanom II. in Ulrikom II. ter pokneženjem rodbine leta 1436. Brez prvih zagotovo ne bi bilo tudi drugih.

Polish King Kazimir. The peak of these contacts was a wedding between Barbara of Cilli, the daughter of Hermann II, and Sigismund of Luxemburg, the Hungarian and Czech King and later also German King and Emperor.

Deliberate policy, practiced by the Counts of Cilli already back in the 14th century, created a social and economic basis for the later rise of the family which reached its highest point under the rule of Hermann II and Ulrich II, and culminated in the family being promoted into the rank of princes. Without the former there would not have been the latter!



Srednjeveško orožje in bojna oprema iz slovenskih muzejskih zbirk

Medieval Arms and Armour in Slovenian Museum Collections

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Izvleček

Prispevek pregledno obravnava orožje in bojno opremo iz slovenskih muzejskih zbirk kot pomembna vira za vojno in vojaško zgodovino slovenskega ozemlja v srednjem veku. Doslej ju niso poglobljeno preučevali in po večini ne objavljali. Največjo zbirko ima Narodni muzej Slovenije, posebno najdbe iz Ljubljani- ce, manjše zbirke pa posamezni pokrajinski in mestni muzeji, posebno na Ptuj, v Mariboru, Celju in Brežicah. Naloge muzejev so konser- virati, inventarizirati in kataloško ustrezno objaviti gradivo kot nujni temelj za nadaljnje preučevanje, ki naj vključuje naravoslovno- tehnične analize ter arheološke oziroma zgo- dovinske raziskave. Te so pogoj za nove so- dobne razstave, skupaj z rekonstrukcijami ali modeli orožij in naprav, s scenskimi in virtu- alnimi prikazi.

Ključne besede: orožje, bojna oprema, sred- nji vek, muzeji, arheologija, zgodovina, nara- voslovne raziskave, eksperimentalna arheolo- gija.

Orožje in bojna oprema iz slovenskih mu- zejskih zbirk sta pomembna vira za vojno in vojaško zgodovino slovenskega ozemlja ter za različne druge vidike srednjeveške zgo- dovine. Skupaj s pisnimi in likovnimi viri, pa tudi arheološkimi najdišči, kot so reke, mesta, obzidja, gradovi in druge utrdbe, predstavlja- ta lokalno in regionalno zgodovino različnih

Abstract

The article gives an overview of arms and armour in Slovenian museum collections describing these as two significant sources for researching war and military history on Slovenian territory in the Middle Ages. So far, they have not been subject to in-depth research and were, usually, not on exhibition. The biggest collection of arms and armour is preserved at the National Museum of Slovenia, especially finds from the Ljubljana river, smaller collections are housed by individual regional and city museums, in particular in Ptuj, Maribor, Celje and Brežice. The tasks of museums are to conserve, to make an in- ventory of finds and to catalogue objects as a neces- sary basis for further research that should include scientific and technical analyses, archaeological and historical research. These are the conditions for new modern exhibitions, including reconstructions or models of arms and devices, with performances and virtual images.

Key words: arms, armour, Middle Ages, muse- ums, archaeology, history, scientific research, expe- rimental archaeology.

The arms and armour in Slovenian museum col- lections are important sources for researching the war and military history of the Slovenian territory, as well as other aspects of medieval history. Along with written documents and works of art, as well as archaeological sites (rivers, urban settlements, walls, castles and other fortifications), they reflect the local and regional history of various social groups. This

družbenih skupin ter jo povezuje v njen širši nadregionalni in mednarodni kontekst glede na vlogo in pomen slovenskega ozemlja v srednjeveški zgodovini tega dela Evrope. Doslej ju z nekaj izjemami niso poglobljeno preučevali. Enako velja za prizorišča vojaških spopadov in bitk, ostanke vojaških taborov ali oblegovalnih krajev in naprav, ki so v svetu poseben raziskovalni izziv za različne stroke, predvsem arheologijo in zgodovino, pa tudi npr. historično geografijo in antropologijo.

Metode in pristope, s katerimi bodo te stroke v sodelovanju z naravoslovnimi vedami poskušale celostno ovrednotiti ohranjene vire od posameznega primerka orožja do vojaške strukture na terenu in najdišča oziroma pokrajine v celoti, moramo v Sloveniji šele spoznati in razviti. Pri tem so materialni preostanki iz muzejskih zbirk kot eden od najpomembnejših virov dobro izhodišče za premislek o doseženem obsegu in kakovosti raziskavanosti. Njihova vključenost v dozdajšnje medievistične raziskave, šolske in študijske programe ter v muzejske razstave, s tem pa tudi v naše zgodovinsko vedenje v celoti, je dokaj pičla. Odvisna je od zgodovinskih okoliščin v preteklosti, zanimanj in usmeritev pristojnih strok, ustanov in posameznikov, kot tudi od ideološko pogojenih vrednotenj v preučevanju srednjega veka, plemstva, vojne in vojaške zgodovine v preteklosti. Hkrati imata ohranjeno srednjeveško orožje in bojna oprema pomembno mesto v presoji nadaljnjih raziskovalnih usmeritev in možnosti za drugačno, bolj objektivno in manj stereotipno vrednotenje srednjeveške dediščine te vrste.

Tematiko orožja in bojne opreme je smiselno opazovati iz različnih zornih kotov, ne le iz oblikovnega ali tipološko-kronološkega. S kakšnimi postopki in iz kakšnih snovi je bil izdelan posamezen predmet ter kakšne so bile njegove lastnosti in uporabnost, lahko ugotovljamo z eksperimentalno arheologijo oziroma rekonstrukcijo predmetov¹ ter na podlagi različnih naravoslovno-tehničnih analiz in preskusov. Idealno je, če so ti sestavni del in nadaljevanje konservatorskih postopkov.

Kot primer naj navedemo analize srednjeveških mečev iz Ljubljane, ki jih hrani Narodni

history is linked by its broader transregional and international context with regard to the role and significance of the Slovenian territory in the medieval history of this part of Europe. With a few exceptions, it has not so far been the subject of more in-depth research. The same applies to the sites of military conflicts and battles, remnants of military camps or besieged locations and siege devices, which, in other countries, pose major research challenges to various expert fields, especially archaeology and history, as well as historical geography and anthropology.

Still, Slovenia has to identify and develop methods and approaches that will be employed by these areas of research, in cooperation with natural sciences, to comprehensively evaluate the preserved sources, from individual examples of arms to military structures on the terrain and archaeological sites or regions. Hence, material remnants in museum collections are considered to be some of the most valuable sources for determining the scope and quality achieved by the current research results. Their integration into the present medieval research efforts, school and study programmes and museum exhibitions and, thus, in a comprehensive understanding of historical facts is all rather limited. It depends on historical circumstances in the past, the interest and orientation of competent fields of research, institutions and individuals, as well as on past, ideologically conditioned, evaluations when studying the Middle Ages, nobility, war and military history. Simultaneously, the preserved medieval arms and armour are of particular importance for examining further research directions and the possibilities of a different, more objective and less stereotyped evaluation of this medieval heritage.

The subject of arms and armour should be appropriately studied from various points of view and not only from a formal or typological and chronological aspect. The procedures and materials that were used for the manufacture of an individual object and what its characteristics and practical use were can be determined by employing experimental archaeology, especially the reconstruction of objects,¹ as well as based on various scientific and technical analyses and tests. Ideally, these should be a constituent part or continuation of conservation procedures.

The analyses of the medieval swords found in the Ljubljana River and preserved at the Narodni

¹ Za rekonstrukcijo tekstilnega oklepa iz 15. stoletja prim. Tomaž Lazar, Srednjeveški tekstilni oklepi, v: *Življenje in tehnika*, 59/6 (2008), str. 45–52; isti avtor, Rekonstrukcija poznosrednjeveškega prešitega oklepa, v: *Argo*, 51/1 (2008), str. 29–39; isti avtor, Izdelava replike železnega klobuka iz Ljubljane, v: *Argo*, 50/1 (2007), pp. 9–26; Nataša Nemeček, Tehnologija poslikave srednjeveškega ščita, v: *Argo*, 50/2 (2007), pp. 105–112.

¹ For the reconstruction of textile armour from the 15th century, cf. Tomaž Lazar, Srednjeveški tekstilni oklepi, in: *Življenje in tehnika*, 59/6 (2008), pp. 45–52; same author, Rekonstrukcija poznosrednjeveškega prešitega oklepa, in: *Argo*, 51/1 (2008), pp. 29–39; same author, Izdelava replike železnega klobuka iz Ljubljane, in: *Argo*, 50/1 (2007), pp. 9–26; Nataša Nemeček, Tehnologija poslikave srednjeveškega ščita, in: *Argo*, 50/2 (2007), pp. 105–112.



Foto/Photo: Tomaž Lautho

Drobne najdbe orožja in bojne opreme, Pusti grad nad Zgornjo Lipnico pri Radovljici, 15.–16. stoletje, hrani Gorenjski muzej Kranj.

Small findings of arms and armour, Pusti grd above Zgornja Lipnica at Radovljica, 15th-16th century, kept by Kranj museum.

muzej Slovenije, v zadnjih letih: rentgenske preslikave mečev in analiza kemijskih elementov kovin z metodo EDS XRF so postali rutinski del obravnave tega orožja, pomemben za prepoznavanje posameznih sestavnih delov meča, posebno ročajnega dela, in določitev različnih vrst kovin oziroma zlitin, npr. okrasja, znakov in napisov.² Opravljene so bile še nekatere druge analize, npr. vrst lesa, iz katerega so bile izdelane ročajne obloge, čeprav so bili rezultati glede na kakovost vzorcev (prej moker les je bil že posušen) slabši od pričakovanih.³ Poseben primer uspešnih analiz je bila sistematična obravnava ptujskih sodniških insignij iz 16. stoletja, ki jih hrani Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj. Ob konserviranju in delnem restavriranju sodniškega meča z nožnico in sodniške palice v laboratoriju NMS so bile poleg analiz lesa, tkanin in papirja narejene analize s spektrometrijo XRF, rentgensko

muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia) serve as an example. In recent years, X-ray images of swords and the analysis of the chemical elements of metals employing the EDS XRF method have become a routine procedure for examining these arms and are important for recognising the individual components of the sword, especially the grip, and determining the various types of metals and alloys used for ornaments, signs and inscriptions.² Other analyses were also conducted – for example, analyses of the types of wood used for manufacturing the grip coating, although the results were worse than expected due to the quality of samples (the previously wet wood was already dry).³ A particular example of a successful technical analysis was the systematic research into the insignias of justice from Ptuj, originating from the 16th century, which are preserved at the Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj (Ptuj Regional Museum). During the conservation and partial restoration of the sword of justice and scabbard and the sceptre of

2 Analize EDS XRF (Energy Dispersion Spectroscopy, X-Ray-Fluorescence) je na rentgenskem spektrometru v laboratoriju NMS opravil Zoran Milić, preslikave z rentgenskimi žarki pa Inštitut za metalne konstrukcije v Ljubljani. Prim. Zoran Milić, Jana Šubic Prisljan, Uporaba rentgenskih žarkov v arheologiji in arheološki konservaciji, *Argo*, 40/2 (1997), str. 91–104.

3 Analize je naredil Martin Zupančič z Oddelka za lesarstvo na Biotehniški fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

2 EDS XRF analyses (Energy Dispersion Spectroscopy, X-Ray-Fluorescence) were carried out using the X-ray spectrometer at the lab of the National Museum of Slovenia by Zoran Milić, X-ray images were taken at the Metal Construction Institute in Ljubljana. Cf. Zoran Milić, Jana Šubic Prisljan, Uporaba rentgenskih žarkov v arheologiji in arheološki konservaciji, in: *Argo*, 40/2 (1997), pp. 91–104.

3 The analysis was conducted by Martin Zupančič from the Wood Science Department of the Biotechnical Faculty, University of Ljubljana.

in nevtronsko radiografijo.⁴ Te so med drugim razkrile notranjo sestavo ročajnega dela meča z glavičem.⁵ Čeprav ptujski meč kot (novoveška) sodniška insignija ni bil orožje v pravem pomenu besede, ampak ceremonialni predmet, so analize pokazale smiselnost takšnih postopkov. V slovenski arheologiji uporabljajo še nekatere druge arheometrične metode, npr. PIXE z uporabo ionskega pospeševalnika za določanje sestave kovinskih zlitin. Zelo koristne bi bile še nove metode, posebno tiste, ki določijo lastnosti predmetov, npr. trdoto rezil hladnega orožja.

Poleg nedestruktivnih postopkov je treba kljub previdnosti glede spomeniškovarstvenih principov ohranjanja muzealij resno upoštevati tudi možnosti destruktivnih metod, posebno metalografskih, ki z napredkom znanosti zahtevajo vse manjše vzorce gradiva. V Sloveniji so opravili razmeroma malo takšnih analiz, od srednjeveškega orožja v NMS le za en odlomek rezila meča.⁶ V tujini so metalografske analize dosti bolj razširjene in pomembno prispevajo tako k poznavanju mikrostrukture oziroma vrste in kakovosti kovine kot tudi k razločevanju izvornih predmetov od kopij in ponaredkov.⁷ V svetu sicer razvijajo različne zelo kompleksne in tudi drage nedestruktivne metode, npr. nevtronsko difrakcijo kot povsem neinvazivno metodo določanja posameznih značilnosti železnih artefaktov.⁸ V preučevanju srednjeveškega orožja in bojne opreme se moramo zavzemati za premišljeno uporabo metod ene in druge vrste, saj vsaka po svoje pomaga razkrivati skrivnosti materialov, postopkov izdelave in lastnosti predmetov.⁹

justice carried out at the lab of the National Museum of Slovenia, analyses with a XRF (X-ray fluorescent) spectrometer, X-ray and neutron radiography were conducted, in addition to the analyses of wood, textile and paper.⁴ Among other findings, these analyses revealed the inner structure of the sword's grip and the pommel.⁵ Although the Ptuj sword as a (Modern Period) symbol of justice was not a weapon in the literal sense but a ceremonial object, the results of the analyses justified the above-mentioned procedures. Slovenian archaeology also employs other archaeological research methods, for example PIXE with the use of an ionic accelerator to determine the structure of metal alloys. The new methods are particularly useful, especially those that are employed to determine the characteristics of the objects, for example the hardness of blades.

In addition to non-destructive testing techniques, the possibility of employing destructive methods should be seriously considered despite having to exercise caution when dealing with the preservation of museum pieces. Such destructive testing techniques especially include metallographic methods that, with the increasing progress of science, require smaller samples of materials. These types of technical analyses were rarely conducted in Slovenia. Only a fragment of a medieval sword blade preserved in the National Museum of Slovenia was analysed using this method.⁶ Abroad, metallographic analyses are used more often and contribute significantly to the characterisation of the microstructure, especially the type and quality of the metal, as well as distinguishing between original objects and copies or forgeries.⁷ In foreign countries, very complex and expensive non-destructive methods have been developed, for example neutron diffraction as a totally

4 Nevtronsko radiografiranje meča je v eksperimentalnem jedrskem reaktorju v Podgorici pri Ljubljani izvedel dr. Jože Rant, Institut Jožef Stefan, Ljubljana.

5 Tomaž Nabergoj, Polona Vidmar, Zoran Milič, O insignijah ptujskega mestnega sodnika, v: *Zbornik Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj*, 1 (2003), str. 70–125; prim. isti avtorji, DISES GERIHT SWERT HAT LASEN MAHEN; Zu den Insignien des Stadtrichters von Ptuj, v: *Forschungen zur Rechtsarchäologie und Rechtlichen Volkskunde*, 22 (2005), str. 169–255.

6 Metalografsko analizo je opravil Dimitrij Kmetič z Inštituta za kovinske materiale in tehnologije v Ljubljani. Za rimsko orožje prim. Dimitrij Kmetič, Jana Horvat, Franc Vodopivec, Metallographic Examinations of the Roman Republican Weapons from the Hoard from Grad near Šmihel; Metalografske preiskave rimskega republikanskega orožja iz zaklada z Gradu pri Šmihelu, v: *Arheološki vestnik*, 55 (2004), str. 291–312.

7 Prim. npr. Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace; A History of the Metallurgy of Armour in the Middle Ages & the Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2003. Dr. Williams, sodelavec muzeja The Wallace Collection v Londonu, je imel 8. septembra 2008 kot gost NMS v Ljubljani predavanje z naslovom *Metalografske analize antičnega in srednjeveškega orožja*.

8 Prim. spletni članek S. Imberti idr., Neutron Diffractometer INES for Quantitative Phase Analysis of Archaeological Objects, v: *Measurement Science and Technology*, 19 (2008), 034003 (str. 8).

9 Dobro predstavitev razmer, težav in perspektiv raziskav te vrste je ponudila mednarodna konferenca *Early Iron in Europe; Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Iron Production* v Hüttenbergu na Koroškem, Avstrija, 8.–12. septembra 2008.

4 Neutron radiography of the sword was carried out by Jože Rant PhD at the Ljubljana Jožef Stefan Institute in an experimental nuclear reactor in Podgorica, near Ljubljana.

5 Tomaž Nabergoj, Polona Vidmar, Zoran Milič, DISES GERIHT SWERT HAT LASEN MAHEN ... O insignijah ptujskega mestnega sodnika, in: *Zbornik Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj*, 1 (2003), pp. 70–125; cf. same authors, DISES GERIHT SWERT HAT LASEN MAHEN; Zu den Insignien des Stadtrichters von Ptuj, in *Forschungen zur Rechtsarchäologie und Rechtlichen Volkskunde*, 22 (2005), pp. 169–255.

6 The metallographic analysis was conducted by Dimitrij Kmetič from the Institute for Metal Materials and Technology in Ljubljana. For Roman arms, cf. Dimitrij Kmetič, Jana Horvat, Franc Vodopivec, Metallographic Examinations of the Roman Republican Weapons from the Hoard from Grad near Šmihel; Metalografske preiskave rimskega republikanskega orožja iz zaklada z Gradu pri Šmihelu, in: *Arheološki vestnik*, 55 (2004), pp. 291–312.

7 Cf. for example, Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace; A History of the Metallurgy of Armour in the Middle Ages & the Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2003. Dr. Williams, a staff member of the museum The Wallace Collection in London, was hosted by the National Museum of Slovenia on 8 September 2008 and gave a lecture on the metallographic analyses of ancient and medieval weapons.

Zamejitev raziskovalnega polja v »srednji vek« je zgolj konvencionalna in sledi uveljavljenim kronološkim razmejitvam zgodovinskih obdobj, v evropskem prostoru posebno starega, srednjega in novega veka. Problematična lahko postane, če ob splošnem ne upoštevamo posebnega zgodovinskega razvoja posameznih skupnosti in družb, ob tem pa tudi razvoja orožja in bojne opreme. Ob zgodnesrednjeveškem gradivu je zato nujno poznati in primerjati tudi tisto iz pozne antike, ob poznosrednjeveškem tisto iz novega veka.¹⁰ Pri tem je vseeno, ali smo ujeti med letnici 500 in 1500 ali morda 476 in 1492 in za mejnike jemljemo "prelomne" politične dogodke, trajanje dinastij in smrti vladarjev, ali pa upoštevamo drugačne razdelitve in pojmovanja, na primer o »dolgem srednjem veku« globin, temeljev in struktur – po francoskem zgodovinarju Le Goffu je ta trajal od 2. ali 3. stoletja našega štetja oziroma od poznega rimskega cesarstva do industrijske revolucije (točneje revolucij) med 19. stoletjem in sedanostjo.¹¹

Skoraj nikoli ne obravnavamo tipsko izdelanih predmetov, pogosto so ti tudi lokalnega izvora, zato jih ne moremo preprosto stlačiti v uveljavljene tipološke in kronološke sheme za evropski prostor. Vzemimo za primer le »dolge« ali »bojne nože« (v nemških virih »Messer«) in »kmečke nože«, ki so bili glede na pisne in likovne vire značilno orožje najemnikov in kmetov v 15. in 16. stoletju, torej ob koncu (poznega) srednjega veka oziroma na začetku novega veka. Previdnost pri določanju še bolj velja za »klasične« srednjeveške meče, ki pogosto dobijo oznako »viteški«, ne da bi zanje poznali tiste podatke o izvoru ali najdiščnem kontekstu, ki bi upravičevali njihovo povezavo z vitezi kot posebno družbeno kategorijo oborožencev v srednjeveški družbi. Prav mogoče je, da so jih uporabljali tudi pripadniki drugih družbenih skupin ali stanov, npr. meščani in celo kleriki, če spomnimo le na arhivske podatke o oborožitvi piranskih meščanov v 13.

non-invasive method for determining the individual characteristics of iron artefacts.⁸ In researching medieval arms and armour, one has to thoroughly consider the various types of methods that can be used, as each – in its own way – reveals secrets of the materials, manufacturing techniques and characteristics of the objects.⁹

Limiting the research sphere to the "Middle Ages" is a highly conventional approach and is based on the established chronological division into historical periods: in the European area especially, the Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Modern Period. It might be a problem when both the general and specific historical development of individual groups and societies is not taken into account, as well as the development of arms and armour. Therefore, when dealing with early medieval objects one should be familiar with and make comparisons with objects from the late Antiquity and, similarly, late medieval objects with objects from modern times.¹⁰ Yet, it is of minor importance, whether we are trapped between the years 500 and 1500 or 476 and 1492 or whether we consider decisive political events, the duration of dynasties and the death of rulers as historic turning points, or whether we use different classifications and concepts – for example, the "long Middle Ages" of profundities, foundations and structures. According to the French historian Le Goff, it lasted from the 2nd or the 3rd century in the Christian era or from the late Roman Empire up to the industrial revolution (more accurately revolutions) from the 19th century until now.¹¹

Typologically manufactured objects are hardly ever dealt with. Such objects are often of local origin and can, therefore, not be placed into established typological and chronological schemes for the European area. Let's take for example the "single-edged weapons" (referred to in German sources as Messer) and the so called "Bauernwehr" (peasant's knives), which were, according to written documents and works of art, typical weapons used by mercenaries and peasants in the 15th and the 16th centuries – that is by the end of the (Late) Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Period. Identification

¹⁰ Prim. kot slovenski prevod tujega dela Miroslav Ulčar (ur.), *Enciklopedija orožja; Orožje skozi sedem tisočletij*, Ljubljana 1995.

¹¹ Jacques Le Goff, *Za drugačen srednji vek*, Ljubljana 1985, str. 12.

⁸ Cf. the Internet article by S. Imberti et al., Neutron Diffractometer INES for Quantitative Phase Analysis of Archaeological Objects, in: *Measurement Science and Technology*, 19 (2008), 034003 (p. 8).

⁹ A good presentation of the situation, problems and perspectives of such types of research was offered by the international conference *Early Iron in Europe; Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Iron Production* in Hüttenberg in Carinthia, Austria, 8 to 12 September 2008.

¹⁰ Cf. the Slovenian translation of the treatise by Miroslav Ulčar (ed.), *Enciklopedija orožja; Orožje skozi sedem tisočletij*, Ljubljana 1995.

¹¹ Jacques Le Goff, *Za drugačen srednji vek*, Ljubljana 1985, p. 12 (Slovenian translation from: J. Le Goff, *Pour un autre moyen age*, Paris 1994).



Foto/Photo: Tomaž Lauko

Meči iz struge Ljubljanice, 14. stoletje–začetek 15. stoletja, hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije

Swords from riverbed of Ljubljana, 14th century–beginning of 15th century, kept by National museum of Slovenia

in 14. stoletju ali konkretno navedbo o obožitvi freisinškega škofa v njegovi rezidenci na takratnem škofjeloškem gradu: inventarni zapis iz leta 1321 omenja meč škofove bojne opreme (*gladium ad arma /domini/*) v škofovi sobi.¹² V piranski komuni so prebivalci poleg meča (*spada, ensis*) poznali še druge vrste orožja oziroma bojne opreme: različne oklepe (*coraçia, lamera*), trebušni oklep (*pançeria*), prsni oklep (*coretus*), ovratni oklep (*golarum*), oklep za roke (*braçale*), oklep za noge (*gambera*), čelado (*capelus, capilina*), ščit (*clipidus, talavaçus*), okrogli ščit (*targia, rotella*), kopje (*lançonus*), srpasto kopje (*ronchonus*), okovano gorjačo (*spontonus*), nož (*lançeta, penatum*) in samostrel (*balista*) z napenjalnikom (*croc-hus*) – kar obsežen arzenal, čeprav znan le po omembah.¹³ Prav ničesar od takšnega srednjeveškega orožja in bojne opreme doslej niso našli ne v Piranu ne v drugih dveh primorskih komunah na slovenski obali, to je v Kopru in Izoli, če sodimo po muzejskih razstavah in objavah.

Kakšne so razmere v Sloveniji, kar zadeva

should be even more cautious for classic medieval swords, which are usually labelled as knightly without even knowing information on their origin, or the context of the archaeological site that could justify their connection with knights as a special social category of armed individuals in medieval society. Such swords were equally used by members of other social groups or classes, for instance townsmen or clergymen, if we recall archive information on the weapons of the townsmen of Piran in the 13th and the 14th centuries or the factual reference on the weapons of the Bishop of Freising in his residence in the Škofja Loka (Bischoflack) castle: an inventory list dating from 1321 mentions a sword that was part of the bishop's arms (*gladium ad arma /domini/*) in the bishop's room.¹² The inhabitants of the Piran municipality also knew other types of arms and armour along with the sword (*spada, ensis*): various armours (*coraçia, lamera*), various coats of plates (*pançeria, coretus*), collars (*golarum*), vambraces (*braçale*), leg harnesses (*gambera*), helmets (*capelus, capilina*), shields (*clipidus, talavaçus*), targets (*targia, rotella*), lances (*lançonus*), rawcons ("runka") (*ronchonus*), spiked clubs (*spontonus*), knives (*lançeta, penatum*)

¹² Joseph Zahn, *Codex diplomaticus Austriaco-Frisingensis, III; Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, XXXVI*, Wien 1871, str. 146/39.

¹³ Darja Mihelič, *Neagrarno gospodarstvo Pirana od 1280 do 1340; Dela 1. razreda SAZU, 27*, Ljubljana 1985, str. 84 sl. Slovenski izrazi so navedeni po Miheličevi in jih tu kritično ne obravnavamo. Prim. pa Tomaž Nabergoj, *Habent sua fata gladii, habent sua fata arma!*; Prispevek k izrazju za orožje in bojno opremo v srednjeveških pisnih virih za slovenski prostor, v: *Kronika*, 49/1–2 (2001), str. 5–6, 17–18 (posebno za izraz *runconus*).

¹² Joseph Zahn, *Codex diplomaticus Austriaco-Frisingensis, III; Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, XXXVI*, Wien 1871, p. 146/39.

ohranjeno orožje in bojno opremo iz srednjega veka ter vedenje o njiju iz drugih, pisnih in likovnih virov? Presojamo ga lahko najprej širše: v veliki meri je odvisno od splošne razvitosti in usmeritev posameznih strok, ki se lotevajo medievistike, v prvi vrsti arheologije, zgodovine, umetnostne in stavbne zgodovine, historične geografije. Resnici na ljubo so se te vede doslej razmeroma malo ukvarjale z orožjem in bojno opremo, utrdbeno arhitekturo ter vojno in vojaško zgodovino, predvsem pa tega niso počele celostno niti ne povezano oziroma interdisciplinarno. Glede na izjemen pomen navedenih tem za politično, gospodarsko, kulturno in še kakšno zgodovino posameznih družb in kultur ali kar civilizacij od prazgodovinskih dob naprej je bilo takšnih raziskav gotovo premalo in niso dovolj sledile razvoju v tujini.

Še najbolj so verjetno preučili grajsko arhitekturo (to so storili umetnostni zgodovinarji in arhitekti oziroma kastelologi),¹⁴ čeprav zaradi razmeroma pogoste prezidanosti in slabe ohranjenosti, posebno notranjščin, le z nekaterih gledišč, ne pa npr. z vidika oblegovalnih naprav in obrambe pred njimi kot dela strateško nadzorovanega oziroma branjenega prostora. Premik na tem področju pomenijo tri monografije Ivana Stoparja, sicer našega najbolj uveljavljenega kastelologa, o življenju na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem.¹⁵ Ob grajski je delno raziskana še druga utrdbeno arhitektura, npr. mestna obzidja in stolpi. Posebej omenimo protiturške tabore, katerih mreža je ob koncu srednjega in v začetku novega veka obsegala približno 350 do 400 taborskih utrdb, vključno z utrjenimi jamami pod zemljo, stolpi in dviznimi mostovi ter zapornimi obzidji. To je res veliko v primerjavi s približno 900 gradovi, graščinami, dvorci in dvori različnih fevdalnih gospodov, ki so nastali na našem ozemlju od 10. stoletja vse do novega veka. Zelo pomembno in pozitivno je, da sta se v zadnjem času povečala skrb in zanimanje države za prenovo in oživitev te vrste

and a crossbow (balista) with a hook (crochus) – a fair arsenal, although known only by historical references.¹³ However, not a single piece of these medieval arms and armour have been found so far, neither in Piran, nor in the other two municipalities in the Slovenian Littoral – Koper and Izola.

