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## Roman helmets with a browband shaped as a vertical fronton<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** history, Roman army, art, helmet, antique

The word “fronton” is primarily an architectural term for completion (usually triangular, sometimes semicircular) facade of a building, portico, or colonnade, restricted to the two roof slopes on the sides and at the bottom of a cornice. This French term comes from the Latin “frons, frontis” meaning forehead. As is well known, narrow sides of ancient temples (the front and rear) always ended at the top with a low fronton of triangular field or tympanum that were adorned with sculpted friezes and figures. The browband plate of Roman helmets (especially in the I<sup>st</sup> century AD) with its triangular shape resembles an architectural fronton. At the same time, vertical browbands of helmets are also sometimes decorated with intricate decorations as in the architectural fronton. In the German literature to refer this part of the helmet usually uses the term “Stirnband” or “Stirndiadem”<sup>2</sup> and in English studies uses the term “brow-plate” or “forehead-plate”.<sup>3</sup>

On the heads of Roman soldiers, and in particular as part of the Praetorian equipment for a long time Hollywood peplums had so-called "Attic" helmets of various modifications. Costume design in these films was based mainly on the accurate reproduction of the Roman reliefs.

However, there are no absolutely similar specimens known to archaeology. So the question arises, what kind of helmets were depicted on these reliefs? How accurately they were represented by artists and sculptors, or do we see only a reflection of Hellenistic artistic traditions?

Both iconographic sources and preserved show that helmets from Hellenistic period had frontal parts decorated as a fronton ending with volutes at the temples.<sup>4</sup> They constituted variation of the Attic helmet, quite popular in Greek art.<sup>5</sup> This type of helmet is

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<sup>1</sup> Работа поддержана грантом (соглашение от 27 августа 2013г. № 02.В.49.21.0003 между МОН РФ и ННГУ).

<sup>2</sup> BRAAT (1961); FISCHER (2012) 155, 208.

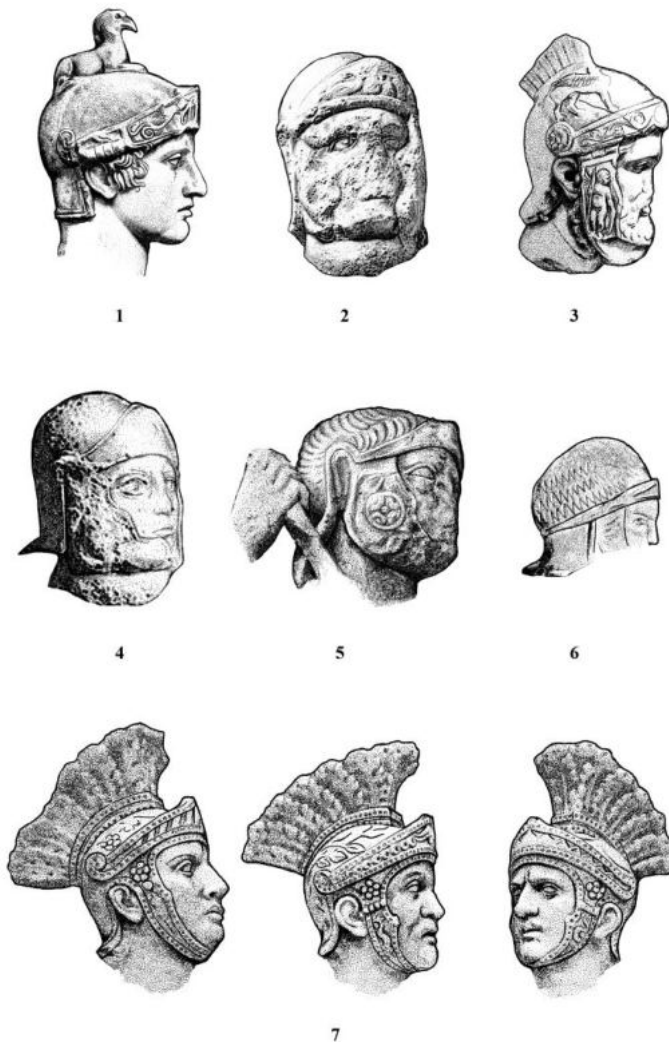
<sup>3</sup> ROBINSON (1975) 133, 138 - 139; BISHOP, COULSTON (2006) 176; TRAVIS (2014) 97.

