ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ART PARALLELS OF BYZANTINE SWORD DISCOVERED IN GRAVE NO. 55 OF GARABONC I NECROPOLIS (SECOND HALF OF 9TH CENTURY)

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Keywords: Garabonc; Byzantine swords; typology of the sword-guards; Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus; Blatnograd / Zalavár, Proto-Bulgarians

Abstract: The author stops attention on the famous sword that was discovered in the 80ies of 20th century in grave No 55 of the Garabonc I necropolis, Hungary. In 2011, the author wrote an article in attempt to systematize a few types of Byzantine swords. One of the types of swords he called „Garabonc type” – according to this weapon found in a sure archeological context. To date, „Garabonc type” is represented by six pieces – swords and/ or their details. The swords of this type are one-handed and consist of a blade with sword-guards and hemispherical pommel on top. According the author, the closest artistic parallels to the „Garabonc type” of swords are depicted in famous manuscript of „The Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus” that was completed in Constantinople in 879–882, where similar swords are shown in four folios of the book. The discussed here sword type may be determined as a Byzantine invention and maybe it was produced in the empire. This has also been proved by some other works of art, although dated to a later period (9th–10th centuries). The author, accepted for most possible the hypothesis proposed by the first researcher B. M. Szőke that the Garabonc sword was transferred in the lands south of Balaton Lake by Bulgars-mercenaries. Most possibility that, they have joined the retinue of Prince Pribina, the head of the Blatna Principality and his son Chezil around the second third of 9th century.

In the 80ies of 20th century, in the grave No 55 of the Garabonc I necropolis has been discovered a male burial. The skeleton belonged to a man of age ca. 39-57 years, 1.77 m tall. The grave goods consisted of: a two-edged sword; a fighting (?) knife; a sickle and a belt buckle.1 In the first publication for the weapons found in the grave No 55, B. M. Szőke points out only one parallel to the sword: that found in grave No 2 of Čierny Brod2 and made the following discussion: „…as far as these swords have no parallels of same time nor in the Carpathian basin or in the East, or among the step-people arm, the only possibility of their place of origin I may suggest is Byzantium. But this may become true only when well dated parallels to these arms will be found”.3 As a response to that wish, now we can present both archaeological- and art parallels to that find.

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2 So called sword from Čierny Brod, South-West Slovakia (see in: Kiss 1987, 204, Abb. 5), it’s actually right one-edged saber (or sword – popular later name „palash”). Published by me examples of the similar sabers allowed define a new one „bulgarian-byzantine type” with parallel from the end of 9th – beginning of 10th century necropolis at Olomouc, Eastern Czech Republic (see: Yotov 2010, 217–218, 223, puc. 6). A weapon similar to that from Čierny Brod was found in the Northeast Carpathians (Kotowicz 2019, 100–116, puc. 2–3).
3 At the time of the discovery and first publication of the sword from the grave No 55 of the Garabonc I necropolis, relatively few so-called „Byzantine” swords were known and the author’s hesitation is explainable (Szőke et al. 1992, 94).
The first attempt for a more comprehensive grouping (but not systematization) of swords of Byzantine origin, which were found in the Middle Danube territory and the Carpathian Basin, yet with parallels from the territory of the Empire, was made by the Hungarian researcher É. Garam concerning the 7th century, by L. Simon and by A. Kiss concerning the 7th century through the early 9th century. They stop up attention at bit more than a dozen examples.

In 2011, I wrote an article in attempt to systematize a few types of Byzantine swords, especially noting that beyond any doubt, it is difficult to establish the origin of weapons. The typology that I offered has been adopted and reproduced in articles by other authors who deal with the subject.

This typology/classification of Byzantine swords was based on the archaeological environment where they were found, their function and morphological signs. I used much their comparing to swords and details of swords, which have been found during excavations and others discoveries by chance, but always along with other well dated finds.

Especially for the swords and the other stab-cutting weapons, the most often used attribute typological characteristics are related to the handle: the shape of the pommel and especially the sword-guard. In other words, the typology of swords is often „a typology of the sword-guards”. Such is the case offered also by J. Petersen, the founder of typology of Mediaeval swords.

All classifications of the swords developed by European scholars are in Roman numerals or letters (I, II, II… or A, B, C…) and Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3…). To all definite types there were given historical and cultural characteristics, as well as dating. On my side, I choose as more accurate the name of the type to be according the most reliable find.