What is the situation in Slovenia regarding the preservation of arms and armour originating from the Middle Ages and what can we learn about them from other, written documents and works of art? First, we can evaluate this situation in a wider perspective: it depends, to a great extent, on the general development and the orientation of individual fields of mediévistic research – predominantly archaeology, history, the history of fine arts and architecture and historical geography. In point of fact, these sciences have joined together – to a limited extent – in the research of arms and armour, fortification architecture and war and military history – but notably in neither a comprehensive, nor integrated interdisciplinary manner. Considering the great significance that these subjects had to the political, economic, cultural and other spheres of history in individual societies and cultures or even civilisations from the prehistoric age onwards, this area has not undergone a satisfactory scope of research, which has also not followed the development of this research field in other countries.

Castle architecture is probably the most studied area in this context (from the aspect of art historians and architects, particularly castellologists).¹⁴ Although, as a consequence of the relatively frequent reconstruction and poorly executed conservation works of castles, (especially inner rooms), it could only be researched from certain points of view and not, for example, from the aspect of siege weapons and the defence against these as a part of a strategically controlled and defended area. A change in this area was made by the three monographs on the life of medieval castles in the Slovenian area written by Ivan Stopar, the most prominent Slovenian castellologist.¹⁵ Along with castle architecture, the architecture of fortifications, such as city walls and towers, has also been partly researched. Particular attention

14 Prim. prispevek Igorja Sapača v tem zborniku.

15 Ivan Stopar, *Svet viteštva*, Ljubljana 2005; isti avtor, *Ostra kopja, bridki meči*, Ljubljana 2006; isti avtor, *Za grajskimi zidovi*, Ljubljana 2007, vse v zbirki založbe Viharnik *Življenje na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem*.

13 Darja Mihelič, *Neagrarno gospodarstvo Pirana od 1280 do 1340; Dela I. razreda SAZU*, 27, Ljubljana 1985, p. 84 ss. The Slovenian expressions are stated according to Mihelič and are not discussed at this point. Cf. Tomaž Nabergoj, *Habent sua fata gladii, habent sua fata arma!*; Prispevek k izrazju za orožje in bojno opremo v srednjeveških pisnih virih za slovenski prostor, in: *Kronika*, 49/1–2 (2001), pp. 5–6, 17–18 (in particular the term *runconus*).

14 Cf. article by Igor Sapač in this bulletin.

15 Ivan Stopar, *Svet viteštva*, Ljubljana 2005; same author, *Ostra kopja, bridki meči*, Ljubljana 2006; same author, *Za grajskimi zidovi*, Ljubljana 2007, all part of the same set of books *Življenje na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem* published by the publishing house Viharnik.



Foto/Photo: Tomaž Lauko

Železni klobuk, bojni nož, bojna ost in pasna spona, najdeni v Ljubljani, 15. stoletje oz. konec 13. stoletja–prva polovica 15. stoletja (pasna spona), hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije

Iron hat, Messer, Ahlspiess and belt buckle, found in Ljubljana, 15th century or end of 13th century- first half of 15th century (belt buckle), kept by National museum of Slovenia

dediščine gradov, utrd in mestnih obzidij, kot so pokazale prireditve ob dnevih evropske kulturne dediščine septembra 2006.¹⁶

V minulih petnajstih ali dvajsetih letih je bilo med mlajšimi generacijami zgodovinarjev prav tako več zanimanja in opravljenih raziskav, posebno o doslej bolj zanemarjenih temah, kot je zgodovina plemstva, s tem pa tudi vojn, vojaštva in veščin vojskovanja, od

should be paid to the anti-Ottoman camps that were integrated in a network of around 350 to 400 fortifications, including fortified underground caves, towers and drawbridges, as well as fortification walls by the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern times. This is a considerable number indeed in comparison with the around 900 castles, manors, mansions and courts of various feudal lords that were built on Slovenian territory from the 10th

¹⁶ *Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Program prireditve; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine, Ljubljana 2006.*

viteštva do najemništva.¹⁷ Obravnavali so še viteške redove, križarske vojne in turnirje, mobilnost in komunikacije v okviru vojskovanja oziroma vojnih pohodov kot sestavnega dela srednjeveškega prometa.¹⁸ Obsežnejših monografskih pregledov o vojaški zgodovini in organiziranosti v srednjem veku še nimamo, razen delno študije o vojaški organiziranosti na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju.¹⁹ Ta v okviru vojaške in obrambne organiziranosti v obdobju najmočnejših turških vpadov med drugim obravnava oborožitev, ki so jo predpisovali obrambni redi za kmečki vpoklic pešcev od prve polovice 15. stoletja naprej, tisto, ki so jo imeli najemniki (konjeniki in pešci), in tisto, ki jo je premogla plemiška konjenica.

Arheoloških raziskav srednjeveškega orožja in bojne opreme skoraj ni, kar velja celo za osnovne tipološke in kronološke preglede gradiva. To je med drugim posledica dolgoletnega nesistematičnega in tradicionalno nesprejetega ukvarjanja arheologov z obdobji po zgodnjem srednjem veku oziroma po 11. stoletju – predvsem zaradi takrat veljavne delitve preteklosti na »arheološka« (prazgodovina, rimska doba, zgodnji srednji vek) in poznejša »nearheološka« obdobja. Raziskovanje drugih je arheologija prepuščala drugim strokam, predvsem zgodovini, umetnostni zgodovini in etnologiji. Tako gradov in drugih utrd ali npr. mestnih obzidij razen redkih izjem ni raziskovala načrtno in celostno, ampak le v okviru spomeniškovarstvenih raziskav, prav tako se po večini ni ukvarjala z materialno kulturo vsakdanjega življenja. Razmere so se začele spreminjati šele v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja z razvojem stroke in novimi raziskavami

century through to the Modern Period. It is a significant and positive fact that the state has increased its care for and interest in renovating and restoring the heritage of castles, fortifications and city walls, which also became obvious during the events held on the occasion of the European Culture Heritage Days in September 2006.¹⁶

In the last fifteen or twenty years, younger generations of historians dedicated more interest and research to previously more neglected subjects, such as the history of the nobility and, thus, the history of wars, the military organisation and warfare skills, from knighthood to mercenary soldiers.¹⁷ They also discussed the orders of knights, crusades and tournaments, mobility and communication in the context of warfare or military campaigns as part of medieval traffic.¹⁸ There are no detailed monographic overviews of military history and organisation in the Middle Ages, with the exception of a study on military organisation in the Slovenian territory in the 16th century.¹⁹ In the context of military and defence organisation during the period of the most fierce Ottoman raids, this study deals also with weapons provided – by defence orders – for peasant infantry soldiers from the 15th century onward, as well as weapons that mercenary soldiers (cavalry and infantry soldiers) had and those used by members of the noble cavalry.

The archaeological research into medieval arms and armour, also including typological and chronological surveys of material, is almost nonexistent. Among other reasons, this is the consequence of a long-lasting non-systematic and traditionally unaccepted engagement of archaeologists with the periods after the Early Middle Ages – specifically after the 11th century, notably due to the formerly applied division of the past into "archaeological" (prehistory,

17 Npr. Maja Žvanut, *Od viteza do gospoda*, Ljubljana 1994; Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem; Razprave Filozofske fakultete*, Ljubljana 1994; isti avtor, *Celjski grofje – še vedno raziskovalni problem?*, v: *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Grofje Celjski, stara tema – nova spoznanja* (ur. Rolanda Fugger Germačnik), Celje 1999, str. 11–22; isti avtor, *Srednjeveško plemstvo in slovensko zgodovinske pisane, v: Melikov zbornik; Slovenci v zgodovini in njihovi srednjeveški sosesje* (ur. Vincenc Rajšp idr.), Ljubljana 2001, str. 61–72; Dušan Kos, *Pamet pod šlemom, zvestoba denarju; Plemiški karizem v luči uradovanja, služenja in vojskovanja v poznem srednjem veku*, v: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 66/2 (1995), str. 207–235; Miha Preinfalk, *Auerspergi, Po sledih mogočnega tura; Thesaurus memoriae, Dissertationes*, 4, Ljubljana 2005; Andrej Komac, *Od mejne grofije do dežele, Ulrik III. Spanheim in Kranjska v 13. stoletju; Thesaurus memoriae, Dissertationes* 5, Ljubljana 2006.

18 Dušan Kos, *Turnirska knjiga Gašperja Lambergerja; Čas bojevnikov*, Ljubljana 1997; Miha Kosi, *The Age of the Crusades in the Southeast of the Empire (between the Alps and the Adriatic)*, v: *The Crusades and the Military Orders; Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest 2001, str. 123–165; isti avtor, *Potujoči srednji vek; Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem*, Zbirka ZRC 20, Ljubljana 1998.

19 Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991.

16 *Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Program prireditelj; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine*, Ljubljana 2006.

17 E. g. Maja Žvanut, *Od viteza do gospoda*, Ljubljana 1994; Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem; Razprave Filozofske fakultete*, Ljubljana 1994; same author, *Celjski grofje – še vedno raziskovalni problem?*, in *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Grofje Celjski, stara tema – nova spoznanja* (ed. Rolanda Fugger Germačnik), Celje 1999, pp. 11–22; same author, *Srednjeveško plemstvo in slovensko zgodovinske pisane, in: Melikov zbornik; Slovenci v zgodovini in njihovi srednjeveški sosesje* (eds. Vincenc Rajšp et al.), Ljubljana 2001, pp. 61–72; Dušan Kos, *Pamet pod šlemom, zvestoba denarju; Plemiški karizem v luči uradovanja, služenja in vojskovanja v poznem srednjem veku*, in *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 66/2 (1995), pp. 207–235; Miha Preinfalk, *Auerspergi, Po sledih mogočnega tura; Thesaurus memoriae, Dissertationes*, 4, Ljubljana 2005; Andrej Komac, *Od mejne grofije do dežele, Ulrik III. Spanheim in Kranjska v 13. stoletju; Thesaurus memoriae, Dissertationes* 5, Ljubljana 2006.

18 Dušan Kos, *Turnirska knjiga Gašperja Lambergerja; Čas bojevnikov*, Ljubljana 1997; Miha Kosi, *The Age of the Crusades in the Southeast of the Empire (between the Alps and the Adriatic)*, in: *The Crusades and the Military Orders; Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest 2001, pp. 123–165; same author, *Potujoči srednji vek; Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem*, Zbirka ZRC 20, Ljubljana 1998.

19 Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991.

ter vzpostavitev ustreznih študijskih programov na Univerzi v Ljubljani.²⁰

Zato ne čudi, da omenjene stroke doslej praktično niso posegale na mejna področja raziskav in da šele v zadnjih letih uvajajo interdisciplinarne pristope, vključno s sodelovanjem naravoslovnih strok. Orožje in bojna oprema na srednjeveških freskah in drugih likovnih upodobitvah, posebno nagrobnikih, npr. še čakata na temeljito obravnavo, čeprav sta že vzbudila zanimanje.²¹ Arheologi bi lahko z geofizikalnimi meritvami in sistematičnimi terenskimi pregledi ter tudi izkopavanji raziskovali prizorišče kake srednjeveške bitke ali lokacije in preostanke oblegovalnih naprav oziroma sledi bojov v okolici izbranega srednjeveškega gradu (če ne omenjamo morebitnega antropološkega gradiva, ki mu sodobne forenzične raziskave uspejo iztrgati marsikatero skrivnost).²² Tako bi morda pridobili nove podatke tudi za zgodovino oblegovalnih naprav in strelnega orožja od poznega srednjega veka naprej. Te teme prav tako opozarjajo na nove pristope, kot je eksperimentalna arheologija, ki po zgledih iz drugih držav, npr. Velike Britanije, Danske ali Nemčije, lahko prinesejo nova spoznanja, hkrati pa s prikazi, razstavami in tematskimi muzejskimi parki približajo srednjeveško dediščino javnosti, predvsem tisti, ki si želi dejavno sodelovati pri takšnem spoznavanju in oživljanju preteklosti. Kdaj bomo torej zgradili kak pravi srednjeveški kaptul, morda na podlagi najdb ali vsaj omemb iz pisnih virov za slovenski prostor, in ga preiskusili?

Urejenost, poznavanje in preučnost orožja in bojne opreme v slovenskih javnih zbirkah je mogoče kratko oceniti že na podlagi pregleda strokovne muzejske literature in sprehoda po muzejskih razstavah. Ugotovimo, da se je

Roman Age, Early Middle Ages) and later “non-archaeological” periods. Archaeologists left the study of these periods to other fields of research, in particular history, art history and ethnology. Hence, with only few exceptions, they did not engage in planned and comprehensive research into castles and other fortifications (or, for example, city walls) – but dealt with it only as part of the preservation of buildings and monuments. Equally, it did not deal with the material culture of everyday life. It was only in the last decade of the 20th century that the situation in this field started to change due to the development of the research field and new researches, as well as the establishment of adequate study programmes at the University of Ljubljana.²⁰

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the above-mentioned fields of research have practically never encroached into the border areas of research and that it is only in recent years that interdisciplinary approaches, including the cooperation of natural science fields, have been introduced. The arms and armour depicted in medieval frescoes and other works of art, especially on tombstones, should be examined more thoroughly. However, some experts have already shown interest in them.²¹ By carrying out geophysical measurements and systematic field examinations, as well as excavations, archaeologists could research the site of a medieval battle or the location and remnants of siege devices or traces of fighting in the area surrounding a selected medieval castle (not to mention any eventual anthropological material, from which modern forensic research methods are able to extract many a secret).²² Thus, they would be able to gain new information on the history of siege devices and firearms originating from the Late Middle Ages onward. This area of historic research is also part of new archaeological approaches, such as experimental archaeology. Following the example of other countries such as Great Britain, Denmark or Germany, this type of archaeological research can

20 Za pregled arheoloških raziskav visokega in poznega srednjega veka ter kratko bibliografijo srednjeveških najdišč, tudi npr. gradov, glej Tomaž Nabergoj, *Arheologija in gotika*, v: *Gotika v Sloveniji – svet predmetov*, (ur. Maja Lozar Štamcar, Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.), Ljubljana 1995, str. 7–107. Prim. tudi blok člankov o »posrednjeveških« arheologijah v Sloveniji v reviji *Arheo*, 25 (2008), str. 79–112, posebno Katarina Predovnik, *Nova obzorja: arheologija mlajših obdobij*, prav tam, str. 81–88, in Tomaž Nabergoj, *Muzeji in arheologija obdobij po zgodnjem srednjem veku*, prav tam, str. 89–96.

21 Tomaž Lazar, *Likovni viri za vojaško zgodovino srednjega veka*; Stensko in tabelno slikarstvo na Slovenskem in v sosednjih deželah, 1. del (Pregled gradiva), v: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 43 (2007), str. 219–236, 2. del (Interpretacija virov), v: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 44 (2008), str. 139–160.

22 Prim. klasično delo o bitki pri Wisbyju leta 1361, ki natančno obravnava tudi antropološke ostanke in podatke, Bengt Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby*, 1939 (ponatis: Chivalry Bookshelf 2001); prim. še Robert Hardy, *Blood Red Roses; The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, Oxford 2007.

20 For an overview of archaeological research of the High and Late Middle Ages and a short bibliography of medieval archaeological sites, also e. g. castles, see Tomaž Nabergoj, *Arheologija in gotika*, in *Gotika v Sloveniji – svet predmetov; Gothic in Slovenia – the world of objects* (ed. Maja Lozar Štamcar, Narodni muzej Slovenije, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 1995, pp. 7–107. Cf. also the collection of articles on late medieval archaeological studies in Slovenia in the magazine *Arheo*, 25 (2008), pp. 79–112, in particular Katarina Predovnik, *Nova obzorja: arheologija mlajših obdobij*, ibidem, pp. 81–88, and Tomaž Nabergoj, *Muzeji in arheologija obdobij po zgodnjem srednjem veku*, ibidem, pp. 89–96.

21 Tomaž Lazar, *Likovni viri za vojaško zgodovino srednjega veka*; Stensko in tabelno slikarstvo na Slovenskem in v sosednjih deželah, part I (An Overview of Material), in *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 43 (2007), pp. 219–236, part II (Interpretation of sources), in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 44 (2008), pp. 139–160.

22 Cf. work on the Battle of Wisby in 1361, which gives a detailed analysis of anthropological remnants and information, Bengt Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby*, 1939 (reprint: Chivalry Bookshelf 2001); cf. Robert Hardy, *Blood Red Roses; The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, Oxford 2007.

v javnih muzejskih zbirkah v Sloveniji ohranilo zelo malo orožja in bojne opreme iz visokega in poznega srednjega veka (nekaj ga je tudi v zasebni lasti, po večini neregistrirane in nedostopne za raziskave), še manj je razstavljenega. Tako premoremo le približno 30 mečev ali kakšnega več (kar pa tudi v primerjavi z drugimi državami ni zelo malo), od čelad npr. le dva železna klobuka in dve ali tri naličnice, v vseh zbirkah pa nimamo niti enega popolnega srednjeveškega ploščnega oklepa niti sestavnih delov zanj. To ni posledica le omenjenega razvoja stroke, ampak tudi nastajanja osrednjih muzejskih zbirk. Te v primerjavi z nekaterimi drugimi državami, ki so imele v srednjem veku svoje vladarske dinastije in bogato plemstvo, niso mogle pridobiti gradiva iz zakladnic ali starih plemiških zbirk orožja in orožarn. Čeprav so na našem ozemlju v okviru srednjeveškega cesarstva delovale plemiške rodbine, nekatere nadregionalno ali celo državno pomembne, npr. Spanheimi, Andeški, Višnjegorski, Turjaški, Ortenburžani, Ptujski in seveda najpomembnejši, Celjski, je od njih ostalo bore malo.²³ Zob časa, naj so bili to požari, vojne, turški vpadi ali kmečki upori, je strl njihove materialne preostanke, rodbine so pomrle ali se odselile. Marsikateri grad so po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske leta 1918 prodali na dražbi skupaj z opremo in vsem, kar je sodilo poleg, od ponujenega pa so muzeji ob konkurenci številnih domačih in tujih kupcev uspeli dobiti le malo. Pregleda nad posameznimi primerki orožja in bojne opreme, ki je našla pot v tujino, a izhaja s slovenskega ozemlja, tudi nimamo.²⁴ Grajska dediščina je bila pogosto že v srednjem veku porušena in razvaline pozneje prezidane ali prepuščene propadanju. Zaradi neracionalnih, ideološko obremenjenih vrednotenj v 2. svetovni vojni in po njej je ob romantični dobila še manj pozitivno podobo v zavesti ljudi. Ni čudno, da sta narava in vrsta arheoloških najdb pogosto fragmentarni: raziskave gradov in utrdb odkrijejo – enako kakor v tujini – po večini drobne predmete iz vsakdanjega življenja, dostikrat le delno in slabo ohranjene, hkrati pa predmete, ki so bili zaradi krhkosti že v obdobju uporabe uničeni ali zavrženi. Arheologi so med večletnimi

generate new insights and bring new knowledge on the subject matter and, at the same time, can bring the medieval heritage closer to the public through displays, exhibitions and thematic museum parks – in particular to those individuals who would like to participate in the understanding and revival of the past. When are we going to build a medieval catapult in Slovenia, based on archaeological finds or references in written documents, and test it?

The organisation and knowledge of arms and armour in Slovenian public collections, as well as the research work into it, can be briefly estimated based on the study of expert museum literature and visits to museum exhibitions. It is possible to establish that, in Slovenia, only a small amount of arms and armour of the High and Late Middle Ages are preserved in public museum collections, and an even smaller number of these are included in collections that are exhibited (some examples are also part of private collections, usually not registered and not accessible for research purposes). Thus, there are 32 swords in Slovenia, which, compared to other countries is not that little. The collection of helmets comprises but two iron hats and two or three cheek pieces. So far, museum collections do not contain any complete medieval plate armour or components of it. This is not just the consequence of the above-mentioned development of this research field, but also the result of how main museum collections were established. In comparison with some other countries with their own medieval ruling dynasties and rich nobility, Slovenian museums were not able to acquire material from treasuries or old collections of arms or the armouries of noblemen. Although some noble families lived and operated on Slovenian territory in the medieval Holy Roman Empire, some of them were of supra-regional and some of high importance in the state, for example the Spanheims, the Andechs, the Weichselbergs (Višnja Gora), the Auerspergs (Turjak), the Ortenburgs, the Lords of Pettau (Ptuj) and, above all, the Counts of Cilli (Celje). However, these left only a few remnants.²³ The ravages of time – be it fire, wars, Ottoman raids or peasant risings – destroyed their material remnants; families vanished or moved away. Castles and their furniture and other items were sold at auctions after the dissolution of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918. Museums could only acquire a few items as the competition from local and foreign buyers was fierce.

23 O Ptujskih je Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj leta 2008 pripravil razstavo *Gospodje Ptujski; Srednjeveški vitezi, graditelji in meceni*.

24 Prim. Walther Rose, *Der Topfhelm von Stein in Krain*, v: *Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 9/4 (1922), str. 122–124.

23 The Ptuj Regional Museum held an exhibition on the Lords of Pettau in 2008 *Gospodje Ptujski; Srednjeveški vitezi, graditelji in meceni* (Lords of Pettau, medieval knights, constructors and patrons).

izkopavanji na Starem gradu nad Celjem, sedežu grofov Celjskih, izkopali ogromno gradiva, predvsem kuhinjskega in namiznega posodja, kovinskih predmetov pa zelo malo – npr. od orožja so razen različnih puščičnih osti našli le en zaključek nožnice meča ...²⁵

Kje so torej naše muzejske zbirke orožja in bojne opreme iz srednjega veka in kakšne so? Zgodnjerednjeveške najdbe, katerih problematika je drugačna kot pri najdbah iz visokega in poznega srednjega veka, razen nekaj naključnih najdb in najdb iz Ljubljane izhajajo z arheoloških izkopavanj, npr. grobišč z Lajha v Kranju, Dravelj, Solkana in Bilj v Vipavski dolini (germanske najdbe 6. in 7. stoletja); iz 8. in 9. stoletja imamo predmete karolinškega tipa iz Ljubljane in Sebenj pri Bledu, bogate primerke iz 9. in 10. stoletja pa so našli na Gradišču nad Bašljem pri Preddvoru. Temeljiti pregled teh najdb z bibliografijo je bil objavljen v katalogu ob razstavi *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov* v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije leta 2001.²⁶

Največjo zbirko orožja in bojne opreme iz visokega in poznega srednjega veka ima Narodni muzej Slovenije (ki ima sicer tudi pomembno gradivo iz novega veka). Orožje je bilo sestavni del prvih zbirk, razstavljenih od leta 1831 v tedanji licejski stavbi v Ljubljani, kjer je dobil svoje prve prostore Kranjski deželni muzej.²⁷ Predmete, po večini pridobljene oziroma odkrite že v 19. stoletju, posebno ob regulacijah in čiščenjih struge Ljubljane, nato pa tudi z odkupi na dražbah po prvi svetovni vojni in darovi, je v katalogu objavil tedanji kustos Ferdinand Tancik leta 1971.²⁸ Tancik se je prvi podrobneje ukvarjal z orožjem in bojno opremo v Sloveniji, tako s predmeti kot s pisnimi viri,²⁹ obravnaval je tudi zgodovino topništva in njegov razvoj.³⁰ Poznejše pridobitve Narodnega muzeja, posebno iz Ljubljane, so bile objavljene v dveh katalogih o podvodni arheologiji

There is no record of individual examples of arms and armour originating from the Slovenian territory that found their way to foreign countries.²⁴ The heritage of castle architecture had been destroyed and ruined as early as in the Middle Ages or was later rebuilt or left to dilapidation. Due to the irrational evaluation during and after World War II, which was also burdened with ideological beliefs, castle heritage also created something less positive than romance in the people's consciousness. It comes as no surprise that the nature and type of archaeological finds are usually fragmentary: archaeological research of castles and fortifications generally generates – as is the case abroad – small objects from everyday life, often partly or badly preserved items and also fragile objects that had been destroyed or discarded as they were used. During excavation works lasting several years in the Old Castle of Celje, the headquarters of the Counts of Cilli (the old name for Celje), a large amount of material was excavated, especially kitchenware and dishes, metal objects and a few other items – though, where weapons are concerned, only one chape from a scabbard was found, aside from various arrow-heads.²⁵

*Hence, where are the Slovenian medieval museum collections of arms and armour and what kind are they? Save for a few coincidental finds, early medieval finds (which differ from the finds of high or late medieval objects) originate from archaeological excavation sites, such as the graveyards in Lajh in Kranj, Dravlje in Ljubljana, Solkan and Bilje in the Vipava Valley (Germanic finds from the 6th and 7th centuries). From the 8th and 9th centuries, there are objects of Carolingian type found in the Ljubljana and Sebenje near Bled; rich examples from the 9th and 10th centuries were found in Gradišče above Bašelj near Preddvor. A thorough overview of these finds, complete with a bibliography, was published in the catalogue for the exhibition *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov (From the Romans to the Slavs)* at the National Museum of Slovenia in 2001.²⁶*

25 Prim. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (ur.), *Grofje Celjski* (Pokrajinski muzej Celje, r. k.), Celje 1999.

26 Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific (ur.), *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov. Predmeti* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.), Ljubljana 2001.

27 Prim. upodobitev v publikaciji *Die Eröffnung des Landes-Museums in Laibach wie selbe den 4. October 1831, zur Feier des allerhöchsten Namensfestes Sr. Majestät unsers allgeliebten Kaisers abgehalten wurde*, Laibach 1832.

28 Ferdinand Tancik, *Orožje in bojna oprema od naselitve Slovencev do konca 17. stoletja* (Narodni muzej, r. k.), Ljubljana 1971.

29 Ferdinand Tancik, *Orožje v škofjeloškem gradu v prvi četrtini 14. stoletja*, v: *Loški razgledi*, 13 (1966), str. 44–66; isti avtor, *Vojna stroka v obdobju od leta 1500 do 1650*, Kmečki pulti na Slovenskem; *Razprave in katalog dokumentov*, v: *Situla*, 13 (1973), str. 69–92; isti avtor, *Bojna oprema in orožje v zbirki militarij Pokrajinskega muzeja v Ptuj*, v: *Ptujski zbornik*, IV (1975), str. 351–354.

30 Ferdinand Tancik, *Zgodovina topništva in njegov razvoj v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 1964 (tipkopis hrani NMS).

24 Cf. Walther Rose, *Der Topfhelm von Stein in Krain*, in: *Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 9/4 (1922), pp. 122–124.

25 Cf. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (ed.), *Grofje Celjski* (Pokrajinski muzej Celje, exhibition catalogue), Celje 1999.

26 Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific (eds), *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov. Predmeti* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 2001.



Foto/Photo: Tomaž Lauko

Vojak iz 15. stoletja – rekonstruirana podoba, za katero so bile uporabljene tudi replike predmetov, najdenih v Ljubljani, izdelava: Tomaž Lazar, Jože Tavčar, Nataša Nemeček, David Francky, Franc Tavčar, Jana Žnidaršič, 2007-2009

Soldier from 15th century – model wearing reconstructed clothing, weapons and equipment, including replicas of objects found in the river Ljubljanica. Replicas made by: Tomaž Lazar, Jože Tavčar, Nataša Nemeček, David Francky, Franc Tavčar, Jana Žnidaršič, 2007-2009

v Sloveniji (leta 1982 in 1984),³¹ v katalogu razstave o gotiki v Sloveniji (1995),³² v reviji *Varstvo spomenikov* (posebno leta 1997)³³ in posameznih manjših objavah v periodiki, nekaj izbranih najdb pa nazadnje v knjigi *Stopinje v preteklost* o zakladih iz arheoloških zbirk muzeja (2006).

Večina dobro ohranjenih primerkov orožja in bojne opreme izhaja iz Ljubljane, med drugim 22 mečev od 12. do 15. stoletja; muzej je za leto 2009 pripravil veliko razstavo o Ljubljani in najdbah z njenega dna – v katalogu so predstavljeni tudi orožje in bojna oprema ter konjeniška in konjska oprema.³⁴ Majhen izbor predmetov iz Ljubljane je sicer na ogled na arheološki razstavi *Zakladi Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*.³⁵ Gradivo iz Ljubljane je zelo raznoliko in kljub posebnostim – to so vodne najdbe, za katere pogosto ne poznamo natančne lokacije, najdiščni konteksti pa so drugačni kot na najdiščih na kopnem – odpira številna pomembna metodološka in zgodovinska vprašanja. Med njimi samo omenimo problem interpretiranja predmetov, predvsem kako jih lahko povežemo z zgodovinskimi dogajanja in mentaliteto dobe: zakaj oziroma čemu so se znašli na rečnem dnu, torej naključno, po nesreči ali namerno? So to najdbe profanega ali votivnega značaja? Tu spomnimo le na opozorilo Jacquesa Le Goffa v zvezi s simboličnim obredjem vazalstva, namreč da je treba vsak simbol (enako velja za predmete, npr. meče z znaki in napisi) vselej presojeti v njegovem kontekstu, ali še bolje, v sistemu, ki mu največkrat pripada.³⁶

Posamične primerke in zbirke predmetov,

*The largest collection of arms and armour originating from the High and the Late Middle Ages is kept by the National Museum of Slovenia (which also includes significant material from the Modern Period). These arms were a component of the first collections on view in 1831 at the Lyceum building in Ljubljana, where the then Provincial Museum of Carniola was first located.²⁷ The objects, usually acquired or discovered as early as in the 19th century, especially during the regulation and cleaning of the Ljubljana riverbed and later by donations and purchases at auctions after World War II are listed in the catalogue, which was published in 1971 by Ferdinand Tancik.²⁸ Tancik was the first curator in Slovenia to deal with arms and armour in greater detail – that is, with objects and with written documents.²⁹ He also studied the history of artillery and its development.³⁰ Later acquisitions of the National Museum, especially from the Ljubljana, were published in two catalogues on underwater archaeology in Slovenia (in 1982 and 1984),³¹ in the catalogue of the Gothic period in Slovenia (1995),³² in the magazine *Varstvo spomenikov – The Protection of Monuments* (especially in 1997)³³ and individual minor publications in periodically issued literature, and finally some selected findings in the book *Stopinje v preteklost* (Footprints to the Past) on treasures in archaeological museum collections (2006).*

The majority of well-preserved examples of arms and armour originate from the Ljubljana, including 22 swords from the 12th through to the 15th century. In 2009 therefore, the museum prepared a large exhibition on the Ljubljana and the archaeological finds from its bed. Among other things, the catalogue presents arms and armour, as well as cavalry and horse equipment.³⁴ A small selection of finds from the

31 *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 1, Ljubljana 1982, in 2, Ljubljana 1984.

