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MEDIEVAL HELMETS
FROM THE EASTERN BALKANS
AND THE AEGEAN SEA

Abstract:

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Late medieval European plate armour from the Eastern Balkans and the Aegean Sea still exists in quite considerable numbers. Nevertheless, contemporary pictorial resources are missing. This author wants to awake the interest in further research by publishing high resolution images for the first time. It therefore provides a short overview on the collections contexts. The common characteristics of numerous extant helmets known merely from this region are described in a nutshell. Furthermore, the location and the time of their production is investigated.

Key words: Aegean Sea, Balkans, Chalkis, Chalcis, Helmets

It is probably the last great mystery concerning medieval armour: Armour from the Eastern Balkans and the Aegean Sea. This article wants to recall this blank spot on Europe's armour landscape into researchers' minds. It wants to encourage future research and a dialogue on the topic by showing the latest ways of access to collection databases containing related objects and by publishing many not easily accessible items.

From the early 13th c. on, until the Ottomans gained more and more ground in the 15th and 16th c., huge estates in the concerned region were controlled by Venice or other Italian cities. Nevertheless, the picture on how fighting men were equipped in the local garrisons remains fairly unclear. Until present, not many contemporary artworks showing armour from this area were published. The readers of this paper are invited to collect and share pictorial representations¹ of the armour discussed below.

So far, the main sources on the topic are extant armour parts, probably used by local or

Western European combats. There are three huge "collections" of armour from this area.

Armour from the city of Rhodes²

The largest part of the armour³ that presumably came from the city of Rhodes was published by Walter J. Karcheski and Thom Richardson in an extensive and illustrated print (Karcheski, Richardson 2002). The items date from ca. 1400 to about 1520. For the most part they were clearly of Western European⁴ provenance and make. The very special thing about these items is the huge numbers, how they came into Western collections and what they tell us about armour and the history of the island of Rhodes in the 15th and early 16th c. The armour from Rhodes contains exclusively items that – similar by style and type – were known from other extant examples preserved in various other European countries. This is different from items from two other collection-contexts of late medieval armour – preserved in Rhodes' closer neighbourhood.

¹ The author is indebted to Mr. Kachrilas from the Historical Museum in Athens for the permission to include the author's images of the museum's objects in this paper. Due to legal issues the author's images from certain other collections cannot be printed here. Where available, internet links to images are quoted instead.

² Today via private sales dispersed to various collections.

³ 186 items for any part of the body.

⁴ Most items are clearly either German or Italian, others might have come from Spain or France.

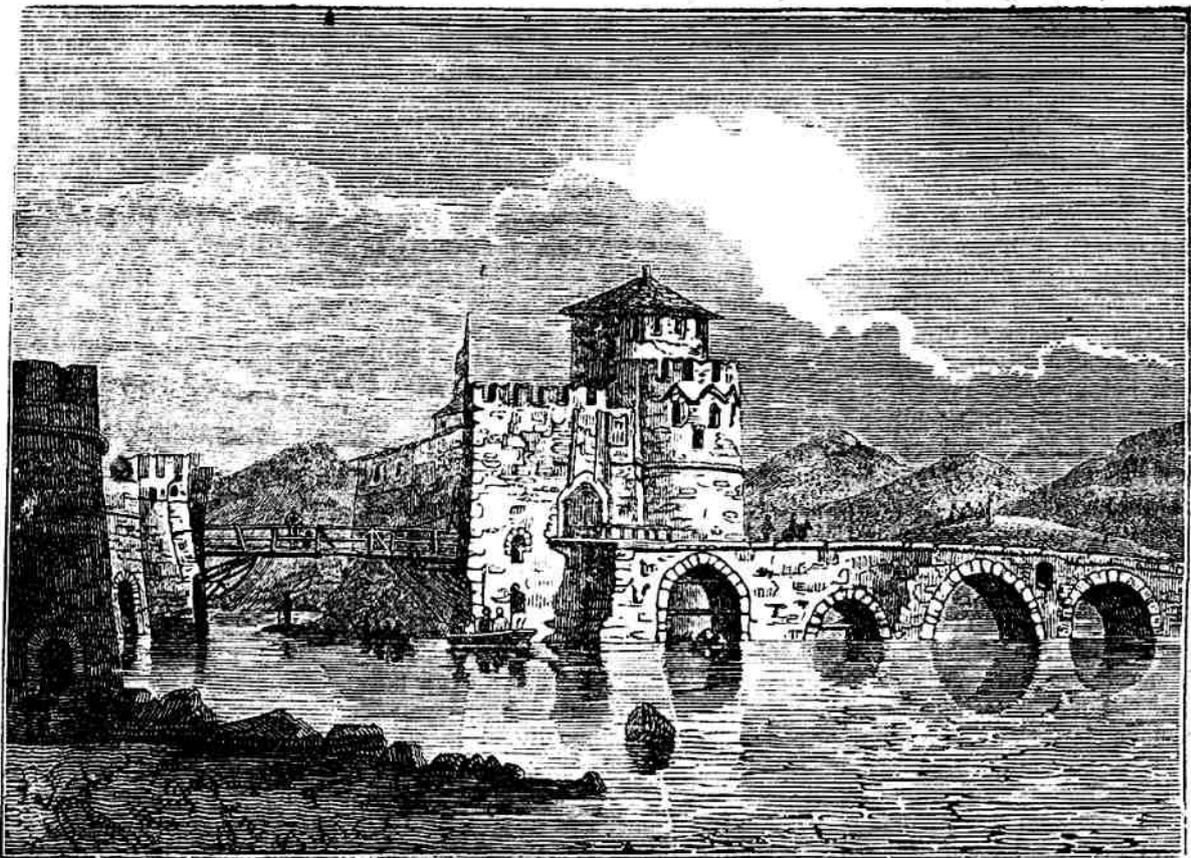


Fig. 1. The bridge-castle of Chalkis. The bridge connected the Island of Euboea to the Greek mainland. Of the castle only the basements remains today. Unknown artist, ca. 1835 (after https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Euripos_1835.jpg, acces on 02.11.2015).

Ryc. 1. Ufortyfikowany most w Chalkidzie. Most łączył wyspę Eubeę ze stałym lądem. Z zamku zostały się jedynie pozostałości fundamentów. Artysta nieznan, ok. 1835 r. (after https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Euripos_1835.jpg, dostęp 02.11.2015).



Fig. 2. Chalchis barbutas: 1 – collection of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, MNB R2; 2 – collection of the Museo Stibbert in Florence. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 2. Barbuty z Chalkidy: 1 – kolekcja Museo Nazionale del Bargello we Florencji, nr inw. MNB R2; 2 – kolekcja Museo Stibbert we Florencji. *Fot. M. Goll.*

