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## THE MACE IN MEDIEVAL GEORGIA\*

Abstract:

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Two types of mace were popular in Georgia: the “lakhti” (flanged mace) and the “gurz” (mace with a rounded head). During the Middle Ages the significance of the mace increased and evolved from an ordinary yet relatively uncommon weapon to become one of the principal and inseparable parts of the Georgian warrior's armament. The present paper deals with medieval and early modern maces kept in Georgian museums and attempts at defining their attribution and classification. An examination of written sources, iconographic material and museum exhibits informs us that in medieval Georgia diverse types of maces were used: some of them were locally made, whilst the others were imitations of foreign patterns. In addition, the Georgian warrior also used weapons produced in the neighbouring states, such as the Byzantine, Mongolian, Persian and Ottoman states.

Key words: flanged mace, Gurz, Byzantine mace, openwork mace, two-handed mace, zoomorphic mace

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Percussive weapons are considered the simplest and most ancient ones (Hoffmeyer 1966, 113; Kobyliński 2000, 66; Рабовянов 2009-2010, 187). The predecessor of the mace was the club with a rudimentary head and its history occurs across several millennia (Кирпичников 1966, 47). The mace can be defined as a weapon comprising a shaft, which serves as the handle, with a metal or other material head attached to it (Медведев 1959, 132). The mace has a destructive impact on the human body due to the force of a strike delivered. The impact is increased by the weight of the weapon and the length of the handle (Устинов, Портнов, Нацваладзе 1994, 8). The mace can be most effectively used by a horseman as the force of the strike is further strengthened by the momentum of the horse's movement. Due to this, the mace was especially popular in the countries where cavalry played a leading role (Рабовянов 2009-2010, 195; Попов 2015, 10). The mace is a simple weapon and requires minimum skills and training (D'Amato

2011, 7). It did not need any pre-battle preparation and was easy to maintain as it only needed minimal care and could be kept in a sheath to protect it from the elements.

The mace was predominantly used to smash helmets and armour (Nicolle 1983, 67; Kobyliński 2000, 66; Paul 2004, 91). A heavier mace, weighing 1.5-2 kg could smash both helmet and a skull Wise 1978, 18). Using the mace one could knock an adversary senseless without penetrating the armour.<sup>1</sup> It caused contusions, internal haemorrhage and broken bones. The mace could also be used to break an adversary's lances and swords (Al-Sarraf 2002, 155).

The mace was employed in oriental countries from the earliest times<sup>2</sup> when it was not yet known in Greece and Rome (Hoffmeyer 1966, 113), whilst except for fire-hardened clubs, it was not used by either Germanic or Celtic tribes. Early forms of European mace were depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry (the 11<sup>th</sup> century) (De Vries 1992, 25) yet

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\* The Middle Ages finished in Georgia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Eds.).

<sup>1</sup> A proof for this can be found in Georgian medieval literature: *He hit him with a mace on the head and threw him, unconscious down from the horse* (Rusudaniani 1957, 285).

<sup>2</sup> In the period of the Old Kingdom of Egypt the word “battle” was indicated with the image of the mace (Горелик 2003, 50).



Fig. 1. Byzantine maces: 1 – Georgian National Museum (No. Inv. 3877/9); 2 – Private collection; 3 – Stara Zagora region, Bulgaria; 4 – Danube River Valley, Balkans; 5 – Icon of St Demetrius of Thessaloniki, detail; 6 – Angelinsky Erik. (1 – photo by M. Tsurtsunia; 2 – after Caza 2003; 3-4 – after D’Amato 2011, Fig. 20, 28:3; 5 – after Alpatov 1978, Pl. 12; 6 – after Гопелук 2008, puc. 6:19).

Ryc. 1. Buławy bizantyńskie: 1 – Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe (nr inw. 3877/9); 2 – kolekcja prywatna; 3 – okolice Starej Zagory, Bułgaria; 4 – dolina Dunaju, Bałkany; 5 – ikona św. Dymitra Soluńskiego, detal; 6 – Angelinsky Erik. (1 – fot. M. Tsurtsunia; 2 – wg Caza 2003; 3-4 – wg D’Amato 2011, Fig. 20, 28:3; 5 – wg Alpatov 1978, Pl. 12; 6 – wg Гопелук 2008, puc. 6:19).

it did not become widespread until the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Nicolle 1983, 67). The mace was introduced into Eastern and Western Europe from the East (Hoffmeyer 1966, 113) as was the case in Russia, where it appeared in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Кирпичников 1966, 48). In the early Middle Ages the mace was widespread in Eastern Iran and Central Asia,<sup>3</sup> however, it infiltrated Byzantine and Europe together with Islam (Nicolle 1997, 21). The popularity of the mace in Byzantium at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century can be connected with the revival of the heavy armoured cavalry (Haldon 1975, 39; Koliass 1988, 183; D’Amato 2011, 8-9).

Two types of mace were used in Georgia: the “lakhti” (flanged mace) and the “gurz” (mace with a rounded head). Both these terms come from the Persian names of this weapon – “lakht” and “gorz”. In Persian “lakhti” means an iron club (Steingass 1892, 1119). In its turn, it must have come from an Arabic word “latt” which indicated a middle-sized battle club and originated from the Arabic verb “latta” meaning the act of smashing or pounding (Al-Sarraf 2002, 160). According to the Georgian lexicographer Orbeliani, a “gurz” was a large mace without a flange (Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 1991, 179). Although the Arabic-Persian word “gurz”

<sup>3</sup> Together with the “tabarzin” (the battle axe) the mace was an inseparable part of the Sasanian horseman’s equipment (Al-Sarraf 2002, 154).



Fig. 2. High flanged maces with long shaft: 1 – Ottoman mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 3-38/1); 2 – Ottoman mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 720); 3 – Ottoman mace (Samtskhe-Javakheti Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/239); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 3-38/5); 5 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/243). *Photo by M. Tsurtsumia.*

Ryc. 2. Buzdygany z długimi tulejami: 1 – buzdygan turecki (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 3-38/1); 2 – buzdygan turecki (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 720); 3 – buzdygan turecki (Muzeum Samtskhe-Javakheti, nr inw. 35-35/239); 4 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 3-38/5); 5 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/243). *Fot. M. Tsurtsumia.*

(Arabic “jurz” and Persian “gorz”) denoted all types of maces, it was mainly used to refer to a mace with a spherical head (Kobyliński 2000, 66).

According to the 16<sup>th</sup> century text “Ain-i-Akbari” the “gurz” had a spherical head with several spikes attached to it (Paul 2004, 91).



Fig. 3. High flanged maces with long shaft: 1 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/244); 2 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 725); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/247); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 44-26/19). *Photo by M. Tsurtsunia.*

Ryc. 3. Buzdygany z długimi tulejami: 1 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/244); 2 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 725); 3 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/247); 4 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 44-26/19). *Fot. M. Tsurtsunia.*

In the territory of the Caucasus and Georgia the mace was a relatively popular weapon and dates back to the ancient period, that is, to the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BC (Горелик 2003, 51, таб. XXX:100, XXXI:34-42,46-49,104-106,119).

Despite this, for a long period of time in medieval Georgia the major weapon of the warrior was still the lance and the long sword, rarely accompanied by the mace. The main reason for this must have been the battle tactics of Georgian warriors who

evidently preferred fighting with a lance. In the “Knight in the Panther’s Skin” the mace is mentioned only twice (Rustaveli 2009, st. 1110).<sup>4</sup> This was noticed by D. Nicolle, who pointed to the low significance of this weapon during Queen Tamar’s rule (Nicolle 1986, 23). The mace is rarely mentioned in the contemporaneous work “Amirandarejaniani.” Except for the later additions or amendments to the text (Mose Khoneli 1967, 687, 774), the mace is only referred to a couple of times (*ibid.*, 144-145, 356). However despite this, the mace appears to have acquired a status of a knightly battle weapon: *He sent his mace and demanded to fight with it on that day* (*ibid.*, 144-145). This episode presumably depicts the situation in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the significance of the mace was growing under the influence of the Mongols.<sup>5</sup> The mace only very rarely appears in miniatures of the period. In the “Second Tetraevangelion of Jruchi” (12<sup>th</sup> century), except for one occasion, the mace is only depicted in the scenes of the betrayal of Jesus (miniatures 70v, 115v, 243v), in which the images of warriors armed with clubs (maces) come directly from the Bible: *While he was still speaking, Judas, one of the Twelve, arrived. With him was a large crowd armed with swords and clubs* (Matthew 26:47; Mark 14:43).<sup>6</sup>

Later, as a result of Mongol rule, the popularity of the mace increased. As such the mace frequently appears in the miniatures of the “Psalter H1665” (the second part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century). In the “Psalter H1665” one can notice flanged maces with balls on their heads and wooden handles with metal ends which protected them from splitting (Шервашидзе 1964, 67). It appears that Mongolian-Iranian maces must have reached the North Caucasus through Georgia as several analogous six-flanged maces discovered in the region are believed, by Narozhniy and Chakhkiev, to come from there (Нарожный, Чакхкиев 2003, 129).