32 Matija Žargi, *Srednji vek – druga železna doba*, v: *Gotika v Sloveniji – svet predmetov* (ur. Maja Lozar Štamcar, Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.), Ljubljana 1995, str. 175–185, in kataloški opisi, str. 290, 296, 297, 343–352, 362, 367.

33 Drago Svoljšak idr., *Novo gradivo v Arheološkem oddelku Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani* (pridobljeno v letih od 1987 do 1993), v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 36/94–95 (1997), str. 224–294.

34 Peter Turk idr. (ur.), *Ljubljana – kulturna dediščina reke* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.), Ljubljana 2009. Gl. posebno Tomaž Nabergoj, *Orožje in bojna oprema iz dobe vitezov in najemnikov*, prav tam, str. 137–141, ter kataloške enote.

35 Tomaž Nabergoj (ur.), *Stopinje v preteklost; Zakladi iz arheoloških zbirk Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.), Ljubljana 2006, str. 122–123, 130–131.

36 Le Goff 1985, str. 429.

27 Cf. the drawing in the publication *Die Eröffnung des Landes-Museums in Laibach wie selbe den 4. October 1831, zur Feier des allerhöchsten Namensfestes Sr. Majestät unsers allgeliebten Kaisers abgehalten wurde*, Laibach 1832.

28 Ferdinand Tancik, *Orožje in bojna oprema od naselitve Slovencev do konca 17. stoletja* (Narodni muzej, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 1971.

29 Ferdinand Tancik, *Orožje v škojloškem gradu v prvi četrtini 14. stoletja*, in: *Loški razgledi*, 13 (1966), pp. 44–66; same author, *Vojna stroka v obdobju od leta 1500 do 1650*, Kmečki panti na Slovenskem; *Razprave in katalog dokumentov*, in *Situla*, 13 (1973), pp. 69–92; same author, *Bojna oprema in orožje v zbirki militarij Pokrajinskega muzeja v Ptujju*, in *Ptujski zbornik*, IV (1975), pp. 351–354.

30 Ferdinand Tancik, *Zgodovina topništva in njegov razvoj v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 1964 (the typed version is kept by the National Museum of Slovenia).

31 *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 1, Ljubljana 1982, in 2, Ljubljana 1984.

32 Matija Žargi, *Srednji vek – druga železna doba*, in: *Gotika v Sloveniji – svet predmetov* (ed. Maja Lozar Štamcar, Narodni muzej Slovenije, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 1995, pp. 175–185, and catalogue descriptions, pp. 290, 296, 297, 343–352, 362, 367.

33 Drago Svoljšak et al., *Novo gradivo v Arheološkem oddelku Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani* (pridobljeno v letih od 1987 do 1993), in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 36/94–95 (1997), pp. 224–294.

34 Peter Turk et al. (ed.), *Ljubljana – kulturna dediščina reke* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 2009. See in particular Tomaž Nabergoj, *Orožje in bojna oprema iz dobe vitezov in najemnikov*, ibidem, pp. 137–141, and catalogue units.

po večini naključno najdene in podarjene, delno tudi izkopane ali odkrite v vodi, imajo posamezni pokrajinski in mestni muzeji. Z najdišč, tako z gradov kot tudi iz urbanih naselbin, so znane predvsem puščične osti za lok in samostrel, nekaj suličnih osti, največkrat majhni deli verižnega in ploščnega oklepa, od konjeniške opreme pa ostroge. V Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj imajo na gradu stalno zbirko orožja, obnovljeno leta 1999 in popisano v katalogu, vendar je večina gradiva novoveška.³⁷ Zelo dragoceni so primerki topovskih cevi, posebno t. i. kamnometa iz 15. stoletja. Enako velja za Pokrajinski muzej Celje, kate-rega zbirko so leta 2006 objavili v katalogu in ga predstavili na občasni razstavi: imajo le en srednjeveški meč ter nekaj ostrog in puščičnih osti, še en glavič meča ipd.³⁸ Posavski muzej Brežice ima tudi en meč, pa nekaj puščic in ostrog, to gradivo je bilo na ogled na občasni razstavi leta 1995, vendar ni bilo objavljeno v katalogu te razstave.³⁹ Pokrajinski muzej v Mariboru ima v depojih kar veliko zbirko orožja, ki pa je predvsem novoveško, srednjeveških primerkov je zelo malo, med drugimi en poznosrednjeveški meč.⁴⁰ Ob prenovi muzeja v minulih nekaj letih so precej gradiva razstavili v novourejenih razstavnih dvorinah, pripravljajo katalog. Pokrajinski muzej v Murski Soboti premore glede na katalog le nekaj primerkov z izkopavanj, spet predvsem puščične osti.⁴¹ Na Primorskem je podobno, najdb tako v Koprju kot tudi v Piranu in enako v Goriškem muzeju na gradu Kromberk je malo in so drobne. Notranjski muzej v Postojni hrani nekaj najdb z izkopavanj v Predjami, med njimi izstopa naličnica čelade. Gorenjski muzej Kranj ima zanimivo zbirko izkopanin s Pustega gradu nad Lipnico (pri Radovljici) s konca srednjega oziroma začetka novega veka, med njimi precej puščičnih osti in kroglic strelnega orožja, pa tudi dva dela oklepljenega jopiča oziroma brigandine. Dodajmo, da ta muzej hrani tudi dva izjemno ohranjena

*Ljubljana is on display in the archaeological exhibition Zakladi Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (Treasures of the National Museum of Slovenia).*³⁵ The objects found in the Ljubljana are highly heterogeneous and, despite their specific character (these are underwater finds and their precise original location is often unknown, and the context of the findings in the river differs from the archaeological sites on land), they open up a variety of significant methodological and historical issues. Furthermore, the problem of interpreting the objects should be especially emphasized – particularly how to integrate them into the context of historic events and the mentality of a particular period. Why or for what purpose did they arrive on the bottom of the river? Was it by coincidence, by accident or on purpose? Are these finds of a profane or a votive nature? At this point, we should consider Jacques Le Goff's suggestion concerning symbolic vassalage rites, namely that each symbol (and the same is valid for objects such as swords with marks and inscriptions) should always be evaluated in their context or, to put it more precisely, as part of the system to which they belong.³⁶

Particular examples and collections of objects that have usually been found by chance and were donated, sometimes also excavated or found underwater, are preserved in regional and city museums. Archaeological sites such as castles and urban settlements are locations where arrow-heads for bows and crossbows, some spear-heads and usually small parts of mail and plate armour were found, as well as spurs that were part of cavalry gear. The Ptuj Regional Museum on the premises of the Ptuj Castle preserves a permanent collection of arms, which was renovated and catalogued in 1999; yet the material mainly originates from the modern times.³⁷ Particularly valuable are examples of gun barrels, especially the so called "bombard" originating from the 15th century. Also, the collection of the Pokrajinski muzej Celje (Celje Regional Museum), which was catalogued in 2006 and put on display in a temporary exhibition, contains one medieval sword, spurs and arrow-heads, as well as a sword pommel etc.³⁸ The Posavski muzej (Posavje Museum)

37 Marjeta Ciglencečki, Polona Selinšek, *Zbirka orožja na ptujskem gradu* (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, r. k.), Ptuj 1999.

38 Tatjana Badovinac, Janko Jeličič, *Orožje: »V eno roko vzamem puščko, v drugo svetlo sabljico ...«* (Pokrajinski muzej Celje, r. k.), Celje 2006.

39 Vlasta Dejak, *Orožje iz Posavskega muzeja* (Posavski muzej Brežice, r. k.), Brežice 1995. Za meč gl. Stanko Škaler, Krško, v: *Varstvo spomenikov, XVII-XIX/1* (1974), str. 171.

40 Prim. Sašo Radovanovič, *Zbirka orožja, v: Stoletno sporočilo: Vodnik po izbranim gradivih iz zbirke Pokrajinskega muzeja v Mariboru* (ur. Drago Oman), Maribor 2003, str. 154–159.

41 Janez Balažič, Branko Kerman (ur.), *Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobotica* (Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobotica, r. k.), Murska Sobotica 1997.

35 Tomaž Nabergoj (ed.), *Stopinje v preteklost: Zakladi iz arheoloških zbirk Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Narodni muzej Slovenije, exhibition catalogue), Ljubljana 2006, pp. 122–123, 130–131.

36 Le Goff 1985, p. 429.

37 Marjeta Ciglencečki, Polona Selinšek, *Zbirka orožja na ptujskem gradu* (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, exhibition catalogue), Ptuj 1999.

38 Tatjana Badovinac, Janko Jeličič, *Orožje: »V eno roko vzamem puščko, v drugo svetlo sabljico ...«* (Pokrajinski muzej Celje, exhibition catalogue), Celje 2006.



Topovi iz zbirke Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj, v ospredju redke primerke bombarder iz 15. st.
Cannons from collection of Provincial museum Ptuj, in forefront rare example of bombard from 15th century

in zelo redka primerka frankovskih lamelnih oklepov, odkrita ob izkopavanjih v Kranju leta 2005. Loški muzej v Škofji Loki ima zanimivo zbirko orožja, a le novoveškega, z izkopavanj na Kranciju in v mestnem jedru pa imajo nekaj puščičnih osti in kamnitih krogel.⁴² Takšno gradivo imajo tudi manjši muzeji, kot je velenjski, npr. z izkopavanj na Šaleku,⁴³ jeseniški, ki hrani redko sulično ost, najdeno v Zasipu pri Bledu,⁴⁴ ali metliški, kjer bo razstavljena naj-novejša najdba srednjeveškega meča iz struge Lahinje v Črnomlju.⁴⁵ Dobrega pregleda nad zbirkami ni; četudi je gradivo že razstavljeno, pa po večini ni objavljeno, kaj šele natančneje preučeno. Prav tako je med izvirnim gradivom mogoče najti kakšno kopijo ali ponaredek iz 19. oziroma 20. stoletja. Slovenske muzeje in strokovnjake iz drugih ustanov na tem področju čaka še veliko dela.

Izjemno mesto in poslanstvo bo poleg obravnavanih muzejev prevzel nedavno ustanovljeni Vojaški muzej Slovenske vojske, katerega nove prostore urejajo v mariborski Kadetnici. V njih

in Brežice preserva collection including a sword, a few arrow-heads and spurs, which was on display in a temporary exhibition in 1995, yet was not published in the catalogue of this exhibition.³⁹ The depot of the Pokrajinski muzej Maribor (Maribor Regional Museum) houses a considerable collection of arms originating from the Modern Period in particular. However, there are only few medieval examples of these, including a late medieval sword.⁴⁰ Upon the renovation of this museum, which took place in recent years, quite a few items were placed on display in the newly arranged exhibition halls and a catalogue is in the process of being prepared. According to its catalogue, the collection of the Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota (Murska Sobota Regional Museum) contains only a few excavation finds, again mainly arrow-heads.⁴¹ The situation is similar in the museums of the Primorska (Littoral) region; the collections of archaeological finds in the museums of Koper, Piran and Nova Gorica (the Kromberk Castle) contain just a few smaller items. The Notranjski muzej (Notranjska Museum) in Postojna preserves a few archaeological finds discovered in Predjama, among which the visor of a helmet is most notable. The Gorenjski muzej Kranj (Gorenjska Regional Museum) houses a collection of items discovered at the Waldenberg Castle (Pusti grad) above Lipnica (near Radovljica) dating from the end of the Middle Ages or the beginning of the Modern Period. This collection contains a considerable number of arrow-heads and firearm bullets, as well as two parts of an armoured vest (a brigandine). Furthermore, this museum also preserves two exceptionally well-preserved and very rare examples of Frankish lamellar armour, which were discovered during archaeological excavations in Kranj in 2005. The Loški muzej (Škofja Loka Regional Museum) contains an interesting collection of arms, though only dating from modern times. It also houses a few examples of arrow-heads and stone balls, which were found during excavations in Krancelj and in the town centre.⁴² Such material can also be found in the smaller museums, for example the Velenjski muzej (Velenje museum) with items

42 Jože Štukl, *Arheološke raziskave srednjeveške Škofje Loke* (Loški muzej, r. k.), Škofja Loka 2004; isti avtor, O puščičnih osteh za lok in samostrel z območja srednjeveške Škofje Loke, v: *Arheološki vestnik*, 58 (2007), str. 367–374.

43 Danijela Brišnik, Tone Ravnikar, *Grad Šalek*, Velenje 1999.

44 Milan Sagadin, *Zasip pri Bledu*, v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 27 (1985), str. 288–289.

45 Andrej Gaspari, *Srednjeveški meč iz reke Lahinje v Črnomlju*, v: *Črnomaljski zbornik, Zbornik zgodovinskih razprav ob 780-letnici prve omenbe naselja in 600-letnici prve omenbe Črnomlja kot mesta* (ur. Janez Weiss), Črnomelj 2008, str. 101–114.

39 Vlasta Dejak, *Orožje iz Posavskega muzeja* (Posavski muzej Brežice, exhibition catalogue), Brežice 1995. For the sword see Stanko Škaler, Krško, in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, XVII-XIX/1 (1974), p. 171.

40 Cf. Sašo Radovanovič, *Zbirka orožja*, in: *Stoletno sporočilo; Vodnik po izbranim gradivih iz zbirke Pokrajinskega muzeja v Mariboru* (ed. Drago Oman), Maribor 2003, pp. 154–159.

41 Janez Balažič, Branko Kerma (ed.), *Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota* (Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota, exhibition catalogue), Murska Sobota 1997.

42 Jože Štukl, *Arheološke raziskave srednjeveške Škofje Loke* (Loški muzej, exhibition catalogue), Škofja Loka 2004; same author, O puščičnih osteh za lok in samostrel z območja srednjeveške Škofje Loke, in: *Arheološki vestnik*, 58 (2007), pp. 367–374.

bo na stalni razstavi prikazana vojna in vojaška zgodovina slovenskega ozemlja od prazgodovine, upoštevano bo tudi vojaško delovanje posameznikov in skupin drugod po Evropi in svetu. Muzejske zbirke so za mlajša obdobja, predvsem za 20. stoletje, že kar obsežne, za starejše dobe pa šele nastajajo. Posebno za prikaz teh obdobij, vključno s srednjim vekom, bo poleg posojenih predmetov treba uporabiti tudi replike in različne druge muzealske načine. Vojaški muzej pa bi z dobrim sodelovanjem lahko pridobil pomembne predmete in zbirke, bodisi v trajno last bodisi v hrambo ali posojo, tudi od zasebnikov.

Naj ob tem omenimo še zasebne zbirke orožja in bojne opreme, ki so jih posamezniki pridobili tako ali drugače, na trgu starin, z dedovanjem, v dar, ali so jih morda našli po naključju. Ker gre za kulturno dediščino slovenskega ozemlja, bi si zaradi nujnosti njenega ohranjanja in smiselnosti preučevanja želeli dobro sodelovanje med zasebniki in javnimi ustanovami, predvsem pooblaščenimi muzeji, ki so poklicani skrbeti za premično kulturno dediščino. Občutljivo problematiko, ki zadeva posebno arheološke najdbe, odkrite z nestrokovnim in nezakonitim izkopavanjem oziroma potapljanjem, je leta 2008 vnovič uredil novi zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine, ministrstvo za kulturo pa je to poskušalo uradno urediti s pozivom k prijavi arheoloških najdb v zasebni lasti. Vsekakor je v zasebnih zbirkah tudi precej srednjeveškega gradiva, nekaj ga je bilo dostopnega za strokovno obdelavo in predstavitev javnosti na razstavah. Med zasebniki, ki so tudi objavili svoje najdbe, izstopa nekdanji brigadir Slovenske vojske in publicist Janez J. Švajncer s svojim Vojnim muzejem v Logatcu in kataloškim objavami gradiva,⁴⁶ sicer tudi avtor več monografij in člankov o vojni in vojaški zgodovini ter urednik revije *Vojnozgodovinski zbornik*.⁴⁷

Ta kratek vpogled v raziskanost srednjeveškega orožja in bojne opreme v naših muzejih naj predvsem opozori na pomen srednjeveške dediščine – čeprav je ni veliko, je pa toliko bolj dragocena – in na nujnost novih raziskav, objav in razstav. Naloge, ki čakajo muzejske

excavated in Šalek,⁴³ and the Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice (Upper Sava Valley museum in Jesenice), which houses a rare spear-head found in Zasip near Bled,⁴⁴ or the Belokrajnski muzej (Bela Krajina museum) in Metlika, which exhibits the latest find of a medieval sword discovered on the bed of the river Lahinja in Črnomelj.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, an exhaustive overview of collections does not exist: although the items are exhibited, they are usually neither published nor examined in detail. At the same time, it is possible to find copies or forgeries from the 19th or the 20th century among the original material. This is a challenge that Slovenian museums and experts from other institutions will have to face.

In addition to the above-mentioned museums, the recently established Vojaški muzej Slovenske vojske (Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces), whose new premises are in the process of being arranged at the Cadet School in Maribor, will play an important role and assume a significant mission in this area. A permanent exhibition at this museum will present the war and military history on the Slovenian territory from the prehistoric period onward, including the military activities of individuals and groups around Europe and elsewhere. The museum collections from more recent periods, especially from the 20th century, are already fairly extensive and, for older periods, they are still being compiled. Particularly for the display of older periods, including the Middle Ages, along with borrowed items, it will also be necessary to use replicas and various methods of museum presentation. Through an appropriate cooperation, the Military Museum could even acquire significant items and collections from private individuals, either permanently, or in storage or loan.

In this context, we should mention private collections of arms and armour that were acquired by individual persons in this or another way, on antiques markets, or by inheritance, as presents or found by chance. As this concerns the cultural heritage of the Slovenian territory, it is necessary to strive for well-established cooperation between private persons and public institutions, especially authorised museums that are tasked with the care of movable cultural heritage. This sensitive problem, which especially concerns archaeological finds discovered through unprofessional and illegal excavating or diving, was

46 Za srednjeveške predmete glej predvsem Janez J. Švajncer, *Meči, bodala, noži*, Logatec, Ljubljana 2007; isti avtor, *Sulice, sekire, hečbarde*, Logatec 2008.

47 Npr. Janez J. Švajncer, *Vojna in vojaška zgodovina Slovencev*, Ljubljana 1991; isti avtor, *Vojna zgodovina*, Ljubljana 1998; isti avtor, *Dva naša srednjeveška meča*, v: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2 (1993), str. 164–171.

43 Danijela Brišnik, Tone Ravnikar, *Grad Šalek*, Velenje 1999.

44 Milan Sagadin, *Zasip pri Bledu*, in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 27 (1985), pp. 288–289.

45 Andrej Gaspari, *Srednjeveški meč iz reke Lahinje v Črnomlju*, in: *Črnomajski zbornik, Zbornik historičnih razprav ob 780-letnici prve omembe naselja in 600-letnici prve omembe Črnomlja kot mesta* (ed. Janez Weiss), Črnomelj 2008, pp. 101–114.

kustose, če želijo preseči zdajšnje razmere, so torej jasne: najprej oziroma na novo pregledati depoje in stalne razstavne postavitve, kolikor vključujejo teme in predmete te vrste, ter narediti oziroma dopolniti sezname muzejskega gradiva. Novo odkrito in prepoznano gradivo je treba konservirati, inventarizirati in primerno objaviti. Katalogi zbranih predmetov so nato nujni temelj za nadaljnje poglobljeno preučevanje, ki naj vključuje različne naravoslovno-tehnične analize, arheološke oziroma zgodovinske raziskave. Končni rezultat naj bodo nove ali dopolnjene stalne razstavne postavitve oziroma občasne razstave, skupaj z rekonstrukcijami ali modeli orožij in naprav, s scenskimi in virtualnimi prikazi, ob njih pa novo znanje in novi pogledi na določeno zgodovinsko tematiko oziroma obdobje.

Muzeji imajo ob tem še eno pomembno nalogo: z nasveti in strokovno podporo pomagati vsem, ki jih zanimata poznavanje in oživljanje srednjega veka, posebno na t. i. srednjeveških prireditvah, viteških dnevih in igrah.⁴⁸ K verodostojnejšemu pogledu na srednji vek jih lahko usmerjajo in jim pomagajo različno: z ohranjanjem in raziskavo starega predmeta, z odkrivanjem in uporabo starega načina izdelave replike, s študijem in izvajanjem starih borilnih veščin. Vsi so potrebni in pomembni, ker lahko prispevajo k dobremu dialogu in sodelovanju med poznavalci in ljubitelji srednjeveških borilnih veščin na eni strani ter muzeji in v njih zastopanimi strokami na drugi strani. Predmet iz muzejske vitrine in udarec z orožjem postaneta most med snovjo in duhom srednjega veka, med preteklostjo in sedanostjo.

Naša naloga je prav tako seznanitev tujih strokovnjakov z orožjem in bojno opremo iz slovenskih muzejskih zbirk, s tem pa tudi z vojno in vojaško zgodovino slovenskega ozemlja. Slovenija je na tem področju, vsaj kar zadeva srednji vek, še vedno »bela lisa«. Hkrati je nujno poznavanje najnovejših raziskav na področju medievistike in posebej orožja ter vojne in vojaške zgodovine. Samoumevno je, da je treba za to delo pridobiti ustrezno, predvsem sodobno strokovno literaturo, ki je v

regulated by the newly adopted Cultural Heritage Preservation Act adopted in 2008. The Ministry of Culture made a formal attempt to regulate this area with a call to report archaeological finds in private possession. At any rate, private collections certainly contain many medieval objects. Some items have also been accessible for expert examination and public display at exhibitions. Among those people who have made their finds public is the now retired Brigadier of the Slovenian Armed Forces, Janez J. Švajncer, who displayed his collection in his Vojni muzej (War Museum) in Logatec. He also published several catalogues of his objects.⁴⁶ Moreover, he is the author of several monographs and articles on war and military history, as well as the editor of the magazine Vojnozgodovinski zbornik (Military History Bulletin).⁴⁷

Above all, this article should point out the significance of medieval heritage – although there are a limited number of these items, they are of high value – and the necessity of new research efforts, publications and exhibitions. The tasks that museum curators will have to undertake if they want to improve the current situation are, thus, clear: first or again examine the museum depots and permanent exhibitions with regard to whether these include objects related to the relevant topics and to draw up and supplement lists of museum items. It is necessary to conserve the newly discovered and identified objects, to make an inventory of them and to display them. Catalogues of collected items therefore present a necessary basis for further thorough examination, which should include various scientific and technical analyses, as well as archaeological and historical research. The final result should be a new or supplemented permanent exhibition facility, or temporary exhibitions, alongside reconstructions or models of arms and devices, including performances and virtual reconstructions, accompanied by newly-acquired knowledge and new views on a specific historical theme or period.

Additionally, museums have to assume another important task: to offer advice and expert support for all those who are interested in the understanding and revival of the Middle Ages, especially during events related to the Middle Ages, like “knights’ tournaments”.⁴⁸ There are several ways to direct

48 Prim. Tomaž Nabergoj, Roman Vučajnk, Oživljanje srednjega veka – o »srednjeveških« prireditvah pri nas, v: *Argo*, 49/1 (2006), str. 151–169.

46 For medieval objects compare in particular Janez J. Švajncer, *Meči, bodala, noži*, Logatec, Ljubljana 2007; same author, *Sulice, sekire, helebarde*, Logatec 2008.

47 For example Janez J. Švajncer, *Vojna in vojaška zgodovina Slovencev*, Ljubljana 1991; same author, *Vojna zgodovina*, Ljubljana 1998; same author, *Dva naša srednjeveška meča*, in: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2 (1993), pp. 164–171.

48 Cf. Tomaž Nabergoj, Roman Vučajnk, Oživljanje srednjega veka – o »srednjeveških« prireditvah pri nas, in: *Argo*, 49/1 (2006), pp. 151–169.

slovenskih knjižnicah skorajda ni. Vzpostaviti ali okrepiti moramo tudi redne strokovne stike s tujimi kolegi, posebno iz nacionalnih in specialnih muzejev s pomembnimi zbirkami.⁴⁹

Ker v Sloveniji z izjemo nedavno nastalega Vojaškega muzeja Slovenske vojske ni kustosov, ki bi se ukvarjali predvsem z orožjem in bojno opremo, bo smiselno združiti moči in znanje. Narodni muzej Slovenije za leto 2011 načrtuje večjo razstavo o viteštvu, na kateri bi v sodelovanju z drugimi muzejskimi ustanovami želeli zbrati vse pomembne primerke srednjeveškega orožja in bojne opreme iz Slovenije. Razstava bo prvič pri nas celostno prikazala viteštvo in z novimi spoznanji poskušala predstaviti bolj verodostojno podobo te tematike, ki je bila doslej strokovno precej zapostavljena. Z njo bo Narodni muzej Slovenije po 40 letih spet v večjem obsegu predstavil orožje in bojno opremo iz svojih zbirk (po razstavi F. Tancika *Orožje in bojna oprema od naselitve Slovencev do konca 17. stoletja*, 1971), z izvirniki ali kopijami pa bo pokazal tudi pomembno gradivo iz drugih slovenskih muzejev ter nekaj iz tujine. Razstava bo predstavila nove pristope v preučevanju orožja in bojne opreme oziroma bojevanja in vojskovanja nasploh, vključno z uporabo naravoslovnih metod in eksperimentalne arheologije. Obravnavala bo viteze kot posameznike in družbeno skupino oziroma kategorijo, njihov nastanek, vlogo in pomen v srednjeveški družbi pri nas od konca zgodnjega srednjega veka (oziroma 10. ali 11. stoletja) do konca poznega srednjega veka in začetka novega veka (15. in 16. stoletje). Spomnila bo na ideale viteštva kot element univerzalne kulture in primer »višje človečnosti«, kakor so se razvili v srednjeveških predstavah in vztrajali v literaturi in kulturi nasploh od srednjega veka do danes. Prikazan bo tudi razvoj viteštva v novem veku (npr. viteške igre v 17. stoletju, viteški redovi v 18. in 19. stoletju), ob tem pa odnos do viteštva v 19. in 20. stoletju, kot so ga oblikovali historizem in romantične predstave v literaturi, likovni umetnosti in arhitekturi, ideološko obremenjeni pogledi na viteštvo, plemstvo, srednji vek ter končno popularna kultura s filmi, stripi, igračami in računalniškimi igrami.

⁴⁹ V združenje muzejev za vojno in vojaško zgodovino, ki deluje v okviru mednarodne muzejske organizacije ICOM, sta iz Slovenije vključena le Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, Ljubljana, in Vojaški muzej Slovenske vojske, Maribor.

these groups towards a more authentic view of the Middle Ages and to help them: by preserving and examining old objects, discovering and employing old methods of manufacturing replicas and studying and carrying out old martial arts. All these are necessary and important as they can contribute to a real dialogue and established cooperation between experts and admirers of medieval martial arts on the one hand and the museums and, through these, represented research fields on the other hand. An object from a museum showcase and a strike with a weapon may become the bridge between the substance and the spirit of the Middle Ages, and between the past and the present.

Another mission of museums is to inform foreign experts on arms and armour in Slovenian museum collections and, thus, also on the war and military history of the Slovenian territory. Slovenia is still a "blank sheet of paper", at least with regard to the Middle Ages. It is also necessary to learn about the newest research endeavours in the area of medievalism, especially arms and war/military history. It goes without saying that it is necessary to acquire adequate and modern expert literature, which is hardly available in the Slovenian libraries. Regular contacts with foreign colleagues from national and specialized museums that preserve significant collections have to be established and enhanced.⁴⁹

*As there are no curators who focus their research primarily on arms and armour – with the exception of the recently established Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces – it would be reasonable to join efforts and share knowledge with other experts. In 2011, the National Museum of Slovenia plans a major exhibition on knighthood, in which all significant examples of medieval arms and armour from Slovenia would be compiled in cooperation with other museum institutions. This exhibition will be the first to give a comprehensive insight into knighthood and, based on new insights, to try to provide a more authentic image of this topic, which had been considerably neglected so far. In this exhibition, the National Museum of Slovenia will present arms and armour from its collections in a broader scope, for the first time in 40 years – since the exhibition by F. Tancik, *Orožje in bojna oprema od naselitve Slovencev do konca 17. stoletja*, 1971 (*Arms and armour from the settlement of the Slovenians up to the 17th century*,*

⁴⁹ In the Association of Museums for war and military history that operates in the context of an international museum organisation ICOM, only two Slovenian museums are included, namely the Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije (Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia) in Ljubljana and the Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces in Maribor.