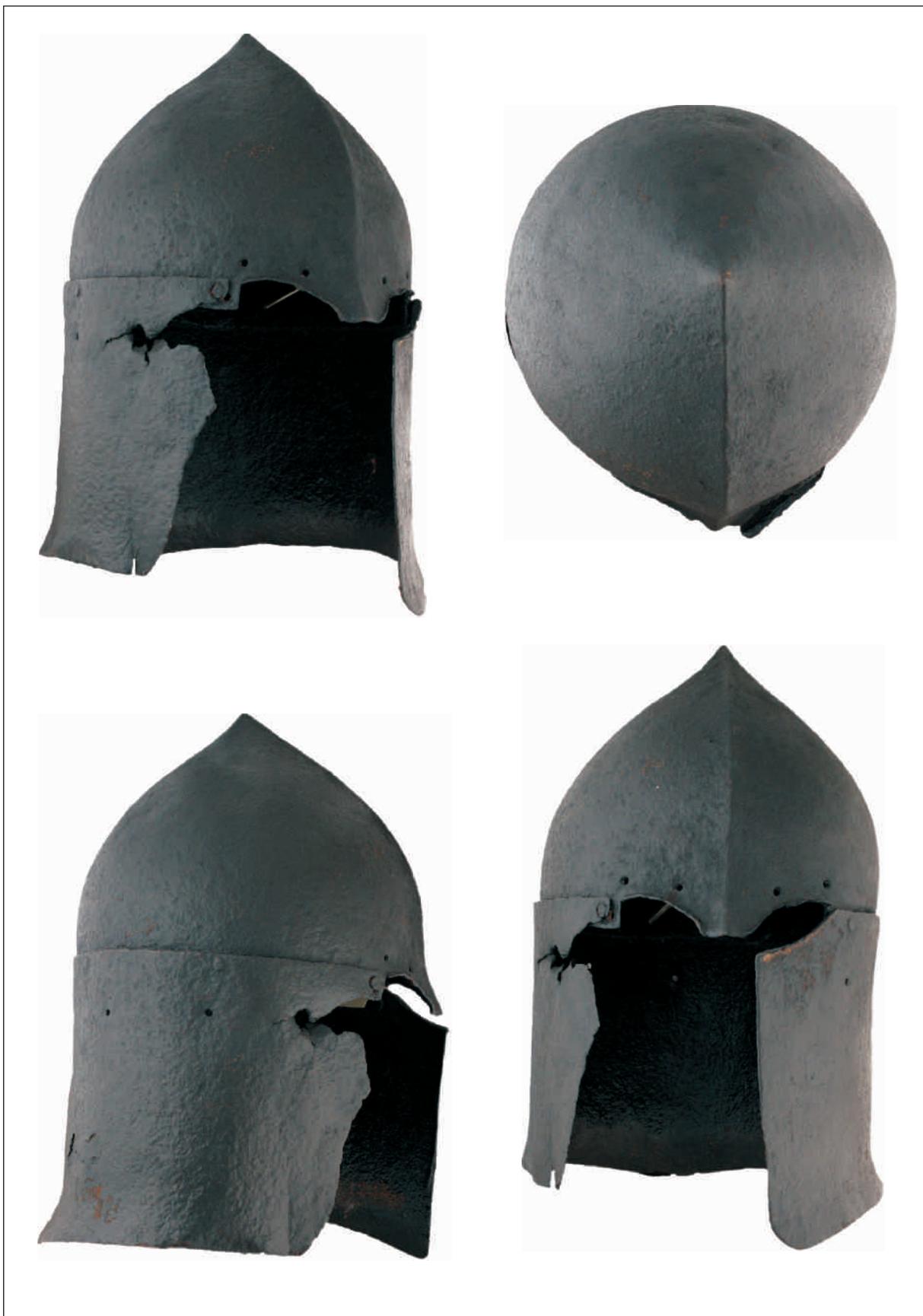


Fig. 3. Chalcis barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B26. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 3. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B26. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 4. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B32. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 4. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B32. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 5. Chalcis barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B36. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 5. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B36. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 6. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B37. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 6. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B37. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 7. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B38. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 7. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B38. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 8. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B39. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 8. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B39. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 9. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B25. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 9. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B25. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 10. Chalcis barbata from the National Historical Museum in Athens. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 10. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 11. Chalcis barbata from the Royal Armouries in Leeds, RAIV.534 (the lower plate is a modern replacement). *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 11. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Royal Armouries w Leeds, nr inw. RAIV.534 (dolna część jest współczesną rekonstrukcją). *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 12. Chalcis barbata from the Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 11271 (it's not clear if the lower plate belongs to this helmet). *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 12. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Askeri Mueze w Stambule, nr inw. AMI 11271 (nie jest jasne, czy dolna część należy do tego hełmu). *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 13. Chalcis barbata from the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PMA 1977-167-52. Photo by M. Goll.

Ryc. 13. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Philadelphia Museum of Art w Filadelfii, nr inw. PMA 1977-167-52. Fot. M. Goll.



Fig. 14. Chalcis barbata from the Klingbeil Collection, KC 102. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 14. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Klingbeil, nr inw. KC 102. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 15. Chalcis barbute from the former Klingbeil Collection, KC 096 (the lower plate is a modern replacement). *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 15. Barbuta z Chalkidy w Kolekcji Klingbeil, nr inw. KC 096 (dolna część jest współczesną rekonstrukcją). *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 16. Chalcis barbute in an unknown private collection. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 16. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji prywatnej. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 17. Chalcis barbute from the National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh, NMS A.1956.1297 (the lower plate is a modern replacement). *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 17. Barbuta z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowym Muzeum Szkocji w Edynburgu, nr inw. NMS A.1956.1297 (dolna część jest współczesną rekonstrukcją). *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 18. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B16. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 18. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B16. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 19. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B17. Photo by M. Goll.

Ryc. 19. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B17. Fot. M. Goll.

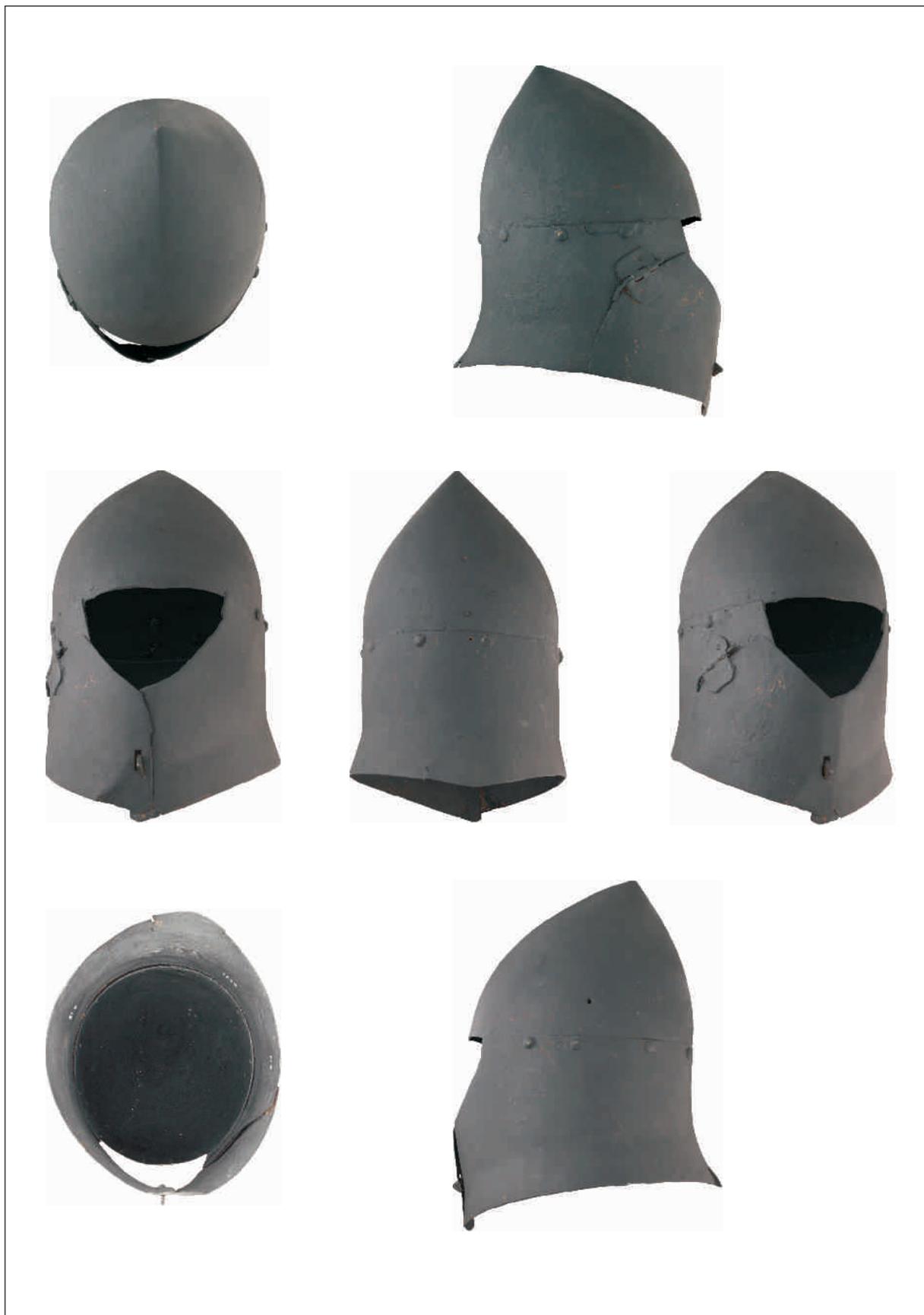


Fig. 20. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B18. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 20. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B18. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 21. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B19. Photo by M. Goll.

Ryc. 21. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B19. Fot. M. Goll.



Fig. 22. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B20. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 22. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B20. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 23. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B21. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 23. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B21. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 24. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B22. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 24. Helm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B22. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 25. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B23. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 25. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B23. *Fot. M. Goll.*