When using close parallels of artistic nature: frescoes, reliefs, etc., this can only support but does not solve the problem. However we should remember that: not all that it is represented in the art has been found in archaeology, and no all that has discovered we found in the art.

All defined in the 2011 article sword are based mostly on uniformity of the shape of sword-guard (wedges are the same all). Series of more than one: two, three or more identical or very similar in shape details have been also used. A good example of a type of sword is defined by A. Kiss and recently by Christoph Eger about „Aradac–Kölked–Korinth type”.

One of the types of swords I defined in the 2011 article was called „Garabone” – according to the found in a concrete archeological environment weapon. To date, „Garabone type” is represented by six pieces – swords and/ or their details.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS

1. Sword from Grave No 55 at Garabone necropolis

For an archaeological find, the sword (Fig. 1) consists of well-preserved parts: a blade with handle, the pommel of the handle, sword-guard and scabbard shape of the wooden sheat.

Dimensions: overall length: 95.4 cm, the wedge: 84 cm, handle: 11.4 cm, sword-guard: 8 × 1.5 cm, scabbard shape: 14.8 cm.

2. Sword from Kytsivka necropolis, Kharkiv Region, Ukraine

The sword (Fig. 2) has been found by treasure-hunters and was later shown to specialist in

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7 Yotov 2011a, 113–124.
9 Petersen 1919.
11 Eger 2019.
Kharkiv University. The colleagues supplied me with preliminary information as well as a drawing and photo of the find.\textsuperscript{13} After some hesitation about the find-spot of the sword\textsuperscript{14}, it was accepted that it came from a plundered grave in the necropolis near Kytsivka.

\textsuperscript{13} Yotov 2011, 116–117, Plate II, V. 13a–c.

\textsuperscript{14} In my first article I accepted the information of my Ukrainian colleagues (the Kharkiv University) that the sword came to light from the well-known necropolis near Suhaya Gomolsha, also in Kharkiv Region (Yotov 2011, 116). G. Baranov states that the new location of discovery is in necropolis near Kytsivka (Baranov 2017, 252, Fig. 3).
(Kharkiv Region, Ukraine), which came into being in the 40ies–50ties of 8th century and was in function until mid-9th century.\textsuperscript{15} The blade and sword-guard of the sword are preserved with a total height of 89.5 cm (of the blade only: 81.5 cm). Decisive fact for its attributing to „Garabone type” of swords is the sword guard, which is almost the same as the one from grave No 55 in the necropolis of Garabone.

\textsuperscript{15} Aksyonov–Laptev 2012, 100.
\textsuperscript{16} Baranov 2017, 252, Fig. 4.

3. Sword from Vinnitsa Region, Ukraine
This sword (Fig. 3) was found also by treasure-hunters and apart from photos of low quality and some hypothetical and unsure drawings exchanged among collectors in Ukraine, there is no further information about that find.\textsuperscript{16}

Dimensions (approximate): total length: 90 cm, wedge: 80 cm.
4. Handle of a sword from Iran

This part of a sword (Fig. 4) has been recently published in an exhibition catalogue. It was found in an unknown place – probably in Iran. Dated in the catalogue annotation to the period of Samanid Dynasty period (8th–9th centuries).

The handle is made of silver.
Preserved length: 30.5 cm.

5. Sword-guard and pommel of the handle from Cherkasy Region, Ukraine

This part of sword (Fig. 5) was found also by treasure-hunters. Came into scientific circulation thanks to G. Baranov, who in recent years are one of the researchers on the topic of „Garabone type” of swords.

Dimensions: height of the sword-guard 11.3 cm, width: 10.6 cm.

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18 BARANOV 2017, 252, Fig. 6.
6. Sword-guard from the Byzantine fortress Dinogetia in Northern Dobroudja, Romania (before the beginning of the Danube River Delta)

In all publications until today, this sword-guard (Fig. 6) was not assembled because in the large book on the excavation of Dinogetia fortress it was interpreted as a fishing-implement.\(^9\)

Dimensions (approximate): probably the same as that of the Garabonec sword-guard.

**DESCRIPTION AND SPREAD OF THE TYPE**

If we judge by the better preserved swords of that type, they use to have a length between 90 and 95 cm (the blades only ca. 80-85 cm). The swords are for one-handed and consist of: blade with sword-guards and hemispherical pommel on top.