Razstava bo tako, upamo, opozorila na današnje dožemanje in razumevanje viteštva oziroma srednjega veka nasploh: na zmotne predstave, stereotipe in predsodke o viteštvu in srednjem veku, na izročilo in dediščino srednjega veka skozi sodobne raziskave različnih strok, na pomen srednjega veka za razvoj in sodobno zgodovino Evrope in Slovenije. V tem okviru imata orožje in bojna oprema iz slovenskih muzejskih zbirk bistveno in nepogrešljivo mesto.

Povzetek

Orožje in bojna oprema iz slovenskih muzejskih zbirk sta pomembna vira za vojno in vojaško zgodovino slovenskega ozemlja ter za različne druge vidike srednjeveške zgodovine. Doslej ju z nekaj izjemami niso poglobljeno preučevali. Predmeti iz muzejskih zbirk so bili le v majhni meri vključeni v medievistične raziskave, šolske in študijske programe ter v muzejske razstave, s tem pa tudi v naše zgodovinsko vedenje v celoti.

Ohranjeno srednjeveško orožje in bojna oprema sta pomembna za nove raziskovalne usmeritve in možnosti za bolj objektivno in manj stereotipno vrednotenje dediščine te vrste. Ob konservatorskih postopkih in tipološko-kronoloških raziskavah je za poznavanje gradiv, postopkov izdelave, lastnosti in uporabnosti predmetov treba upoštevati metode eksperimentalne arheologije oziroma rekonstrukcij predmetov, posebno na podlagi različnih naravoslovno-tehničnih analiz in preskusov.

Orožja in bojne opreme ter konjeniške in konjske opreme iz visokega in poznega srednjega veka se je v javnih muzejskih zbirkah v Sloveniji ohranilo zelo malo, še manj ga je razstavljenega (nekaj ga je tudi v zasebni lasti, večina neregistriranega in nedostopnega za raziskave). Največjo zbirko ima Narodni muzej Slovenije, posebno dobro ohranjene primerke iz Ljubljane, ki ji je leta 2009 posvetil razstavo. Posamične primerke in zbirke predmetov, največkrat naključno najdene in podarjene, delno tudi izkopane ali odkrite v vodi, so na stalnih ali občasnih razstavah predstavili posamezni pokrajinski in mestni muzeji, posebno na Ptuj, v Mariboru, Celju in Brežicah. Dobre pregleda nad zbirkami ni, saj večina gradiva ni objavljena. Stalno razstavo vojne in vojaške zgodovine slovenskega ozemlja od

1971). *Through originals and copies, it will also put significant items from other Slovenian and foreign museums on display. The exhibition will present new approaches to studying arms and armour, as well as warfare in general, including the use of scientific methods and experimental archaeology. It will deal with knights as individuals and as a social group or category, their beginning, role and significance in the medieval society in Slovenia from the end of the Early Middle Ages (10th or 11th century) to the end of the Late Middle Ages (15th and 16th centuries). It will be a reminder of the chivalric ideals as an element of universal culture and provide an example of "a greater humanity" as it developed in the medieval perceptions, as described in literature and as has been part of our culture from the Middle Ages until the present day. The exhibition will also reflect the development of the knighthood in the modern period (for example, knights' tournaments in the 17th century and the orders of knights in the 18th and 19th centuries), including the relations towards knighthood in the 19th and 20th centuries as formed by historical and romantic perceptions in literature, fine arts and architecture, ideologically burdened views on knighthood, nobility, the Middle Ages and, finally, pop art with movies, comics, toys and computer games. We hope that the exhibition will illustrate the current understanding of knighthood and the Middle Ages in general: wrong perceptions, stereotypes and prejudices about knighthood and the Middle Ages, the legacy and heritage of the Middle Ages through modern research in various fields and the significance of the Middle Ages to the development and modern history of Europe and Slovenia. In this context, arms and armour for Slovenian museum collections assume a fundamental and indispensable position.*

Summary

The arms and armour in Slovenian museum collections are important sources for researching the war and military history of the Slovenian territory as well as other aspects of medieval history. With a few exceptions, they have not so far been the subject of a more in-depth research. Their integration into the present medievalist research efforts, school and study programmes as well as museum exhibitions and, thus, in a comprehensive understanding of historical facts is all rather limited.

Simultaneously, the preserved medieval arms and armour are of particular importance for examining further research directions and the possibilities of a different, more objective and less stereotyped

prazgodovine naprej pa pripravlja nedavno ustanovljeni Vojaški muzej Slovenske vojske.

Naloge slovenskih muzejev so jasne: najprej oziroma vnovič pregledati depoje in stalne razstavne postavitve, ali vključujejo teme in predmete te vrste, ter izdelati oziroma dopolniti sezname muzejskega gradiva. Na novo odkrito in prepoznano gradivo je treba konservirati, inventarizirati in primerno objaviti. Katalogi zbranih predmetov so nujni temelj za nadaljnje preučevanje, ki naj vključuje naravoslovno-tehnične analize, arheološke oziroma zgodovinske raziskave. Končni rezultat naj bodo nove ali dopolnjene stalne in občasne razstave, skupaj z rekonstrukcijami ali modeli orožij in naprav, s scenskimi in virtualnimi prikazi, ob njih pa seveda novo znanje in novi pogledi na določeno zgodovinsko tematiko oziroma obdobje.

evaluation of this medieval heritage. Along with conservation methods and typological and chronological researches, methods of experimental archaeology respectively the reconstruction of objects, in particular based on various scientific and technical analyses and tests, should be considered for understanding the materials, manufacture procedures, characteristics and use of the objects.

It is possible to establish that, in Slovenia, only a few examples of arms and armour as well as cavalry and horse gear of the High and Late Middle Ages are preserved in public museum collections, and an even smaller number of these are part of collections that are exhibited (some examples are also part of private collections, usually not registered and not accessible for research purposes). The biggest collection is preserved by the National Museum of Slovenia, especially well preserved objects from the Ljubljana which was the subject of an exhibition in 2009. Isolated pieces and collections of objects that have usually been found by chance and were donated, sometimes also excavated or found underwater, are preserved in regional and city museums, in particular in Ptuj, Maribor, Celje and Brežice. A thorough overview of the objects does not exist, as the items are usually not on display. A permanent exhibition on war and military history of the Slovenian territory from the prehistoric period onward is in the process of being prepared by the Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces.

The tasks that museums will have to undertake are clear: first or again examine the depots and permanent exhibitions with regard to whether these include objects related to the relevant topics and to draw up and supplement lists on museum items. The newly discovered and identified objects have to be conserved, an inventory has to be made of them and they need to be displayed. Catalogues of collected items therefore present a necessary basis for further thorough examination, which should include various scientific and technical analyses, as well as archaeological and historic research. The final result should be a new or supplemented permanent exhibition facility, or temporary exhibitions, alongside reconstructions or models of arms and devices, including performances and virtual reconstructions, accompanied by newly-acquired knowledge and new views on a specific historical theme or period.



Visoko- in poznosrednjeveško orožje iz arheoloških kontekstov. Primer: viteški meč iz poznorimskega vodnega zbiralnika na Ajdovskem gradcu nad Vranjem

High and Late Medieval Weapons from Archeological Contexts. Example: A Knight's Sword from a Late Roman Water Cistern at Ajdovski Gradec above Vranje

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Izvleček

Prispevek obravnava najdbo nepoškodovanega viteškega meča iz 14. ali začetka 15. stoletja v vodnem zbiralniku poznorimske naselbine na Ajdovskem gradcu nad Vranjem. Najdiščne okoliščine nakazujejo, da je bil meč najverjetneje skupaj z lončeno posodo deponiran v delno zasut zbiralnik, zalit z vodo. Izbira skritega in odmaknjenege vodnega mesta v opusteli naselbini in analogije s fenomenom depojskih in vodnih najdb omogočajo sklepanje, da sta bila meč in posoda odložena v okviru obrednega dejanja.

Ključne besede: Ajdovski gradec nad Vranjem, arheologija, orožje, viteški meč, srednji vek, vodne najdbe.

Odkritje in najdiščne okoliščine

Ajdovski gradec nad Vranjem pri Sevnici je znana poznorimska utrjena naselbina s kompleksom cerkva in nekropolo na vrhu hriba (436 m) nad Vranjskim potokom, 4 kilometre severno od Sevnice oziroma glavne regionalne

Abstract

The article addresses the presence of an intact, 14th century or early 15th century, knightly sword in a water cistern of a Late Roman fortification at Ajdovski gradec above Vranje. The circumstances of the find indicate that the sword had probably been deposited into a partially buried cistern, filled with water, together with a ceramic pot. The choice of a hidden and remote water cistern in a desolate fortification, as well as analogies with the phenomenon of hoards and water finds, suggest that the sword and the pot had been deposited during a ritual act.

Key words: Ajdovski gradec above Vranje, archaeology, weapons, knightly sword, Middle Ages, water finds.

The Discovery and its Circumstances

Ajdovski gradec above Vranje near Sevnica is a famous, Late Roman fortified settlement, characterised by two churches and a necropolis located at the top of a hill (436 m) above the Vranjski potok (stream). It is situated 4 km north of Sevnica or the main regional communication through the valley of the Sava River.



Ajdovski gradec nad Vranjem. Načrt naselbine z označenim najdiščem meča (po Svoljšak idr. 1997)

Ajdovski gradec above Vranje. The map of the settlement highlighting the point where the sword was found (after Svoljšak et alii, 1997).

povezave po dolini reke Save. V okviru izkopavanja ostankov naselbine iz 5. in 6. stoletja, ki jih je opravil Narodni muzej iz Ljubljane v obdobju od leta 1970 do 1990 (Sl. 1),¹ so v sezonah 1977/78 raziskali tudi vodni zbiralnik s prostornino 120.000 litrov,² o katerem poroča že Simon Rutar leta 1891. Na gradišču omenja pravokoten vodnjak, velik 5 x 4 m, »v katerem se dobi zmeraj voda in ne presahne tudi ob največji suši«. Poda tudi domnevo, »da naj bi bil vodnjak zelo globok, vendar je do polovice zasut z ruševino.«³

Ob vnovičnem odkritju leta 1974 je bil zbiralnik ob severnem delu obzidja do vrha zasut s kamenjem in prekrit s prstjo, navoženo iz okolice. Vkllesan je bil v skalo 5 m in pol globoko, na prelomu v strmo severno pobočje pa je zgornji del jame zamejevala stena, naslonjena ob skalno podlago. Jama je bila obzidana s približno 60 cm debelimi stenami iz kamnov

Within the excavations of the remains of the 5th and 6th century settlement, conducted by the National Museum of Slovenia from Ljubljana between 1970 and 1990 (Fig. 1)¹ in the years 1977–1978 a water cistern, with the capacity of holding 120,000 litres,² was also explored. This cistern had already been mentioned back in 1891 by Simon Rutar who described it as a rectangular well measuring 5m x 4m, ‘in which water was always available, even during periods of severe drought. He also believed ‘the well must have been very deep, however, half the way through it is filled with debris.’³

When the water cistern, positioned next to the north side of the wall, was rediscovered in 1974, it was completely filled with stones and soil. It was carved into a rock 5.5m deep. At the edge leading into a steep northern slope of the hill the upper part of the cave was surrounded by a wall against a rock surface. The cave was enclosed by an approximately 60 cm thick wall made of rock and hydroscopic

1 Timotej Knific, Vranje near Sevnica: A Late Roman Settlement in the Light of Certain Pottery Finds, v: *Arheološki vestnik*, 45 (1994), str. 211–237.

2 Peter Petru, Timotej Knific, *Novo arheološko odkritje na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Sevnici*, Sevnica 1978.

3 Simon Rutar, Prazgodovinske in rimske izkopanine po Slovenskem I. 1890, v: *Letopis Matice slovenske*, 1891, str. 182–209.

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in hidroskopne malte s primešano zdrobljeno opeko, ki je imela za boljše tesnjenje zglajeno notranjo površino.

Med izkopavanji v letih 1977/78 so naleteli na vodo šele po odstranitvi zgornjega dela polnila 2 m in pol globoko. Tik nad gladino vode so na ruševini v kotu ob severni steni našli železen meč in zdrobljeno keramično posodo, ki sta med ostalim gradivom z najdišča povsem izolirana. V ruševini, ki je segala do dna cisterne, so odkrili dele strešne konstrukcije ter obdelane kamnite elemente, dva oltarja in dele rimskih nagrobnikov, prav na dnu pa leseno ploščad, pokrov z odprtino, lestev, korito, škripec in druge najdbe. Na podlagi ostankov lesenih konstrukcij in analogij z drugimi najdišči raziskovalci domnevajo, da so nadgrajene stene zbiralnika podpirale obrambni stolp s štirikapno streho, ki je varoval dragocen vodni vir naselbine pred izstrelki.⁴ Omenjena oltarja v ruševini stolpa sta bila bodisi prinesena na Ajdovski gradec skupaj z deli grobne arhitekture z neznanega najdišča v dolini⁵ ali pa gre za sledove starejšega rimskega svetišča na vrhu hriba,⁶ ki je bil dokazano poseljen že v prazgodovini.

Za razpravo o možnem ozadju pojava obeh poznosrednjeveških predmetov v zbiralniku je ključen ozek preboj zidane stene zbiralnika, ki je bil najverjetneje namenjen za znižanje vodne gladine. Glede na Rutarjevo navedbo o višini vode in poročilo iz leta 1978, ki govori o popolnoma zasutem zbiralniku, je poseg v steno nastal po Rutarjem obisku, zelo verjetno kot posledica dejavnosti iskalcev zakladov ob koncu 19. stoletja, ki so spodbudile tudi prve arheološke raziskave v letih od 1901 do 1905.⁷ Tako razlago podpira tudi Riedlova omemba odprtine severozahodnem vogalu zbiralnika, o kateri je zmotno menil, da je bila vhod v kletni prostor stolpa.⁸ Neodgovorjeno ostaja vprašanje, zakaj bi kljub upadli gladini vode starinokopi opustili kopanje in pustili meč nedotaknjen.

mortar with pulverized brick. The inner part of the wall was smoothed to provide better sealing.

During the excavations from 1977 to 1978 the water was found only after the upper part of the fill had been removed, at a depth of 2.5 m. Just above the water surface a horizontally lying iron sword and a broken ceramic bowl were found on the debris in the corner of the northern wall. These two objects were completely isolated from the rest of the material found at the site. Among the debris, reaching down to the bottom of the cistern, some parts of the roof construction and worked stone elements, as well as two altars and some parts of Roman tombstones were found, while at the bottom of the cistern a wooden platform, a cover with an opening, a ladder, a trough, a pulley and other objects were found. On the basis of wooden construction remains, as well as similarities with other archeological sites, researchers believe that reinforced walls of the water cistern supported a defense tower with a four-eaved roof, used to protect this precious water resource against projectiles.⁴ The afore mentioned altars, found in the tower ruins, had been either brought to Ajdovski gradec together with some parts of tomb architecture from an unknown site in the valley,⁵ or they were relics of an older Roman temple situated at the top of the hill⁶ which, according to evidence, had already been inhabited in Prehistory.

A narrow breach in the stone wall of the cistern, which was obviously intended to lower the level of water, is crucial for the discussion on a possible background of the presence of both Late Medieval objects in the water cistern. According to Rutar's statement on the level of water, as well as the report from 1978 describing the cistern, completely filled with debris, the intervention into the wall had probably been made after Rutar's visit, probably as a consequence of treasure hunters' activities at the end of the 19th century which encouraged the first archeological excavations between 1901 and 1905.⁷ This explanation is supported also by Riedl's observation of the opening in the northwestern corner of the water cistern which he misinterpreted as an entrance into the tower basement.⁸ The question why would antiquar-

4 Petru – Knific 1978, str. 5–7; Knific 1994, str. 213–214, sl. 4: 4; 5–7.

5 Petru – Knific 1978, str. 6.

6 Prim. Slavko Ciglenečki, *Pólis Norikón. Poznoantične višinske utrbe med Celjem in Brežicami*, Podsreda 1992, str. 31–33, 44–45; k najdbam oltarjev in kultnih podob iz vodnjakov glej Peter Nocke, *Bildersturm und Wiederverwendung am Beispiel der Luppetersäulen in der germanischen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*, v: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 87, 2007, str. 273–386.

7 Emanuel Riedl, Otto Cuntz, *Uranje in Steiermark, römische Bauten und Grabmäler*, v: *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde*, 3 (1909), str. 1–34.

8 Riedl – Cuntz 1909, sl. 2; prim. Thilo Ulbert, *Vranje bei Sevnica. Siedlungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, v: *Arheološki vestnik* 30, 1979, 702–703.

4 Petru – Knific 1978, pp. 5–7; Knific 1994, pp. 213–214, fig. 4: 4; 5–7.

5 Petru – Knific 1978, p. 6.

6 Prim. Slavko Ciglenečki, *Pólis Norikón. Poznoantične višinske utrbe med Celjem in Brežicami*, Podsreda 1992, pp. 31–33, 44–45; cf. Peter Nocke, *Bildersturm und Wiederverwendung am Beispiel der Luppetersäulen in der germanischen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*, in: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 87 (2007), pp. 273–386.

7 Emanuel Riedl, Otto Cuntz, *Uranje and Steiermark, römische Bauten und Grabmäler*, in: *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde*, 3 (1909), pp. 1–34.

8 Riedl – Cuntz 1909, fig. 2; cf. Thilo Ulbert, *Vranje bei Sevnica. Siedlungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, v: *Arheološki vestnik*, 30 (1979), pp. 702–703.

Meč

Na popolnoma ohranjenem meču, dolgem 123 cm, ki ga pod zač. inv. št. 82/137 hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije, ni sledov nožnice (Sl. 2). Rezilo, ki se enakomerno oži od branika proti ostri konici, ima v zgornji polovici šestkoten presek. Po sredini na obeh straneh do dveh tretjin dolžine poteka izrazit žleb, ki obsega približno četrtno širine rezila. Na eni strani rezila je vtolčen medeninast znak. Preprost branik stila 6 po Oakeshottu⁹ označujejo raven zgornji rob in navzdol razširjena kraka pravokotnega preseka, ki oblikujeta usločen spodnji rob. Dolg trn, ki je omogočal prijetje ročaja z obema rokama, se konča s ploščatim glavičem ovalne oblike. Glavič, ki ima zaobljene robove, je bil na trn pritrjen z zakovico. Na sredini glaviča, ki ga lahko opredelimo kot tip H1,¹⁰ je vtisnjen okras štirih štiriperesnih rozet.

Meč z Ajdovskega gradca glede na koničasto obliko rezila in njegov okrepljen presek sodi v skupino orožij, ki so jih razvili kot odgovor na spremembe v konstrukciji oklepov ob koncu 13. stoletja. Po značilnostih meča, ki je klasičen primerek podtipa XVIa, domnevamo, da je bil izdelan v drugi polovici 14. ali prvi četrtini 15. stoletja.¹¹ Okvirno kronološko umestitev podpirajo tudi elementi okrasa na glaviču, ki spominjajo na predrt motiv križa z branikov mečev iz 14. stoletja.¹² Med geografsko in oblikovno najbolj podobnimi je meč iz struge Ljubljanske nad Podpečjo, ki je imel delno ohranjene lesene platice nožnice.¹³

Razprava

Meč z Ajdovskega gradca v luči suhozemnih najdb orožja iz gradov, naselbin in bojišč

Prestижno orožje iz zbiralnika na Ajdovskem gradcu je edini v celoti ohranjen viteški meč s slovenskega ozemlja, najden v okviru arheoloških izkopavanj. Izjemnost odkritja ponazarja muzejska anekdota, da so meč leta 1984 pomotoma objavili med gradivom iz barjanskega odseka Ljubljanske, ¹⁴ ki je z več kot 45 znanimi

ians have chosen to stop digging and leave the sword despite the lower level of water remains unanswered.

Sword

There is no trace of a scabbard on a completely preserved, 123 cm long sword, (Fig. 2) kept by the National Museum of Slovenia under Inv. No. 82/137. The blade, which equally narrows from the guard to the sharp tip, has a hexagonal cross section in the upper half. On both sides of the blade there is a fuller running down in the middle, covering two thirds of its length and approximately a quarter of its width. One side of the blade contains an inlaid brass mark symbol. A simple guard, Type VI according to Oakeshott,⁹ is characterized by a straight upper edge and downward-widened sides of a rectangular cross section forming a concave lower edge. A long tang, which enabled a sword to be held with both hands, ends with a flat oval pommel with rounded edges which were riveted to the flange. The middle of the pommel, which can be identified as type H1,¹⁰ contains an engraved ornament of four-leaf rosettes.

Due to its pointed blade and strengthened cross section, the sword from Ajdovski gradec belongs to the group of weapons developed as a response to changes in the construction of armour at the end of the 13th century. Characteristics of the sword, which is a typical example of a subtype of XVIa, prove it was made in the second half of the 14th century or in the first quarter of the 15th century.¹¹ This chronological placement is supported also by ornament elements on the pommel which are reminiscent of a perforated crucifix, a motif used on sword guards from the 14th century.¹² Closely related to this sword, in terms of its geographical location and shape, is a very similar sword found in the Ljubljanska river bed near Podpeč, with partially preserved wooden sides of its scabbard.¹³

Discussion

The sword from Ajdovski gradec in view of finds of weapons recovered from castles, settlements and battlefields

The prestigious weapon from the water cistern at Ajdovski gradec is the only completely preserved

9 Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry*, London 1964.

10 Oakeshott 1964, str. 102–103, sl. 72, t. 30: b.

11 Oakeshott 1964, str. 63–65.

12 Oakeshott 1964, str. 128, t. 26: a–c; 27: a.

13 Peter Petru, Podvodna pričevanja preteklosti. Novejše najdbe v Ljubljani, v: *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 1 (1982), t. 3: 273.

14 Boris Gombač, Podvodne raziskave v Sloveniji, v: *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 2 (1984), t. 15: 5.

9 Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry*, London 1964.

10 Oakeshott 1964, pp. 102–103, fig. 72, pl. 30: b.

11 Oakeshott 1964, pp. 63–65.

12 Oakeshott 1964, pp. 128, pl. 26: a–c; 27: a.

13 Peter Petru, Podvodna pričevanja preteklosti. Novejše najdbe v Ljubljani, in: *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 1 (1982), pl. 3: 273.

najdbami ne le osrednji sklop mečev 11.–15. stoletja pri nas, temveč tudi ena od pomembnejših zbirk evropskega visokega in poznega srednjega veka.¹⁵ Ocenil E. Oakeshotta, da več kot 80 odstotkov srednjeveških mečev izvira iz rek, jezer in močvirij,¹⁶ povsem ustreza tudi razmerje med najdiščnimi konteksti mečev z ozemlja Slovenije in severozahodne Hrvaške.¹⁷

Upoštevajoč pogosto diametralno različne pogoje za ohranitev materialov na suhozemskih najdiščih in v mokrih okoljih absolutna prevlada orožja iz vode na prvi pogled niti ne preseneča. Očitna je zlasti pri vrednejših in bolje ohranjenih kosih orožja in zaščitne opreme, kot so meči in čelade; osti izstrelkov, orožja na drogu, sekire in konjeniška oprema pa so zastopani bolj enakomerno.

Najdbe orožja z gradov in naselbin obsegajo zavržene predmete iz jarkov, nasutih in odpadnih jam, neprimerno redkejše in arheološko slabo oprijemljive depoje ter predmete, ki jih glede na najdiščne kontekste lahko povežemo s spopadi in obleganji. Na Slovenskem je poznavanje prvih dveh sklopov gradiva omejeno na sistematično raziskane dele najdišč, ki so praviloma le potrdili pričakovano funkcionalno zastopnost orožja in stopnjo njegove ohranjenosti. Med najdbami z lokacij, kot so Pusti grad nad Zgornjo Lipnico, Zgornji stolp na Kranclju nad Škofjo Loko, Stari grad v Celju in Stari grad nad Podbočjem ter pustota Otok pri Dobravi, prevladujejo osti izstrelkov, sledijo jim okovi in koničniki nožnic, fragmenti oklepni plošč in verižnine, torej predvsem predmeti, manj primerni za predelavo ali reciklažo.¹⁸ Očitno je tudi, da količina orožja ne glede na verjeten vojaško-obrambni značaj stolpastih in zgodnjih obodnih gradov med drugim kovinskim gradivom proporcionalno ne izstopa, kar potrjujejo npr. najdbe iz izkopavanj Malega gradu v Kamniku,¹⁹ sklopi predmetov z območja gradu na Gradišču nad Drago,²⁰ Starega

knighly sword on Slovenian territory, found within an archeological excavation. The exceptional-ity of this find is reflected in a museum anecdote, since in 1984 the sword was mistakenly displayed together with the objects recovered from the part of the river Ljubljanica¹⁴ running through the Ljubljana Moor. This collection, which includes more than 45 confirmed finds, presents not only the central set of swords from the 11th to 15th century on Slovenian territory, but also one of the most important European High and Late Medieval Collections.¹⁵ The estimate, made by E. Oakeshott, that more than 80% of medieval swords derive from rivers, lakes and marshes¹⁶ corresponds to the ratio of swords found in the territory of Slovenia and northwest Croatia,¹⁷ in terms of location of discovery.

Considering often contrary conditions for the preservation of objects found in land and wet environments, the absolute predominance of the objects recovered from water is not really surprising. This predominance is especially obvious with more valuable and better preserved pieces of weapons and protective equipment, such as swords and helmets, whereas arrowheads, pole weapons, axes and cavalry equipment are more equally represented.

Weapons found in castles and settlements include discarded objects recovered from ditches, road metal and refuse pits, as well as much rarer and archeologically less tangible hoards and objects, which, based on their location of discovery, could be related to engagements and sieges. In Slovenia the understanding of the first two sets of objects is limited to systematically explored parts of the sites which, in principle, confirm the expected functional representation of the weapons, as well as the level of their preservation.

Among the objects discovered in locations such as Pusti grad above Zgornja Lipnica, Zgornji stolp at Krancelj above Škofja Loka, Stari grad in Celje and Stari grad above Podbočje and the desolated town Otok pri Dobravi, projectile points prevail, followed by mounts and scabbard chapes, as well as fragments of armour plates and chain-mail - mostly objects

15 Tomaž Nabergoj, *Oboroženi stan srednjeveške družbe na Slovenskem na osnovi materialnih virov. Primer: meči*, magistrsko delo na Oddelku za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (tipkopis), Ljubljana 2001.

16 Ewart Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword*, Woodbridge 1991, str. 3.

17 Nabergoj 2001; Andrej Gaspari, *Srednjeveški meč iz reke Lahinje v Črnomlju*, v: Janez Weiss (ur.), *Črnomaljski zbornik*, Zbornik historičnih razprav ob 780-letnici prve omenbe naselja in 600-letnici prve omenbe Črnomlja kot mesta, Črnomelj 2008, str. 105–117.

18 Tomaž Lazar, *Oborožitev in utrdbene strukture v srednjem veku – arheološki viri*, seminarska naloga na podiplomskem študiju na Oddelku za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (tipkopis), Ljubljana 2007, str. 91–94.

19 Milan Sagadin, *Mali grad v Kamniku*, v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 37 (1997), str. 105–125.

20 Andrej Gaspari, Barbara Nadbath, Tomaž Nabergoj, *Grad na Gradišču nad Drago. Spanheimska utrdba na severozahodni meji gospostva?*, v: *Arheološki vestnik*, 58

14 Boris Gombač, *Podvodne raziskave v Sloveniji*, in: *Podvodna arheologija v Sloveniji*, 2 (1984), pl. 15: 5.

15 Tomaž Nabergoj, *Oboroženi stan srednjeveške družbe na Slovenskem na osnovi materialnih virov. Primer: meči*, Master thesis, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (typescript), Ljubljana 2001.

16 Ewart Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword*, Woodbridge 1991, p. 3.

17 Nabergoj 2001; Andrej Gaspari, *Srednjeveški meč iz reke Lahinje v Črnomlju*, in: Janez Weiss (ed.), *Črnomaljski zbornik*, Zbornik historičnih razprav ob 780-letnici prve omenbe naselja in 600-letnici prve omenbe Črnomlja kot mesta, Črnomelj 2008, pp. 105–117.

gradu pri Rogatcu nad Želimljami²¹ in Starega gradu Smlednik, v katerem so med izkopavanji v 60. letih prejšnjega stoletja in poznejšim »čiščenjem« ruševin med drugim našli na osti sulic in pušic, nože in ostroge.²²

Prizorišča obleganj so po navadi prepoznana v konvolutih značilnih najdb iz okolice gradov, ki so bile praviloma pridobljene nestrokovno, kar krni celovitost arheološkega konteksta in onemogoča poznejši študij poteka bitk in bojne razporeditve sodelujočih vojsk. Več pušičnih osti s trnastimi in tulastimi nasadišči, sulične osti ter druge najdbe, ki bi jih lahko pogojno povezali z obleganjem, je znanih s pobočij Starega gradu nad Uncem (*Hasberg*),²³ v bojnih okoliščinah pa so morda končali v zemlji tudi glavič meča iz 14. ali 15. stoletja, pušične osti in kavelj oklepa, najdeni pri gradu *Lichtenberg*.²⁴

which were less suitable for reworking or recycling.¹⁸ It is also clear that the amount of weapons, regardless of a possible military-defence character of strong houses and early shelled castles, does not stand out proportionally among other metal objects, which is confirmed by finds at Mali grad in Kamnik,¹⁹ as well as by sets of objects discovered in the area of the castle at Gradišče above Draga,²⁰ Stari grad near Rogatec above Želimlje²¹ and Stari grad Smlednik. During the excavations at Stari grad Smlednik in the 1960s and also during the subsequent 'clearings' of the debris, among other things, spearheads and arrowheads, as well as knives and spurs²² were also found.