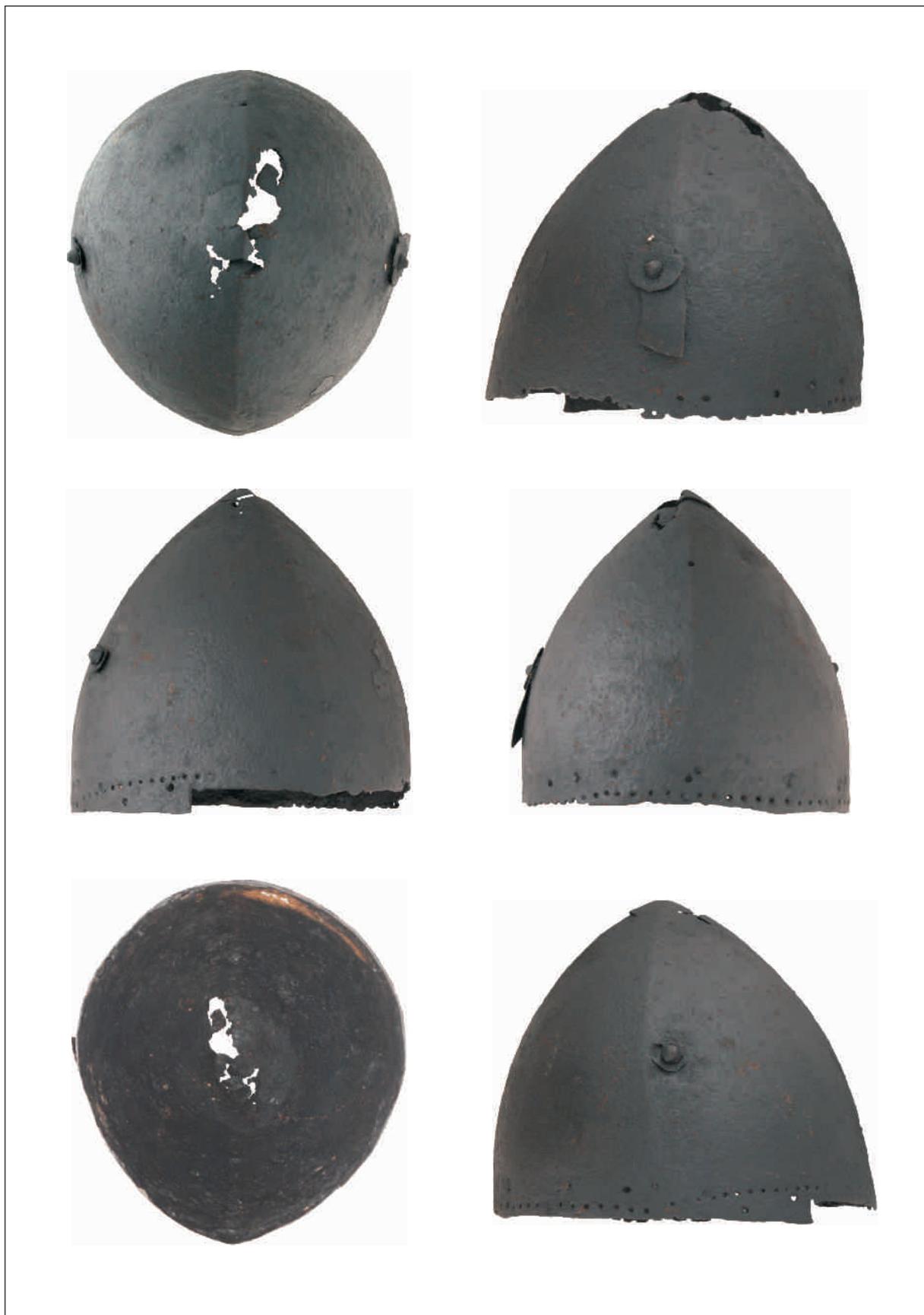


Fig. 26. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B28. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 26. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B28. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 27. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B29. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 27. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B29. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 28. Chalcis closed helmet's visor from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B61. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 28. Zasłona hełmu zamkniętego z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B61. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 29. Chalcis closed helmet from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B30. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 29. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B30. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 30. Chalcis closed helmet from the Museo Luigi Marzoli in Brescia, MLM 272. Photo by M. Goll.

Ryc. 30. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji Museo Luigi Marzoli w Brecsi, nr inw. MLM272. Fot. M. Goll.



Fig. 31. Chalcis closed helmet's visor from the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PMA 1977-167-177. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 31. Zasłona hełmu zamkniętego z Chalkidy w kolekcji Philadelphia Museum of Art w Filadelfii, nr inw. PMA 1977-167-177. *Fot. M. Goll.*

Fig. 32. Chalcis closed helmet's visor from the Hofjagd- und Ruestkammer of Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, HJRK A229. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 32. Zasłona hełmu zamkniętego z Chalkidy w kolekcji Hofjagd- und Ruestkammer Kunsthistorisches Museum w Wiedniu, nr inw. HJRK A229. *Fot. M. Goll.*





Fig. 33. Chalcis closed helmet from private collection. *Photo archive by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 33. Hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy w kolekcji prywatnej. *Fot. z archiwum M. Golla.*

Armour from the former Ottoman Arsenal⁵

European medieval armour from the former Ottoman Arsenal, now in the Askeri Müze in Istanbul, was partly⁶ published by the author in 2014. The vast majority – later armour on display and thousands of items in the depot – still waits for a scientific investigation and publication. In this collection many of the helmets are of Western European provenance and make, but some are of special types, not really corresponding to definitely Western European examples. It is noteworthy that objects corresponding to the latter helmet types are to be found in the National Historical Museum in Athens.

Armour from the city of Chalkis⁷

The find of armour in Chalkis can be described as one of the most important arsenal-like assemblages

of late medieval armour. The objects were maybe walled in or left behind⁸ by the Venetians before 1470 – just before the Castle of Chalkis⁹ was captured by the Turks – and were not detected by the new rulers until the wall collapsed (ffoulkes 1911, 381-382).¹⁰

The topic of the Chalkis finds is still waiting to be discussed scientifically as a whole. After a few undetailed notes of a contemporary to its discovery (Buchon 1843, 134) three articles were published on the subject (ffoulkes 1911; Blair 1983; Vassilatos 1999), while some of the helmets are discussed in articles with another subject (Scalini 1984, 3-5). Two articles or monographs remain unpublished in the Royal Armouries Library in Leeds (Boccia, not dated; Norman, not dated).

Anyway, the objects now in Athens were found about 1840 in the castle of the city of Chalkis

⁵ Askeri Müze Istanbul, partially dispersed to other collections.

⁶ All helmets from before 1500 on display were examined.

⁷ National Historical Museum Athens, to a large degree dispersed to other collections.

⁸ It is rather likely that the armour was not ready for use at the time it was discarded in the castle. Most items were incomplete and/or damaged at the time they were found (see also: ffoulkes 1911, 381).

⁹ The items were certainly not found in the Karababa Castle (built in 1684 by the Turks), situated on the mainland side of the modern town. It is more likely that they were walled in or accidentally left behind in the medieval Venetian bridge-castle (Fig. 1), today for the most part demolished (see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euripus_Strait, 28.10.2015 – thanks to Christopher Retsch for the very important hints on this).

¹⁰ In the note (Hefner-Alteneck 1854, 83) it is stated that the helmets were found in the castle's cistern. Imprecise drawings of few of the helmets are added (*ibid.*, Fig. 63). The Island of Euboea together with the city of Chalkis from 1830 on has been a part of the new founded Greek State.

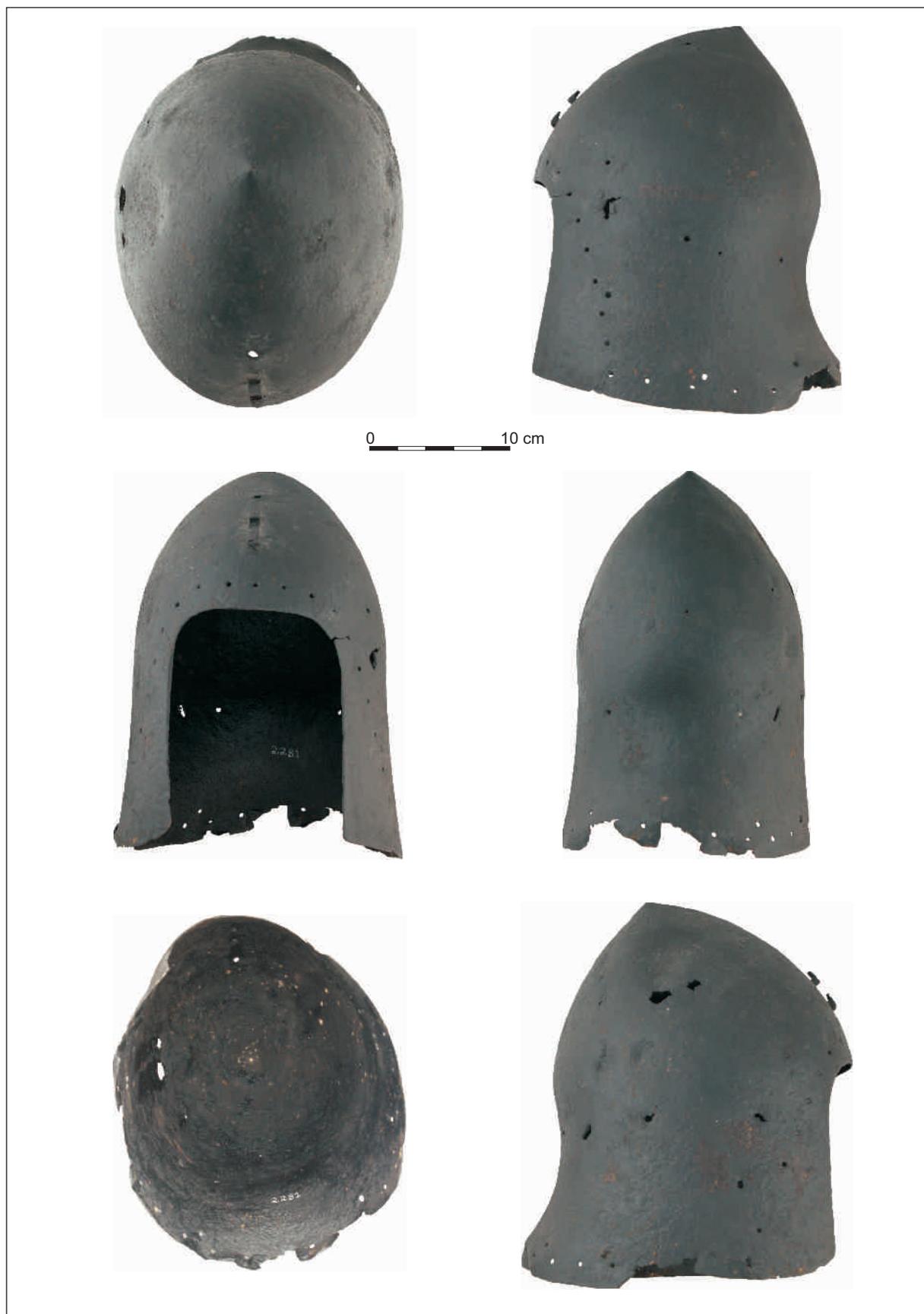


Fig. 34. Basinet-barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B1. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 34. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B31. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 35. Basinet-barbute from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B3. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 35. Basinet-barbute w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B3. *Fot. M. Goll.*