According to a Persian historian, in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Levan King of Kakheti (1518-1574) boasted with his silver mace before the battle against Qizilbash: *Levan Khan shouted angrily: I will challenge Div-Sultan on the battlefield and slay him, together with his horse, with a strike on the head with this 20 mani mace,*<sup>7</sup>

*made of silver (Three Persian Sources... 1990, 21).* Indeed, the King used his mace effectively in the battle: *He held a mace in his hand with which he smashed the heads of everyone he struck with it* (*ibid.*, 22). It is perhaps not surprising that M. Khorasani believes that maces of 20, 40, 70 and 80 Mani far too heavy to be used (Khorasani 2006, 252). We may therefore safely assume that the Persian author exaggerated the size of the mace owned by King Levan to impress upon the reader the might of the ruler.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, reference to the mace owned by the King of Kakheti indicates the increasing prominence of this weapon in Georgia during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, in the description of the Partskhisi battle led by King Simon against the Iranians in 1569, maces are listed among other weapons: *The Georgians attacked and the battle with lances, maces and sabres started* (Parsadan Gorgijanidze 1926, 219).

In “Rusudaniani”, written in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the mace had already acquired the status of one of the main weapons and, together with the lance and the sabre, was considered to be an inseparable part of the Georgian warrior’s armament. Moreover, it was included in the standard descriptions of battles: *The fierce battle was fought with lances, sabres and maces* (Rusudaniani 1957, 176). The course of the battle, in which the lance was followed first by the sabre and then by the mace, is fully and precisely described: *The battle started. First, they attacked with lances and broke them against each other. Next, the sabres were used in a ferocious battle. Later, gurzēs were taken up and a furious and courageous beating started* (*ibid.*, 284); *They attacked each other, first with lances, then fought with sabres and broke them as well. Finally, the maces entered the fight* (*ibid.*, 291); *First, the lances were used in the battle which was followed by... maces*” (*ibid.*, 378); *They fought with lances until they were broken, and this was followed by maces and sabres* (*ibid.*, 379).

The mace played a great role in “Omainiani”, written at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and frequently appeared in a single combat: *Then they took heavy maces and fought with each other for a long time* (Kaikhosro Cholokashvili 1979, 52);

<sup>4</sup> The other line is not considered to be written by the author in some editions. For instance, in the Academic edition of 2009, st. 655 is not included at all.

<sup>5</sup> Marco Polo names an iron-headed mace as part of the Mongol warrior’s armament and indicated that the Mongols were obliged to enter the battle armed with a sword, mace and a bow with sixty arrows. While describing the battles led by the Mongols he always points out the use of the mace (Marco Polo 1878, 171, 198, 207, 290, 448, 450-451, 456, 463, 481, 487). Images of maces frequently appear on Persian miniatures of the Mongol era.

<sup>6</sup> About the iconographic depiction of the scene of the betrayal of Jesus see D’Amato (2013, 69-95).

<sup>7</sup> 20 Mani equaled approximately 16 kg.

<sup>8</sup> Such exaggerations are not uncommon for Georgian literature either: *He was holding a mace of 20,000 liters* (Rusudaniani 1957, 127). What is meant – twenty liters (20.000) or twenty thousand liters (20,000)?



Fig. 4. High flanged maces with middle sized shaft: 1 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 113/III); 2 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 729); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2931); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 5-34/3); 5 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/242); 6 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/249). *Photo by M. Tsurtsunia.*

Ryc. 4. Buzdygany z tulejami średniej długości: 1 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 113/III); 2 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 729); 3 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2931); 4 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 5-34/3); 5 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/242); 6 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/249). *Fot. M. Tsurtsunia.*

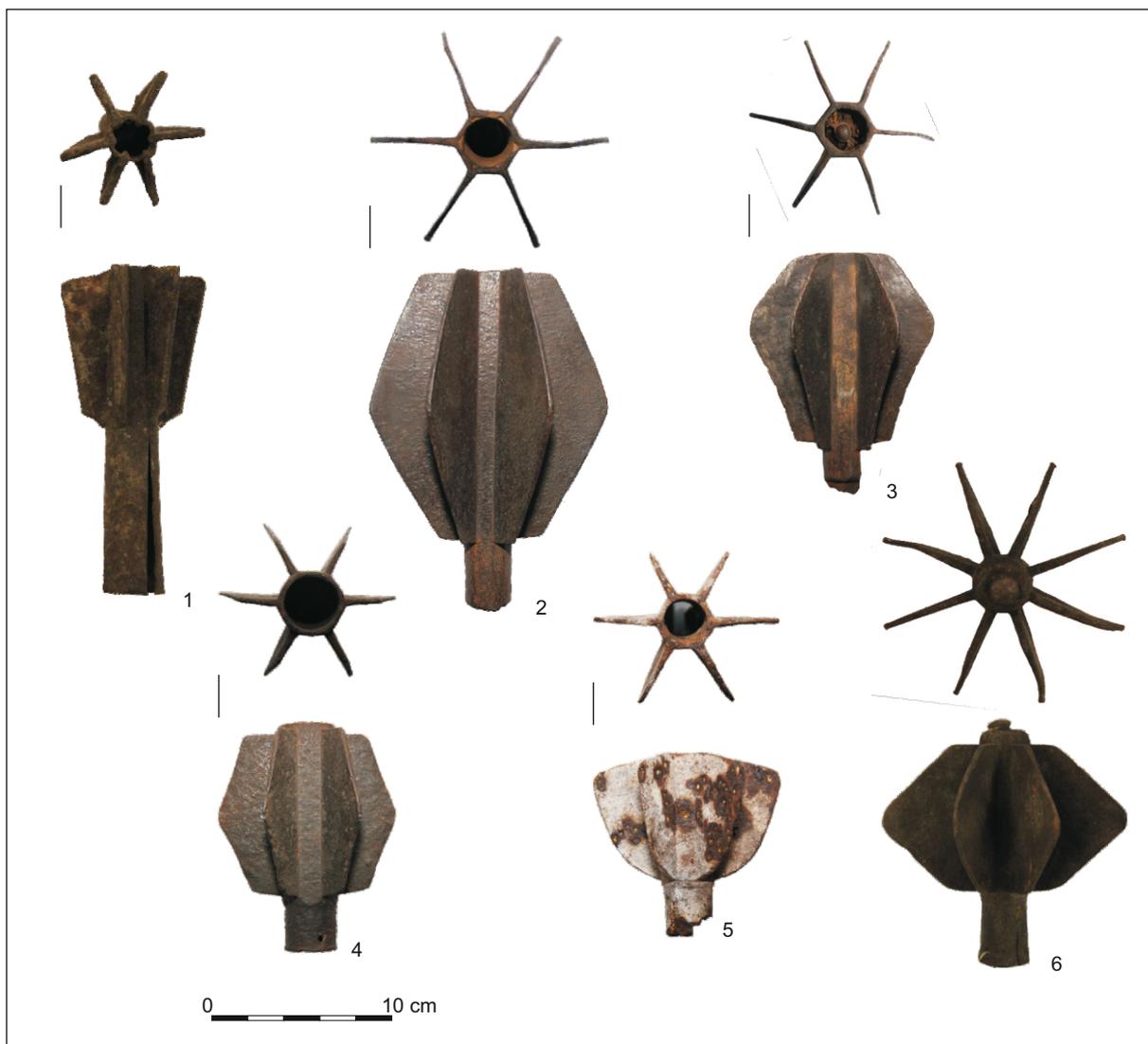


Fig. 5. High flanged maces with short shaft: 1 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 723); 2 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 5-34/1); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/250); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/251); 5 – Mace (Oni Local Lore Museum, Inv. No. OLLM-3871/4); 6 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 724). *Photo by M. Tsurtsumia.*

Ryc. 5. Buzdygany z krótkimi tulejami: 1 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 723); 2 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 5-34/1); 3 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/250); 4 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/251); 5 – buzdygan (Muzeum Lokalnej Tradycji w Racha, nr inw. OLLM-3871/4); 6 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 724). *Fot. M. Tsurtsumia.*

*Then they held maces and struck each other courageously (ibid., 104). Generally the mace is often mentioned in the works of 17<sup>th</sup> century writers. For instance, while describing the battle between King Teimuraz and the Iranians on the banks of the River Aragvi, Archil closely observed the sequence of the weapons used – first the lance, then the sabre and finally, the mace:*

*First, I brandished the lance courageously, then moved on to the sabre...*

*After that I broke the mace over the heads of everybody who came near to me*

(Archiliani 1937, 64).

In “Didmouraviani” by the 17<sup>th</sup> century writer Ioseb Tbileli, after breaking lances and sabres, the fight was continued with maces: *breaking lances and sabres and moving on to maces* (Ioseb Tbileli 1939, 31). Giorgi Saakadze had broken three lances in the battle at Tashiskari (1609) after which he used a mace and a sabre:

*I have to swear, my King, that I have had three lances broken and had to fight with a mace, shed pools of blood until the mace broke...*

*Then I made my sabre red with the enemy’s blood (ibid., 14).*



Fig. 6. Georgian openwork maces: 1 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 5-34/2); 2 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/241); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/245); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/248); 5 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2450/1876); 6 – Mace (Tsageri History Museum, Inv. No. 327); 7 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 730). *Photo by M. Tsurtsumia.*

Ryc. 6. Gruzińskie buzdygany z ażurowymi piórami: 1 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 5-34/2); 2 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/241); 3 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/245); 4 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/248); 5 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2450/1876); 6 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczne w Tsageri, nr inw. 327); 7 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 730). *Fot. M. Tsurtsumia.*



Fig. 7. Georgian openwork maces: 1 – Tavakarashvili’s copy of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, manuscript H599, fragment of folio 138; 2 – Tavakarashvili’s copy of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, manuscript H599, fragment of folio 255; 3 – Vakhtang Gurieli; 4 – “Utrutiani”, manuscript H61, fragment of folio 7r; 5 – “Psalter”, manuscript H1665, fragment of folio 213v; 6 – “Psalter”, manuscript H75, fragment of folio 24r; 7 – “Psalter”, manuscript H75, fragment of folio 23v (1-2,4-7 – courtesy National Centre of Manuscripts; 3 – after *Castelli 1976*).