Siege locations are usually characterized by sets of typical objects discovered in the surroundings of castles, usually recovered unprofessionally, which limits the integrity of the archeological context and

Meč z Ajdovskega gradca nad Vranjem

The sword from Ajdovski gradec above Vranje.

Glede na arheološke izkušnje z grajskih lokacij in bojišč torej ni pričakovati spektakularnih najdb orožja in vojaške opreme, razen v zelo redkih primerih, kjer so vnovično uporabo, reciklažo oz. plenjenje preprečevale posebne okoliščine, po navadi lega na težko dostopnih ali skritih krajih. Na tej točki se najdbe iz grajskih vodnjakov²⁵ prekrivajo z orožjem iz vodotokov, jezer in močvirij, čeprav so razlogi za njihov pojav v tem ali onem kontekstu lahko bistveno drugačni.

Meči iz vode: naključje ali namerna odtujitev?

Neposredno povezavo med vodnimi najdbami orožja in bitkami ob rekah oz. jezerih ali na

hinders the subsequent studies of battles and battle formations of participating armies. A large number of arrowheads with a tanged or socketed shaft, spearheads and other objects, which could conditionally be related to the siege, are known to have been found on the slopes of Stari grad above Unec (*Hasberg*).²³ During combat a sword pommel from the 14th or 15th century, arrowheads and a lance rest, discovered near the Castle Lichtenberg,²⁴ might have entered the ground.

Considering archeological experience from castles and battlefields, spectacular findings of weapons and military equipment can be expected only in very rare cases, where the reemployment, recycling or plundering were made impossible by specific circumstances, usually a geographical position on highly

(2008), str. 305–323.

21 Drago Svoljšak, Polona Bitenc, Janka Istenič, Timotej Knific, Tomaž Nabergoj, Vida Stare, Neva Trampuž Orel, Novo gradivo v Arheološkem oddelku Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani (pridobljeno v letih od 1987 do 1993), v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 36 (1997), str. 266, t. 21.

22 Marijan Slabe, Stari grad nad Smlednikom, v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 13–14 (1970), str. 178; isti, Smlednik, v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 25 (1983), str. 266–271.

23 Janez J. Švajncer, *Sulice, sekire, helebarde*, Logatec 2008, str. 130.

24 Janez J. Švajncer, *Meči, bodala, noži*, Logatec 2007, str. 119.

25 Npr. osti pušic in drugo orožje iz ene od dveh cistern na gradu Kozlov rob. Gl. Beatriče Žbona Trkman, Fabrizio Bressan, Orožje z gradu Kozlov rob, v: *Vojske, orožje in utrdbeni sistemi v Posočju* (ur. Karla Kofol), Tolmin 2008, str. 49–60.

18 Tomaž Lazar, *Oborožitev in utrdbene strukture v srednjem veku – arheološki viri*, essay written during post-graduate study, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (typescript), Ljubljana 2007, pp. 91–94.

19 Milan Sagadin, Mali grad v Kamniku, v: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 37 (1997), pp. 105–125.

20 Andrej Gaspari, Barbara Nadbath, Tomaž Nabergoj, Grad na Gradišču nad Drago. Spanheimska utrdba na severozahodni meji gospostva, in: *Arheološki vestnik*, 58 (2008), pp. 305–323.

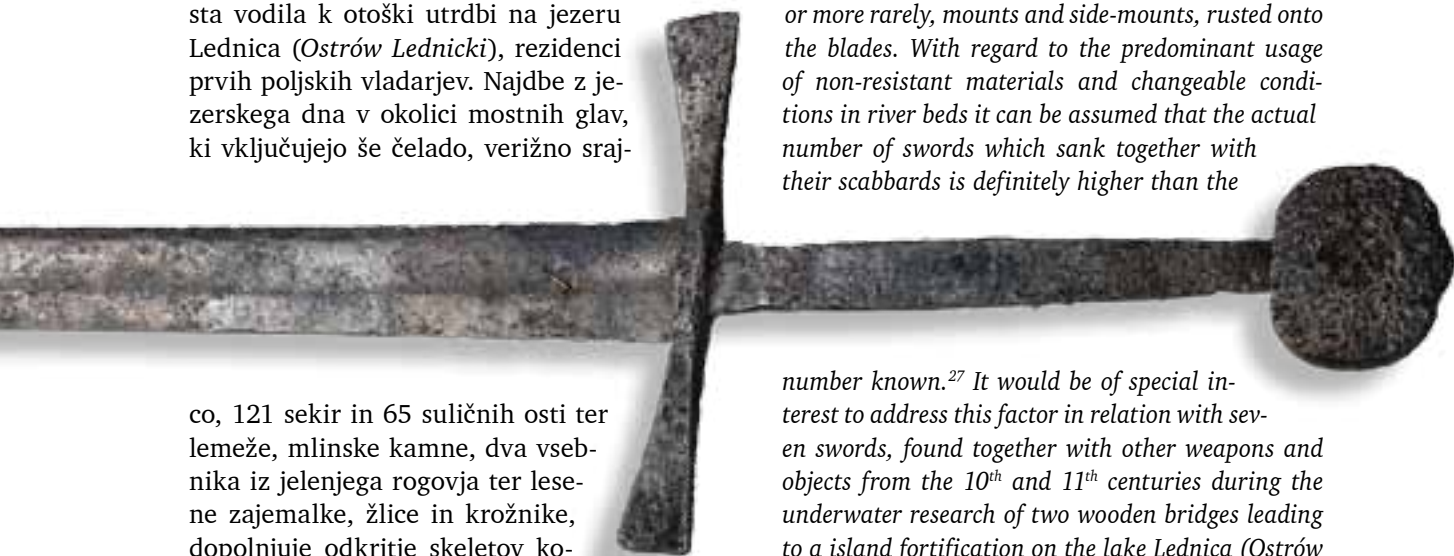
21 Drago Svoljšak, Polona Bitenc, Janka Istenič, Timotej Knific, Tomaž Nabergoj, Vida Stare, Neva Trampuž Orel, Novo gradivo v Arheološkem oddelku Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani (from 1987 to 1993), in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 36 (1997), pp. 266, pl. 21.

22 Marijan Slabe, Stari grad nad Smlednikom, in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 13–14 (1970), pp. 178; Marijan Slabe, Smlednik, in: *Varstvo spomenikov*, 25 (1983), pp. 266–271.

23 Janez J. Švajncer, *Sulice, sekire, helebarde*, Logatec 2008, p. 130.

24 Janez J. Švajncer, *Meči, bodala, noži*, Logatec 2007, p. 119.

njih²⁶ pri delu odkritih mečev zanika potrjena navzočnost ostankov nožnic, ki se po navadi ohranijo le s sledovi lesenih platic, redkeje s prirjavenimi koničniki, ustji in robnimi okovi. Glede na prevladujočo uporabo neobstojehnih materialov in spremenljive pogoje po odložitvi v rečnih strugah lahko sklepamo, da je število mečev, potopljenih skupaj z nožnicami, zanesljivo večje od sporočenega.²⁷ Ta dejavnik bi bilo zanimivo opazovati pri sedmih mečih, odkritih skupaj z drugim orožjem in predmeti iz 10. in 11. stoletja med podvodnimi raziskavami dveh lesenih mostovžev, ki sta vodila k otoški utrdbi na jezeru Lednica (*Ostrów Lednicki*), rezidenci prvih poljskih vladarjev. Najdbe z jezerskega dna v okolici mostnih glav, ki vključujejo še čelado, verižno srjaj-



co, 121 sekir in 65 suličnih osti ter lemeže, mlinske kamne, dva vsebnika iz jelenjega rogovja ter lesene zajemalke, žlice in krožnike, dopolnjuje odkritje skeletov konja in moža, v bližini katerih so odkrili še dve bronasti skledi sestavljive tehtnice. Ožgane konstrukcijske elemente mostov ter lesenih toporišč sekir in držajev sulic raziskovalci razlagajo kot dokaze napada vojske češkega kneza Brzetysława leta 1038.²⁸

Eden od redkih arheoloških kontekstov, ki ga je mogoče povezovati z nesrečo pri plovi, je znano odkritje skupka 80 golih mečev iz prve polovice 15. stoletja v reki Dordogne pri Castillonu leta 1973, ki ga razlagajo kot izgubljen francoski plen z bližnjega prizorišča bitke leta 1453.²⁹ Kot naključno izgubljene predmete je mogoče obravnavati tudi orožje iz rečnih pristanišč, med drugim meč, *scramasax*

inaccessible or hidden locations. At this point objects recovered from castle wells²⁵ coincide with weapons discovered in watercourses, lakes and marshes, although the reasons for their presence in this or other contexts can be completely different.

Swords in the Water: Coincidence or a Deliberate Act?

A direct connection between weapons discovered in the waters and battles near or in rivers or lakes²⁶ does not exist for a part of the swords found, which is proved by the presence of scabbards, of which only remains of wooden side plates are usually preserved, or more rarely, mounts and side-mounts, rusted onto the blades. With regard to the predominant usage of non-resistant materials and changeable conditions in river beds it can be assumed that the actual number of swords which sank together with their scabbards is definitely higher than the

*number known.²⁷ It would be of special interest to address this factor in relation with seven swords, found together with other weapons and objects from the 10th and 11th centuries during the underwater research of two wooden bridges leading to a island fortification on the lake Lednica (*Ostrów Lednicki*) the residence of the first Polish rulers. The collection of objects found at the bottom of the lake near bridgeheads, which includes a helmet, a mail shirt, 121 axes and 165 spearheads, as well as ploughshares, millstones, two chests made of deer antlers, wooden ladles, spoons and plates, is supplemented by a discovery of a skeleton of a horse and man in the vicinity of whom two bronze bowls belonging to a weighing scale were also found. Burned construction elements of bridges, wooden axe helms and spear handles are considered as evidence of the attack, carried out by the army of the Czech prince Brzetysław in 1038.²⁸*

One of the rare archeological contexts which could be related to a boat accident is a famous discovery

26 Walter Torbrügge, Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Flußfunde. Zur Ordnung und Bestimmung einer Denkmälergruppe, v: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 51–52 (1972), str. 100–101, 115.

27 Gaspari 2008.

28 Gerard Wilke, Unterwasserarchäologie in polnischen Flüssen und Seen, v: *Skyllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, 2/1 (1999), str. 53–56, sl. 10–12; Andrzej Kola, Gerard Wilke, *Mosty sprzed tysiąca lat. Archeologiczne badania podwodne rezydencji pierwszych Piastów na Ostrowie Lednickim*, Torun 2000.

29 Oakeshott 1991, str. 11.

25 For example, arrowheads and other weapons from one of the two cisterns at the castle Kozlov edge. See Beatrice Žbona Trkman, Fabrizio Bressan, Orožje z gradu Kozlov rob, in: *Vojske, orožje in utrdbeni sistemi v Posočju* (ed. Karla Kofol), Tolmin 2008, pp. 49–60.

26 Walter Torbrügge, Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Flußfunde. Zur Ordnung und Bestimmung einer Denkmälergruppe, v: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 51–52 (1972), pp. 100–101, 115.

27 Gaspari 2008.

28 Gerard Wilke, Unterwasserarchäologie in polnischen Flüssen und Seen, in: *Skyllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, 2/1 (1999), pp. 53–56, fig. 10–12.

ter več sekir in suličnih osti iz 9. stoletja, odkrito med podvodnimi arheološkimi raziskavami reke Charente pri Taillebourgu v letih 2001–2005.³⁰ Zanesljiv skandinavski izvor najdenih svinčenih uteži v obliki drakkarja, sekir in srebrnega obročka ob upoštevanju pisnih virov o ponavljajočih se roparskih pohodih severnjakov in imenske sozvočnosti Taillebourga z dansko utrdbo *Trelleborg* omogočajo sklepanje o morebitnem obstoju vikinške baze.

V nasprotju z orožjem iz vodotokov v bližini naselbin ali mest ustaljenih prehodov,³¹ kjer je možnost naključne izgube realna, pa s tem ni mogoče racionalno pojasniti najdb iz odmaknjenih delov rečnih tokov in manjših voda, neprimernih za plovbo.³² Posamične najdbe mečev iz takšnih mest tvorijo samosvoj kontekst in jih je mogoče z večjo ali manjšo zanesljivostjo razlagati kot kazalce namernih nepovratnih individualnih dejanj.

Sodeč po povedanem pač ne more biti dvoma, da je srednjeveški meč iz Ajdovskega gradca v napol zasut in z vodo napolnjen zbiralnik prišel zaradi zavestne odločitve,³³ pri čemer zraven ležeča keramična posoda opozarja na skupno deponiranje. Za pojasnitev ozadja tega odkritja je ključna opustelost lokacije, ki v času odložitve ni bila obljudena že več sto let. V tem se obravnavana najdba bistveno razlikuje od funkcionalnega orožja, ki je bilo zaradi kakršnega koli razloga že deponirano oz. odvrženo v grajske vodnjake³⁴ ali skrito v stene stanovanjskih objektov.³⁵

Prva misel, ki se utrne ob navedenih okoliščinah, je, da gre za orožje, ki ga je zadnji lastnik skrnil v vodno jamo z namenom, da ga vnovič pridobi, kot to izhaja iz okoliščin najdbe dragocenega kovinskega posodja in kipov ter železnega orodja iz obdobja germanskih

of a set of 80 bare swords from the first half of the 15th century, recovered from the river Dordogne near Castillon in 1973. These swords are considered to be a lost French loot from a nearby battle which took place in 1453.²⁹ Also the weapons from river ports which include a sword, a scramasax, as well as several axes and spearheads from the 9th century, discovered during underwater explorations of the river Charente near Taillebourg from 2001 to 2005,³⁰ can also be considered as accidentally lost objects. Considering the written sources on recurring raids of Northern warriors, as well as a similarity between names of a town Taillebourg and a Danish fortification Trelleborg, a confirmed Scandinavian origin of lead weights shaped like a drakkar, axes and a silver ring make us wonder about the possible existence of a Viking base.

Unlike the weapons from watercourses near settlements or places of river-crossings³¹ where the possibility of accidental loss is realistic, such explanation is not rational for the objects recovered from remote parts of rivers and smaller waters, unsuitable for navigation.³² Individual finds of swords at such places form their own context and can be, more or less reliably, considered as indicators of deliberate, individual and irreversible actions.

Considering all this there is no doubt that the presence of the medieval sword from Ajdovski gradec in the water cistern, half way filled with ruins and completely full of water, is a consequence of a deliberate decision,³³ A ceramic bowl, found next to it, is proof that the two objects had been probably deposited together. A key to the explanation of this find is the desolate location which, at the time of the deposition, had not been inhabited for several hundreds of years. In this aspect the find in question substantially differs from the functional weapons which, for whatever reason, had already been deposited or thrown into castle wells³⁴ or hidden into the walls of residential buildings.³⁵

30 Annie Dumont, Jean-François Mariotti, Michel Pichon, La Charente à Taillebourg-Port d'Envaux (France, dép. De Charente-Maritime): premiers résultats d'une prospection thématique subaquatique, v: *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 33 (2003), str. 591–592.

31 Na primer meč tipa XVla z območja pregaza v Cetini pri Trilju. Gl. Ante Milošević, *Arheološka topografija Cetine*, Split 1998, str. 291, sl. 485.

32 Torbrügge 1972, str. 68–69; Oakeshott 1991, str. 3; Gaspari 2008.

33 Hipotetična možnost povezave med posegom v steno, ki je znižal vodno gladino v zbiralniku, in odložitvijo obeh predmetov v tako pripravljen prostor je glede na predlagano starost vkopa manj verjetna. Začasno skrivališče obeh predmetov ali celo kratkotrajno bivanje se zdi vlažen prostor povsem neustrezen, tudi če upoštevamo pomanjkanje primernih naravnih zavetišč v okolici.

34 Par železnih klobukov iz zbiralnika na gradu Innerjuvalta v Švici in iz vodnjaka na gradu Madeln. Gl. Hugo Schneider, Zwei Helme aus der Burgruine Innerjuvalta, v: *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 28/1 (1986), str. 23–34.

35 Meč iz hiše v Linzu, najden za lesenim opažem iz 14. stoletja (Oakeshott 1991, str. 8).

29 Oakeshott 1991, p. 11.

30 Annie Dumont, Jean-François Mariotti, Michel Pichon, La Charente à Taillebourg-Port d'Envaux (France, dép. De Charente-Maritime): premiers résultats d'une prospection thématique subaquatique, in: *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 33 (2003), pp. 591–592.

31 For example a sword of a Type XVla from the area of the ford in Cetina near Trilj. See Ante Milošević, *Arheološka topografija Cetine*, Split 1998, p. 291, fig. 485.

32 Torbrügge 1972, pp. 68–69; Oakeshott 1991, p. 3; Gaspari 2008.

33 A hypothetical possibility of the connection between the intervention into the wall, which lowered the level of water in the cistern and the deposition of both objects in such a prepared place is, according to the suggested age of the deposition, less plausible. A humid place is completely inappropriate for a temporary hiding of both objects or even for a short stay, even if we consider a lack of suitable natural shelters in the vicinity.

34 A pair of kettle hats from a cistern at the castle Innerjuvalta in Switzerland and from a well at the castle Madeln. See Hugo Schneider, Zwei Helme aus der Burgruine Innerjuvalta, in: *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 28/1 (1986), pp. 23–34.

35 A sword from a house in Linz from the 14th century, found behind the wooden panelling (Oakeshott 1991, p. 8).

vpadov v 3. stoletju n. št., ki so bili v dveh mrežah spuščeni na dno vodnjaka v kastelu Rainach-Buch na zgornjegermansko-recijskem limesu.³⁶ V obravnavanem primeru bi bil zaradi lažjega dviga meč lahko bodisi privezan z vrvico, ki je po delnem upadu vodne gladine propadla; neprijeten, a glede na majhno globino povsem izvedljiv pa bi bil tudi potop na dah.

Na drugi strani si temačno vodno jamo v starodavni naselbini zlahka predstavljamo kot prostor ritualne daritve meča, orožja, ki je imelo od iznajdbe v srednji bronasti dobi naprej poudarjen statusni in simbolni pomen.³⁷ Kot kažejo številne najdbe in kompleksi najdb iz vodotokov, jezer in močvirij zahodne Švice, vzhodne Francije, spodnjega Porenja in britanskega otočja, je bilo ritualno potapljanje orožja v mlajši železni dobi in rimskem obdobju razširjeno predvsem v bojevniskem okolju keltsko-germanske družbe.³⁸ Običaj, ki praktično pomeni nepopravljivo onesposobitev, lahko primerjamo s prakso sežiganja in uničevanja orožja v okviru pogrebne obredja ali razobešanja poškodovanih mečev, čelad, ščitov in suličnih osti na kulturnih mestih po vzoru sredozemskega tropaeuma.³⁹ V Skandinaviji lahko masovnemu darovanju vojaške opreme sledimo od mlajše predrimske železne dobe prek cesarskega obdobja in preseljevanja ljudstev do 11. stoletja, kamor sodijo kompleksi pretežno suličnih osti in drugega orožja iz močvirij in barij severnega Gotlanda.⁴⁰ Pri večjih sklopih vodnih najdb orožja gre najverjetneje za sledove skupinskih daritev v okviru ceremonij po vojnih pohodih, posamično najdeni meči pa so morda povezani z individualnimi dejanji, npr. darovanjem orožja poraženega nasprotnika v okviru *rite de passage* ali obrednim »ubojem« meča v lasti umirajočega.⁴¹

Considering the above mentioned circumstances, the first thought that comes to your mind is that this weapon was hidden by its last owner into the water cistern for a later recovery. This was also true for valuable metal dishes and statues, as well as iron tools from the period of Germanic invasions in the 3rd century, which were, in two nets, deposited to the bottom of the well at the Rainach-Buch castle at the Upper Germanic-Rhaetian Limes.³⁶ In this case the sword could have been tied to a rope which would facilitate its recovery; however, the rope was ruined after the level of water had declined. Completely feasible, yet unpleasant, would also have been breath-hold diving since the level of water was not very high.

On the other hand, the dark water cistern in an ancient settlement could easily be imagined as a place of a ritual offering of a sword, a weapon which since its invention in the Middle Bronze Age had had a strong social and symbolic meaning.³⁷ Several finds and collections of objects recovered from watercourses, lakes and swamps from western Switzerland, eastern France, the Lower Rhine and the British Isles show that in the Early Iron Age and during the Roman Period a ritual practice of depositing objects into the water was widespread mainly in warrior environment of Celtic and Germanic societies.³⁸ The habit, which practically means an irreversible neutralization, can be paralleled with the practice of burning and destroying weapons within funeral rituals, as well as with hanging of deformed swords, helmets, shields and spearheads in cult places, following the model of Mediterranean tropaeum.³⁹ In Scandinavia the massive offering of military equipment was practiced from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age through the Empire Period and the Migration Period, up to the 11th century. The latter was also the period which gave birth to collections of mainly spearheads and other weapons discovered in swamps and moors of north Gotland.⁴⁰ While larger sets of weapons recovered from water are most probably relics of the community offerings

36 Stefanie Martin-Kilcher, *Brunnenfüllungen aus römischer Zeit mit Hirschgeweih, Tieren, Wertsachen und Menschen*, v: *Blut und Wein. Keltisch-römische Kulturpraktiken* (ur. Stefan Groh, Helga Sedlmayer), *Protohistoire Européenne*, 10, Montagnac 2007, str. 49–50, sl. 14.

37 Jytte Lavrsen, *Weapons in Water. A European Sacrificial Rite in Italy*, v: *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 10 (1982), str. 7–25.

38 Felix Müller, *Götter, Gaben, Rituale*, v: *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt*, 92 (2002); Johan Nicolay, *Armed Batavians. Use and Significance of Weaponry and Horse Gear from Non-Military Contexts in the Rhine Delta (50 BC to AD 450)*, *Amsterdam Archaeological Studies*, 11 (2007).

39 Albert Haffner (ur.), *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*, Stuttgart 1995, str. 21–32.

40 Lars Jørgensen idr. (ur.), *The Spoils of Victory. The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire*, København 2003; Michael Müller-Wille, *Opferkulte der Germanen und Slaven*, Stuttgart 1999, str. 77.

41 Oakeshott 1991, str. 4.

36 Stefanie Martin-Kilcher, *Brunnenfüllungen aus römischer Zeit mit Hirschgeweih, Tieren, Wertsachen und Menschen*, in: *Blut und Wein. Keltisch-römische Kulturpraktiken* (eds Stefan Groh, Helga Sedlmayer), *Protohistoire Européenne*, 10, Montagnac 2007, pp. 49–50, fig. 14.

37 Jytte Lavrsen, *Weapons in Water. A European Sacrificial Rite in Italy*, in: *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 10 (1982), pp. 7–25.

38 Felix Müller, *Götter, Gaben, Rituale*, in: *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt*, 92 (2002); Johan Nicolay, *Armed Batavians. Use and Significance of Weaponry and Horse Gear from Non-Military Contexts in the Rhine Delta (50 BC to AD 450)*, *Amsterdam Archaeological Studies*, 11 (2007).

39 Albert Haffner (ed.), *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 21–32.

40 Lars Jørgensen et alii (ed.), *The Spoils of Victory. The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire*, København 2003; Michael Müller-Wille, *Opferkulte der Germanen und Slaven*, Stuttgart 1999, p. 77.

Zbiralnik kot kraj kulnega deponiranja⁴² ima analogije že v mlajši železni dobi, kar dokazujejo depoji keramičnih posod in plastik božanstev, žganine ter živalskih in človeških ostankov v pogosto ekstremno globokih vodnjakih in kulturnih jaških (t. i. *puits funéraires*) iz 2. in 1. stoletja pr. n. št. v jugozahodni Galiji ali v okvirno sočasnih vodnjakih v sklopu t. i. *Viereckschanzen* v južni Nemčiji in Švici, ki se povezujejo z obrednimi pojedinami in žrtvovanji.⁴³ Nenavadna sestava predmetov, ki so bili vse prej kot zavrženi ali naključno izgubljeni, je večkrat dokumentirana tudi v vodnjakih rimskih utrd in podeželskih vil.⁴⁴ Geografsko najbližji primer so bogate najdbe iz zidanega vodnjaka, datiranega v prvo polovico 1. stoletja n. št. v Suhadolah pri Komendi, v katerem so poleg ostankov devetih lesenih in bronastih veder, delov noše, ključev in drugih kovinskih predmetov ter keramičnih posod našli tudi šest nepoškodovanih štiriroteljnih kopač.⁴⁵ Motiv odprtine v zemlji kot povezave s spodnjim svetom se ponovi pri daritvah v kraška brezna,⁴⁶ med katerimi tudi v nadregionalnem smislu izstopa 47 m globoka Mušja jama pri Škocjanu z orožjem iz pozne bronaste dobe in rimskega obdobja.⁴⁷

V kategorijo votivnih depojev sodijo tudi najdbe iz odmaknjenih gozdnatih območij in nedostopnih krajev. Ena od značilnih najdb, ki so kontekstualno primerljive z orožjem, deli noše in novci z gorskih prelazov in iz okolice značilnih skalnih oblik, je meč z mandljastim glavičem in tavširano magično formulo iz 12. ali 13. stoletja, ki so ga po naključju odkrili pri gozdnih delih pod balvanom pri kraju Tschlin-Vinadi, nedaleč od današnje švicarsko-avstrijske meje.⁴⁸

Obredno odlaganje orožja v srednjem veku

Po danes skoraj splošno sprejeti tezi se je v kontinentalni Evropi z Britanskim otočjem

performed within the ceremonies after raids and war campaigns, individually discovered swords could be related to individual actions, for example the offering of weapons which belonged to the defeated adversary within rite de passage, or a ritual 'killing' of the sword owned by a dying person.⁴¹ A water cistern as a place of a cult deposition⁴² is not a new phenomenon, which is proved by hoards of ceramic vessels and statuettes of gods, burnt remains, as well as remains of animals and humans, recovered from usually extremely deep wells and cult shafts (so called puits funéraires) from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. in southwest Gaul, or from contemporary wells within so called Viereckschanzen in southern Germany and Switzerland, which are connected to ritual feasts and sacrifices.⁴³ The unusual composition of objects, which were certainly not discarded or accidentally lost, has often been seen in wells of Roman fortifications and country villas.⁴⁴ On Slovenian territory this is the case of finds recovered from a stone-built well from the first century AD in Suhadole near Komenda in which apart from the remains of nine wooden and bronze buckets, parts of attire, keys and other metal objects, six intact mattocks⁴⁵ were also found. The motif of an opening in the ground as a connection with the underground reappears with offerings into Karst caves.⁴⁶ Notably, among these, Mušja jama, a 47m deep pit near Škocjan in which weapons from the Late Bronze Age and the Roman Period⁴⁷ were discovered also supraregionally.

The category of votive hoards also includes objects found in remote forest areas and inaccessible locations. One of the typical finds that could, in terms of its context, be compared to the weapons, parts of costumes and coins from mountain passes and surroundings, prevailed by typical rock formations, is a sword with an almond-shaped pommel and an inlaid spell from the 12th or 13th century, found by accident during forestal works under the boulder near Tschlin-Vinadi, not far from today's Swiss – Austrian border.⁴⁸

42 Torbrügge 1972, str. 77–80.

43 Haffner 1995, str. 37–41.

44 Martin-Kilcher 2007, str. 49; Noelke 2007, str. 308–319.

45 Jana Horvat, *Dekle je po vodo šlo... Rimski vodnjak iz Suhadol* (Medobčinski muzej Kamnik, r. k.), Kamnik 2006, str. 13–33.

46 Torbrügge 1972, str. 89.

47 Marko Frelih, La Grotta delle Mosche (Mušja jama) presso Škocjan (San Canziano) sul Carso ed il suo ruolo di ambiente di culto quale punto d'incontro delle culture del tardo bronzo dell'Italia peninsulare, dei Balcani, dell'Europa centrale e dell'area Egea, v: *Atti della Società per la preistoria e protostoria della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, 6 (1992), str. 73–104.

48 Jürg Rageth, Ein mittelalterliches Schwert mit Zauberspruch von Tschlin-Vinadi GR, v: *Archäologie der Schweiz* 23/3 (2001), str. 128–130.

41 Oakeshott 1991, p. 4.

42 Torbrügge 1972, pp. 77–80.

43 Haffner 1995, pp. 37–41.

44 Martin-Kilcher 2007, p. 49; Noelke 2007, pp. 308–319.

45 Jana Horvat, *Dekle je po vodo šlo... Rimski vodnjak iz Suhadol* (Intermunicipal Museum of Kamnik, Exhibition Catalogue), Kamnik 2006, pp. 13–33.

46 Torbrügge 1972, pp. 89.

47 Marko Frelih, La Grotta delle Mosche (Mušja jama) presso Škocjan (San Canziano) sul Carso ed il suo ruolo di ambiente di culto quale punto d'incontro delle culture del tardo bronzo dell'Italia peninsulare, dei Balcani, dell'Europa centrale e dell'area Egea, in: *Atti della Società per la preistoria e protostoria della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, 6 (1992), pp. 73–104.