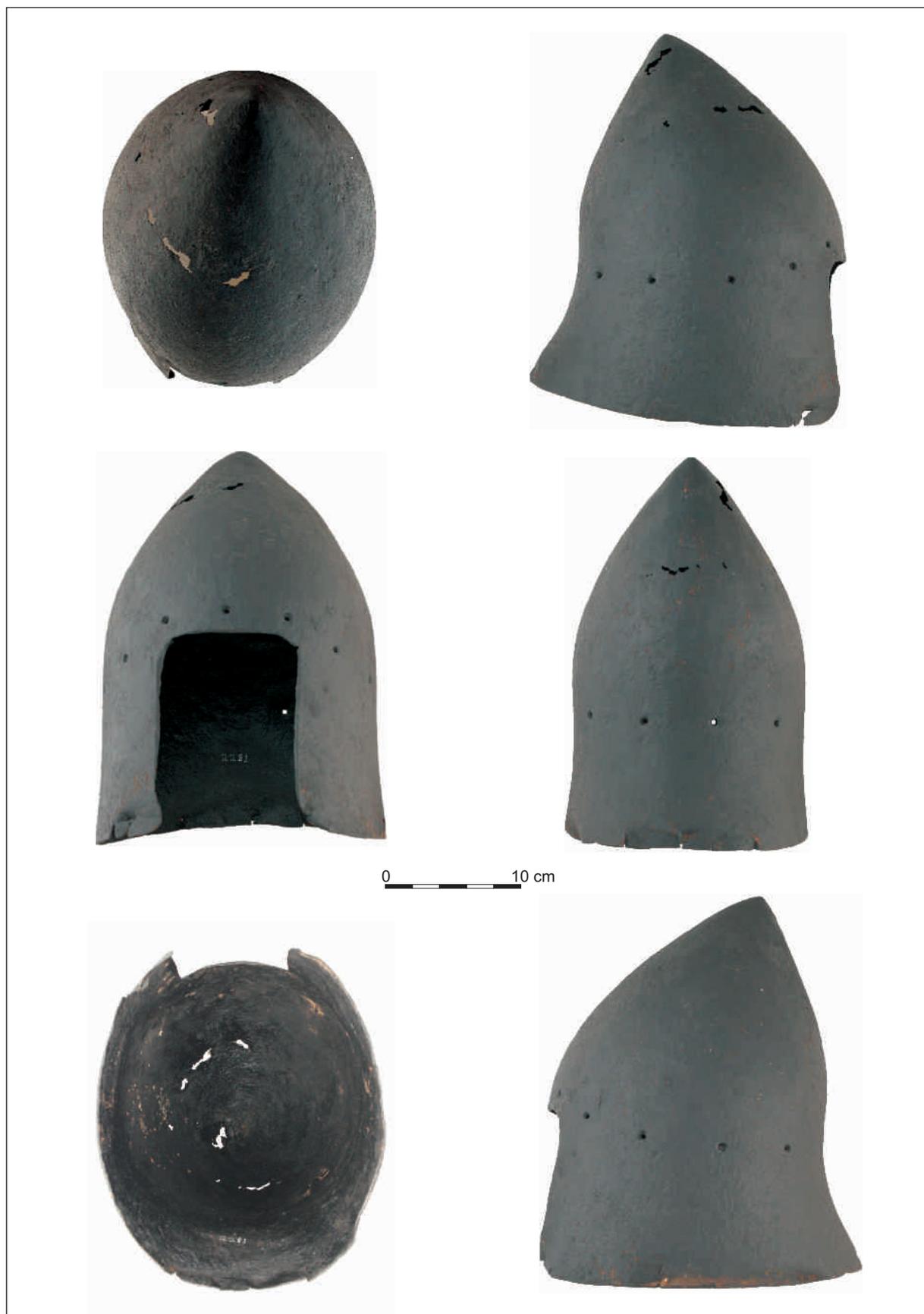


Fig. 36. Basinet-barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B4. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 36. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B4. *Fot. M. Goll.*

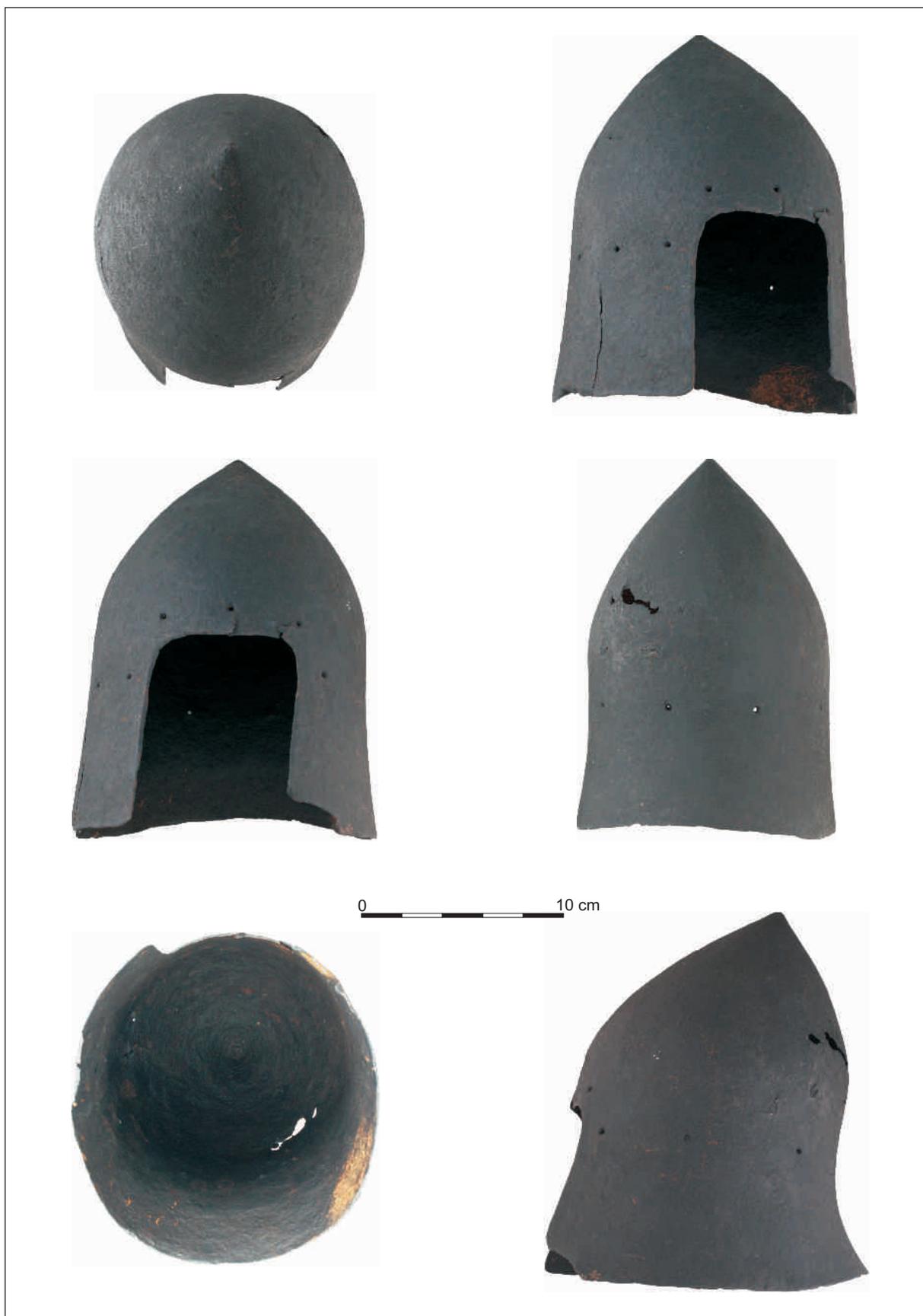


Fig. 37. Basinet-barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B5. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 37. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B5. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 38. Basinet-barbuta from the National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B2. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 38. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Narodowego Muzeum Historycznego w Atenach, nr inw. HMAT B2. *Fot. M. Goll.*