<sup>4</sup> WAURICK (1983) 266 - 269, Taf. 38 - 39.

<sup>5</sup> WAURICK (1983) 265 - 266.

characterized by a hemispherical bowl reinforced in the frontal arc of the forehead, and, in most cases, also by vertically curved neck-guard. Sometimes this type of helmet also provides with cheek-pieces and ridge-plume of different shapes. From the end of V<sup>th</sup> century BC volutes above the ears were added to the frontal arc.

However, it is clear that between the "pseudo-Attic" Hellenistic helmets and Roman model we have hiatus is about three centuries, for this period there is no archaeological evidence of such helmets widespread in the Roman army. As for the iconographic sources, in the late Republican period they are few and show mainly Greek heroes.



**Fig. 1.** 1 – Ares from Villa Torlonia, Rome; 2 – Dolanus tombstone, Wiesbaden museum; 3 – so-called “Head of Mars”, The Art Insitute Chicago; 4 – tombstone of Rufus Sita, Gloucester; 5 – tombstone of C. Romanus Capito, Mainz; 6 – relief from Saintes; 7 – so-called “Praetorian relief” in the Louvre Museum (author’s drawing).

Reliefs of the frieze of the Basilica Aemilia in Rome<sup>6</sup> illustrating stories about the origins of Rome, which presumably date from the 1st century BC, show soldiers wearing muscle cuirasses and Attic helmets very similar to the version of Melos (by typology of G. Waurick).<sup>7</sup> The style of these images demonstrates that the authors of these compositions were influenced by so-called “neo-Attic style”, so the impact of the old Greek samples of works of art, of course, reflected in the artistic features of the monument.

Many iconographic sources depicting helmets have survived from the imperial period (fig. 1). The most important and informative ones include: triumphal arch in Orange,<sup>8</sup> Trajan's Column,<sup>9</sup> the Column of Marcus Aurelius,<sup>10</sup> and friezes from Arch of Trajan,<sup>11</sup> from Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani<sup>12</sup> and the tombstones of various cavalrymen.

All of them represent exceptional diversity of helmet types. It is, therefore, logical to wonder whether iconographic sources are reliable. In particular, the following questions come to the fore: Did all the images we have reflect actual helmets? If not, which ones most closely imitated the real samples of that time? In order to investigate this issue in more depth, we need to take into consideration the function of a given monument, a degree of the professionalism of an artist and his goals, and requirements of a customer commissioning a given piece of art. Moreover, it is useful to scrutinize the quality of the material used by sculptor, as it may be crucial to the question of whether it was technically possible to show fine detail. Although, in some cases it is very difficult to find answers to these questions, generally they help to build a conceptual model of interpretation of iconographic armament.

Roman propaganda monuments are known best of all forms of art of that period. Their relatively wide familiarity may, at least partially, be attributed to their frequent appearance in Hollywood blockbusters. Despite numerous doubts expressed by modern researchers, they continue to be valuable sources in many aspects as those monuments, mostly located in the capital, show how military weapons were perceived by its inhabitants, and especially by the sculptors who worked on these monuments. Evidently, these artists considered primarily the weapons of the metropolitan garrisons, as well as the depictions of armor on Greek and Hellenistic monuments, from which they were learning their craft. Apparently, they found it important to display the structural type of helmet, for example, the so-called Attic one, planted in a common person's mind; as a Roman saw it as being removed from the multidirectional and quick change of improvements and deteriorations, consecrated by tradition and relating to a different, deep and slow-changing sphere of existence.

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<sup>6</sup> WAURICK (1983) 286, Taf. 47.

<sup>7</sup> WAURICK (1983) 268, Taf. 38, 1 - 3, 9.

<sup>8</sup> AMY, DUVAL, FORMIGÉ, HATT (1962).