48 Jürg Rageth, Ein mittelalterliches Schwert mit Zauberspruch von Tschlin-Vinadi GR, in: *Archäologie der Schweiz* 23/3 (2001), pp. 128–130.

in Skandinavijo tradicija deponiranja orožja v vodo prenesla tudi v visoki srednji vek in naprej.⁴⁹ V primeru srednjeveških mečev iz Ljubljane je sklepanje o domnevni prostorski kontinuiteti odlagališč »dolgega trajanja« med prazgodovino, antiko in srednjim vekom zaradi pomanjkljivih podatkov o natančnih lokacijah večine najdišč sporno, vendar nastavek zanj obstaja. Gre za skupino vsaj štirih mečev iz 14. stoletja iz struge na širšem območju izliva Iščice,⁵⁰ na katero se navezujejo še »srednjeveški« in »gotški« meč z »zlatim« znakom iz močvirja oz. jarka Preprošica (Prošca), morebiti pa tudi drugi sporočeni meč z Ljubljanskega barja.⁵¹ V okolici jarka, ki je zelo verjetno nekdanji izliv Iščice, v katerem so imeli menihi nemškega viteškega reda niz ribnikov,⁵² so že 1846 odkrili železnodobno mahairo, eno od dokaj številnih kovinskih najdb iz obdobja med bronasto dobo in rimskim cesarstvom, na katere so naleteli v šotnih plasteh na Barju. Iz sosednjega odseka Ljubljane izvira še več prazgodovinskih in rimskih najdb, na tem mestu pa nas zanima predvsem skupina enajstih suličnih osti s konca 8. in iz 9. stoletja, ki jih spremljajo okvirno sočasne osti pušic, konice z zalustmi, noži, kresila in drugi kovinski predmeti.⁵³ Najdbe bi bilo mogoče povezati z obstojem domnevne nadzorne točke na sotočju Ljubljane in Iščice, na drugi strani pa ni mogoče spregledati ujemanja s širšim fenomenom posamičnih najdb karolinških suličnih osti in mečev iz vodnih kontekstov in hkratnim opuščanjem polaganja orožja v grobove, ki označuje večje dele srednje Evrope.⁵⁴ Barjansko okolje z vodnimi okni, retji in spreminjajočimi se strugami opozarja na možnost kulturnega dojetja tega prostora, ki se ambientalno približuje svetišču na vzpetini Žitný ostrov med rokavi Donave v Mostu pri Bratislavi in lokacijam plemenskih svetišč vzhodnih Slovanov v okroglih utrdbah (*bolotnye gorodishcha*), lociranih v odmaknjenih močvirjih.⁵⁵

Ritual Deposition of Weapons in the Middle Ages

According to today's commonly accepted theory, the tradition of weapon deposition into water, practiced in continental Europe, the British Isles and Scandinavia, was transferred also to the High Middle Ages and thereafter.⁴⁹ In the case of swords recovered from the river Ljubljana, due to lack of information on the exact location of the majority of the finds, the relevance of making conclusions on potential spatial continuity of deposition places of long duration lasting from Prehistory through the Antiquity to the Middle Ages is somehow dubious, however, the indications for them do exist. This is a group of at least four swords from the 14th century, recovered from the river bed in the wider area of the Iščica⁵⁰ outflow. Related to these swords is also a 'medieval' and 'gothic' sword with a 'gold' sign found in the swamp or ditch Prepoščica (Prošca), and potentially another sword reported to have been found in the Ljubljana Moor.⁵¹ In the vicinity of the ditch which is probably a former outflow of the Iščica and in which monks, belonging to the German knightly order, held a set of ponds,⁵² back in 1846 an Iron Age machaira was found. This is one of several metal objects from the period between the Bronze Age and the Roman Empire, found in the peat layers of the Moor. In the neighboring area of the river Ljubljana several Prehistoric and Roman objects were found, but a group of eleven spear heads from the end of the 8th and 9th century, accompanied by temporary arrow heads, barbed points, knives, tinder and other metal objects,⁵³ is of special interest. These objects could be related to the existence of a potential control post at the confluence of the rivers Ljubljana and Iščica, while at the other hand one cannot ignore the compliance with a wider phenomenon of individual Carolingian spearheads and swords, recovered from the waters, as well as with a simultaneous abandonment of the weapon deposition into graves, typical for the majority of the Central Europe.⁵⁴ The moor with its small ponds, springs and changeable river beds offers a possibility for a cult perception of this

49 Lavrsen 1982, str. 7; Ludwig Pauli, *Gewässerfunde aus Nersingen und Burlafingen*, v: Michael Mackensen, *Frühkaiserzeitliche Kleinkastelle bei Nersingen und Burlafingen an der oberen Donau*, *Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 41 (1987), str. 303–305; Müller-Wille 1999, str. 78–80.

50 Nabergoj 2001, št. 14, 15, 20, 24.

51 Nabergoj 2001, str. 104.

52 Franz Hochenwart, *Die Entsumpfung des Laibacher Morastes*, Laibach 1838, str. 9, 25, 29.

53 Svoljšak idr. 1997, str. 259, 262, t. 12: 7; 16: 3; 18: 3; Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific, *Arheološko najdišče Ljubljana*, v: *Argo*, 40/2 (1997), str. 22; ista, *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov*. Predmeti (Narodni muzej Slovenije, r. k.). Ljubljana 2001, št. 332.

54 Pauli 1987, str. 303–304, op. 31.

55 Vladimir Turčan, *Old-Slavonic Sanctuaries in Czechia and Slovakia*, v: *Studia*

49 Lavrsen 1982, p. 7; Ludwig Pauli, *Gewässerfunde aus Nersingen und Burlafingen*, in: Michael Mackensen, *Frühkaiserzeitliche Kleinkastelle bei Nersingen und Burlafingen an der oberen Donau*, *Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 41 (1987), pp. 303–305; Müller-Wille 1999, pp. 78–80.

50 Nabergoj 2001, No. 14, 15, 20, 24.

51 Nabergoj 2001, pp. 104.

52 Franz Hochenwart, *Die Entsumpfung des Laibacher Morastes*, Laibach 1838, pp. 9, 25, 29.

53 Svoljšak et alii, 1997, pp. 259, 262, t. 12: 7; 16: 3; 18: 3; Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific, *Arheološko najdišče Ljubljana*, in: *Argo*, 40/2 (1997), p. 22; Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific, *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov*. *Predmeti* (National Museum of Slovenia, Exhibition Catalogue). Ljubljana 2001, No. 332.

54 Pauli 1987, pp. 303–304, note 31.

Vlogo vode, ki je *fons et origo* vsega obstoja, v poganskih kultih Slovanov omenja Prokopij iz Cezareje (*De bello Gothico* III, 13), ki nava- ja, da »Sloveni in Anti častijo tudi reke, nimfe (vile) in druga božanstva ter vsem tem tudi večkrat darujejo; med tem se vrše razna pre- rokovanja«. Da so darovi pri (zahodnih) Slova- nih vključevali tudi orožje, potrjujejo navedbe germanskega kronista Herborda iz 12. stole- tja, ki v drugi knjigi *Dialogus de vita S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* (32) v opisu Triglavu posvečenega templja v Stettinu (*Szczecin*) piše, da so ljudje vanj po običaju svojih predni- kov prinašali zaplenjeno orožje sovražnikov in desetino vsakega plena.⁵⁶ Poseben pomen su- ličnih osti v kulturnih praksah Slovanov so arhe- ološko potrdile raziskave svetišč Groß Raden in Parchim, svete sulice pa so omenjane tudi pri templjih Rethra, Wolin (Julin) in Arkona. Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum* 14, 827) navaja, da so jih svečeniki templja Arkona na polotoku Rügen uporabljali pri napovedovanju izidov vojaških pohodov ali pomorskih podvi- gov.⁵⁷

V kontekstu nadregionalnih sprememb v ritualnem ravnanju z orožjem izstopa tudi približno sočasen kompleks delno fragmen- tiranega orožja, luksuzne konjeniške oprave, liturgičnih predmetov, orodja in drugih kovin- skih najdb iz žganinske plasti na območju po- znorimske utrjene naselbine na Gradišču nad Bašljem.⁵⁸ Najdiščne okoliščine ter sledovi ma- nipulacije in funkcionalna sestava predmetov (glaviči mečev, puščične osti, sekire, jermen- ski konci, razdelici, ostroge, stremena, brzde, ponve, ključi, noži, škarje, šila, zvonec, kadil- nica), opozarjajo na možnost skupinskih dari- tev v opusteli utrdbi iz 5. in 6. stoletja. Ozko zamejeno območje pojavljanja predmetov na spodnji terasi pri južnem delu starega obzidja morda govori o svetem prostoru, kamor so de- ponirali predmete, ki so prestali očiščevalno moč ognja.⁵⁹ Odlagališče v smislu »železne- ga mesta«⁶⁰ ima konceptualne vzporednice v

area which, in terms of its environment and atmos- phere, is related to a temple in a Žitný ostrov area between the branches of the river Danube in Most near Bratislava, as well as to the tribal temples of the East Slavs in circular fortifications (bolotnye gorod- ishcha) located in remote swamps.⁵⁵

The role of the water which is *fons et origo* of the whole existence is in Pagan traditions mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea (*De bello Gothico* III, 13) who claimed that 'the Slavs and Antes worshipped also the rivers, nymphs (fairies) and other gods to which they often offered gifts while performing vari- ous prophecies'. Offerings of the (West) Slavs includ- ed also weapons. This fact is confirmed by a German chronicler Herbord from the 12th century who in the second book entitled *Dialogus de vita S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* (32) describes a temple in Stettin (*Szczecin*), dedicated to the god Triglav, and says that people, following the habit of their ances- tors, brought to this temple weapons confiscated from their enemies, as well as one tenth of the loot.⁵⁶ A special meaning of spearheads within Slavic cult practices have been archeologically confirmed by explorations of temples Groß Raden and Parchim, while holy spears are also mentioned in relation to the temples Rethra, Wolin (Julin) and Arkona. Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum* 14, 827) claims that holy spears were used by priests of the temple Arkona in the peninsula of Rügen to help them predict results of military marches or sea ventures.⁵⁷

Within the context of transregional changes to the ritual handling of weapons is worth mentioning also a simultaneous set of partially fragmented weapons, luxury cavalry equipment, liturgical items, tools and other metal objects found in the burnt remains in the area of a Late Roman fortified settlement in Gradišče above Bašelj.⁵⁸ The circumstances of the discovery, as well as the traces of manipulations and the func- tional composition of the objects (sword pommels, spearheads, axes, strap terminals, strap-dividers, spurs, stirrups, bridles, a pan, keys, knives, scissors, an awl, a bell, a censer) offer a possibility of commu- nity offerings in a desolate fortification from the 5th or 6th century. A very limited area within which the

mythologica Slavica, 4 (2001), str. 104.

56 Leszek Paweł Ślupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw 1994, str. 72–73

57 Horst Keiling, *Der Obodritentempel von Parchim und die Kulthalle von Groß Raden*, v: Ralf Busch, Torsten Capelle, Friedrich Laux (ur.), *Opferplatz und Heiligtum, Kult der Vorzeit in Norddeutschland*, Neumünster 2000, str. 251–252.

58 Timotej Knific, *Arheološko najdišče Gradišče nad Bašljem*, v: *Preddvor v času in prostoru, Zbornik občine Preddvor*, Preddvor 1999, str. 55–67; Bitenc – Knific 2001, št. 315–330; Švajncer 2007, str. 113.

59 Turčan 2001, str. 109. Arabski popotniki so Slované označili za častilce ognja, ki velja za atribut Svaroga in Peruna.

60 Izraz dr. A. Pleterskega. Prim. etimologijo starovisokonemškega osebnega imena *Isangart* (Isan / Eisen = železo; Gart = ograja, plot).

55 Vladimir Turčan, *Old-Slavonic Sanctuaries in Czechia and Slovakia*, in: *Studia mythologica Slavica*, 4 (2001), p. 104.

56 Leszek Paweł Ślupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 72–73.

57 Horst Keiling, *Der Obodritentempel von Parchim und die Kulthalle von Groß Raden*, in: Ralf Busch, Torsten Capelle, Friedrich Laux (eds.), *Opferplatz und Heiligtum, Kult der Vorzeit in Norddeutschland*, Neumünster 2000, pp. 251–252.

58 Timotej Knific, *Arheološko najdišče Gradišče nad Bašljem*, in: *Preddvor v času in prostoru, Zbornik občine Preddvor*, Preddvor 1999, pp. 55–67; Bitenc – Knific 2001, No. 315–330; Švajncer 2007, p. 113.

najdbah iz zgodnjerednjeveškega gradišča Bojná I-Valy na zahodnem Slovaškem in drugih najdišč Nitrianske kneževine.⁶¹ Iz gradiva slabo poznane notranosti tega gradišča izvira ogromno posamičnih detektoraških najdb in vsaj deset depojev kovinskih predmetov primerljive sestave. Na razmere na Gradišču nad Bašljem spominja tudi pičila zastopanost sočasnih naselbinskih najdb, ki pa je v obeh primerih delno posledica stanja raziskav.

Na ohranitev starih poganskih izročil do konca srednjega veka,⁶² ne glede na njihovo temeljno nezdružljivost s krščanstvom, poleg postavljanja cerkva na starejših kulturnih mestih⁶³ opozarja tudi prepovedi čaščenja naravnih fenomenov.⁶⁴ Na leto 1331 se nanaša izjemen dokument o križarskem pohodu proti slovaškemu prebivalcem, ki so v gorah na Kobariškem množično častili drevo in izvir pri njegovih koreninah.⁶⁵ Na vojsko, v okviru katere so »ne brez osebne nevarnosti« posekali drevo in zasuli izvir, je pozval frančiškan *Franciscus de Clugia*, inkvizitor »zoper heretično izprijenost v Benečiji in Furlaniji.«⁶⁶ Znano je tudi početje viteza Vida-Weitla iz Bresternice, ki so ga na duhovnem sodišču leta 1300 obdolžili poleg drugih hudodelstev še malikovanja drevesa in klicanja hudiča.⁶⁷

Sklep

Zadnji lastnik meča z Ajdovskega gradca nad Vranjem, ki je prvič omenjeno leta 1309, je zelo verjetno izhajal iz kulturnega okolja, ki je favoriziralo junaško epiko in v katerem sta bili najvišji vrednoti bojevanje in čast. Nagnjenost fevdalne družbe k ritualizirani obravnavi

objects appear on the lower terrace next to the south part of the ancient wall may be a proof of a sacred place in which objects that experienced the purifying power of fire⁵⁹ were deposited. The hoard, in terms of an 'iron garden',⁶⁰ has conceptual parallels in the objects found in the Early Medieval castle Bojná I-Valy in the west Slovakia, as well as on other sites in the Principality of Nitra.⁶¹ The objects found in the poorly known interior of this castle include numerous metal detector finds and at least ten hoards with metal objects of comparable composition. A small number of contemporary settlements finds also recall the situation in Gradišče above Bašelj. However, in both cases this is partially a consequence of the state of the research.

Apart from the establishment of churches on old cult areas,⁶² the prohibition of worshipping natural phenomena⁶³ also reminds us of the preservation of the old Pagan tradition until the end of the Middle Ages,⁶⁴ regardless of its basic non-compatibility with Christianity. An extraordinary document refers to the year 1331. It describes a crusade against the Slavs who in the area of Kobarid massively worshipped the tree and the spring at its roots.⁶⁵ The army, which cut down the tree and filled up the spring, 'not without personal risk', was called by a Franciscan *Franciscus de Clugia*, an inquisitor against 'heretical degeneration in Veneto and Friuli'.⁶⁶ Well known are also the actions of a knight Vid-Weitl from Bresternica who, in 1300, was at the Spiritual Court among other things accused also of worshipping a tree and calling the devil.⁶⁷

Conclusion

The last owner of the sword from Ajdovski gradec above Vranje, mentioned for the first time in 1306,

61 Karol Pieta, Alexander Ruttkay, Bojná-mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva, Predbežná správa, v: *Bojná, Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva* (ur. Karol Pieta, Alexander Ruttkay, Matej Ruttkay), *Archeologia Slovaca Monographiae*, 9 (2006), str. 21–69.

62 Lazar 2007, str. 94.

63 Müller-Wille 1999, str. 75; najbolj ilustrativen in arheološko dokazan primer pri nas je cerkev Sv. Janeza Krstnika v Bohinju, zgrajena na kraju žgalnega daritvenega mesta iz 1.–4. stoletja n. št. (Za podatek se zahvaljujem mag. Drašku Josipoviču.).

64 Mechthild Schulze, Diskussionsbeitrag zur Interpretation früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Flußfunde, v: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 18 (1984), str. 229; Pauli 1987, op. 130; Slupecki 1994, str. 163–166.

65 Čaščenje svetega drevesa in izvira, ki simbolizira plodnost, je večkrat omenjeno v virih iz 10.–12. stoletja, ki se nanašajo na zahodne Slovane (Slupecki 1994, str. 163).

66 Ivo Juvančič, Križarska vojska proti Kobaridcem 1331, v: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 38/1–2 (1984), str. 49–55.

67 Ivan Stopar, *Svet viteštva. Življenje na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 2006, str. 42.

59 Turčan 2001, p. 109. The Slavs were considered by Arabic travellers as fire-worshippers, which was the attribute of Svarug and Perun.

60 A term used by dr. A. Pleterski. Compare the etymology of an Old High German first name *Isangart* (Isan/Eisen = iron; Gart = fence).

61 Karol Pieta, Alexander Ruttkay, Bojná-mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva, Predbežná správa, in: *Bojná, Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva* (eds Karol Pieta, Alexander Ruttkay, Matej Ruttkay), *Archeologia Slovaca Monographiae*, 9 (2006), pp. 21–69.

62 Lazar 2007, p. 94.

63 Müller-Wille 1999, p. 75; the most illustrative and archeologically confirmed case in Slovenia is the church of St. John the Baptist in Bohinj from the 1st–4th century AD, built in an area where burnt offerings took place (I would like to thank to mag. Draško Josipovič for this information).

64 Mechthild Schulze, Diskussionsbeitrag zur Interpretation früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Flußfunde, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 18 (1984), p. 229; Pauli 1987, note 130; Slupecki 1994, pp. 163–166.

65 Worshipping of a holy tree and spring, a symbol of fertility, is often mentioned in sources from the 10–12th century which refers to the West Slavs (Slupecki 1994, p. 163).

66 Ivo Juvančič, Križarska vojska proti Kobaridcem 1331, in: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 38/1–2 (1984), pp. 49–55.

67 Ivan Stopar, *Svet viteštva. Življenje na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 2006, p. 42.

orožja daje slutiti tudi legenda o Excaliburju, kot jo podaja *Le Morte d'Arthur* Thomasa Malloryja (1405–71). V ozadju pripovedi o meču, ki ga je bilo treba po smrti nosilca vrniti v varstvo jezerski vili, lahko prepoznamo vsebine staro- in srednjeirskih sag, ki opisujejo mitološke bojevnike in njihovo magično orožje, s katerim je bilo moč zmagovati le na pregazih v oblasti vodnih vil.⁶⁸ Priljubljenost viteške epike, ki je bila v marsičem vezana na mitično izročilo arturijanskih legend, na tedanjem Štajerskem dokazuje tudi *Monpreis*, izvirno ime gradu nad Planino pri Sevnici. Ta grad nastopa celo v verzificiranem romanu Parzival nemškega minezengerja Wolframa von Eschenbach (ok. 1170–ok. 1220), ki prinaša predelavo pripovedi o iskanju svetega grala.⁶⁹

Intimnost starodavne naselbine na Ajdovskem gradu, katere ime v lokalnem izročilu še danes ohranja spomin na mitske praprebivalce,⁷⁰ in tamkajšnja kotanja s temno vodo, »ob kateri obstaneš, če imaš pogled za to«,⁷¹ utemeljujejo razmišljanja o kulturni daritvi prestižnega orožja kot sestavnem delu viteškega izročila, prežetega s krščansko ideologijo.

Zahvale

Za vsestransko pomoč pri pripravi prispevka, posredovane podatke o najdbi in dovoljenje za objavo fotografije se zahvaljujem dr. Timoteju Knificu, mag. Tomažu Nabergoju, Tomažu Lazarju in Poloni Bitenc iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije. Zahvaljujem se tudi dr. Andreju Pleterskemu, dr. Benjaminu Štularju in Ivanu Mariji Hrovatinu z Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU za koristna navodila in posredovane citate.

Povzetek

Med izkopavanjem poznorimskega vodnega zbiralnika na Ajdovskem gradu nad Vranjem pri Sevnici v sezoni 1977/8 so na globini 2,5 m skupaj odkrili nepoškodovan poznosrednjeveški meč in zdrobljeno keramično posodo, ki sta med ostalim gradivom

probably originated in a cultural environment which favoured heroic epic poetry and which revered combat and honour as ultimate values. The inclination of feudal society towards ritualized consideration of weapons can be seen in the legend of Excalibur as described by Thomas Mallory (1405–1471) in *Le Morte d'Arthur*. In the story of a sword which after the death of its owner had to be returned to the custody of a lake fairy we can recognize the themes of Old and Middle Irish sagas which tell stories of mythological combatants and their magical weapons with which they could win only in the fords ruled by water fairies.⁶⁸ The popularity of knight epic poetry which in many aspects is related to a mythical tradition of Arthurian legends is, in the area of the then Štajerska (Styria), confirmed also by the original name for a castle Planina near Sevnica, *Monpreis*. This castle is also a protagonist of a versified novel *Parzival*, written by a German minnesinger Wolfram von Eschenbach (approx. 1170–approx. 1220), a remake of a story about a search of the Holy Grail.⁶⁹

The intimate atmosphere of an ancient settlement at Ajdovski gradec whose name in the local tradition still holds the memory of mythical inhabitants,⁷⁰ as well as its basin with dark water 'at which you stop if you have the eyes for this'⁷¹ form the basis for considering a ritual offering of prestigious weapons as an integral part of a knightly tradition, pervaded with Christian ideology.

Acknowledgments

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Summary

During the excavations of a Late Roman water cistern at Ajdovski gradec near Sevnica in the

68 René Louis, Une cotoume d'origines protohistorique: les combats sur les gués chez les Celtes et chez les Germains, in: *Revue Archéologique d l'Est*, 5 (1954), str. 186–193.

69 Stopar 2006, str. 106–107.

70 Andrej Pleterski, De Sclavis autem unde dicitis. Slovani in Vlahi na »nikogaršnjem« ozemlju istrskega zaledja, v: *Acta Histriae*, 13/1 (2005), str. 114–115.

71 Juvančič 1984, str. 52.

68 René Louis, Une cotoume d'origines protohistorique: les combats sur les gués chez les Celtes et chez les Germains, in: *Revue Archéologique d l'Est*, 5 (1954), pp. 186–193.

69 Stopar 2006, pp. 106–107.

70 Andrej Pleterski, De Sclavis autem unde dicitis. Slovani in Vlahi na »nikogaršnjem« ozemlju istrskega zaledja, in: *Acta Histriae*, 13/1 (2005), pp. 114–115.

71 Juvančič 1984, p. 52.

z najdišča povsem izolirana. Značilnosti 123 cm dolgega meča, ki je klasičen primerek pod-tipa XVIa po Oakeshottu, umeščajo njegovo izdelavo v drugo polovico 14. stoletja ali prvo četrtino 15. stoletja.

Orožje se je v napol zasutem zbiralniku, napolnjenem z vodo, nedvomno znašlo zaradi zavestne odločitve. Za pojasnitev ozadja tega odkritja je ključna opustelost lokacije, ki v času deponiranja ni bila obljudena že več sto let. Po tem se obravnavana najdba bistveno razlikuje od funkcionalnega orožja, ki je bilo zaradi kakršnega koli razloga že deponirano oz. odvrženo v grajske vodnjake ali skrito v stene stanovanjskih objektov.

Prva misel je, da gre za orožje, ki ga je zadnji lastnik skrnil v vodno jamo z namenom, da ga vnovič pridobi. V obravnavanem primeru bi bil zaradi lažjega dviga meč lahko bodisi privezan z vrstico, ki je po delnem upadu vodne gladine propadla; neprijeten, a glede na majhno globino povsem izvedljiv pa bi bil tudi potop na dah.

Na drugi strani si temačno vodno jamo v starodavni naselbini zlahka predstavljamo kot prostor ritualne daritve meča, orožja, ki je imelo od iznajdbe v srednji bronasti dobi naprej poudarjen statusni in simbolni pomen. Zbiralnik kot kraj kulturnega deponiranja ima analogije že v mlajši železni dobi in rimskem obdobju, najdiščne okoliščine pa ga uvrščajo v kategorijo vodnih najdb. Po danes skoraj splošno sprejeti tezi se je v kontinentalni Evropi z Britanskim otočjem in Skandinavijo tradicija deponiranja orožja v vodo prenesla tudi v visoki srednji vek in naprej.

Na ohranjanje starih poganskih izročil do konca srednjega veka, ne glede na njihovo temeljno nezdružljivost s krščanstvom, poleg postavljanja cerkva na starejših kulturnih mestih opozarjajo tudi prepovedi čaščenja naravnih fenomenov.

1977-1978, an intact Late Medieval sword and a shattered ceramic bowl were found. These two finds were completely isolated from the rest of the material discovered at the site. Due to the characteristics of the sword which, according to Oakeshott, represents a classical sword of the subtype XVIa, we can assume that the sword was made in the second half of the 14th century or in the first quarter of the 15th century.

The presence of the weapon in a half buried cistern, full of water, is obvious the result of a deliberate decision. In order to clarify the circumstances of this find we must consider the location of the site which at the time of the sword being deposited had not been inhabited for several hundreds of years. In this aspect this find considerably differs from functional weapons which, for one reason or another, had already been deposited, thrown into castle wells or hidden into the walls of residential buildings.

The first thought that comes to mind is that this weapon was hid by its last owner into the water cistern to be recovered at a later time. In this case the sword could have been tied to a rope which would have facilitated its recovery; however, it is possible that the rope decayed after the level of water had declined. Also feasible, yet unpleasant, would have been breath-hold dive since the level of water was not very high.

On the other hand, the dark water in a cistern in an ancient settlement could easily be imagined as a place of ritual offering of swords, a weapon which since its invention in the Middle Bronze Age had had a strong rank and symbolic meaning. A cistern as a place of a cult deposition is not a new phenomenon; its analogies can be found already in the Late Iron Age and Roman Period. Due to the circumstances of the find it belongs to the category of water finds. According to today's commonly accepted thesis the tradition of weapon deposition into water, practiced in continental Europe, the British Isles and Scandinavia, was transferred also to the High Middle Ages and thereafter.

Apart from the establishing of churches on old cult sites, the prohibition of worshipping natural phenomena also reminds us of the preservation of Pagan traditions until the end of the Middle Ages regardless of its basic non-compatibility with Christianity.



Utrdbena arhitektura na Slovenskem v poznem srednjem veku

Fortification Architecture in Slovenia in the Late Middle Ages

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Izvleček

Sestavek obravnava značilnosti utrdbene arhitekture na Slovenskem v poznem srednjem veku. Gre za analizo razvoja grajenih struktur, ki so od 14. do 16. stoletja nastale za varovanje človeških bivališč, strateških ali taktično pomembnih točk, poti, prehodov in drugih pomembnih objektov.

Ključne besede: utrdbena arhitektura, Slovenija, pozni srednji vek, gradovi, samostani, mestna obzidja, protiturški tabori, romanika, gotika, turški vpadi.

Utrdbena arhitektura je nastajala v vseh obdobjih zgodovinskega razvoja kot sredstvo za obrambo ljudi in njihovega premoženja v različnih spopadih in plenilnih pohodih. Pomembnejše utrdbe so nastajale vselej, kadar sta to zahtevala politični in obrambni položaj dežele, rasle so na strateško pomembnih in naravno zavarovanih lokacijah. Bile so odraz moči, bogastva in okusa njihovih graditeljev. Slovenski prostor je zaznamovan z utrdbami. Na stičišču med vzhodom in zahodom ter severom in jugom evropske celine so tu skozi čas pogosto potekale razne napadane in branjene meje. Razcvet utrdbene arhitekture je zato na tem ozemlju opazen v več različnih obdobjih. V sodobni zavesti so najbolj navzoče prav srednjeveške utrdbe, ki so se tudi gmotno na vseh koncih slovenskega ozemlja najbolje ohranile, čeprav so glede na nekdanje stanje ostali

Abstract

The article addresses the characteristics of fortification architecture in Slovenia in the Late Middle Ages. It is an analysis of stone or brick structures development, designed from the 14th to 16th century in order to protect accommodation facilities, important strategic or tactical points, routes, passages and other critical facilities.

Key words: Fortification architecture, Slovenia, Late Middle Ages, castles, monasteries, city walls, anti-Turkish camps, Romanesque art, Gothic, Turkish invasions.