Ryc. 7. Gruzińskie buzdgany z ażurowymi piórami: 1 – “Rycerz w Skórze Pantery” w wersji Tavakarashvilięgo, manuskrypt H599, fragment folio 138; 2 – “Rycerz w Skórze Pantery” w wersji Tavakarashvilięgo, manuskrypt H599, fragment folio 255; 3 – Vakhtang Gurieli; 4 – “Utrutiani”, manuskrypt H61, fragment folio 7r; 5 – “Psalterz”, manuskrypt H1665, fragment folio 213v; 6 – “Psalterz”, manuskrypt H75, fragment folio 24r; 7 – “Psalterz”, manuskrypt H75, fragment folio 23v (1-2,4-7 – dzięki uprzejmości Narodowego Centrum Manuskryptów; 3 – wg *Castelli 1976*).

King Luarsab also fought with a mace: *The King fights bravely and whoever is hit with the mace is gravely injured (ibid., 14).*

Jean Chardin, travelling in Georgia in the 1670s mentions the mace among the weaponry of Georgian warriors: *the weapons Megrelians use are as follows: a lance, bows and arrows, a straight sword, a mace and a shield (Chardin 1975, 119).*

As part of the widespread tradition of donating captured weapons and other spoils of war to churches, the presence of maces, some of which could still be seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, indicates the great popularity of this type of weapon in late medieval and early modern Georgia. For example, the book of sacrifices by Kaikhosro Gurieli (mid-17<sup>th</sup> century) informs us that the

victorious Gurieli donated the arms of a defeated enemy to a church: *we have donated a mail [a mail shirt], a sabre and a mace belonging to Jijavadze to Shemokmedi [monastery] (Georgian... 1977, 667).* A list of weapons made by Ekvtime Takaishvili in Svaneti churches also testifies to the mace’s popularity. Specifically, two six-flanged iron maces were kept at St George’s church in the village of Sakdari; an iron mace with 12 spikes and a six-flanged copper mace was kept in the Chukuli Church and a seven-flanged mace decorated with silver was kept in St Mary’s Church of Jibiani.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, a silver mace with a rhymed inscription, donated by Bejan Robakidze, was kept in Matskhvarishi Church in Latali until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Takaishvili 1937, 361).

<sup>9</sup> In addition, a multi-flanged iron mace and two maces with silver heads were part of St Barbara’s Church in Murkmeri, an iron mace was kept in St Kvirike and Ivli Church of Lagurka; two iron six-flanged maces were kept in the Church of Chvabiani; an iron six-flanged mace – in Laghami Church (Takaishvili 1937, 101, 119, 148, 177, 202, 248, 291). Takaishvili also described



Fig. 8. Low flanged maces: 1 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 1-40/1); 2 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 3-38/3); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 3-38/4); 4 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 721); 5 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2921); 6 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography); 7 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2023); 8 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2933); 9 – Mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography, Inv. No. 722). *Photo by M. Tsurtsumia.*

Ryc. 8. Buzdygany z krótkimi piórami: 1 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 1-40/1); 2 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 3-38/3); 3 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 3-38/4); 4 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 721); 5 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2921); 6 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti); 7 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2023); 8 – buzdygan (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2933); 9 – buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti, nr inw. 722). *Fot. M. Tsurtsumia.*

a number of iron maces from St George's Church located in Supi (*ibid.*, 428) and a flanged iron mace from St George Church in Kedisubani, Racha (Takaishvili 1963, 73).

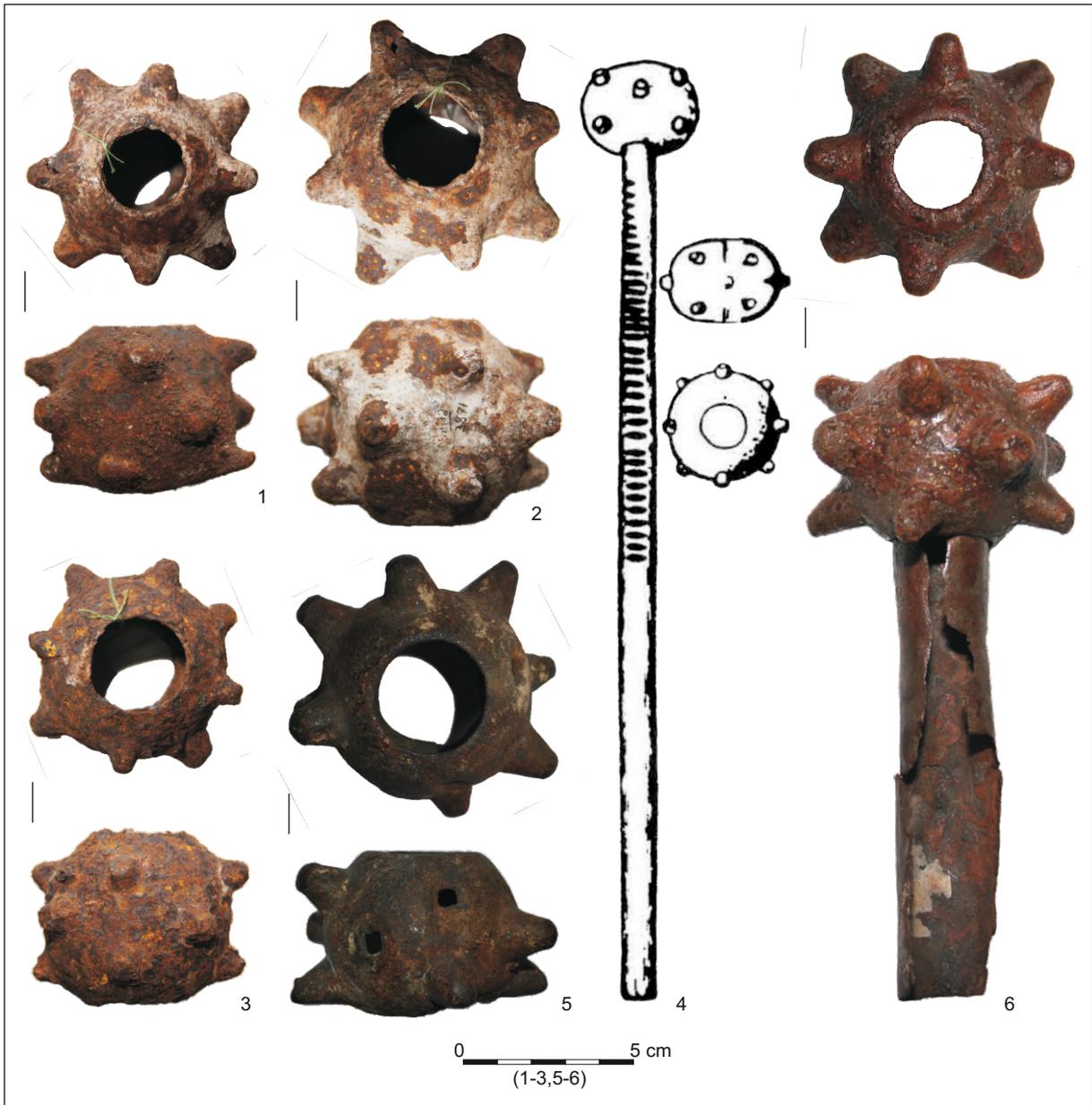


Fig. 9. Maces with a rounded head: 1 – Mace (Oni Local Lore Museum, Inv. No. OLLM-3871/1); 2 – Mace (Oni Local Lore Museum, Inv. No. OLLM-3871/2); 3 – Mace (Oni Local Lore Museum, Inv. No. OLLM-3871/3); 4 – Bronze mace from Ushguli; 5 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 2932); 6 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 35-35/252) (1-3,5-6 – photo by M. Tsurtsumia; 4 – after Chartolani 1976, Tab. XXXI:3).

Ryc. 9. Buławy z kulistymi głowicami: 1 – buława (Muzeum Lokalnej Tradycji w Racha, nr inw. OLLM-3871/1); 2 – buława (Muzeum Lokalnej Tradycji w Racha, nr inw. OLLM-3871/2); 3 – buława (Muzeum Lokalnej Tradycji w Racha, nr inw. OLLM-3871/3); 4 – brązowa buława z Ushguli; 5 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 2932); 6 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 35-35/252) (1-3,5-6 – fot. M. Tsurtsumia; 4 – wg Chartolani 1976, Tab. XXXI:3).

Below are described medieval and early modern maces kept in various museums of Georgia, such as the Georgian National Museum (GNM), the Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography (SMHE), the Tsageri History Museum (THM), the Oni Local Lore Museum (OLLM). As well as this, their attribution and classification are also presented.