\(^9\) Stefan et al. 1967, 57, Fig. 35. 19.
As I have mentioned above, actually the sword-guard defined the type. In this case it consists of a rectangular in cross-section collar and a horizontal quillon with the sleeve extending beneath it (Fig. 7).

Some additional details observed by the sword-guards of the Cherkasy and Iran swords show some diversity to the type but for the time being they are not enough to be determined variations.

About the discovery and spread (Fig. 8) of swords and details of "Garabonc type", this is confirmation of the words that it is precisely among the Byzantine Empire’s neighbors that weapons finds should be expected in general.20

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Fig. 7. Description of the „Garabonc type” of sword-guards
Обр. 7. Описание на предпазителите на мечове от типа „Гарабонц”

Fig. 8. The find-spots and spread of the „Garabonc type” of swords
Обр. 8. Местонамиране и разпространение на мечове от типа „Гарабонц”

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ART PARALLELs OF „GARABONC TYPE” OF SWORDS

In my opinion, the closest artistic parallels to „Garabonc type” of swords are in the famous manuscript of „The Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus” („Homilies of Gregory the Theologian” = Paris. gr. 510) who was completed in Constantinople\(^{21}\) in 879–882.\(^{22}\) The manuscript consists of 465 folios, with forty six full-page illustrations/ miniatures, thus showing a total of over two hundred scenes. There are many studies of this manuscript. As Leslie Brubaker points out in the introduction to her book „(Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus): … the Paris Homilies has been cited more often than any other Byzantine manuscript (and probably more often than any Byzantine monument except Hagia Sophiа)...”\(^{23}\)

Among thousands of pages of discussion on the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, only a few authors paid attention to characteristics of weapons and armour depicted there. This observation applies in fact not only to the Homilies but to most researches done on Byzantine art. Attention of art historians is usually focused on the modelling of the figures shown and their postures, clothing, landscape, architecture and so on. The analysis is mostly devoted to features that allow the researchers to compare different objects and thus define their chronology.

Generally speaking, while looking at scenes or figures of Byzantine art, authors – in pursuit of their specific tasks – are content to note with regard to arms and armour that there is: “… a red shield with gold border; behind the emperor there are two guards with swords; sword in the hands of the angel is blue in color; blue sword in hand”; and so on...

In practical terms I must underline that so far, only part of weapons and armour in Byzantine manuscripts were subject to detailed analysis. Of course, would need to note that already 30 years ago T. G. Kolias pointed that: „…you must approach with extreme caution information about weaponry in artistic images”,\(^{24}\) but the most comprehensive researcher of Byzantine weapons also drew short attention to the Homilies.\(^{25}\)

ANALOGIES IN THE HOMILIES

All six swords / and parts of „Garabone type” have analogies in scenes depicted in the Homilies. Swords which are similar to the „Garabone type” are shown in four folios:

137r (Fig. 9): in the scene of „Massacre of the innocents”…\(^{26}\)
215v (Fig. 10): in the scene of „Solomon’s Judgment”…\(^{27}\)
226v (Fig. 11): in the scene of „Joshua (= Jesús Navín) meets the angel”;\(^{28}\)
332v (Fig. 12): in the scene of „Life of Cyprian”…\(^{29}\)

In two scenes (Figs. 9–10) of the miniatures, there were depicted swords with a sword-guard identical to the one discovered in Cherkasy (Ukraine). Swords in another two scenes (Figs. 11–12) are generally similar to „Garabone type” of swords. In some cases, there is even a perfect match between the swords from the miniatures and pieces of the discussed type. It is also important to note that this manuscript is dated to ca. 879-882, which is approximately the date of the Grave No 55 from the Garabone I necropolis with deposited inside sword.