Fortification architecture emerged in all periods of historical development as a means for defence of people and their assets through different series of engagements and plunders. More significantly, fortifications arose with the demand for political and defensive position of land, appearing on strategic and naturally secure locations. They were a reflection of the power, wealth and taste of their founders. Between the east and west, there were constantly changing borders throughout time. Fortification architecture therefore flourished in different periods in these lands. In contemporary perception, the most known are medieval fortifications, which are preserved in their material form throughout Slovenian lands, although only fragments remain of their former state. Forts were always architectures of special significance. They were built to safeguard people's residence, in strategic and tactically important positions, routes, crossings and other important

le fragmenti. Utrdbe so bile vselej arhitekture posebnega pomena. Zgrajene so bile za varovanje človeških bivališč, strateških ali taktično pomembnih točk, poti, prehodov in drugih pomembnih objektov. Kot take so imele tudi velik simbolni pomen, ki je pogosto celo presegal njihovo dejansko obrambno zmožnost. Utrdbe so bile vselej simboli moči. Pogosto so nastajale v želji po razkazovanju moči in ugleda njihovih graditeljev. Tega pomena utrdb sta se nenazadnje dobro zavedala tudi Janez Vajkard Valvasor in Georg Matthäus Vischer, ki sta gradove, utrjena mesta in trge, samostane in nekatere pomembnejše protiturške tabore v 17. stoletju sistematično upodabljala v svojih topografskih delih, ki so zajela dobršen del ozemlja današnje Slovenije.¹

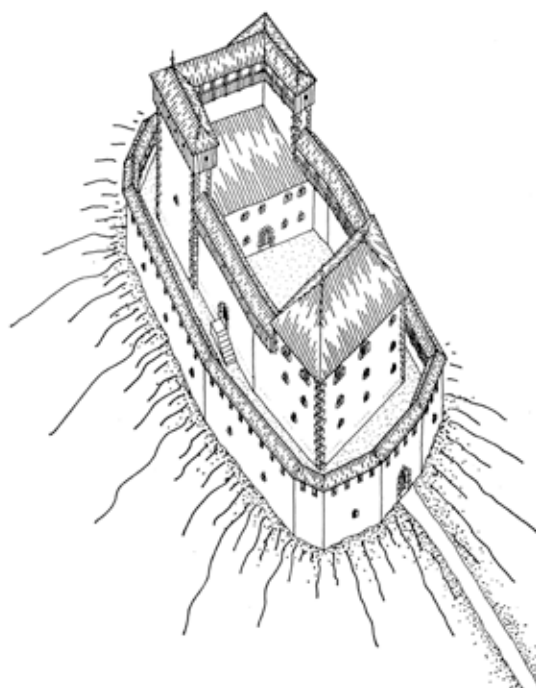
V srednjem veku se je razmah gradnje utrdb na ozemlju današnje Slovenije začel šele po 11. stoletju, čeprav je znanih tudi nekaj utrdb iz zgodnejšega obdobja. Najprej so začeli nastajati utrjeni gradovi; sprva predvsem v pomembnih fevdalnih središčih, na sedežih visokega svetnega in cerkvenega plemstva. Pozneje, ko

landmarks. With these purposes, they had great symbolic value, often exceeding their defensive capabilities. Forts were always a symbol of power. They often rose to represent the power and reputation of their founders. Janez Vajkard Valvasor and Georg Matthäus Vischer were aware of this meaning of forts, so they systematically represented castles, fortified towns and squares, monasteries and some more important anti-Turkish "tabors" in the 17th century, in their topographic works which captured most of present day Slovenia.¹

In the Middle Ages in the area of present day Slovenia, building of forts began after the turn of the 11th century, although there are known forts from earlier periods. Initially there were fortified castles, first appearing in important feudal centres of temporal and church nobility. Later, when feudal society began to organise itself, castles began to rise in places where only courts were previously located. In Slovenia, the building of castles hit full swing in the 12th century and was closely related to construction of counts estates and upper class estates. Initiating the construction of castles were feudal lords who had their headquarters outside of land borders. All

1 Za splošne pregledne srednjeveške utrdbene arhitekture na Slovenskem: Cene Avguštin, *Kranj; Naselbinski razvoj od prazgodovine do 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1999; Cene Avguštin, Peter Krečič, s. v. Urbanizem, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 14, Ljubljana 2000, str. 86–95; Stane Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest; Koper, Izola, Piran*, Ljubljana 1968; Jože Curk, *Delež italijanskih gradbenikov na Štajerskem v 16. in 17. stoletju*, v: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino, Nova vrsta VII* (1965), str. 37–72; Jože Curk, *Trgi in mesta na slovenskem Štajerskem; Urbanografski oris do začetka 20. stoletja*, Maribor 1991; Peter Fister, *Arhitektura slovenskih protiturških taborov*, Ljubljana 1975; Ivan Franke, *Burgen Ortsanlagen und Typen von Bauernhäusern*, v: *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild; Kärnten und Krain*, Wien 1891; Bogo Grafenauer, *Kmečki upori na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1962; Ivan Komelj, *Utrdbena arhitektura 16. stoletja v Sloveniji*, v: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino, Nova vrsta VII* (1965), str. 73–92; Dušan Kos, *Med gradom in mestom; Odnos kranskega, slovenještajerskega in koroškega plemstva do gradov in meščanskih naselij do začetka 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1994; Jerneja Batič (ur.), *Kulturna dediščina meniških redov; Po poteh slovenske kulturne dediščine*, 5, Ljubljana 1996; Otto Piper, *Österreichische Burgen*, I–VIII, Wien 1902–1910; *Srednjeveška mesta; Po poteh slovenske kulturne dediščine*, 7, Ljubljana 1998; Igor Sapač, *Razvoj grajske arhitekture na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini* (diplomsko delo na Fakulteti za arhitekturo Univerze v Ljubljani, tipkopis), Ljubljana 2003; isti avtor, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, III; Notranjska, I–III*, Ljubljana 2005–2007; isti avtor, *Grajske stavbe v zahodni Sloveniji, I–II*, Ljubljana 2008–2009; isti avtor, *Srednjeveška utrdbena arhitektura na Slovenskem, v: Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Vodnik po Spomenikih; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine*, Ljubljana 2006, str. 9–31; Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991; Ivan Stopar, *Razvoj srednjeveške grajske arhitekture na Slovenskem Štajerskem*, Ljubljana 1977; isti avtor, *Gradovi na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1986; isti avtor, *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji, I–V*, Ljubljana 1990–1993; isti avtor, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, I; Gorenjska, I–V*, Ljubljana 1996–2000; isti avtor, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, II; Dolenjska, I–V*, Ljubljana 2000–2004; isti avtor, s. v. Utrdbena arhitektura, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 14, Ljubljana 2000, str. 119–120; isti avtor, *Stari grad Celje med včeraj, danes in jutri*, Celje 2000; isti avtor, *Svet viteštva*, Ljubljana 2005; isti avtor, *Ostra kopja, bridki meči*, Ljubljana 2006; isti avtor, *Za grajskimi zidovi*, Ljubljana 2007; isti avtor, *Najlepši slovenski gradovi*, Ljubljana 2008; Nace Šumi, *Arhitektura XVI. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966; isti avtor, *Naselbinska kultura na Slovenskem; Urbana naselja*, Ljubljana 1994; Ignacij Voje, *Utrjevanje slovenskih mest za obrambo pred turškimi napadi*, v: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 41 (1987), str. 473–492; Dragan Božič idr., *Zakladi tisočletij; Zgodovina Slovenije od neandertalcev do Slovanov*, Ljubljana 1999; Joachim Zeune, *Burgen, Symbole der Macht; Ein neues Bild der mittelalterlichen Burg*, Regensburg 1996.

1 For general overview of medieval fortifying architecture in Slovenia: Cene Avguštin, *Kranj; Naselbinski razvoj od prazgodovine do 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1999; Cene Avguštin, Peter Krečič, s. v. Urbanizem, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 14, Ljubljana 2000, str. 86–95; Stane Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest; Koper, Izola, Piran*, Ljubljana 1968; Jože Curk, *Portion of Italian builders in Lower Styria in 16th and 17th century*, in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino, Nova vrsta VII* (1965), str. 37–72; Jože Curk, *Trgi in mesta na slovenskem Štajerskem; Urbanografski oris do začetka 20. stoletja*, Maribor 1991; Peter Fister, *Arhitektura slovenskih protiturških taborov*, Ljubljana 1975; Ivan Franke, *Burgen Ortsanlagen und Typen von Bauernhäusern*, in: *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild; Kärnten und Krain*, Wien 1891; Bogo Grafenauer, *Kmečki upori na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1962; Ivan Komelj, *Fortified architecture of 16th century in Slovenia*, in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino, Nova vrsta VII* (1965), p. 73–92; Dušan Kos, *Med gradom in mestom; Odnos kranskega, slovenještajerskega in koroškega plemstva do gradov in meščanskih naselij do začetka 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1994; Jerneja Batič (ur.), *Kulturna dediščina meniških redov; Po poteh slovenske kulturne dediščine*, 5, Ljubljana 1996; Otto Piper, *Österreichische Burgen*, I–VIII, Wien 1902–1910; *Medieval towns; Po poteh slovenske kulturne dediščine*, 7, Ljubljana 1998; Igor Sapač, *Razvoj grajske arhitekture na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini* (graduate work on Faculty for Architecture, University of Ljubljana, typescript), Ljubljana 2003; same author, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, III; Notranjska, I–III*, Ljubljana 2005–2007; same author, *Grajske stavbe v zahodni Sloveniji, I–II*, Ljubljana 2008–2009; same author, *Medieval fortifying architecture in Slovenia*, in: *Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Vodnik po Spomenikih; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine*, Ljubljana 2006, str. 9–31; Vasko Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991; Ivan Stopar, *Razvoj srednjeveške grajske arhitekture na Slovenskem Štajerskem*, Ljubljana 1977; same author, *Gradovi na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1986; same author, *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji, I–V*, Ljubljana 1990–1993; same author, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, I; Gorenjska, I–V*, Ljubljana 1996–2000; same author, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji, II; Dolenjska, I–V*, Ljubljana 2000–2004; same author, s. v. Fortifying architecture, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 14, Ljubljana 2000, p. 119–120; same author, *Stari grad Celje med včeraj, danes in jutri*, Celje 2000; same author, *Svet viteštva*, Ljubljana 2005; same author, *Ostra kopja, bridki meči*, Ljubljana 2006; same author, *Za grajskimi zidovi*, Ljubljana 2007; same author, *Najlepši slovenski gradovi*, Ljubljana 2008; Nace Šumi, *Arhitektura XVI. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966; same author, *Naselbinska kultura na Slovenskem; Urbana naselja*, Ljubljana 1994; Ignacij Voje, *Fortifying of Slovenian towns for defence against Turkish incursions*, in: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 41 (1987), p. 473–492; Dragan Božič et al., *Zakladi tisočletij; Zgodovina Slovenije od neandertalcev do Slovanov*, Ljubljana 1999; Joachim Zeune, *Burgen, Symbole der Macht; Ein neues Bild der mittelalterlichen Burg*, Regensburg 1996.

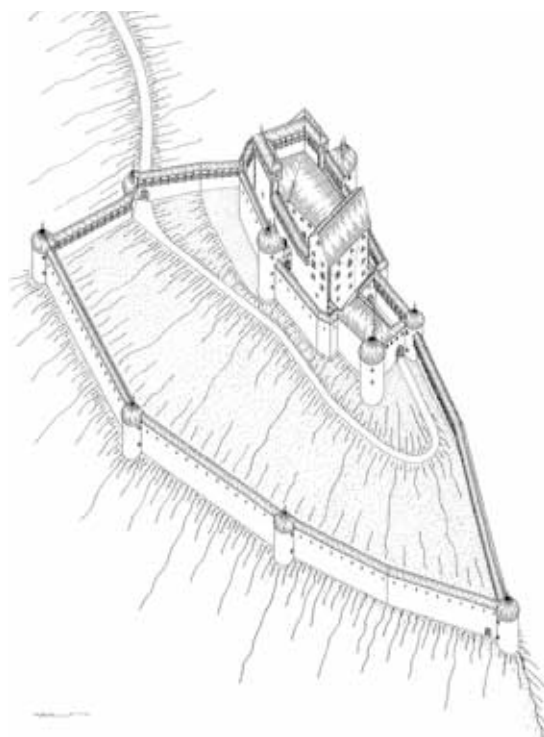


Zgornji grad nad Vipavo; poskus rekonstrukcije v 14. stoletju utrjenega gradu iz 12. stoletja; aksonometrična risba.
Upper castle above Vipava. Reconstruction attempt of 14th century fortified castle from 12th century. Axonometric drawing.

se je fevdalna družba vse bolj organizirala, pa so gradovi nastajali tudi tam, kjer so prej postavljali le dvore. Na Slovenskem se je gradnja gradov razmahnila v 12. stoletju in je bila tesno povezana z izgradnjo grofovskih posestev in središč zemljiških gospodstev. Pobudniki gradenj gradov so bili veliki fevdalci, ki so imeli svoje sedeže zunaj deželnih meja. V obdobju od 11. do 13. stoletja so nastali tako rekoč vsi srednjeveški gradovi na Slovenskem.² Tako kot največji del drugih gradov v osrednji Evropi so imeli obodno obliko, za katero je bilo značilno, da je približno 8 metrov visok zid z obrambnim hodnikom na vrhu obdajal notranje grajsko dvorišče s stanovanjsko stavbo – palacijem in cisterno za vodo.³ Tlorisna ploskev, na kateri so bile pozidane takšne grajske zasnove, je bila običajno približek pravokotnika, zaradi prilagajanja naravni izoblikovanosti zemljišča na vzpetinah pa so v končni obliki praviloma nastale zelo različne oblike tlorisov, od

² Stopar 1977; Sapač 2003.

³ Prvi raziskovalci gradov na Slovenskem so za obodne zasnove uporabljali tudi izraz »kastelne zasnove«.



Zgornji grad nad Vipavo; poskus rekonstrukcije okoli leta 1500 protiturško utrjenega srednjeveškega grajskega kompleksa; aksonometrična risba.

Upper castle above Vipava. Reconstruction attempt from around 1500 A.D. anti-Turkish fortified medieval castle complex. Axonometric drawing.

medieval castles in Slovenia were built between the 11th and 13th centuries.² Similar to most other castles in central Europe, they had a circumferential form. An approx. 8m high wall with a defensive corridor on top was typical, surrounding an internal castle yard with residential building, presence chamber and cistern with water.³ The ground plan's plane on which this style of castle was constructed, was usually rectangle shaped. This was because of adjustments to the natural shape of the building site, on sloping grounds the final shape of ground plans were very different, from accurate rectangles to erroneous polygons. Presence chambers in this style of plans were constructed on rectangular ground plans. Beside the ground floor lay two more floors vertically separated with level wooden beam ceilings. The ground floor in the presence chamber was not directly linked with the floors above and it was used for storage of tools, weapons, grain and barrels containing water and wine. The floors where the living quarters were situated were accessible through outer wooden stairs.

² Stopar 1977; Sapač 2003.

³ First researchers of castles in Slovenia used expression »small castle design« for circumference design.

pravilnih pravokotnikov do nepravilnih poligonov. Palaciji v okviru zasnov te vrste so bili pozidani na pravokotnem tlorisu in so poleg pritličja obsegali še dve nadstropji; etaže so bile med seboj vertikalno predeljene z ravnimi lesenimi tramovnimi stropi. Pritličje v palaciju običajno ni bilo neposredno povezano z nadstropjema in so ga uporabljali za shranjevanje orodja, orožja, žita ter sodov z vodo in vinom. Nadstropji, v katerih so bili urejeni stanovanjski prostori, sta bili dostopni prek zunanjih lesenih stopnišč. Ob palaciju so na obzidanem dvorišču stala še nizka pomožna poslopja, naslonjena na obodno obzidje. Pomembnejši



Novi grad Vitanje; poskus rekonstrukcije okoli leta 1500 protiturško utrjenega gradu iz 14. stoletja; maketa.
New castle Vitanje. Reconstruction attempt around 1500 A.D. of anti-Turkish fortified castle from 14th century. Model.

gradovi so imeli tudi visok obrambni stolp – bergfrid, ki je bil opazovalnica, jedro grajske obrambe in zadnje pribežališče v enem, delno pa tudi shramba za živila in predmete ter stanovanjski prostor. Vsaka grajska stavba je imela še predgradje, kjer je bil gospodarski del grajskega kompleksa. Predgradja, ki so bila po večini zavarovana le z lesenimi palisadami, so bila običajno v neposredni bližini obzidanega grajskega jedra, pogosto ob glavni dostopni poti. Stavbe v predgradjih so bile lesene, zato se nikjer niso ohranile v srednjeveški obliki.⁴ Pomena srednjeveških gradov kot izrazito

Beside the presence chamber on the walled-in yard, were low subsidiary structures, leaning on circumferential walls. More important castles had a high defensive tower called a Bergfried. This was used as an observation point, the core of the castle's defence including as a final resort, partly as storage for food and objects and sometimes also as living quarters. Every building in the castle had palace yards, which were the economic hub of the castle complex. Palace yards, which were secured only with wooden palisades, were usually in close surroundings of the walled-in castle core, often at main accessible roads. Because the buildings in palace yards were wooden, they were not preserved in their medieval form.⁴



Grad Dobrna; poskus rekonstrukcije konec 15. stoletja utrjenega gradu iz 13. stoletja; maketa.
Castle Dobrna. Reconstruction attempt of a 13th-century castle that was rebuilt in the 15th century.

The significance of medieval castles as explicit defensive architecture should not be overestimated. Castles were, above all, administrative and residential buildings, used also for organization of supply and defence of a particular territory. Their defensive role was only as much as necessary for protection in given circumstances. Most castles did not hold regular military units. The actual military significance of castles was therefore often of less importance than we may imagine it today. From a defensive viewpoint, castles also had great symbolic value as founders of castles often wanted to show their power, influence and right to their disposal of certain territory.⁵

⁴ Sapač 2003, str. 13–15.

⁴ Sapač 2003, p. 13–15.

⁵ Cf. Zeune 1996.

obrambne arhitekture ne gre precenjevati. Gradovi so bili predvsem utrjene upravne in stanovanjske stavbe, uporabne tudi za organiziranje oskrbe in obrambe določenega ozemlja. Njihova obrambna vloga je bila le toliko poudarjena, kolikor je bila nujno za zavarovanje v danih okoliščinah. Na večini gradov ni bilo stalnih vojaških posadk. Dejanski vojaški pomen gradov je bil zato pogosto manjši, kot si predstavljamo danes. Gradovi pa so imeli tudi z obrambnih vidikov velik simbolni pomen; graditelji gradov so pogosto že na daleč hoteli poudariti svojo moč in vpliv ter pravico do določenega ozemlja.⁵

At the end of the 13th century, building of new castles stopped almost completely. The main reason was the established network of noble lands and exhausted possibilities for colonisation. Further breaking of property was not an interest of big feudal lords, whose power and influence were decreasing. With a prohibition on building new castles as a place of noble lands, higher nobility suppressed attempts of the lower ministry for more freedom, emancipation and their own castles. Lower nobility were condemned to live in unfortified castles or to serve in castles of higher nobility. Consequently, one of the main building tasks between the 13th and 15th centuries, was building of unfortified courts.⁶



Stari grad nad Celjem; poskus rekonstrukcije podobe visoko- in poznosrednjeveškega raščenelega grajskega kompleksa; maketa.

Old castle above Celje. Reconstruction attempt of the image of a late medieval castle complex. Model.

Ob koncu 13. stoletja se je graditev novih gradov na Slovenskem skoraj povsem ustavila. Poglavitna vzroka za to sta bila dokončno vzpostavljena mreža zemljiških gospoščin in izčrpane možnosti za kolonizacijo. Nadaljnje drobljenje posesti ni bilo v interesu velikih fevdalcev, ki sta se jim tako manjšala moč in vpliv. S prepovedjo gradnje novih gradov kot sedežev novih zemljiških gospoštev je višje plemstvo zatrla poskuse nižjih ministerialov po večji svobodi, osamosvajanju in njihovih lastnih gradovih. S prepovedjo gradnje novih

It is interesting that in the 14th century, only rare Romanic castles were objects of serious building reconstructions. Only the most important castles, such as Castle Goričko, Konjice Celje, Vipava, Gorica, Waldenberk in Gorenjska or Šteberk in Notranjska, in the 14th century, gained new outer defensive walls. This moved the centre of defensive capabilities from the residential core outward. The core then formed new residential buildings.

The 13th and 14th centuries were, above all, periods of growth and prosperity of medieval cities and market settlements that gradually overtook part of

⁵ Prim. Zeune 1996.

⁶ Prim. Stopar 1977, str. 125–131; Ivan Stopar, Architektursymbolik in mittelalterlichen Höfen Sloweniens, in: *Symbole des Alltags – Alltag der Symbole: Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Graz 1992, p. 147–169; Kos 1994, p. 9 pict., 125–128, 217; Gorazd Makarovič, Testimony of gothic tower Kebejl about residential culture, in: *Etnolog*, 56/5 (1995), p. 143–205; Sapač 2003, p. 57–61.

gradov je bilo nižje plemstvo obsojeno na življenje na neutrjenih dvorih ali pa na služenje na gradovih višjega plemstva. Zato je postala ena od temeljnih gradbenih nalog od 13. do 15. stoletja gradnja zidanih neutrjenih dvorov.⁶ Zanimivo je, da so v 14. stoletju le redko pomembneje gradbeno posegali v starejše romanske gradove. Le najpomembnejši izmed njih, kot grad na Goričkem, Konjice, Celje, Vipava, Gorica, Waldenberg na Gorenjskem ali Šteberk na Notranjskem so že v 14. stoletju dobili nova zunanja obrambna obzidja, s čimer se je težišče obrambnih sposobnosti preneslo iz stanovanjskega jedra navzven, v jedru pa so nastala nova stanovanjska poslopja.

13. in 14. stoletje je bilo predvsem obdobje rasti in razcveta srednjeveških mestnih in trških naselbin, ki so postopno prevzele tudi del obrambnih funkcij mreže utrjenih gradov. Srednjeveške urbane naselbine so pogosto nastajale na strateško izbranih lokacijah s staro naselbinsko kontinuiteto in v povezavi s pomembnimi bližnjimi gradovi. Mestne naselbine so bile naravno zavarovane vsaj z rečnim tokom, pogosto pa so jih gradili na naravnih pomolih, ob rečnih okljukih, v sotočju rek ali celo na naravnih otokih (Izola, Koper, Kostanjevica). Mesta so le izjemoma nastala sredi naravno nezavarovane ravnice, npr. Slovenj Gradec ali Slovenska Bistrica.⁷ Obvezen del mestnih naselbin so bila obzidja. Od konca 13. stoletja, ko se je uveljavila stroga delitev med mesti in trgi, so postala mestna obzidja temeljna značilnost identitete srednjeveških mest na Slovenskem. Bila so najbolj značilen grajeni del mestnih naselbin, ki so jih povsod dosledno in v celoti zgradili. Pri tem zlasti v 13. in 14. stoletju ni šlo le za obrambne, ampak predvsem za pravnostatusne razloge, temelječe na načelu, da mestni zrak osvobaja. Z obzidji so bila mesta ločena od fevdalno urejenega podeželja, ki jih je obdajalo. V nasprotju z mestnimi naselbinami so bili trgi praviloma odprti in le v nekaterih primerih povsem obzidani. Utrjene mestne naselbine so svojim prebivalcem ponujale varnost in zavetje pred zunanjimi sovražniki, okoličanom občasno pribežališče, potujočim trgovcem in tovarnikom pa varno

the defence of fortified castles. Medieval urban settlements often originated on strategic locations with old settlement continuity related to important nearby castles. City settlements were naturally defended by at least a river current and often built on natural piers at river meanders, in confluence of rivers or even on natural islands (Izola, Koper, Kostanjevica). Only as an exception were cities formed in the middle of naturally unprotected planes such as Slovenj Gradec or Slovenska Bistrica.⁷ An obligatory part of city settlements were walls. From the end of the 13th century onwards, when rigorous division was put into force between cities and market towns, the city walls became basic characteristic of identity of medieval towns in Slovenia. City walls were the most significant and consistently built part of city settlements. Particularly in the 13th and 14th centuries they weren't built only for defence rather because of legal/status reasons based on a principle that the city air liberates. With walls, the cities were divided from the feudally settled surrounding countryside. In distinction from city settlements, market towns were, as a rule, open and only in some exceptions completely walled in. Fortified city settlements offered to their inhabitants' security and shelter from outer enemies, at times safe refuge to others such as travelling merchants. In Slovenia, the only city that did not have walls was Kostanjevica na Krki, which was built on a river island. Defence in the early period of growing cities was rather simple. Less naturally defended parts of cities were at first equipped only with ditches, trenches and wooden palisades. In the 13th century the first city walls were built of stone (Koper, Izola, Ljubljana, Kranj, Kamnik, Maribor, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec), which were modest and not fortified with defensive towers. Rather modest and badly fortified walls had also founded city settlements in the 14th century (Brežice, Ormož, Slovenska Bistrica, Škofja Loka, Črnomelj, Lož, Metlika, Novo mesto). Only at the most important city settlements were walls fortified earlier with angular towers on angular ground plan and tower-like gattings. Walls of cities in open plains were protected with artificial water ditches and trenches. Tower-like old castles were sometimes included in city walls. One example is Grasel tower in Slovenska Bistrica. Cities formed in the 15th century had better fortified city walls (Celje, Radovljica, Višnja gora, Krško, Kočevje), which were constructed

6 Prim. Stopar 1977, str. 125–131; Ivan Stopar, *Architektursymbolik in mittelalterlichen Höfen Sloweniens*, v: *Symbole des Alltags – Alltag der Symbole; Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Graz 1992, str. 147–169; Kos 1994, str. 9 sl., 125–128, 217; Gorazd Makarovič, *Pričevanje gotskega stolpa Kebija o stanovanjski kulturi*, v: *Etnolog*, 56/5 (1995), str. 143–205; Sapač 2003, str. 57–61.

7 Prim. Curk 1991; Šumi 1994.

7 Cf. Curk 1991; Šumi 1994.

prebivališče. Edino mesto na Slovenskem brez obzidja je bila Kostanjevica na Krki, zgrajena na rečnem otoku. Obrambne naprave so bile v zgodnji dobi rasti mest dokaj preproste. Naravno slabše zavarovani deli mest so bili sprva opremljeni le z jarki, okopi in lesenimi palisadami. V 13. stoletju so nastala prva zidana mestna obzidja (Koper, Izola, Ljubljana, Kranj, Kamnik, Maribor, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec), ki pa so bila še dokaj skromna in niso bila utrjena z obrambnimi stolpi. Razmeroma skromna in slabo utrjena obzidja so imele tudi v 14. stoletju ustanovljene mestne naselbine (Brežice, Ormož, Slovenska Bistrica, Škofja Loka, Črnomelj, Lož, Metlika, Novo mesto). Le pri pomembnejših mestnih naselbinah so obzidja že zgodaj utrdili z visokimi oglatimi stolpi na kvadratnem tlorisu in stolpastimi mestnimi vrati. Obzidja mest v ravnini so zavarovali z umetnimi vodnimi jarki in okopi. Ponekod so v obzidja vključili tudi stare mestne stolpaste dvore. Takšen primer je Graslov stolp v Slovenski Bistrici. Bolje so bila utrjena obzidja mest, ustanovljenih v 15. stoletju (Celje, Radovljica, Višnja Gora, Krško, Kočevje), ki so bila utrjena s polkrožnimi šalastimi stolpi. Nekoliko drugače je bilo zasnovano v 15. stoletju zgrajeno novo piransko obzidje, ki je bilo izrazito visoko in utrjeno s številnimi stolpi. Del obrambne vloge je pogosto prevzel osrednji mestni obrambni stolp ob župnijski cerkvi. Takšne stolpe so gradili kot izrazite statusne simbole, a so bili v slovenskem prostoru dokaj redki. Imamo jih v Kopru, Kranju, Mariboru in na Ptuj. Pogosto so s popolnimi ali vsaj delnimi obzidnimi sistemi obdajali tudi trge. Najmogočnejša trška obzidja, večina že iz 14. stoletja, so imeli Dravograd, Rogatec, Žalec, Mokronog, Postojna, Tržič in Radovljica. V Ajdovščini je poznosrednjeveška naselbina nastala na mestu antične naselbine in je v celoti upoštevala in obnovila antično obzidje Kastre. Podobno so antično obzidje Emone delno vnovič uporabili pri graditvi srednjeveškega obzidja okoli Novega trga v Ljubljani, v Celju pa je srednjeveška palača Celjskih grofov nastala na temeljih zahodnih mestnih vrat antične Celeie. Mestna in trška obzidja so v drugi polovici 15. stoletja zaradi rastoče turške nevarnosti pridobivala vse večjo obrambno veljavo. Od tod pomembnost utrd, ki so odigrale veliko vlogo zlasti v 16. stoletju. Mesta Brežice, Maribor, Radgona in Ptuj so takrat dobila

with semicircular towers. Somewhat different was the construction of Piran's wall in the 15th century, which was particularly high and fortified with many towers. Part of the defensive role often overtook the central defensive city tower at the parish church. This kind of tower was built explicitly as a status symbol but in the Slovene area was rare. We know of them in Koper, Kranj, Maribor and Ptuj. Market towns were often partly or completely surrounded by wall systems. The greatest market town walls, mostly from the 14th century, had Dravograd, Rogatec, Žalec, Mokronog, Postojna, Tržič and Radovljica. The late medieval settlement in Ajdovščina was founded on the ancient settlement and entirely renewed Antic walls of castrum. Similarly, Antic walls of Emona were partly used in the building of medieval walls around New square in Ljubljana and in Celje, the medieval palace of the Counts of Celje was founded on the foundations of the west city gates of Celeia. City and market town walls in the second half of the 15th century gained greater defensive value because of the danger of Turkish incursions. Therefore, the significance of forts played a major role in the 16th century. Štajerska's cities Brežice, Maribor, Radgona in Ptuj gained the status of regional forts and were accordingly fortified with up to date Renaissance bastions and became strategically important at state level. For example, the northern side of the city walls in Maribor was reinforced with five high defensive towers, similarly in the city of Piran.