### The flanged mace

In response to the evolution of armour, maces also underwent a number of changes in form. The desire to have the maximum impact on armour led to the creation of the flanged mace. While striking, the flanges direct maximum force to a relatively small area and so was ideal to break armour plates (De Vries 1992, 26; Gravett 1997, 47; Popov 2015, 26). Indeed,



Fig. 10. Maces with a rounded head: 1 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 44-26/22); 2 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 44-26/16); 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 44-26/15); 4 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 4878). *Photo by M. Tsurtsunia.*

Ryc. 10. Buławy z kulistymi głowicami: 1 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 44-26/22); 2 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 44-26/16); 3 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 44-26/15); 4 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 4878). *Fot. M. Tsurtsunia.*

contemporary sources frequently describe the damage caused by a flanged mace;<sup>10</sup> a fact also attested to by a number of exhibits from Georgian museums. Al-Tarsusi described a flanged mace as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century (D'Amato 2011, 27). D. Nicolle believes that the European flanged mace was derived from either a Byzantine or Islamic prototype, created in Iran (Nicolle 1999, 222). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the oriental flanged mace spread in Eastern and later in Western Europe (D'Amato 2011, 29).

The majority of maces which were used in medieval Georgia were flanged. I will start the discussion with an unique Byzantine mace which has only few analogies in the world. A relatively well-preserved copy of such a mace was discovered in Georgia.<sup>11</sup>

### The Byzantine mace

Artefact 3877/9 from the Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia<sup>12</sup> has a peculiar shape and is a Byzantine mace (Fig. 1:1). Only a few examples of such elongated maces have survived to be present. This example is well-preserved though two flanges have been chipped probably as a result of battle damage. The mace head is of high quality and has six flanges extending from the cylinder. The cylinder with a spherical knob is made of one solid piece of iron.<sup>13</sup> The mace head weighs 526 g and is 175 mm long, with the diameter of the head with flanges being 71 mm. The diameter of the socket equals 30 mm. The mace has a hole for a nail in order to firmly attach it to the wooden shaft.

An elongated Byzantine mace of the 14<sup>th</sup> century from Stara Zagora (Bulgaria) is characterized by a similar shape (Fig. 1:3). However, it has low rounded flanges (D'Amato 2011, 29, Fig. 20). One other mace of a similar shape (with low rounded flanges) dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> century was found in the Danube valley in the Balkans.<sup>14</sup> Presumably, the Byzantine elongated mace appeared in the Balkans in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (*ibid.*, 43, Fig. 28:3).<sup>15</sup>

Predecessors of Byzantine maces of this type were often encountered in the Islamic East, for instance: a 10<sup>th</sup> century mace with a bronze head, an 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century mace with an elongated bronze head from Nishapur; a 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century bronze mace head from North-East Iran<sup>16</sup> (Al-Sarraf 2002, Fig. 53, 58, 67). Apparently, the Byzantines imitated the elongated low flanged Iranian mace; obtaining its final shape at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The Byzantine elongated mace can be seen on the icon of Demetrios of Thessaloniki, painted at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 1:5) and kept in Belgrade (Alpatov 1978, 293, Pl. 12). The warrior saint carries a mace with an elongated head and spherical knob and relatively low flanges. The length of the mace can also be estimated on the basis of the fresco. As can be seen, its length is no shorter than the sword which means that the mace must have been at least a metre long.

If we compare the shapes of maces, it can be claimed that the most examples have low rounded flanges whereas a mace from the private collection of Shawn M. Caza is of a complicated Gothic shape. Our weapon occupies a middle, transient place between these two shapes. Although it has higher, straight and well-shaped flanges, it lacks the complex form present in Caza's example. The high quality of workmanship indicates that it must have been made in some major centre or a metropolis in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. At that time Georgia no longer possessed a land border with Byzantium indicating that this type of mace must have been imported via maritime trade routes or alternatively from the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>17</sup>

The flanged maces kept in Georgian museums can be divided into two large groups: low flanged maces with the maximum diameter of flanges reaching 80 mm and high flanged maces with the diameter of more than 80 mm.<sup>18</sup>

The high flanged maces are further divided into three subgroups: those with a long hollow iron

<sup>10</sup> [...] *both of them destroyed the mace flanges* (Rusudaniani 1957, 378).

<sup>11</sup> About this Byzantine mace see Bakradze (2016, 207-216) and Tsurtsunia (2016, 155-157).

<sup>12</sup> Part of the Georgian National Museum.

<sup>13</sup> Shawn M. Caza, whose collection includes the mace head made according to a similar technology (Fig. 1:2), assesses this as an impressive metallurgical feat (Caza 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Unlike the previous cases, this mace finishes with a spike, instead of a round finial. Judging from the quality of the mace, it can be supposed that the master was not able to shape the ball and made a spike instead, which suggests that this mace was produced locally.

<sup>15</sup> Recently S. Popov published seven more specimens from Bulgaria (Popov 2015; Figs. 456-462). He also considers mid 14<sup>th</sup> century as the *initial chronological point of spreading of the weapons* of such type in the Balkans (*ibid.*, 88).

<sup>16</sup> For the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century Iranian maces with elongated heads see Mohamed (2008, Figs. 231-235).

<sup>17</sup> One more mace of such type was found in the settlement of Angelinsky Erik, Krasnodar, Northern Caucasus (Fig. 1:6) (Горелик 2008, 180, рис. 6:19). The Byzantine mace may have entered the Northern Caucasus region through the Black Sea ports or even Georgia.

<sup>18</sup> This size of 80 mm is not accidental. As revealed by measuring, that is a demarcation line for mace functions: the maces with more than 80 mm diameter mostly have six or seven, rarely eight flanges and are considered to be classic flanged maces. As for the maces with a lesser diameter (even 70 mm and more), they belong to multi-flanged (8, 12 and 14 flanges) maces and stand closer to "gurzes" by properties.



Fig. 11. Two-handed maces: 1 – “The Second Tetraevangelion of Jruchi”, manuscript H1667, fragment of folio 116r; 2 – Saint Warriors on Lanchvani pre-altar cross; 3 – Mace (Georgian National Museum, Inv. No. 10-27/107). (1 – courtesy National Centre of Manuscripts; 2 – after Чубинашвили 1959, p.с. 470; 3 – photo by M. Tsurtsunia).

Ryc. 11. Buławy dwuręczne: 1 – „Druga Tetraewangelia Jruchiego”, manuskrypt H1667, fragment folio 116r; 2 – Święci Wojownicy wyobrażeni na krzyżu przedołtarzowym z Lanchvani; 3 – buława (Gruzińskie Muzeum Narodowe, nr inw. 10-27/107). (1 – dzięki uprzejmości Narodowego Centrum Manuskryptów; 2 – wg Чубинашвили 1959, p.с. 470; 3 – fot. M. Tsurtsunia).



Fig. 12. Maces: 1 – St George on Tsalenjikha mural; 2 – “Psalter”, manuscript H1665, fragment of folio 230r. (1 – photo by M. Tsurtsumia; 2 – courtesy National Centre of Manuscripts).

Ryc. 12. Buławy: 1 – Św. Jerzy wyobrażony na freskach z Tsalenjikha; 2 – „Psałterz”, manuskrypt H1665, fragment folio 230r. (1 – fot. M. Tsurtsumia; 2 – dzięki uprzejmości Narodowego Centrum Manuskryptów).

shaft, those with a medium length shaft and those with a short shaft. In the case of maces with long shafts, the length of the head together with the iron shaft exceeds 400 mm. In the case of the medium length shaft, the total length of the head is 200–400 mm whereas the length of the mace head with the short shaft is up to 200 mm. The same criterion is employed when singling out three subgroups among the low flanged maces. Most of the maces are characterised with similar technology such as brazing of the flanges and the tubular core with copper. Copper brazing was attested in Georgia for a long time (Chartolani 2010, 71-72).

#### The mace with high flanges (Table I)

Almost all the maces of the long shaft subgroup possess six flanges<sup>19</sup> except for several examples, with seven or eight flanges. All of them are made of iron with pentagonal flanges.<sup>20</sup> Whole iron maces (Artefact 44-26/19) can be singled out in this subgroup.

Specimen 3-38/1 (GNM), with six flanges covered with an Ottoman ornament “chi” (Chinese Clouds).<sup>21</sup> Flanges are inserted in the grooves. Each flange is made by welding two thin plates together. There is a nail hole at the end of the shaft (Fig. 2:1).

<sup>19</sup> In the Middle Ages the majority of maces had six flanges. It is well-known that Iranian maces also have six flanges whereas seven and eight flanged maces are considered to be rare. The six-flanged mace is referred to as “shishpar” in Persian (Kobyliński 2000, 66; Khorasani 2006, 255). The majority of Georgian maces are six-flanged, although seven and eight flanged maces are also quite frequent.

<sup>20</sup> It must be said that pentagonal flanges are the most popular among flanged maces.

<sup>21</sup> The motifs of the Chinese Clouds were introduced into Iran by the Mongols and later spread throughout the territory of the Near East.