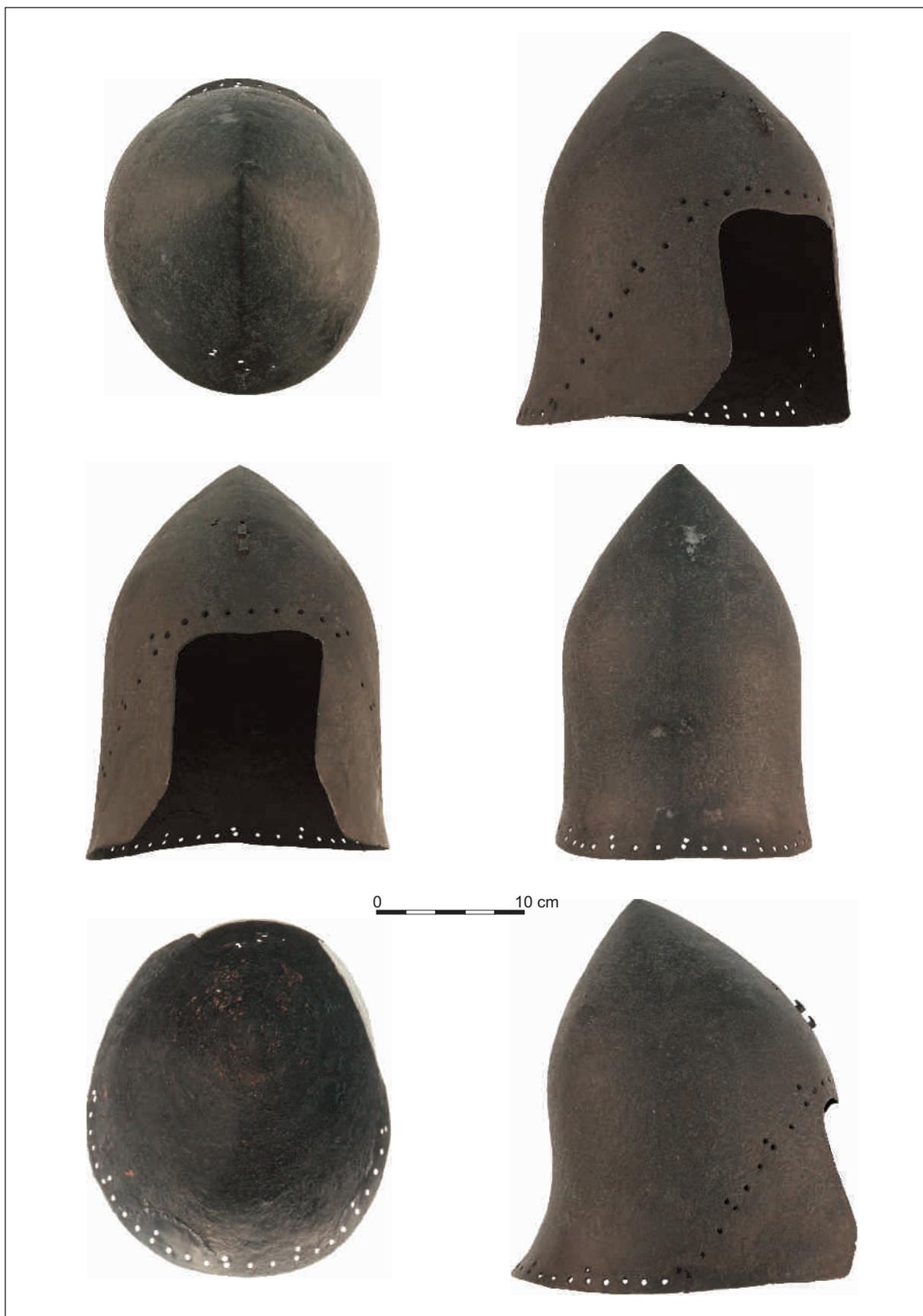


Fig. 39. Basinet-barbuta from the Cleveland Museum of Art in Cleveland, CMA 1923.1065. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc. 39. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Cleveland Museum of Art w Cleveland, nr inw. CMA 1923.1065. *Fot. M. Goll.*



Fig. 40. Basinet-barbuta from the Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 2205. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc.40. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Askeri Mueze w Stambule, nr inw. AMI 2205. *Fot. M. Goll.*

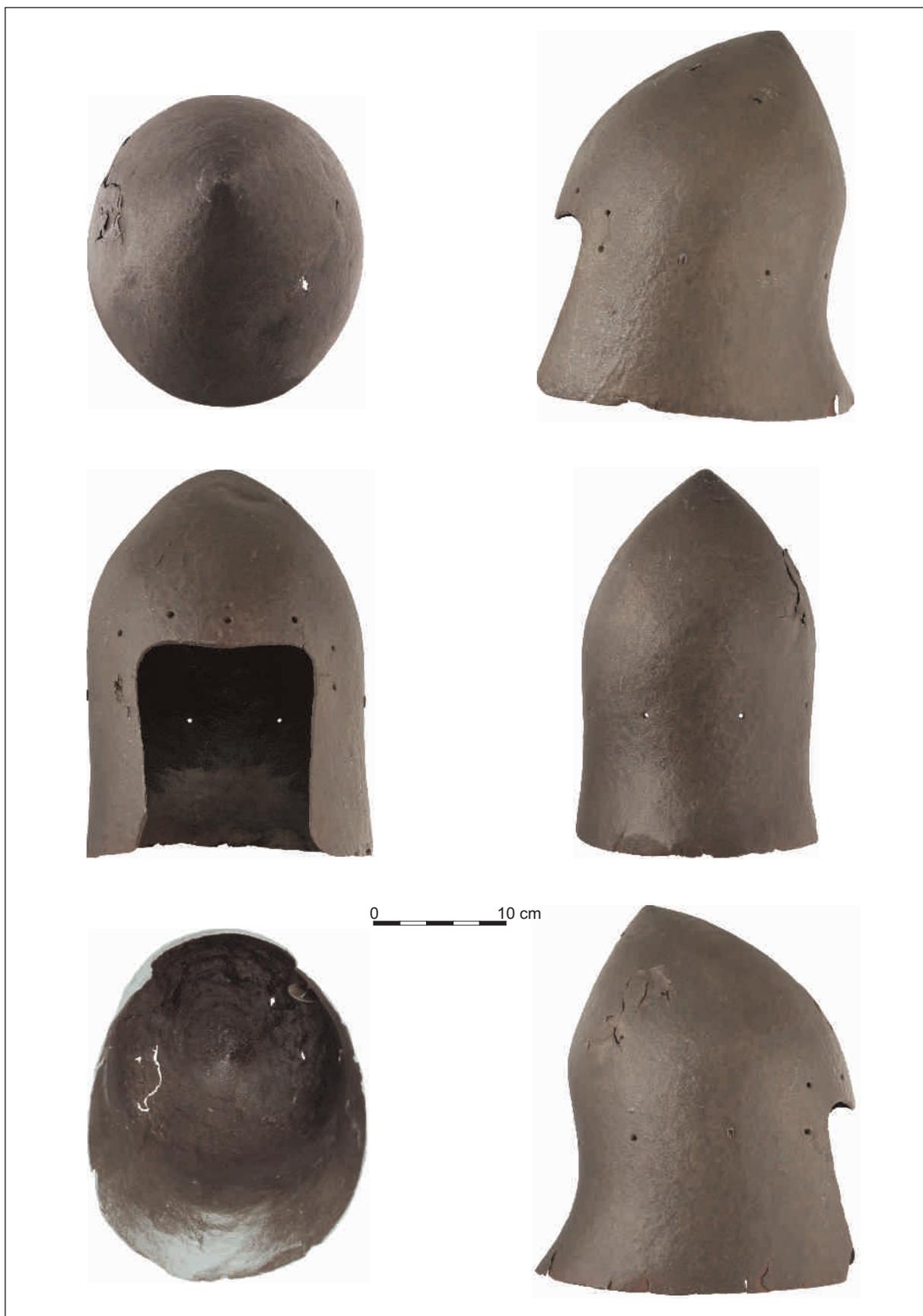


Fig. 41. Basinet-barbuta from the Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 7061. *Photo by M. Goll.*

Ryc.41. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Askeri Mueze w Stambule, nr inw. AMI 7061. *Fot. M. Goll.*