In last third of the 15th century, increased Turkish incursions, and after 1500 A.D. wars between the House of Habsburg and Republic of Venice, triggered extensive fortifying activities which encompassed cities, market towns, castles and also monasteries, churches and important villages. In connection with anti-Turkish fortifying almost all late medieval castles from the 12th and 13th centuries gained new outer walls. Similarly, previously unfortified castles and monasteries lying outside of city settlements were also fortified. Turkish incursions were plundering and not conquering by nature so at first the strong military forts were not built. With strengthening they tried to secure the essentials, being life and property. Anti-Turkish forts from the late 15th century and first decades of the 16th century still had medieval architectural characteristics. Romanic castle cores, tower like castles and monasteries were surrounded with rapidly constructed walls, which were usually subordinated to the natural shape of the terrain. Not until the first third of the 16th century onwards, did building advance to the Renaissance fortified design



Čeligijev stolp nekdanje severne stranice mestnega obzidja Maribora, pozidan okoli leta 1465.
Built of stone around 1465 A.D., the Čeligej tower from the former northern side of city walls of Maribor.

celo status deželnih trdnjav in so bila temu primerno utrjena s sodobnimi renesančnimi bastijami ter postala strateško zanimiva tudi na državni ravni. Izpostavljeno severno stranico mestnega obzidja Maribora so denimo okoli leta 1465 podobno kot v Piranu okrepili s petimi visokimi obrambnimi stolpi.

V zadnji tretjini 15. stoletja so bili turški vpadi vse pogostejši, po letu 1500 pa so tudi vojne Habsburžanov z Beneško republiko sprožile obsežno utrjevalno dejavnost, ki je zajela tako mesta, trge in gradove kot tudi samostane, cerkve in pomembnejše vasi. V okviru protiturškega utrjevanja so tako rekoč vsi visokosrednjeveški gradovi iz 12. in 13. stoletja dobili nova zunanja obzidja, utrjevali so tudi prej neutrjene dvore in samostane zunaj mestnih naselbin. Turški vpadi so bili plenilni in ne zavojevalni, zato sprva še niso gradili obsežnih in močnih vojaških utrdb.

of geometrically accurate shapes, unadjusted to the natural shape of terrain. The design, extension and relation of anti-Turkish forts depended upon natural conditions of the terrain. One of the basic elements of anti-Turkish fortifying was the walled-in pen. Pens were secondary yards that provided protection to mainly economic functions of the castle. Most of the important activities from less fortified palace yards were moved inside the walled-in pens. If the natural conditions enabled it, all activities from the palace yard were moved to these extensive pens (Hmeljnik, Šteberk). Usually they secured the pens with defensive towers. Towers were at first rare but in the late 15th century and in the 16th century, they became more frequent and in the significantly shaped image of anti-Turkish walls. Towers were built of stone on semicircular, circular or angular ground plans. Often on the inside side of walls were open. A typical element of anti-Turkish walls was the entrance towers protected by ditches. Not until the 15th and 16th centuries, with their new wall corridors, defensive towers and bastions, did many castles gain their distinctive shape. City and market town walls built with new towers, also gained the shape of real forts through that time, which distinguished them in the countryside. Apart from the castles, these walled-in city designs from the 13th and 14th centuries were not continued. Only the most important cities like Koper, Piran and Ljubljana gained completely new walled-in corridors, which surrounded newly gained city areas.

Market towns and village settlements joined fortified cities and castles during the era of Turkish incursions, and were also partly or entirely surrounded with walls. This kind of fortifying was typical especially for exposed settlements on the border regions in the vicinity of "Vojna krajina" and the Republic of Venice. In the surroundings of older castles at the river Kolpa four, walled-in and heavily fortified new market towns (Kostel, Poljane, Vinica and Pobrežje) were founded, which were, at least during the era of Turkish incursions, permanently inhabited and also provided shelter for people from a broader area. In Notranjska at the river Reka, some older castles (Jablanica, Bistrica, Prem and Šilentabor) had new heavily fortified walled in complexes founded that were used as a refuge for people in that area. In Vipavska dolina large fortified complexes were founded at the old castle of Vipava, the lower castle of Vipava and at Črniče. In Lokva they secured the core of the village settlement with smaller walls and a large, round tower. Similarly, with a smaller walled in complex, they fortified the village core of Kanal at Soča. Older village settlements (Štanjel, Šmartno

Z utrjevanjem so poskušali zavarovati predvsem najpomembnejše: življenje in premoženje. Protiturške utrdbe iz konca 15. in prvih desetletij 16. stoletja so imele še povsem srednjeveški arhitekturni značaj. Romanska grajska jedra, stolpaste dvore in samostane so obdajali s širokimi obzidnimi potezami, zgrajenimi v naglici in običajno povsem podrejenimi naravni izoblikovanosti terena. Šele od tridesetih let 16. stoletja so postopno gradili naprednejše renesančne utrdbene zasnove geometrično pravilnih oblik, ki se niso več dosledno ozirale na naravno konfiguracijo terena. Pri gradovih so bili zasnova, razsežnost in odnos do obstoječih sestavin protiturških utrdbenih sestavin odvisni predvsem od naravnih danosti. Eden od osnovnih elementov protiturškega utrjevanja gradov je obzidan obor. Obori so bili sekundarna dvorišča, ki so predvsem varovala gospodarske funkcije gradu. Vanje so preselili najpomembnejše dejavnosti iz slabo utrjenih predgradij. Če so naravne danosti to omogočale, so v razsežne obore, kot npr. na Hmeljniku ali Šteberku, preselili kar vse dejavnosti iz predgradja. Obore so običajno zavarovali z obrambnimi stolpiči. Ti so bili sprva še redki, ob koncu 15. in v 16. stoletju pa so postali zelo pogosti in so pomembno sooblikovali podobo protiturških obzidij. Stolpiči so bili pozidani na polkrožni, okrogli ali oglati tlorisni ploskvi. Pogosto so bili odprti na notranjo stran obzidja. Značilen element protiturških obzidij so bili tudi z jarki zavarovani vhodni stolpi. Z novimi obzidnimi pasovi, obrambnimi stolpiči in bastijami so številni gradovi tako šele v 15. in 16. stoletju dobili značilno razgibano grajsko podobo. Tudi mestna in trška obzidja so prav tedaj z gradnjami številnih novih stolpov dobila podobo pravih utrdb, kar je pomembno zaznamovalo njihovo prepoznavnost v krajini. Obzidanih mestnih zasnov iz 13. in 14. stoletja v nasprotju z gradovi sicer po večini niso širili. Le najpomembnejša mesta, kot so Koper, Piran in Ljubljana, so dobila povsem nove obzidne pasove, ki so obdali na novo pridobljene mestne površine.

Utrjenim mestom in gradovom pa so se v obdobju turških vpadov pridružila tudi manjša trška ali vaška naselja, ki so jih v celoti ali delno obdali z obzidji. Takšno utrjevanje je bilo značilno zlasti za naselja na najbolj izpostavljenih mejnih območjih v bližini Vojne krajine in Beneške republike. Ob reki Kolpi so ob

v Brdih and Vipavski Križ) were also walled in because of engagements with the Republic of Venice. In Štanjel and Vipavski Križ, castles were founded after the construction of walls around the settlements. In Štanjel, the present day castle complex was founded in the late 16th century and 17th century with merging of the houses that leaned on the village walls. In concatenation of the fortifying of the west border against Venetians, a great fortress, Kluže, was founded at Bovec. Through a series of self-dependent forts, the House of Habsburg secured a border with the Republic of Venice on the edge of Karst. Older castles were partly included but they also built new forts as well, which completed a chain of forts Kubeč, Podpeč, Črni Kal, Osp, Socerb, Vikumberg, Lorencan and Mokov grad. With smaller guard towers, well documented in Valvasor's map of Bela krajina, they secured the embankment of river Kolpa. From one of



Tabor nad Cerovim na Dolenjskem z obnovljenimi lesenimi obrambnimi hodniki na notranji strani obzidja; maketa. "Tabor" above Cerovo in Dolenjska with renewed wooden defensive walls on inside side of wall in. Model.

these towers, the great, fortified complex of Pobrežje was founded. Fortified cities, market towns, castles and border posts were accompanied with strategic valley blockades on regional borders. The following are documented: Turkish wall near Ruše at Maribor; blockade between Kranjska and Štajerska at Špitalič near Motnik; Turkish entrenchments at Kotlje in Carinthia; and blocking wall at Železna Kapla in Carinthia.

An important novelty in the development of fortifying, as a result of Turkish incursions, was the anti-Turkish "tabor". This was a special defensive architecture, typical only for that time, built by peasants to secure their lives and property. Walls and towers defended village or market town churches, characteristic of that time. Up to the end of the 15th century in Slovenia, a network of 350–400 peasant "tabors"



Nekdanji glavni vhod v protiturški tabor v Cerknici na Notranjskem
Former main entrance in anti-Turkish "tabor" in Cerknica in Notranjska.

starejših gradovih ustanovili štiri obzidane in močno utrjene nove trge Kostel, Poljane, Vinico in Pobrežje, ki so bili vsaj v obdobju turških vpadov stalno naseljeni in so ponujali zatočišče tudi prebivalstvu iz širšega zaledja. Na Notranjskem so ob reki Reki ob starejših gradovih Jablanica, Bistrica, Prem in Šilentabor nastali novi, močno utrjeni obzidani kompleksi, ki so jih uporabljali tudi za pribežališče okoliškega prebivalstva. V Vipavski dolini so prav tako v zvezi z gradovi nastali veliki utrjeni kompleksi na Vipavskem starem gradu, okoli Vipavskega spodnjega gradu in pri Črničah. V Lokvi pa so z manjšim obzidjem in velikim okroglim stolpom zavarovali jedro vaškega naselja. Podobno so z manjšim obzidanim kompleksom utrdili vaško jedro Kanala ob Soči. Z obzidji so predvsem zaradi spopadov z Beneško republiko v celoti obdali tudi starejše vaške naselbine Štanjel, Šmartno v Brdih in Vipavski Križ. V Štanjelu in Vipavskem Križu sta utrjena gradova nastala šele po izgradnji obzidja okrog

were founded, in all kind of shapes, from simple fortified underground caves, to simple or complex walls with towers and rising bridges. In fact, the system was the only truly effective form of defence against the frequent plundering and incursions of the Turkish army. Together with bonfires on the most exposed and visible points, it controlled whole regions from Pomurje to Furlanija and from Croatia and Istra, far towards north to Koroška and Tirolska. In "tabors" were often granaries where people kept their most valuable possessions.⁸ The main property of "tabors" were high and somewhat thin walls, which were similarly shaped as city and castle walls. The outer, upper section was equipped with crenels and internally there were wooden interconnected corridors. The most important partly preserved anti-Turkish "tabors" in Slovenia are in Cerknica, above Repnje, above Cerovo, on Šmarna gora, on Zaklanec at Horjul, in Hrastovlje, on Ptujška gora, and in Žalec. "Tabors" were often built in a hurry due to an overall shortage. This kind of fort had only one basic purpose: to provide safe refuge for people. "Tabors", as well as fortified castles and monasteries, didn't have overall military significance. Walled in complexes would be, at best, only campsites for the army. The rapidly constructed walls protected lives and the property of people and with their appearance it turned away the Turkish hordes that chose instead to ride on. These walls would not have withstood any long-term siege.

A similar concept of fortifying, to the walls around "tabors" and churches, were walls around medieval unfortified tower-like castles that were the residences of lower nobility. Perhaps the best-known anti-Turkish fortified castle is Otočec na Krki which was surrounded with walls, circular towers and an artificially dug new riverbed so that the castle was surrounded with water on all sides. Anti-Turkish fortified castles were as numerous as "tabors" around churches but only a few remained. Most typical and at least partly preserved were Škrljevo, Radelca and Trebnje in Dolenjska, Črnelo and Volčji potok in Gorenjska, Studeno and Nadlišek in Notranjska and Sežana in Karst. At fortified churches and castles, it is also necessary to mention the cave refuges that were known since pre-historical era and provided simple protection in times of danger. There are partly preserved cave refuges in Godašnica above Zabreznica at Žirovnica, castle Šmajd near Predoselje in Gorenjska and Podtabor at Knežak.

⁸ Fister 1975; Peter Fister, Anti-Turkish »tabors« in Slovenia, in: *Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Vodnik po Spomenikih; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine*, Ljubljana 2006, p. 34

naselbine. V Štanjelu se je zdajšnje grajsko plospje razvilo šele konec 16. stoletja in v 17. stoletju z združevanjem hiš, ki so jih prislonili na vaško obzidje. V okviru utrjevanja zahodne meje pred Benečani je nastala tudi mogočna trdnjava Kluže pri Bovcu. Z vrsto samostojnih utrdb so Habsburžani zavarovali mejo z Beneško republiko na Kraškem robu. Vanjo so delno vključili tudi starejše gradove, delno pa so zgradili nove utrdbe, tako da je nastala veriga utrdb Kubed, Podpeč, Črni Kal, Osp, Socerb, Vikumberg, Lorencan in Mokov grad. Z manjšimi stražnimi stolpi, ki jih dobro dokumentira Valvasorjev zemljevid Bele krajine, pa so zavarovali nabrežje Kolpe. Iz enega od teh stolpov se je razvil mogočen utrjeni kompleks Pobrežje. Utrjenim mestom, trgom, gradovom in obmejnimi postojankam so dodajali strateške dolinske zapore na deželnih mejah. Dokumentirani so turški zid blizu Ruš pri Mariboru, zapora med Kranjsko in Štajersko pri Špitaliču blizu Motnika, Turške šance pri Kotljah na Koroškem in zaporni zid pri Železni Kapli na Koroškem.

Pomembna novost v razvoju utrjevanja, ki so jo prinesli turški vpadi, so bili protiturški tabori. To je posebna obrambna arhitektura, značilna samo za tisto obdobje, ki so jo gradili kmetje za zavarovanje svojih življenj in premoženja. Z obzidjem in stolpi zavarovane vaške ali trške cerkve so pomembna značilnost tistega obdobja. Do konca 15. stoletja je na Slovenskem nastala mreža 350 do 400 kmečkih taborov vseh mogočih oblik od preprosto utrjenih podzemnih jam do enostavnih ali zapletenih obzidij s stolpi in dviznimi mostovi. Sistem je bil edina res delujoča oblika obrambe pred vse pogostejšimi roparskimi vdori turških oddelkov in je skupaj s kresovi na najbolj izpostavljenih in vidnih točkah obvladoval vso pokrajino od Pomurja do Furlanije ter od Hrvaške in Istre daleč na sever do roba Koroške in Tirolske. V taborih so pogosto stale tudi kašče, v katerih je podeželsko prebivalstvo hranilo svoje dragocenosti.⁸ Poglavitna utrdbeno značilnost taborov so bila visoka in razmeroma tanka obzidja, oblikovana podobno kot mestna in grajska. Na zunanji strani so bila predvsem v vrhnjem delu opremljena s strelnimi linami ali cinami,



Poznosrednjeveško obzidje z obnovljenim lesenim obrambnim hodnikom v kompleksu kartuzije Žiče.
Late medieval walls with renewed wooden defensive corridor in the complex of monastery Žiče.

The fortifying of monastery settlements was more complex than fortifying village and market town churches. A series of important monasteries - Gornji grad, Žiče, Jurklošter, Bistra, Pleterje, Kostanjevica, Stična, Studenice, Marenberg, Novi klošter - were protected with extensive wall systems which, by their extensiveness and strength, often surpassed castle defences. Monastery Studenice, for example, was protected by self-dependent monastery castle that evolved from an older exposed tower. Often in less fortified Turkish settlements were fortified parish churches, which in the 16th century gained the shape of real castle buildings. Fortified parish churches are preserved in Stari trg at Slovenj Gradec, Laško, Vuzenica, Slovenske Konjice and Radovljica.

At the end of the first third of the 16th century, fortification architecture adjusted to new methods of fighting with firearms. Numerous older or even newly built castles were strengthened with powerful low bastions. Typical modern fortifying of older castle

⁸ Fister 1975; Peter Fister, Protiturški tabori na Slovenskem, v: *Gradovi, utrdbe in mestna obzidja, Vodnik po Spomenikih; Dnevi evropske kulturne dediščine*, Ljubljana 2006, str. 34



Protiturški polkrožni obrambni stolp nekdanjega obzidja benediktinskega samostana v Gornjem Gradu, zgrajen okoli leta 1500.

Built around 1500 A.D., anti-Turkish semicircular defensive tower of the former wall in the Benedictine monastery in Gornji Grad.

na notranji strani so bili leseni povezovalni hodniki. Najpomembnejši vsaj delno še ohranjeni protiturški tabori v Sloveniji so v Cerknici, nad Repnjami, nad Cerovim, na Šmarni gori, na Zaklancu pri Horjulu, v Hrastovljah, na Ptujski gori in v Žalcu. Tabore so pogosto gradili v naglici, ob splošnem pomanjkanju. Osnovni namen takšne utrdbe je bil le en: ponuditi dovolj varno pribežališče za okoliške prebivalce. Tabori prav tako kot protiturško utrjeni gradovi, dvori in samostani niso imeli pomembnejšega splošnega vojaškega pomena. Obzidani kompleksi bi bili v najboljšem primeru lahko taborišča vojaških posadk. Na hitro zgrajena obzidja so varovala okoliške prebivalce in njihovo premoženje, s svojo pojavnostjo pa so odvrnila turške horde, ki se jim je mudilo naprej. Razumljivo je, da takšna obzidja niso vzdržala dolgotrajnega in številčnega obleganja.

Soroden koncept utrjevanja kot pri tabornih obzidjih okrog cerkva so uporabili za obzidja okrog srednjeveških neutrjenih stolpastih dvorov, ki so bili prebivališča najnižjega plemstva. Morda najznačilnejši protiturško utrjeni dvor je Otočec na Krki, ki so ga obdali z obzidjem in okroglimi stolpi, celoto pa zavarovali z umetno izkopano novo rečno strugo, tako da je bil dvor z vseh strani obdan z vodo. Protiturško utrjeni dvori so bili skoraj tako številčni kot tabori okrog cerkva, vendar so se ohranili le redki. Najznačilnejši vsaj delno še ohranjeni so bili Škrljevo, Radelca in Trebnje na Dolenjskem, Črnelo in Volčji potok na Gorenjskem, Studeno in Nadlišek na Notranjskem ter Sežana na Krasu. Ob protiturško utrjenih cerkvah in dvorih je treba omeniti še jamska pribežališča, znana še iz prazgodovinskega obdobja, ki so najbolj preprosto zagotavljala varnost ob morebitnih nevarnostih. Vsaj delno so se ohranili jamsko zavetišča v Godašnici nad Zabreznico pri Žirovnici, Šmajdov grad blizu Predoselj na Gorenjskem in Podtabor pri Knežaku,

architecture of that era is seen at Turjak, Žužemberk, Lemberg at Dobrni, Velenje, Rihemberk, Vipolže, Grad on Goričkem, Cmurek and Negova. Mighty new bastions strengthened the city walls of Maribor, Ptuj, Ljubljana, Kranj, Novo mesto and Kočevje. This marked a time of decline of medieval fortification. In spite of this, up until the middle of the 16th century, there were still some fortifications of castle buildings. Typical examples are seen at the castles of Pobrežje and Čušperk. In the 16th and 17th centuries, there were some important, mostly Italian, military engineers working in Slovenia: Domenico and Gianmaria dell'Allio, Salustio Peruzzi, Martin Stier, Giovanni Battista Pieroni, who were preparing plans to modernise the city and castle border forts of Maribor, Ptuj, Radgona, Kostanjevica and Ljubljana, but for the most part, these plans did not come to realisation. Their work helped to establish contemporary Renaissance architecture, under Italian influences. From the borders of Slovenia were founded four new Renaissance fortifying concepts: the outer walls of



Značilna poznosrednjeveška ključasta strelna lina v razvalini gradu Jablanica pri Ilirski Bistrici z notranje strani. *Typically late medieval key-like crenel in ruined castle Jablanica at Ilirska Bistrica from the inner side.*

enako obliko pa je imelo tudi še dobro ohranjeno grajsko jamsko zatočišče v Jami na Notranjskem.

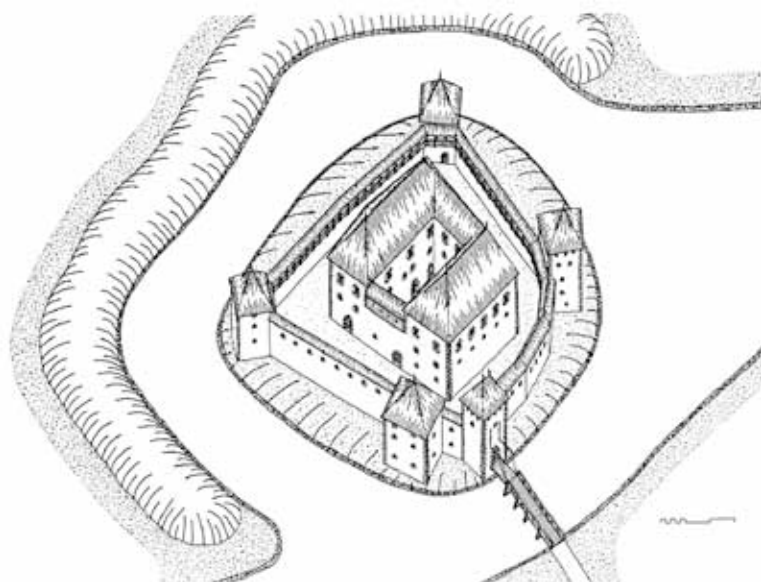
Utrjevanje samostanskih naselbin je bilo kompleksnejše od utrjevanja vaških in trških cerkva. Vrsto najpomembnejših samostanov – Gornji Grad, Žiče, Jurklošter, Bistra, Pleterje, Kostanjevica, Stična, Studenice, Marenberg, Novi klošter – so zavarovali z obsežnimi obzidnimi sistemi, ki so po obsegu in utrjenosti pogosto celo prekašali grajske obrambne sestavine. Studeniški samostan so tako zavarovali kar s samostojnim samostanskim gradom, ki se je razvil iz starejšega izpostavljenega stolpa.

V slabše utrjenih trških naselbinah so pogosto posebej utrjevali župnišča, ki so v 16. stoletju dobila podobo pravih grajskih stavb. Najznačilnejša utrjena župnišča so se ohranila v Starem trgu pri Slovenj Gradcu, Laškem, Vuzenici, Slovenskih Konjicah in Radovljici.

Konec prve tretjine 16. stoletja se je utrdbeno arhitektura prilagodila novemu načinu bojevanja z ognjenim orožjem. Številne starejše ali celo na novo pozidane gradove so okrepili z močnimi nizkimi bastijami. Najznačilnejše moderno utrjene starejše grajske arhitekture tistega obdobja so Turjak, Žužemberk, Lemberg pri Dobrni, Velenje, Rihemberk, Vipolže, Grad na Goričkem, Cmurek in Negova. Z mogočnimi novimi bastijami so okrepili tudi obzidja mest Maribor, Ptuj, Ljubljana, Kranj, Novo mesto in Kočevje. To je bilo obdobje zatona srednjeveškega utrjevanja. Kljub temu pa so še vse do sredine 16. stoletja nekatere grajske stavbe utrjevali v srednjeveški maniri. Najznačilnejša takšna primera sta dolenjska gradova Pobrežje in Čušperk. V 16. in 17. stoletju je na Slovenskem delovalo nekaj pomembnih, po večini italijanskih vojaških inženirjev: Domenico in Gianmaria dell'Allio, Salustio Peruzzi, Martin Stier, Giovanni Battista Pieroni, ki so pripravljali načrte za posodobitev mestnih in grajskih obmejnih utrdb Maribora, Ptuja, Radgone, Kostanjevice in Ljubljane, vendar večine niso uspeli uresničiti. Njihovo delo je pripomoglo zlasti k dokončni uveljavitvi sodobne renesančne arhitekture pod italijanskimi vplivi. Že zunaj meja današnje Slovenije so nastali štirje velikopotezno izpeljani novi renesančni utrdbeni koncepti: zunanje obzidje gradu v Gorici, obzidje Celovca, novo mestno obzidje Radgone in trdnjava Karlovac.

castle in Gorica; the walls of Klagenfurt (Celovec); the new city walls of Radgona; and fort Karlovac.

The establishment of Vojna krajina and the building of the fort at Karlovac (1579 A.D.) restrained Turkish incursions. Building of forts at the end of the 16th century had almost completely ended. In the 17th century, forts became unnecessary burdens that were hard to maintain. They began to fall apart and from the 18th century onwards they were massively removed and the building material used for other needs.



UNIK 1537

RIBNICA



Visokosrednjeveški grad Ribnica na Dolenjskem, utrjen v poznosrednjeveški tradiciji okoli leta 1537; aksonometrična risba. Ribnica in Dolenjska, fortified in late medieval tradition around 1537 A.D. Axonometric drawing.

Vzpostavitev vojne krajine in pozidava mestne trdnjave Karlovac leta 1579 je umirila turške vpade. Gradnja utrdb je do konca 16. stoletja povsem zamrla. Že v 17. stoletju so utrdbe postale nepotrebne, težko so jih vzdrževali. Začele so propadati, zlasti od 18. stoletja naprej pa so jih začeli množično odstranjevati in gradivo uporabljati za druge namene.

Povzetek

Na Slovenskem je velika večina srednjeveških utrdb nastala v 12. in 13. stoletju. To so bili gradovi, utrjeni samostani in mesta, ki so jih v 14. in 15. stoletju dodatno utrjevali. V zadnji tretjini 15. stoletja so vse pogostejši turški vpadi, po letu 1500 pa tudi vojne Habsburžanov z Beneško republiko, sprožili obsežno dejavnost utrjevanja, ki je zajela tako mesta, trge in gradove kot tudi samostane, cerkve in pomembnejše vasi. V sklopu protiturškega utrjevanja so tako rekoč vsi visokosrednjeveški gradovi iz 12. in 13. stoletja dobili nova zunanja obzidja, utrjevali pa so tudi do tedaj neutrjene dvore in samostane zunaj mestnih naselbin.

Turški vpadi so bili plenilni in ne zavojevalni, zato sprva še niso gradili obsežnih in močnih vojaških utrdb. Z utrjevanjem so poskušali zavarovati predvsem najpomembnejše dobrine: življenje in imetje. Protiturške utrdbe s konca 15. in prvih desetletij 16. stoletja so bile arhitekturno še povsem srednjeveške. Grajska jedra, stolpate dvore in samostane so obdajali s širokimi obzidnimi potezami, zgrajenimi v naglici, ki so se običajno povsem podrejele naravni izoblikovanosti terena. Utrjenim mestom in gradovom so se v obdobju turških vpadov pridružila manjša trška ali vaška naselja, ki so jih v celoti ali delno obdajali z obzidji. Takšno utrjevanje je bilo značilno zlasti za naselja na najbolj izpostavljenih mejnih območjih v bližini vojne krajine in beneške republike. Pomembna novost v razvoju utrjevanja, ki so jo prinesli turški vpadi, so bili tudi protiturški tabori. To je posebna, samo za tisto obdobje značilna obrambna arhitektura, ki so jo gradili kmetje za zavarovanje svojih življenj in premoženja. Z obzidjem in stolpi zavarovane vaške ali trške cerkve so postale pomembna značilnost tistega obdobja.

Summary

In Slovenia the majority of Medieval fortifications were built in the 12th and 13th centuries. These were castles, as well as fortified monasteries and towns, further fortified in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the last third of the 15th century the increasing number of Turkish invasions and also wars between the House of Habsburg and the Venetian Republic, after the year 1500, caused extensive fortification activities which included cities and towns, as well as monasteries, churches and important villages. Within anti-Turkish fortification activities almost all High Medieval Castles from the 12th and 13th centuries were rebuilt with new external walls, while unfortified courts and monasteries outside towns underwent a process of fortification.

Since the purpose of Turkish invasions was plundering, and not conquering, at the very beginning the building of extensive and strong military fortifications was not common. Fortification was designed to protect the most important goods: life and possessions. Anti-Turkish fortifications from the end of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century carried all characteristics of Medieval architecture: castle cores, towered castles and monasteries were surrounded by rapidly built reinforced walls which usually were completely in line with the natural characteristics of the terrain. In the period of Turkish invasions fortified towns and castles were joined by market towns or villages which were partially or completely surrounded by walls. Such fortification was typical mainly of the most exposed border areas near The Military Frontier and the Venetian Republic. An important innovation in fortification development, brought by Turkish invasions, was anti-Turkish camps. This is special defense architecture, typical of only that period. It was built by farmers who wanted to protect their lives and possessions. Village or town churches, fortified with walls or towers, became an important feature of that time.

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