Mace		High flanged mace																			
Shaft		Long						Middle						Short							
N		3-38/1 (GNM)	720 (SMHE)	3-38/5 (GNM)	35-35/243 (GNM)	35-35/244 (GNM)	725 (SMHE)	35-35/247 (GNM)	44-26/19 (GNM)	729 (SMHE)	113/II (GNM)	2931 (GNM)	5-34/3 (GNM)	35-35/242 (GNM)	35-35/249 (GNM)	723 (SMHE)	5-34/1 (GNM)	35-35/250 (GNM)	35-35/251 (GNM)	724 (SMHE)	OILM- 3871/4
Number of flanges		6 (2 lost)	7	6	6	6	6	8 (4 lost)	6	6 (2 lost)	6 (2 chipped)	7 (1 lost)	8	7	7 (3 lost)	6	6	6	6	8	6
Head ending		Open	Spherical	Closed	Spherical	Open	Open	Spherical	Spherical	Open	Rounded	Open	Closed	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Spherical	Open
Total length (mm)			638						625												
Head length (with iron shaft)		493	457	499	423	478	545	487	132 (head)	240	230	224	240	334	222	184	191	134	129	137	104
Max. D of flanges		146	130	125	105	131	130	155	83	83	92	105	116	128	83	81	134	106	97	136	109
Length of flanges		162		150	141	155		91	97	106	123	133	144	152	113		152	113	92		
Height of flanges		59		48	45	54		66	33	30	40	50	50	50	30		55	41	33		
Bottom hole D		22		26	23	22	28	16	X	27	27	27	Damaged	25	25	30.5	22	22	25	22	25
Upper hole D		18	X	X	X	16	28	X	X	22	X	22	X	21	25	22	22	22	25	X	25
Weight (g)		1259	1584	1380	1095	1240	1597	857	1139	497	664	482	850	690	398	454	1090	465	462	974	520
Material		Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron
Other		Pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges rounded in the upper part	Pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges, from Gurpanti	Pentagonal flanges, from Ushguli	Pointed pentagonal flanges	Thick pentagonal flanges	Rectangular flanges	Long, rectangular flanges	Triangular flanges	Pentagonal flanges, from Okureshi church, Lechkhumi	Pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges	Long pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges, from Okureshi church, Lechkhumi	Round pentagonal flanges	Pentagonal flanges	Pointed pentagonal flanges	Rounded flanges, Babus Jvari church, Racha

Table 1. Metrical data of high flanged maces.

Tab. 1. Wymiary buzdyanów z długimi piórami.

Specimen 720 (SMHE), a seven-flanged Ottoman mace decorated with “chi” ornament, with pentagonal flanges and a ribbed iron shaft, to which a wooden handle is attached. At the end of the handle there is a through hole for a hand strap (Fig. 2:2).<sup>22</sup>

Specimen 3-83/5 (GNM) is a six-flanged mace characterised by pentagonal flanges which are plain and rounded in the upper part. The mace-head ends with a silver plate with a knob and three nails (Fig. 2:4).

Specimen 35-35/243 (GNM) is a six-flanged mace with pentagonal and plain flanges. The head ends with a round finial and the shaft is copper brazed all along its length. There is one hole for a nail on the shaft and a fragment of the wooden handle can still be seen (Fig. 2:5).

Specimen 35-35/244 (GNM) is a six-flanged mace with pentagonal, plain flanges. The flanges as well as the shaft are brazed with copper. Only a fragment of the wooden handle still remains inserted into the iron shaft (Fig. 3:1).

Specimen 725 (SMHE) is a six-flanged mace with pentagonal, plain flanges. This example from the Svaneti Museum resembles artefacts 35-35/243 and 35-35/244 from the National Museum, although the joints of the flanges and the shaft are constructed more neatly and look more oval than angular (Fig. 3:2).

Specimen 35-35/247 (GNM) is an eight-flanged mace (although four of the flanges are lost) with pentagonal acutely spiked flanges set in grooves and a round finial. There is a nail through two holes at the end of the mace with which the wooden handle was attached to the shaft (Fig. 3:3). The mace with a round finial and similar pointed pentagonal flanges (but six-flanged) was found in a burial place from the period of the Golden Horde in mountainous Ingushetia (Нарожный, Чакхиев 2003, 129, 133-137, рис. 3:5). Unlike the Ingushetia find, our mace is eight-flanged and is characterised by a long shaft which has the appearance of an almost complete handle although a short wooden handle was also attached to it. It is likely to have been produced later in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Supposedly, the transient form between these examples is a mace head kept in the Svaneti Museum (Specimen 724), which closely resembles the Ingushetia mace with pointed pentagonal flanges, a round finial and a short shaft. However, unlike the Ingushetia example it is eight-flanged and must belong to the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 5:6).

Specimen 44-26/19 (GNM), is a six-flanged iron mace with pentagonal thick (7mm) flanges and a ribbed shaft. The mace head ends with a round finial (Fig. 3:4).

The subgroup of the high flanged maces with medium length shafts is not homogeneous as there are six-, seven- and eight-flanged maces within it.

Specimen 113/III (GNM) has six long rectangular flanges (two of them are chipped) which broaden in the upper part. The flanges are set and brazed into grooves. There is a hole for a nail to attach it to a wooden shaft. This artefact looks like a six-flanged mace from the late nomad burial ground between the Rivers Don and Sal, however, it is apparently of a more developed form. The burial is north-aligned, which indicates its Mongol origin. It is also supposed that this mace was produced within the territory of the Golden Horde (Нарожный, Чакхиев 2003, 130, 135, рис. 3:7). The weight of the maces is roughly similar: the nomad’s mace weighs 620 g whereas the exhibit kept in the Museum is 664 g. The refined shape of the latter indicates that it must have been produced later, presumably in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4:1).

Specimen 729 (SMHE) possesses six simple rectangular flanges which broaden in the upper part. The flanges are set and brazed into the grooves. The mace head is brazed to the shaft circularly and the shaft has a hole for the nail. This example, like the one discussed below (723) resembles 113/III but does not possess the rounded head and dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 4:2).

Specimen 2931 (GNM) has seven, triangular flanges (one is missing) which are brazed into the grooves; the shaft is open (Fig. 4:3).

Specimen 5-34/3 (GNM) possesses eight pentagonal, plain flanges. The shaft is brazed with copper. This mace was brought to the museum from the Okureshi church, Lechkhumi Region (Fig. 4:4).

Specimen 35-35/242 (GNM) has seven pentagonal flanges. The flanges are set in grooves and brazed with copper. Copper brazing can also be seen on the shaft (Fig. 4:5).

Specimen 35-35/249 (GNM) possesses seven pentagonal flanges (with three of them missing). The flanges whose bases are made in the Ottoman style are set in grooves and brazed with copper. There is a hole for a nail beneath the shaft (Fig. 4:6).

<sup>22</sup> One more mace (35-35/239) adorned with Ottoman ornaments and a grooved shaft is currently kept in the Samtskhe-Javakheti Museum (Fig. 2:3).

Mace	Openwork mace					
	Middle					
Shaft						
N	35-35/241 (GNM)	2450/1876 (GNM)	35-35/245 (GNM)	35-35/248 (GNM)	5-342 (GNM)	327 (THM)
Number of flanges	6 (1 chipped)	6 (3 chipped)	6	6	6	6 (2 chipped)
Head ending	Closed	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	Closed
Total length (mm)			429			433
Head length (with iron shaft)	315	203	285	271	289	298
Max. D of flanges	123	120	130	114	121	123
Length of flanges	112	112		105	116	
Height of flanges	51	52		50	52	
Bottom hole D	25	Damaged	19	21	22	22
Upper hole D	X	X	X	18	17	X
Weight (g)	483	235	816	213	585	655
Material	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron
Other	Complex sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges	Complex sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges	Complex sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges. Round final. Handle is ending with silver plated brass	Simple sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges	Simple sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges. Lechkhumi	Complex sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges. Bought in 1939 from I. Chakvetadze (Nakuraleshi, Lechkhumi)
						730 (SMHE)
						6
						Closed
						464
						257
						123
						205
						X
						685
						Iron
						Simple sabre ornament. Arched pentagonal flanges. Strap hole in wooden handle.

Table 2. Metrical data of openwork maces.

Tab. 2. Wymiary buzdycanów z ażurowymi piórami.

Mace	Low flanged mace							
	Long	Middle			Short			
N	1-40/1 (GNM)	3-38/3 (GNM)	3-38/4 (GNM)	721 (SMHE)	2023 (GNM)	2921 (GNM)	722 (SMHE)	2933 (GNM)
Number of flanges	12 (4 lost)	12 (2 lost)	14	8	8	6	8	
Head ending	Closed	Open	Open	Open	Closed	Open	Open	
Total length (mm)		442	517	786				
Head length (with iron shaft)	466	222	210	283	106	70	125	
Max. D of flanges	72	75	70	78	70	74	51	
Length of flanges	75	82	52		52	57		96
Height of flanges	27	26	24		17	27		24
Bottom hole D	23	23	23	23	24	25	18	
Upper hole D	X	16	14	23	X	20	15	
Weight (g)	593	641	746	802	602	530	277	
Material	Iron	Brass, wood, leather	Iron	Iron	Cast bronze	Cast bronze	Iron	Iron
Other	Pentagonal flanges Bought in 1940 from A. Oniani (Svaneti)	Rounded openwork flanges	Rounded flanges with protuberance	Rounded flanges with upper protuberance	Thick triangular flanges	Rounded flanges	Rounded flanges	Rounded flanges

Table 3. Metrical data of low flanged maces.

Tab. 3. Wymiary buzdzyganów z krótkimi piórami.

All the artefacts from the subgroup of maces with a short shafts possess six flanges and are made of iron.