\(^{21}\) The Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus were made available on-line on 21 October 2006 and since then the manuscript has been accessible to everyone interested in it.
\(^{22}\) See lately in: BRUBAKER 1999.
\(^{23}\) BRUBAKER 1999, 1.
\(^{24}\) KOLIAS 1988, 33.
\(^{25}\) KOLIAS 1988, 156, Note 141, Tafel IX. Abb. 1.
\(^{26}\) BRUBAKER 1999, 62.
\(^{27}\) BRUBAKER 1999, 356.
\(^{28}\) BRUBAKER 1999, 194.
\(^{29}\) BRUBAKER 1999, 141.
Fig. 9. Homilies Paris. Gr. 510 (ca. 879–882): miniature 137r – scene of “Massacre of the innocents”

Обр. 9. Беседите Paris. Gr. 510 (около 879–882 г.): миниатюра 137р – сцената „Избиването на невинните“

Fig. 10. Homilies Paris. Gr. 510 (ca. 879–882): miniature 215v – scene of “Solomon’s judgement”


Fig. 11. Homilies Paris. Gr. 510 (ca. 879–882): miniature 226v – scene of „Joshua (= Iisús Navín) meets the angel“

Обр. 11. Беседите Paris. Gr. 510 (около 879–882 г.): миниатюра 226в – сцената „Джошуа (= Исус Навин) вижда ангела“

Fig. 12. Homilies Paris. Gr. 510 (ca. 879–882): miniature 332v – scene of „Life of Cyprian“

There is no doubt that the discussed sword type may be determined as Byzantine: the only one sure of all known and interpreted ones in the specialized literature. This has also been proved by some other works of art, although dated to a later period (9th–10th centuries).

**ANALOGIES IN OTHER BYZANTINE ART IMAGES**

According to my knowledge, depicted swords similar or close to swords and sword-guards of „Garabonc type“ are presented also in wall-paintings in Capadocia (Turkey): namely in the fresco showing St. George (Fig. 13) in the church so-called Sümbüllü kilise (of late 10th–11th centuries) in Hasan Dagi and also in the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 14) in the so-called Dark church (of mid-11th century) in Göreme.  

A sword with similar sword-guard can be seen in the Menologium of Basil II, which was completed between 979 and first years of 11th century and namely in the scene representing the Early Christian Saints- and Martyrs Trophimus, Sabatius and Dorimedont (Fig. 15).

**HOW THIS BY NO DOUBTS BYZANTINE WEAPON REACHED THE REGION SOUTH OF BALATON LAKE?**

The first suggestion about that question was given by B. M. Szőke in the basic publication of the necropolis in 1992, in German and later in a comprehensive article in Hungarian in 1994 and reads: „these „Byzantine“ swords (the author has in mind two swords: the one from grave No 55 of the Garabonc I and the other one – from Čierny Brod necropolis) appeared in the Carpathian Basin along with a small-number group of people coming from south – probably through the (so called) Timocani and Abodrites- Praedenceneti, who tried to escape from the Bulgars“.

In another article of 2012 B. M. Szőke accepted already a new idea. He supposed that the sword of grave No 55 in Garabonc I was connected to the short presence of Prince Pribina, first ruler of Blatna Principality in the Lower Danube region at the Bulgars. Apart from the sword, B. M. Szőke gave another prove about an influence from Southeast: „... an artificially deformed skull of an elderly man in grave No 14 of the Garabonc I necropolis, which is an often seen habit among the Danubian Bulgars in 9th century ... He also concluded, that ... part of the so-called administrative people of Mosaburg County / Zalavár... (Blatnograd – the capital of the Blatna Principality) have been hired before the people of Privina have settled here...“.

There are tens of finds in Blatnograd – the capital of the Blatna Principality (Zalavár-Castle Island) and the region, which show Byzantine- and Bulgarian influence here.

For instance, B. M. Szőke is explicit that in Blatnograd: „...the tableware is linked by many more strands to the Mediterranean world (Byzantium), in which the forms and vessels-production practices of Late Antiquity were preserved unbroken up to the Carolingian era“.

According to his analyses, this pottery is connected with the mission of the brothers St. Cyril and Methodius during their short stay (late autumn of 866 – late 867) in Blatnograd under the hospitality of Prince Chezil and I found his statement to be very well grounded.

On the other hand, among the kitchen-ware from Blatnograd / Zalavar there are also some pots, which are found mostly by the Danube Bulgars. For instance such is a vessel with two elon-

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30 **Parani** 2003, 113, 133, Figs. 117, 127.
33 In the book „The Carolingian Age in the Carpathian Basin“, this hypothesis is explained only with a few words: „mediated by the Bulgars (?)“ although there is a question mark at the end (SZŐKE 2014, 109, Fig. 102). CONVERSO 1960, 133–134.
34 Szőke 2014, 110.
Archaeological and art parallels of Byzantine sword gated handles with openings. In the short list of the plain pottery, B M. Szőke used plural for the “...mugs with elongated handles...” (Fig. 16). In other words, it goes for more than one pot (probably, he has not mentioned because there were found only in fragments?) and maybe he has in mind cups or mug-piles, which is the term used in Bulgarian bibliography of the matter (so called: чаши-ведра at cyrillic). Similar cups (Fig. 17) are known in several Proto-Bulgarian cemeteries in the Lower Danube but in the Proto-Bulgarian necropolis „Blandiana” on Mureș River in South Transilvania. They are all dated to the late 8th–9th centuries.