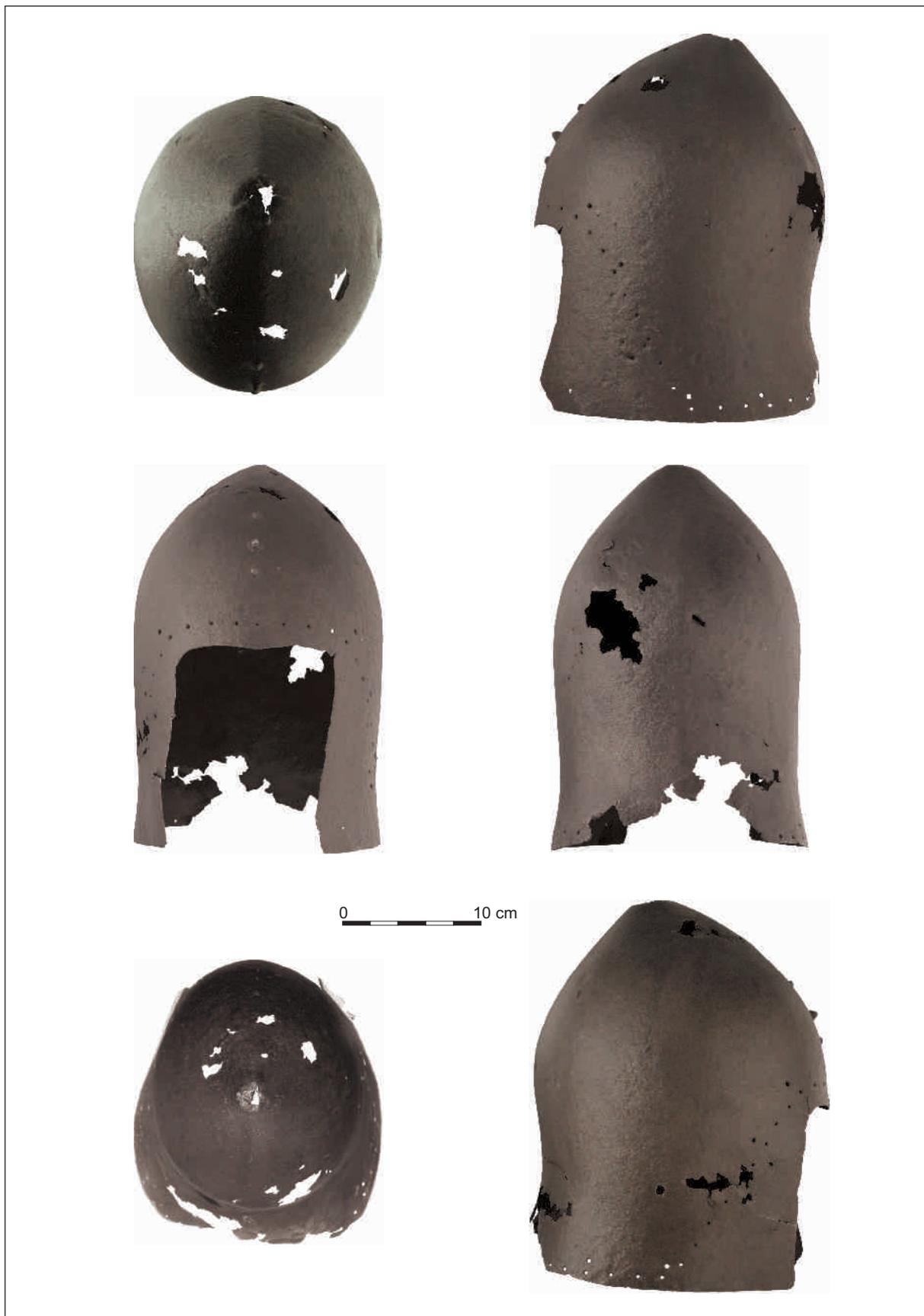


Fig. 42. Basinet-barbuta from the Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 7062. Photo by M. Goll.

Ryc.42. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji Askeri Mueze w Stambule, nr inw. AMI 7062. Fot. M. Goll.



Fig. 43. Basinet-barbute from the Wallace Collection in London, WCA74. *Photo by M. Goll, copyright Wallace Collection.*

Ryc.43. Basinet-barbute w kolekcji Wallace Collection w Londynie, nr inw. WCA74. *Fot. M. Goll, copyright Wallace Collection.*

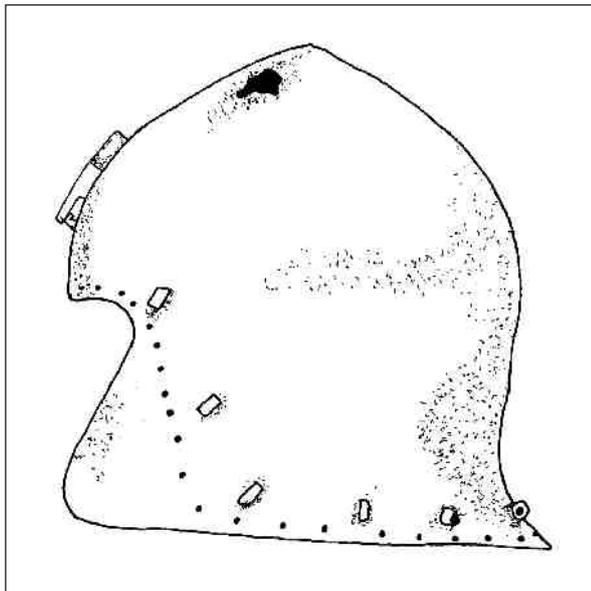


Fig. 44. Basinet-barbute from the Military Museum in Belgrade, MMBE 075. *Archive of M. Goll.*

Ryc. 44. Basinet-barbute w kolekcji Muzeum Wojskowego w Belgradzie, nr inw. MMBE 075. *Archiwum M. Golla.*

in Greece.¹¹ The aforesaid articles give different numbers of items. There are reports of about 100 helmets from the time of their discovery (ffoulkes 1911, 382). In 2010 the author found 63¹² helmets¹³ and 8 other armour parts (for arm, throat and torso) from Chalkis left in Athens.¹⁴ Some of the missing head protections, together

with segments of arm, leg and plates of segmented torso protections made it to other collections throughout the past 175 years. The largest part came to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) in New York via Bashford Dean's bequest.¹⁵ Probably all the items from Chalkis in the museum are now accessible in the institution's free online database.¹⁶ The items remaining in Athens and in other collections can all be found in the author's PhD-Thesis (Goll 2014).¹⁷

From the bulk of the armour said to come from the region, the items protecting the torso and the limbs are clearly Western or central European in their design. Due to the evident relationship between many items from the aforesaid "historical" arsenals of Istanbul and Chalkis, it seems that especially certain types of helmets have been favoured in the concerned region only. Three types that are extant in Athens and in Istanbul shall be discussed below. They were chosen as the three groups of armour parts that stylistically are clearly linked to the region. Many items from different collections are included in the considerations and – probably more importantly – shown below in different views. Future investigations may focus on the remaining other helmet types, on the torso or on the limb protections.

Type-V.¹⁸ "Chalkis barbute"

The first group consists of 21 helmets of type-V, most of them from Chalkis.¹⁹ They consist of two plates only, none has or had a visor attached

¹¹ It is most interesting to know that together with the armour also a considerable number of late medieval jewelry and coins was found. The majority is now in the British Museum, where it is accessible via: www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?place=36592&plaA=36592-3-2&page=1 (06.09.2015). Further items are in the Ashmolean Museums, see: (Dalton 1911).

¹² Already by 1911 ffoulkes has spoken of 63 helmets in Athens (ffoulkes 1911, 382).

¹³ Or parts of such.

¹⁴ It is never clear if quoted numbers count e. g. a single face protection as one "helmet". This is the way the author counted the items. Each unaccompanied fragment stands for one item of the concerned type.

¹⁵ Bashford Dean, Curator of the Arms and Armour Department of the MET from 1906-1928, acquired them about 1920 for his private collection. After his death in 1928, the objects were bought by the MET (see Grancsay, Kienbusch 1933). Without further research it is impossible to list all the parts that actually belonged to the Chalkis hoard, especially as many items got completed by new parts or were joined with other original pieces. For example, see the notes on an armour-suit merely composed from Chalkis pieces (Dean 1925), for images see: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/23205?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=Chalkis&pos=1>, acc. no. 29.154.3 19.10.2015.

¹⁶ See www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=Chalkis&rpp=90&pg=1, 06.09.2015. Furthermore, you can search the same database for the following access numbers (all single face guards of helmets): 29.158.540; 29.158.541; 29.158.542; 29.158.543; 543; 29.158.544; 29.158.547 and 29.158.552. These items are not recorded as coming from Chalkis, but as they came from Bashford Dean's collection just like the Chalkis related objects and as they are so closely corresponding to items remaining in Athens, it is very likely that they came from Chalkis.

¹⁷ See <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/17203> (13.10.2015). The object-references in this article, given in brackets, were purposely left as they will be found in the author's PhD thesis.

¹⁸ For the definitions of the different types (Goll 2014, 57ff).