Specimen 723 (SMHE) possesses six long rectangular flanges which broaden in the upper part and are brazed into grooves. The shaft is open and has a hole for the nail. This example from the Svaneti Museum, analogously to Mace 729, resembles 113/III. It can be inferred that Mace 723 evolved from Mace 729 which in turn led to the development of Mace 113/III. The flanges of Specimens 723 and 113/III are wider in the upper part and concave at the bottom. Although this trait is present in its rudimentary form in Mace 723, it is fully developed in Mace 113/III. Similarly to 729, Mace 723 may be dated to the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 5:1).

Specimen 5-34/1 (GNM) has six pentagonal flanges and of good workmanship. It was brought to the museum in 1934 from the Okureshi church, Lechkhumi Region by G. Bochoridze (Fig. 5:2).

Specimen 35-35/250 (GNM) has six rounded pentagonal flanges with decorative notches. The flanges are brazed with copper and a fragment of the wooden handle with an iron nail is still visible (Fig. 5:3).

Specimen 35-35/251 (GNM) possesses six pentagonal flanges with a hole for the nail in the lower part of the shaft (Fig. 5:4).

Specimen OLLM-3871/4 has six rounded flanges and a damaged shaft. It is kept in the Oni Local Lore Museum. Our mace's flanges are so rounded that its upper corner is only slightly distinguishable whereas the lower one has completely disappeared. The prototype of this mace is likely to be a 13<sup>th</sup> century mace found in Palestine (or Lebanon) with pentagonal altered flanges which are slightly rounded, not fully angular (Al-Sarraf 2002, Fig. 64:a-b; Кулешов, Абызова 2011, 94, рис. 4). In this respect the Georgian mace is more advanced, has a refined shape and must belong to the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 5:5).<sup>23</sup>

#### Georgian openwork mace (Table 2)

A group of maces with characteristic six openwork flanges are kept in the Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia (5-34/2, 35-35/241, 35-35/245, 35-35/248, 2450/1876)<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 6:1-5). Such maces belong to the group of high flanged maces with medium-length shafts. As can be observed the image of a sabre can be seen cut into the flanges. Two techniques were used to produce

<sup>23</sup> For dating maces with close to triangular shapes see Popov (2015, 69, 73, Fig. 59).

<sup>24</sup> About 13 maces of this type are kept in Georgian museums, see Bakradze (2014, 239-246, Figs. I-III) and Tsursumia (2016, 160-161).

Mace	Gurz										
	N	44-26/22 (GNM)	44-26/16 (GNM)	10-27/107 (GNM)	44-26/15 (GNM)	4878 (GNM)	OLLM-3871/1	OLLM-3871/2	OLLM-3871/3	2932 (GNM)	35-35/252 (GNM)
Head ending	Closed	Conical		Closed	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
Total length (mm)	570	700		733 + wooden handle		528	632				
Head length (with iron shaft)	80	116		126		168	252	50	61	52	49
Head D	71	39		49		65	73	55/75 (w/knobs)	60/86 (w/knobs)	57/66 (w/knobs)	67/86 (w/knobs)
Bottom hole D	21	X				22	21	27	28	28	30
Upper hole D	X	X		X		X	X	20	25	27	26
Weight (g)	461	1128		1512		490	551	245	267	225	467
Material	Iron, wood	Iron		Iron, wood		Brass, wood	Copper, wood	Iron	Iron	Iron	Iron
Other	Primitive weapon	Circle ornament on shaft and rhombus – on head. Silver granules on head		Shaft with hole for a nail and a fragment of the wooden handle				Bubis Jvari church, Racha	Bubis Jvari church, Racha	Bubis Jvari church, Racha	

Table 4. Metrical data of maces with rounded heads.

Tab. 4. Wymiary buław z okrągłymi głowicami.

this design. In the first and simplest the shape of the sabre is simply cut out of the flange, where as in the second and more complex method the outline of the sabre is removed instead.<sup>25</sup> The openwork flanged mace appears to be a purely Georgian style as it does not appear anywhere else. It is also certain that two of the openwork maces originated from Lechkhumi (5-34/2 was brought from the Okureshi church to Tbilisi by G. Bochoridze whereas the other one is kept in Tsageri Historical Museum, Fig. 6:6). Maces with the openwork sabre ornament are also kept in the Mestia and Kutaisi Museums (Fig. 6:7). A flanged mace of a similar design adorned with an openwork ornament is also visible on illustrations of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” made by Tavakarashvili (Fig. 7:1-2). This can also be seen in the case of the portrait of Vakhtang Gurieli by Castelli (the 17<sup>th</sup> century) (Fig. 7:3). These two maces are depicted on the 7r miniature of H61 “Utrutiani” (the 17<sup>th</sup> century) in which their pentagonal flanges, although presented schematically and lacking decoration, can be easily recognised due to their cusped flanges (Fig. 7:4). Apparently, this type of mace was characteristic of Western Georgia and was widely used in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The predecessor of this design is seen in the miniatures of the manuscripts H1665 and H75. Specifically, maces depicted on the 213v miniature of “Psalter H1665” and on the 24r miniature of “Psalter H75”<sup>26</sup> resemble the above examples by the shape of their flanges, whereas the mace at the bottom on the miniature 23v of “Psalter H75” is even closer in form having slightly cusped flanges

(Fig. 7:5-7). As “Psalter H75” was composed at a later date, it is possible that the design of the mace reflects a period of evolution.

### The mace with low flanges (Table 3)

Specimen 1-40/1 (SMHE) belongs to the subgroup of low flanged maces with long shafts. It has 12 pentagonal flanges (four are missing) and a closed head. The flanges and the shaft are brazed with copper. There is a fragment of a wooden handle in the shaft (Fig. 8:1).

Into the subgroup of low flanged maces with medium length shafts fall a number of maces with 12 and 14 flanges.

Specimen 3-38/3 (GNM) is not a battle mace, has pear-shaped head and possesses 12 flanges (two of which are missing). Rounded openwork flanges of the Ottoman type with shaped edges at the bottom are adorned with floral ornaments. The brass handle ends with zigzag ornament. There is a length of leather rolled around the wooden handle and a hole for the strap to be worn around the wrist (Fig. 8:2).

Specimen 3-38/4 (GNM) is a 14-flanged mace with pear-shaped head and rounded flanges and a protuberance at the bottom of the flange. The shaft is brazed with copper and is characterized by the hole for the nail (Fig. 8:3).

The low flanged maces of both groups are characterised with numerous (12 or 14) flanges. The multi-flanged maces are an Ottoman product and date to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. D. Rabovyanov believes that the Ottoman multi-flanged mace

<sup>25</sup> It must also be mentioned that openwork ornament weakens somewhat the flanges of the mace which is indicated by flanges chipped or damaged along the line of the pierced ornament (e.g. one flange of 35-35/241, two flanges of 35-35/245, and three flanges of 2450/1876).

<sup>26</sup> A later copy of a “Psalter H1665.”

developed from the six-flanged mace. They resemble round headed “gurzes” by their shape and impact. Several twenty-flanged maces have also survived to the present (Рабовянов 2009, 569-570; 2009-2010, 194-195). Generally, the Ottoman mace had many closely arranged flanges whereas the Iranian mace was larger in size and had fewer flanges (North 1985, 40-41). The Ottoman mace flanges were wider in the upper part, gradually narrowing below and frequently ending with a semi-arched protuberance (Аствацатурян 2002, 186). The introduction of Ottoman multi-flanged maces into late medieval Georgia is indicated in the later addition to “Amirandarejaniani” in which the hero is equipped with such a mace: *He put a 25-flanged mace into his belt* (Mose Khoneli 1967, 774). A multi-flanged Ottoman-Egyptian mace is also mentioned in “Omainiani”: *He took up an Egyptian 12-flanged mace* (Kaikhosro Cholokashvili 1979, 167). The Egyptian mace is also referred to in “Rusudaniiani”: *He got hold of his Egyptian mace* (Rusudaniiani 1957, 44). The previously discussed maces from the National Museum also belong to the Ottoman period. Specifically, 1-40/1<sup>27</sup> and 3-38/3<sup>28</sup> are produced locally and imitate the Ottoman maces whereas 3-38/4 is an Ottoman mace of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Specimen 721 (SMHE) is an eight-flanged mace with rounded flanges and an open head. The mace head is brazed to the shaft circularly. The shape of the flanges resembles those of Ottoman maces. However, which is atypical, the semi-arch protuberance is situated in the upper part of the flange and possesses fewer flanges, as compared with its Ottoman prototype. This mace may be a local replica of the Ottoman mace produced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 8:4).

The subgroup of the low-flanged maces with short shafts includes six- and eight-flanged maces.

Specimen 2921 (GNM) has six rounded flanges with an open head, damaged shaft and is cast from bronze (Fig. 8:5). This type of mace with six rounded flanges but closed heads belongs to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (D’Amato 2011, 41, Fig. 24:3). At the same time, an open-headed six-flanged copper mace which resembles our example belongs to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Al-Sarraf 2002, Fig. 64:a-b; Кулешов, Абызова 2011, 94, рис. 4), whereas our mace must have been produced in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The mace of the same shape characterised by a short shaft but with more rectangular flanges and cast from bronze is exhibited in Mestia, in the Museum of Svaneti

History and Ethnography (Fig. 8:6). Its length is 83 mm, diameter – 80 mm (Svaneti... 2014, 43, Fig. 38b). Unlike other eight-flanged examples of the low-flanged maces, both of these examples are six-flanged. In shape and character, they resemble the subgroup of high-flanged maces with a short shaft.