For some graves and grave goods in the cemetery of Keszthely-Fenékpuszta (around 11 km off

35 Szőke 2014, 110, Fig. 100 – the first vessel at left.  
36 COSMA 2011, 101, Tab. 52, Pl. 31. 129.  
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Zalavar), there is also assumption that they are connected with the Danubian Bulgars. In the latest and most comprehensive study of the Keszthely-Fenékpuszta necropolis, R. Müller notably mention in this relationship two-handled amphoral jug (Fig. 18a) from grave No 1951/45 (similar vessels are often found in many Proto-Bulgarian cemeteries of 9th century in contemporary Bulgaria) as well as a skeleton with artificially deformed skull in grave No 1952/68 (“… eine donaubulgarische...”).

I want to underline, that in the same necropolis there are also other graves and finds, which have to be connected with the Proto-Bulgarians. Namely this is the saber (Fig. 18b) from grave No 1951/9—no doubt „Bulgarian-Byzantine type” according to my typology of the sabers.

As a conclusion, I accept for most possible the hypothesis proposed by B. M. Szőke that the Garabone sword was transferred in the lands south of Balaton Lake by Bulgars-mercenaries. They have

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38 Müller 2010, 247.
39 Müller 2010, 266, Taf. 19.
40 Represented in Bulgaria by several dozen specimens: Yotov 2004, 65, 69, табл. 9М 2-В.
joined the retinue of Prince Pribina, the head of the Blatna Principality and his son Chezil around the second third of 9th century. The mentioned above cups and a fragment (Fig. 19) incised with the IYI sign, as well as other finds from Blatnograd Zalavár-Castle Island and the region around, also support the written sources and the available archaeological results. Exactly one of these mercenaries has brought with him the sword found in grave No 55 of Garabonc I necropolis.

41 Probably monogram of god Tangra: Szőke 2014, 110, Fig. 99.
42 Translated by Alexander Minchev.
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Archaeological and art parallels of Byzantine sword


АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИ И ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННЫ ПАРАЛЕЛИ НА ВИЗАНТИЙСКИЯ МЕЧ ОТ ГРОБ № 55 В НЕКРОПОЛА ГАРАБОНЦ І (ВТОРА ПОЛОВИНА НА ІХ ВЕК)

ВАЛЕРИ ЙОТОВ

Авторът спира вниманието си върху известията по няколко публикации меч, който е открит през осемдесетте години на XX век в гроб № 55 в некропола Гарабонц І, Унгария. В 2011 г., авторът публикува статия в която е направен опит за систематизация на някои типове „византийски“ мечове. В тази статия, един от типовете мечове е определен като „Гарабонц“, по името на некропола и на основание откриването му в сигурна археологическа среда. Към днесна дата, типът „Гарабонц“ е представен от 6 примера – цели мечове и детайли. Те могат да се охарактеризират като: едноръчни; с елипсовиден в сечение клин; предпазител с втулки и полусферичен накрайник на дръжката. Според автора, най-близките художествени паралели на мечовете на типа „Гарабонц“ са четири сцени от миниатюри в знаменития богато илюстриран ръкопис „Беседите на Свети Григорий Назиански“, който е създаден в Константинопол през 879–882 г. Разглежданият меч от некропола Гарабонц І е определен като византийски и най-вероятно е произвеждан в империята. Такъв извод се потвърждава и от някои други произведения на изкуството, макар и от по-късен период (X–XI век). Авторът приема предложената от първия изследовател на некропола Гарабонц І В. М. Szőke хипотеза, че мечът от гроб № 55 е пренесен в земите на юг от езерото Балатон от българи-наемници като най-възможната. Най-вероятно, последните са се присъединили към странствращата около втората третина на IX век и достигнала до земите на Долния Дунав свита на княз Прибина и неговия син Коцел – по-късно владетели на Блатненското княжество.