¹⁹ These are the specimens from collections in Bargello and Stibbert museums in Florence (Fig. 2:1-2), Athens (Fig. 3-10), Istanbul (Fig. 11), Leeds (Fig. 12 – lower plate modern replacement), Philadelphia (Fig. 13), Klingbeil Collection (Fig. 14-15), unknown provenance (Fig. 16) and New York (see <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=29.158.42>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=29.158.47>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=49.120.6> – lower plate only, access 18.10.2015). One of the aforesaid helmets (Fig. 13) has been kept in an arsenal of the Ottoman Empire for centuries. From these arsenals thousands of armour parts came

and often the lower plate is lost. The face-cutout is usually Y-shaped. All helmets are crudely worked, only the edges of the cutouts above the eyes are turned in some cases, simply angling outward by 90 degrees. On the items where the lower plate is missing, the burred lower edge of the skull is visible (Fig. 9). The skulls are pointed to a varying degree. The helmets differ slightly in the shape of the cutouts above the eyes. While many have only one frontal medial ridge, some of the skulls show at each side additional vertical ridges from the point towards the ears (Fig. 5, 7, 9). Furthermore, the arrangement of the holes for the lining-rivets is not the same on all the helmets. One of the helmets from the MET²⁰ has a cheek-piece attached by a hinge on the right side. This could also be a modern restoration as the hinge is worked too crudely and is attached by screws.²¹

Type-II. “Chalkis closed helmet”

Majority of specimens from the another fragmentary²² group of 27²³ type-II helmets²⁴ comes from Chalkis. The skulls of these helmets are – similarly to those of the type-V helmets discussed before – worked separately from the lower plate. The latter is shaped a bit differently: it usually flares out more at the nape and it is

closed by an articulated flap at the right side of the chin, secured by a turning pin. Additionally, the face is protected by a visor with pivots on the sides of the skull. Only one of these helmets seems to be complete (Fig. 33). The further two complete examples (Fig. 30) and a specimen from New York were intensively repaired and completed. All of these helmets differ slightly from each other: the cheek-pieces are of different sizes, the edges of the visors are of different shapes, the vision is either of one single or of two slits. The visor (Fig. 28) is made of two vertical plates – a very uncommon construction for a face guard of that time. On the skull (Fig. 25) a medial band, forming a point at the centre of the skull, is attached. The skulls differ slightly in the shape of their points and the design of the cutouts on the forehead. Nevertheless, the technical system is the same in all the helmets and the general appearance is very similar.²⁶

Type-V. “Chalkis basinet-barbuta”

A third group of 15²⁷ helmet-skulls, about half of them are from Chalkis or attributed to this find, will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The similarity of all helmets is their low reaching skull made from one plate, tapered below the ears and thus forming a flaring nape-guard. No plate-

to Europe in 1839-1840 (Pyrrh 1989, 87). As items similar to the Chalkis find actually existed and still exist in Istanbul (see the images made by Bashford Dean, printed in Pyrrh’s article), it is possible that three helmets (Fig. 14-15, 17) came from Istanbul. It could be that the separate lower plate from the MET (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=49.120.6>, access 18.10.2015) actually belongs to one of the separate skulls, which would reduce the total number of these helmets to a total of 20.

²⁰ See <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=29.158.47>, access 18.10.2015.

²¹ Iron screws of such a size came into the general use by the end of the 15th c. only. The author does not know of any genuinely screwed hinge on armour.

²² As the single visors in the MET came probably via Dean from Chalkis, it is possible that the originally associated helmets are still extant in Athens.

²³ Not all the items are from Chalkis, but due to their similarity they belong to this group. They are preserved in Athens (Fig. 18-29), Brescia (Fig. 30), Philadelphia (Fig. 31), Vienna (Fig. 32) and all face guards from New York (Metropolitan Museum of Arts, see: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/27655?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=29.158.540&pos=1> to <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/27655?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=29.158.547&pos=1>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/27655?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=29.158.552&pos=1>, lower plate only, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/27638?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=49.120.8&pos=1>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/22773?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=29.158.46&pos=1>, lower plate only, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/27637?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=49.120.7&pos=1>, access 19.10.2015). The last face guard or visor is said to have been excavated in Milan in 1889 in the Via Sta. Caterina (Thomas, Gamber 1976, 59) but this street does not exist today, there is just a Viccolo Santa Caterina. The item came together with other objects to Vienna, which were all catalogued as products of armourer(s) from Milan. A part of a segmented back protection (Goll 2014, ref_arm_4800) still retains fragments of fabric. This is similarly found on items from Chalkis (e.g. *ibid.*, ref_arm_3867). Fabric on archaeological finds is very uncommon. It is noteworthy that the items came in the year when the curator of the Viennese collection, Wendelin Boeheim, had just released an article on armourers and armour from Milan (Boeheim 1889). It is therefore well possible, that the Vienna items came from Chalkis or another source via dark channels and were given a faked provenance. By the time this article was printed the author’s request concerning this topic was not yet answered by the Viennese colleagues (Fig. 33 and Goll 2014, ref_arm_4460).

²⁴ At least one is a converted or re-used older helmet (Fig. 26).

²⁵ See: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/22773?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=29.158.46&pos=1>

²⁶ This can only be presumed for the lost helmets of which only the visors remain.

²⁷ These are preserved in Athens (Fig. 34-38), Cleveland (Fig. 39), Istanbul (Fig. 40-42), London (Fig. 43), Belgrade (Fig. 44), Kreuzenstein castle (Fig. 45) and New York (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/23238>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/22772>, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/26447>, access 07.10.2015).



Fig. 45. Basinet-barbute from the Kreuzenstein castle in Leobendorf. *Archive of M. Goll.*

Ryc.45. Basinet-barbute w kolekcji zamku Kreuzenstein w Leobendorf. *Archiwum M. Golla.*



Fig. 46. Helmet from private collection. *Photo archive by M. Goll.*

Ryc.46. Basinet-barbuta w kolekcji prywatnej. *Fot. z archiwum M. Golla.*

edge is turned and – with the exception of items from Kreuzenstein castle (Fig. 45) and New York²⁸ – all skulls have a central point. Nearly identical in shape, some are equipped with studs along the lower edge or at least the holes are visible. With these studs a ring-armour collar was attached. A row of small holes for the lining-stitching is visible along the edge. Other helmets have only a row of holes for the lining rivets encircling the skull on the level of the ears (Fig. 35-38,41 and two New York examples).²⁹ On one of New York specimens (see note 28) the studs still retain fragments of wire and a plate strap to which the ring-armour was linked. All helmets prepared for the attachment of ring-armour also have the holes or the hooks and pins for the attachment of a central pivoting visor, of which no extant example can be attributed to this helmet-model. The latter variations – with the exception of the specimens from Athens (Fig. 34) and Kreuzenstein castle (Fig. 45) – have a medial ridge on the upper part of the skull. The helmets that never had a ring-armour collar do not seem to have had a visor too, as no features for its attachment are recognizable.

²⁸ See: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/23238>. The upper part of the skull is reconstructed by resin, therefore the current shape is not necessarily the original one.

²⁹ See: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/22772> and <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/26447>.



Fig. 47. A study of the head of a man-at-arms. Bono da Ferrara, ca. 1450 (after *Degenhart, Schmitt 1995*).

Ryc. 47. Studium głowy zbrojnego. Bono da Ferrara, ok. 1450 r. (wg *Degenhart, Schmitt 1995*).



Fig. 48. A Tympanon with the relief-depiction of a knight in full armour, wearing a helmet which could be a Type II “Chalkis closed helmet”. Unknown artist. Croatia, Šibenik, Jurij Baraković Street, No. 18, ca. 1450. *Archive of M. Goll.*

Ryc. 48. Tympanon z płaskorzeźbą rycerza w pełnej zbroi płytowej i helmie, który może odpowiadać typowi II – „helmowi zamkniętemu z Chalkidy”. Artysta nieznan. Chorwacja, Szybenik, ul. Jurija Barakovića 18, ok. 1450 r. *Archiwum M. Golla.*

Collection data	Dimensions (in cm)		References	Figure	Collection data	Dimensions (in cm)		References	Figure
	height	ear to ear				height	ear to ear		
Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, MNB R2			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1462	2:1	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B28			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1453	26
Museo Stibbert in Florence, MSF (No. not available)			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2063	2:2	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B29			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1454	27
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B26			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1984	3	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B61			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1455	28
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B32			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1988	4	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B30			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1588	29
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B36			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1989	5	Museo Luigi Marzoli in Brescia, MLM 272			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1458	30
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B37			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1990	6	Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PMA 1977-167-177			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1483	31
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B38			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1991	7	Hofjagd- und Rustkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, HJRK A229			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1487	32
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B39			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1992	8	Private collection			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4408	33
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B25			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2011	9	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B1	28,0	18,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_1981	34
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT (No. not available)			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2022	10	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B3			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1986	35
Royal Armouries in Leeds, RA IV.534			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2103	11	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B4	29,5	19,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_1993	36
Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 11271	29,0	17,5	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2072	12	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B5	19,0	19,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2000	37
Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PMA 1977-167-52			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2167	13	National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B2			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2095	38
former Klingbeil Collection, KC 102			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4389	14	Cleveland Museum of Art in Cleveland, CMA 1923.1065	27,0	17,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2051	39
former Klingbeil Collection, KC 096			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4617	15	Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 2205	29,5	18,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2073	40
Private collection			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4584	16	Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 7061	29,5	19,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2097	41
National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh, NMS A.1956.1297			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2059	17	Askeri Mueze in Istanbul, AMI 7062	28,5	18,0	Goll 2014, ref_arm_2098	42
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B16			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1445	18	Wallace Collection in London, WC A74			Goll 2014, ref_arm_2112	43
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B17			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1446	19	Military Museum in Belgrade, MMBE 075			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4630	44
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B18			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1447	20	Burg Kreuzenstein in Leobendorf, BK (1)			Goll 2014, ref_arm_4267	45
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B19			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1448	21	Private collection			Goll 2014, ref_arm_5112	46
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B20			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1449	22					
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B21			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1450	23					
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B22			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1451	24					
National Historical Museum in Athens, HMAT B23			Goll 2014, ref_arm_1452	25					

Table 1. Comparison of helmets described in text.