Specimen 2023 (GNM) is an eight-flanged bronze mace with thick triangular flanges (Fig. 8:7). This one resembles 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century Iranian mace heads and may be of a more evolved form. Iranian maces of this period have an irregular octagonal shape with alternating four distinct and four rudimentary flanges. An ornamented bronze mace of the 13<sup>th</sup> century kept in the collection of Nasser Khalili (Alexander 1992, 64, Fig. 23) and a copper mace from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Mohamed 2008, 248, Fig. 237) match this the description. The mace from the Georgian National Museum is cast from bronze and looks simpler than the above-mentioned Iranian maces. It also has a rounded head resembling the Iranian ones. However, unlike Iranian examples, all eight flanges are well-formed which means that it was created in a later period as a military weapon and seems much more practical and functional than the decorative Iranian predecessors. This mace must have been produced in Georgia in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Specimen 2933 (GNM) is extremely damaged, with uniquely shaped flanges (Fig. 8:8) which resemble Indian maces of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (*ibid.*, 253, Fig. 243). Unless this is an accidental resemblance, this mace must be of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries date. The mace head (Specimen 722) from the Museum of Svaneti also possesses flanges of a similar shape (Fig. 8:9). It is worth noting that the flanges are less refined which may be an indication of the beginning of the production of local imitations.

#### Mace with a rounded head (Table 4)

Compared with the mace, the “gurz” is relatively rare in Georgia. It is visible on Miniature 319 of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” made by Tavakarashvili and on the 47r miniature of H61 “Utrutiani”. The “gurz” is frequently shown on the 17<sup>th</sup> century miniatures of S1580 “Rostomiani” (66v, 67v, 70r, 99v, 148r, 158r and 168r) and “Utrutian-Saamiani” (manuscript S1594).

Three mace heads (OLLM-3871/1-3) are kept in the Oni Local Lore Museum in Racha, which were discovered during the excavations at Bubis Jvari church situated in the village of Glola

<sup>27</sup> If we consider the technology of manufacture, shape of the flanges and place of discovery.

<sup>28</sup> According to the ornaments and techniques of decorations.

(Fig. 9:1-3). These “gurzes” possess spherical iron heads with three circular rows of four large knobs. Such weapon is attested already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The mace head of this type was found in the ruins of the Crusader castle at Vadum Jacob, destroyed in 1179 AD (al-Sarraf 2002, Fig. XII:61). S. Popov puts maces with conic knobs in three rows in the time frame of the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Popov 2015, 44-45). Apparently, production of such maces is witnessed in Georgia, at least in one of its regions. The concentration of “gurzes” at one place makes us believe that they were produced locally and we can refer to them as the “Rachian Gurz”. Sh. Chartolani published a description of a similar bronze “gurz” with three rows of knobs from Ushguli<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 9:4) (Chartolani 1976, Tab. XXXI:3). Such “gurzes” must have been cast in neighbouring Svaneti replicating the Rachian shape. A “gurz” with three rows of four knobs is kept in the National Museum of Georgia (Specimen 2932).<sup>30</sup> The “gurz” is damaged and three knobs are missing (two in the upper row and one in the middle row) which discloses the secret of its construction: each knob is brazed into a pre-made square aperture. The height of the knobs is 16-19 mm. The “gurz” looks to have been in a battle as some knobs are deformed from impact (Fig. 9:5). One more “gurz” of this type is also exhibited in the National Museum of Georgia (Specimen 35-35/52). However, unlike the Rachian samples, it is massive and possesses a long metal shaft which is damaged. This particular sample must be one of the varieties of “Rachian gurz” with a long shaft. The “gurz” is highly decorated with the entire surface (including the knobs) covered with a brass dotted encrustation (Fig. 9:6).

The “gurzes” kept in the National Museum are of simple as well as of a complex shape. Specimen 44-26/22 is a primitive “gurz”, which probably belonged to a common warrior (Fig. 10:1), whereas Specimen 44-26/16 is an Iranian “gurz” (Fig. 10:2). An ornamented “gurz” of a similar shape is kept in the Military Museum of Tehran (Khorasani 2006, 255, 340). According to M. Khorasani, it belongs to the Zand era (the 18<sup>th</sup> century) (*ibid.*, 255). A “gurz” decorated with silver granules kept in Malbork Castle Museum and dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century strongly resembles Specimen 44-26/16 (Chodyński 2000, 183, Fig. 218). Presumably, therefore our artefact also belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

A brass “gurz” 44-26/15 with a wooden handle (Fig. 10:3) was also not made for combat. Its pear-shaped head is adorned with eight decorative ribs part of which are lost. The mace head finial is also missing. The decorative lines at the bottom of the “gurz” repeat the shape of the Ottoman mace flanges.<sup>31</sup> The shaft displays a clumsily made floral ornament which looks like an imitation of a Persian lily (trefoil). There is an interesting tendency of combining Persian ornament and Ottoman flanges which indicates local production of the weapon. One such example of this type of “gurz” is a well-known silver “topuz” (Elgood 2009, 223, Fig. 282), which belonged to Ali-Pasha of Tepelena (of Ioannina, 1740-1822). The Ottoman “topuz” is adorned with tulips whereas our example is decorated with a stylized trefoil which was widespread both locally and in Iran. The mace which belongs to Ali Pasha has a handle with a metal end whereas the handle of our example is made of wood.

One more decorative rather than military “gurz” is presented in the exhibition of the National Museum (Specimen 4878). Here, a well-adorned gold-plated copper head is attached to a wooden handle, the end of which is covered with ornamented gold-plated copper. A black piece of cloth is wrapped around the handle which is covered with silver-thread embroidery (Fig. 10:4).

### The two-handed mace

Two-handed maces are rarely found in Georgia. The Arabic word “amūd” means column (poles’ staff) and denotes long and thick mace. The longest one, which was longer than 1 meter, was referred to as “al-mustawfi”. Such long maces were a 9<sup>th</sup> century Abbasid development. Due to their considerable size and weight, a strike delivered by such a weapon was considered to be deadly, however, they were not as easy to handle as a mace of more conventional size (Al-Sarraf 2002, 152-153).

Two-handed maces occasionally appear in Georgian art. On the miniature 116r of the “2<sup>nd</sup> Tetraevangelion of Jruchi” one can see an infantry soldier holding a long mace with a wooden handle (Fig. 11:1). Both of the Warrior Saints depicted on the 12<sup>th</sup> century Lanchvani cross hold large two-handed “gurzes” (Чубинашвили 1959, рис. 470) (Fig. 11:2). A “gurz” with the octagonal head from the National Museum of Georgia (Specimen 10-27/107) resembles those depicted on the Lanchvani

<sup>29</sup> As Popov points out, usually such maces are made of iron, and only occasionally – of bronze (Popov 2015, 44-45).

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately its origin is unknown.

<sup>31</sup> Flanges of such shape are also seen on Iranian-Indian maces, which indicates the tradition which spread from the Ottoman Empire to India.

cross (Fig. 11:3). The length of its metal part is 73.3 cm which means that together with the wooden handle the mace was over a meter in length and required two hands to use.

### The zoomorphic mace

The zoomorphic mace was first developed in the Iranian world. Such maces were connected to the ancient supernatural belief that an animal's strength could be harnessed and transferred to an object (Суразаков 1987, 58). Ox-headed maces have existed since the late Sasanian period, which means that such maces belong to old Iranian tradition which continued into Islamic times (Khorasani 2006, 260; Kubik 2014, 160-161, 168-169). The Islamic culture absorbed the image of a legendary hero – Rostam and frequently addressed his weapons (tiger skin helmet, ox-headed mace) as is witnessed in the “Shahnameh” (Alexander 2002, 215).

Zoomorphic maces belonged to leaders (Nicolle 1994, 25). It is known that one such mace was owned by Sultan Masud I of Ghazni (1030-40) (Nicolle 1976, 134). Mace heads with images of different animals from the periods of the Ghaznavids and Seljuks have also survived (Mohamed 2008, 235-236, Fig. 225-230).

Together with the increasing influence of Iran, zoomorphic maces must have also appeared in Georgia as they are described in Georgian literature of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Kaikhosro Cholokashvili, for instance, mentions an elephant-headed mace in “Omainiani” (Kaikhosro Cholokashvili 1979, 167). The characteristic exaggerated description of various zoomorphic maces is given in “Rusudaniani”: *They all had two maces, apart from their weapons. One of them was carried in the belt whereas the other, a large-sized gold mace, was carried by hand. Some of these maces had man faced-heads, some of them had Ogres as their heads; others were elephant-headed, camel-headed, horse-headed, lion-headed, tiger-headed and overall, all the animals, all the birds, everything that breathes all over the world, were presented there* (Rusudaniani 1957, 305).

### Mace as defensive weapons

Besides traditional methods, maces were employed in battle as defensive weapons. For instance, in a late 17<sup>th</sup> century supplement of “Amirandarejaniani”, in one of the episodes describing a fight, the mace is presented as a means of defense: *Balkham Kamisdze rushed towards him*

*and swung the sabre. Amiran Darejanisdze protected his head with the gurz. Next Balkham attacked Amiran Darejanisdze from the side. Again Amiran protected his side with the gurz* (Mose Khoneli 1967, 687). As can be seen, one of the opponents (Amiran Darejanisdze) employs the “gurz” to parry a blow from his rival.

### Throwing a mace

The mace was also used for throwing in battle.<sup>32</sup> For this purpose, mostly round headed and low flanged maces could have been used.<sup>33</sup> Due to their poor aerodynamic properties, large sized maces were not employed for throwing.

Using a mace for throwing was well-known in Georgia. Specifically, in “Rusudaniani” throwing of the maces is described several times: *He hurled the mace, hit the enemy on his head and cut off half of his head, ears and jaw* (Rusudaniani 1957, 44); *He threw a heavy mace* (*ibid.*, 57); *He threw a mace* (*ibid.*, 98); *He threw a mace at the beginning of the battle* (*ibid.*, 132); *Next the Devi threw his heavy gurz* (*ibid.*, 133); *He threw a mace* (*ibid.*, 179). It is worth noting that in all these episodes the battle starts with throwing the maces. Apparently, the throwing of the mace in the initial stage of the battle would also surprise the enemy.

### How the mace was worn

In the Middle Ages, the mace was carried either by the warrior (attached to his body) or by the horse (attached to the saddle). In the Byzantine military treatise “Praecepta militaria” Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-969) names both methods of carrying a mace (Никифор II Фока 2005, 24). The mace was fixed on the right side of the saddle, close to the rider's knee (Al-Sarraf 2002, 155) which is revealed on the mural depicting St George in Tsalenjikha (1384-1396) (Fig. 12:1). However, it should also be taken into account that the author of this fresco was the Greek artist Manuel Eugenikos and, as proposed by R. D'Amato, it may reflect Byzantine practice, rather than Georgian (D'Amato 2011, 31-32).

Most frequently, the Georgians would wear the mace “inserted” in the belt worn round their waists which is clearly attested in sources and artistic images. “Amirandarejaniani” informs us that *the maces were put in the belt* (Mose Khoneli 1967, 737); *He attached the mace close to his waist* (*ibid.*, 774). In addition, “Rusudaniani” also mentions: *The mace was put in the belt* (Rusudaniani

<sup>32</sup> For throwing of maces see Michalak (2010, 184-186). About the mace as a throwing weapon in Byzantine treatises and warfare see D'Amato (2011, 13-16, 29, 32).

<sup>33</sup> See the results of the mace experimental throws (Michalak 2010, 185-186, n. 14).



Fig. 13. Wooden mace (Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography). Photo by M. Tsurtsunia.

Ryc. 13. Drewniany buzdygan (Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne w Svaneti). Fot. M. Tsurtsunia.

1957, 56); *The mace was worn close to the waist* (*ibid.*, 284); *He put the mace through his belt* (*ibid.*, 286); *He put the mace into his belt* (*ibid.*, 427). The same holds true for “Shahnavaziani”: *The mace is put through his belt* (Peshangi 1935, 182) and “Omainiani”: *He took out the 12-flanged mace from the belt* (Kaikhosro Cholokashvili 1979, 167).

D. Nicolle believes that for convenience the mace was worn on the right side of the warrior (Nicolle 1976, 134). At the same time, on the miniatures 230r and 230v of the “Psalter H1665”, Goliath wears a mace on his left side (Fig. 12:2). We could propose that this particular case is conditioned by the desire of the artist to fully show Goliath’s equipment. Clearly, fixing the mace

together with the sabre on the left side must have been quite inconvenient. Avtandil depicted on the miniature by Tavakarashvili and Vakhtang Gurieli on the portrait by Castelli also wear the mace inserted in the belt, on their right side (Fig. 7:2-3).

### The mace as a symbol of power

In the Middle Ages the mace also represented a symbol of power (North 1985, 40; Kobyliński 2000, 66; Paul 2004, 92).<sup>34</sup> Along with other reasons this status of the weapon was conditioned by the fact that quite a substantial amount of iron was needed to make a heavy mace head, which was expensive and not accessible for everybody (Al-Sarraf 2002, 155-156). Due to compact size, mace can be held constantly and commanders could use it for giving orders (Kovács 2016, 17). When employed as a symbol of authority, the mace was specially decorated to distinguish it from ordinary weapons. Some decorative maces were so strong that they were easily employed during the battle which leads to a supposition that they were owned by military commanders (Khorasani 2006, 253).

In Georgia the mace was also a weapon and a symbol of power. It is well-known that in medieval Svaneti the mace was an insignia of power in the hands of the “makhvshvi” (local tribal leader) during military campaigns and public meetings (Chartolani 1976, 50). Chitaia believes that the maces employed in this function in Svaneti must have been produced locally (Chitaia 1972, 52-53). A painted wooden mace which precisely repeats the shape, size (length 44 cm) and the shape of flanges of an iron mace is exhibited in the Museum of Mestia (Fig. 13). Such maces must have played ritual or ceremonial roles. The aforementioned exhibits kept in the National Museum (“gurzes” 44-26/15 and 4878 and the multi-flanged Mace 3-38/3) are also symbols of power. All these three maces are non-combat and emphasized the status of the owner.

The examination of the written sources, iconographic material and museum exhibits informs us that in medieval Georgia diverse types of maces were used: some were locally made original pieces, whilst others were foreign imitations. Apart from these the Georgian warrior also used weapons manufactured in the neighbouring Byzantine, Mongol, Persian and Ottoman states.

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<sup>34</sup> Maces as regalia were used as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millenium BC in Egypt and Mesopotamia (Горелик 2003, 50).

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## BUŁAWA W ŚREDNIOWIECZNEJ GRUZJI

### Streszczenie

Broń obuchowa uważana jest za najprostszą i najbardziej archaiczną. Reprezentuje ją m.in. buława, składająca się z trzonka i nałożonej na jego górną część masywnej metalowej (lub wykonanej z innego materiału) główicy. Uderzenie buławą powoduje niezwykle silne, miażdżące uszkodzenie ciała, uzależnione od wagi broni i długości trzonka. Buławy były szczególnie efektywne w rękach jeźdźców, kiedy siła uderzenia była dodatkowo wzmocniona ruchem konia.

Buława była rozpowszechniona na wschodzie w czasach, kiedy nie znali jej ani Grecy, ani Rzymianie. W początkach średniowiecza rozpowszechniła się we wschodnim Iranie i Azji Środkowej, skąd wraz z wyznawcami islamu dotarła do Bizancjum i Europy. W Europie zyskała znaczenie szczególnie w XII-XIII w.

Na terenie Gruzji znane były dwa główne typy buław: „lakhti” (buława z piórami – buzdygan) i „gurz” (buława z kulistą główicą). Oba te terminy pochodzą z języka perskiego – „lakht” i „gorz”.

Buława była znana na obszarach Kaukazu i Gruzji w głębokiej starożytności – jej geneza na tych terenach sięga IV-III tysiąclecia p.n.e. W średniowieczu jednak przez długi czas nie była zbyt popularna. Dopiero w momencie pojawienia się Mongołów zyskała na znaczeniu, stając się jednym z głównych elementów uzbrojenia gruzińskich wojowników.

W prezentowanym artykule omówiono buławy przechowywane w gruzińskich muzeach (Muzeum Narodowym, Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficznym w Svaneti, Muzeum Historycznym w Tsageri, Muzeum Lokalnej Tradycji w Racha), datowane głównie na okres średniowiecza, przedstawiając dodatkowo kwe-

stie ich pochodzenia i typologii. Wyróżniono kilka typów, w tym buławy z główicami zaopatrzonymi w pióra (buzdygany) i z kulistymi główicami (podzielone dodatkowo na grupy i podgrupy), omówiono też sposoby ich używania w walce oraz sposoby noszenia.

Wraz z ewolucją uzbrojenia ochronnego zmieniały się również kształty buław. Chęć nadania buławom jak największej siły uderzeniowej spowodowała stworzenie buzdyganu, miażdżącego zbroje i niszczącego ogniwa kolczug. Ten typ buławy szczególnie licznie występuje na terenie Gruzji. Zabytki takie, przechowywane w gruzińskich muzeach, można podzielić na dwie duże grupy: krępe buzdygany o maksymalnej średnicy główicy osiągającej 80 mm i wysokie okazy o średnicy przekraczającej 80 mm. Te ostatnie zostały podzielone jeszcze na trzy podgrupy: z długą tuleją (dł. do 400 mm), ze średniej długości tuleją (dł. 200-400 mm) i krótką tuleją. (dł. do 200 mm). Takie same kryteria przyjęto do rozdzielenia zabytków o krępym główicach z piórami. Większość tych buław zostało wykonanych w tej samej technice, podobnie dekorowane miedzią są pióra i tuleje. Z kolei buławy o kulistych główicach są znacznie rzadsze na terenie Gruzji. Zabytki takie przechowywane są w Muzeum Narodowym.

Analiza źródeł pisanych, ikonografii i oryginalnych zabytków przekonuje, że na terenie średniowiecznej Gruzji używano buław mających różne pochodzenie. Niektóre z nich były wytwarzane w lokalnych warsztatach, inne były naśladownictwami sąsiednich wzorców. Gruzini wojownicy używali okazów wytwarzanych przez swych sąsiadów – Bizantyńczyków, Mongołów, Persów i Turków.