Tab. 1. Zestawienie hełmów omówionych w artykule.

As especially the helmets without a ring-armour collar attachment still have a rough surface, it is possible that they were also not ground and polished. Their making from one plate, the shape of the face cutout and the elegant tapering is very similar to later Italian type-V helmets, the classic “barbuta”, of which some examples also come from Chalkis.

The examples with a ring-armour collar attachment are probably the younger variations, as the only specimen with the features of both variations has no medial ridge (Fig. 34) – just like the helmets without a ring-armour collar. Therefore, it is possible that this helmet was first produced for the attachment of an interior lining only and was later fitted with studs for the attachment of a ring-armour collar. It is also possible that the helmet variations were made about the same time.

The localization of the workshops

In addition to their similarities, the fact that so many helmets were found together in Chalkis – and thus were probably once bought together – makes the production of each group in the surroundings of one workshop very likely. Where the helmets were actually made is unclear. Boccia suggested their production in the Aegean region.³⁰ Two of the type V “Chalkis barbuta” clearly did not belong to the Chalkis hoard³¹ (Fig. 11 and Goll 2014, ref_arm_4460), but both were also found in the Eastern Mediterranean Region (Istanbul and Cyprus). All the other comparable examples have either no reliable provenance or they are said to have come from Chalkis.

Armourer’s or city marks can usually tell about the origin of armour. Only one of the type-II examples bears 2 identical visible marks – a “P” or an “R” under the crown (Fig. 30). Letter marks under the crown are often found on Italian – more precisely Lombardian – armour. According to their marks, many other items from Chalkis – not discussed here – were actually made in the northern Italian region. On the contrary to these usually later examples, the helmets discussed above have only few corresponding pieces in Western Europe.

The dating of the helmets

It is difficult to date these helmets, as only few comparable depictions in art have been found

yet. The dating is discussed very controversially in the concerning literature.³² The capture of the city of Chalkis by the Turks in the year 1470 provides a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the dating of all the objects found.

Concerning the Type V “Chalkis Basinet-Barbuta”: about 1450 Bono da Ferrara depicted a helmet (Fig. 47) very similar to the specimen from New York collection (see note 28). By this date these helmets had certainly been known, but this type could still be much older. Concerning the Type-II “Chalkis closed helmet”: Claude Blair (Blair 1983) – on the basis of the architecture in which it is included – convincingly dated the depiction of such a helmet in Sibenik (Croatia) (Fig. 48) to the mid-15th c. As the Type-V “Chalkis barbuta” is very similar in construction to the Type II “Chalkis closed helmet”, they might come from the same time.

The researcher is tempted to date the discussed helmets rather to an earlier date, as in northern Italy and southern Germany they would seem very old fashioned by the 1450s. The absence of turned edges suggests that the three discussed helmet types were made some decades before this date. Only from the mid-15th c. the turned edges became common on Italian helmets.

Presuming that the helmets were made in the Eastern Balkans or the Aegean Sea, it is possible that in the concerned region the armour making was not developing the same way as it did in Italy, France and Germany. The absence of turned edges could have lasted longer there, maybe up to the 1470s or longer.

Conclusion

According to the dating of the depictions, a somewhat uncommon and currently not provable suggestion is made:

All armour discussed here was owned by the local rulers or Western European cities which paid the soldiers in the Aegean region. The Chalkis hoard find supports this suggestion. If this is true, to equip many soldiers at once armour had to be cheap. For this purpose, used “out-of-fashion” items might have been bought in from Western Europe. This could explain furthermore the lack of comparable extant examples in Western Europe.

³⁰ Boccia sees – e. g. in the pointed skulls – an Oriental and Byzantine influence (Boccia, not dated, 10-11).

³¹ One helmet (Fig. 46) is said to have been found in the Tiber by Giorgio Bini (Blair 1983, 14).

³² The experts dated them very differently: the early 14th c. for the type-V helmets and the late 14th c. for the helmets of type-II (Vassilatos 1999, 136); between the 30s and the 60s of the 15th c. (Boccia, not dated, 7); 1370-1390 (Scalini 1984, 4); ffoulkes summarizes the production time range of the objects unspecified from the mid-14th c. to 1470; certainly too early – about 1310 (Buchon 1843).

The similarity of the helmets within the single groups is an evidence for a somehow uniform equipment of the late medieval soldiers – at least those serving in south Eastern Europe in Latin Christian stronghold-garrisons.

The open questions on the very important Chalkis finds – those in Athens are unique, unrestored, and belonging to one of the largest directly associated hoards ever found – serve as a demonstrative example that the knowledge on

late medieval armour is far from being complete. Especially on the Chalkis finds a number of open questions demand further research.³³ A print-catalogue of all linked items – after Richardson and Karcheski's Rhodes example – would be an appreciation of the importance of the find.

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ŚREDNIOWIECZNE HEŁMY ZE WSCHODNICH BAŁKANÓW I BASENU MORZA EGEJSKIEGO

Streszczenie

Celem tego artykułu jest przypomnienie badaczom średniowiecznych hełmów pochodzących z terenów wschodniobałkańskich i basenu Morza Egejskiego. Dotychczas nie opublikowano wielu przedstawień ikonograficznych ukazujących używane tam ochrony głowy, ale istnieją trzy znaczące „kolekcje” zachowanych elementów uzbrojenia ochronnego wiążących się z interesującym nas obszarem.

Uzbrojenie z miasta Rodos (wyspa Rodos, Grecja), dzisiaj rozproszone w różnych kolekcjach, nie wydaje się być oryginalnym, miejscowym wytworem. Wszystkie jego elementy są typowe dla uzbrojenia zachodnioeuropejskiego. Jedynie zbroje przechowywane w dzisiejszym Arsenale Ottomańskim (Askeri Mueze w Stambule) wyróżnia obecność kilku hełmów oryginalnych typów nie mających ścisłych analogii w zabytkach z Europy Zachodniej. Istotny jest fakt, że analogiczne hełmy zostały odkryte w Chalkidzie na Eubei ok. 1840 r. Odkrycie to jest uznawane za jedno z najważniejszych znalezisk gromadnych późnośredniowiecznych zbroi. Istnieją raporty mówiące o odkryciu wówczas ok. 100 hełmów. Niektóre ochrony głowy, obok wielu elementów ochron rąk, nóg, a także pojedynczych zbrojników, trafiły w ciągu ostatnich 175 lat do innych kolekcji. Największy ich zbiór znajduje się w Metropolitan Museum of Art w Nowym Jorku.

Wydaje się, że niektóre rodzaje hełmów były szczególnie chętnie wykorzystywane w tym regionie. Chodzi o trzy omówione w tym artykule i nazwane

przez autora typy przechowywane w Atenach i Stambule: „barbuta z Chalkidy”, „hełm zamknięty z Chalkidy” i „basinet-barbuta z Chalkidy”. Skupiono się na poszukiwaniu podobieństw i różnic w charakterystyce poszczególnych egzemplarzy każdego z typów. Datanie hełmów jest trudne, ponieważ dysponujemy tylko kilkoma bliskimi przedstawieniami ikonograficznymi. Zdobycie Chalkidy przez Turków w 1470 r. określa niezawodnie *terminus ante quem* ich zdeponowania. Kilku autorów sugeruje, że mogły one powstać ok. 1450 r. Brak wywiniętych krawędzi w zachodnioeuropejskich hełmach sugerowałby, że trzy omawiane typy ochrony głowy zostały wykonane kilkadziesiąt lat przed tą datą. Jeśli hełmy zostały wykonane w regionie egejskim, to można byłoby przypuszczać, iż korzystanie z takich rozwiązań przeżywało się tu nieco dłużej. Jest możliwe, że hełmy zostały – jako „niemodne” – kupione w Europie Zachodniej. To mogłoby tłumaczyć ponadto brak zachowanych okazów takich typów na tym terenie. Podobieństwo hełmów w obrębie każdej z grup jest też dowodem na chęć jednolitego wyposażenia zbrojnych pełniących służbę w południowo-wschodnioeuropejskich, łańskich garnizonach wojskowych.

Postawione tutaj pytania są doskonałym przykładem na to, że wiele wątków dotyczących późnośredniowiecznego uzbrojenia jest jeszcze dalekich od rozwiązania.

Tłumaczył Piotr N. Kotowicz