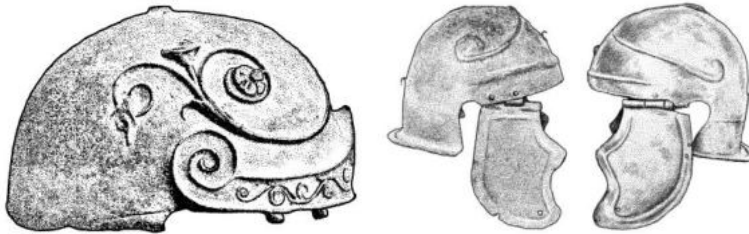
<sup>9</sup> LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN (1926).

<sup>10</sup> BECKMANN (2011); COARELLI (2008).

<sup>11</sup> L'ORANGE, VON GERKAN (1939).

<sup>12</sup> FLORESCU (1961).

Many Roman sculptures bore the traces of propaganda, whether they appeared on a triumphal arch in honor of an imperial victory or tombstone of a warrior. Their main function was to praise the deserved status and achievements of the depicted individual, and a more general, message directed to the public was glorification of the imperial policy.



From the left: **Fig. 2.** Helmet found at Ponte Sisto in Rome (after DEHN (1911) 252, author's drawing), **Fig. 3.** Helmets from Herculaneum (after ROBINSON (1975) Pl. 150 - 151, author's drawing).

Sculptors created a collective image of the Roman soldier, often sacrificing personal details. In addition, many of the capital's artists were not familiar with the real military equipment, and less skilled provincial artists who were better acquainted with military fashion, sometimes created more realistic images. However, the capital monuments should not be completely ignored, because they are likely to show soldier's equipment at the garrison of Rome, including the praetorian cohort. Apart from these monuments some other reliefs which are interpreted as depicting Praetorians and their armament can be seen on the fragments of the "Great Trajanic Frieze"<sup>13</sup> in Rome and on the so-called "Praetorian relief" in the Louvre Museum<sup>14</sup> (fig. 1, 7). All the soldiers depicted on them have ornate Attic helmets with crests and plumes which are not similar to army pieces. However, several fragments of helmets of this "Attic" shape found and still existing now allow suggesting that they existed not only on graphical sources, but also in reality.

Some British researchers completely exclude purely artistic prototype of the "Attic" helmet and called the "Attic" also Chalcidian helmet if they do not have nasal guard.<sup>15</sup> Judging by the lack of finds, after IV<sup>th</sup> century BC in Italy, helmets were not placed in a grave. However, this does not mean that the tradition of making "Attic" helmets was interrupted. Iconographic sources show that Roman artists of the Imperial period depicted its lower Italic and Hellenistic variants. In the late republican era and during the reign of Octavian Augustus there appeared helmet images of Hellenistic mixed types with a wide brim, fronton and volutes on the sides of the hemispherical or sphero-conical bowl. The wide brims of these helmets are reminiscent of the samples of the Macedonian cavalry.

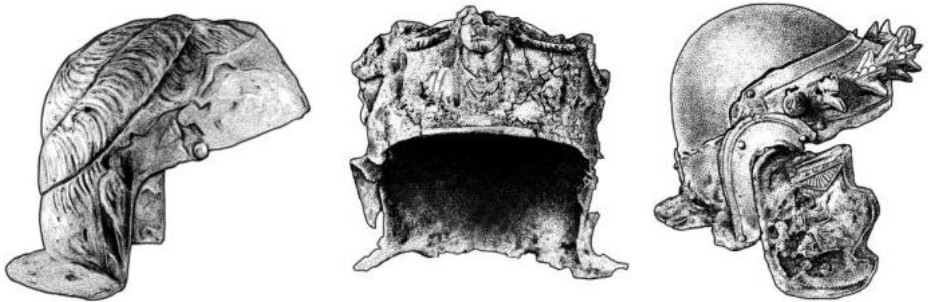
<sup>13</sup> LEANDER TOUATI (1987).

<sup>14</sup> RANKOV (1994) 20; KOEPPPEL (1990) 107; GIROIRE (2007) 177, cat. 115.

<sup>15</sup> CONNOLLY (1998) 61 - 63.

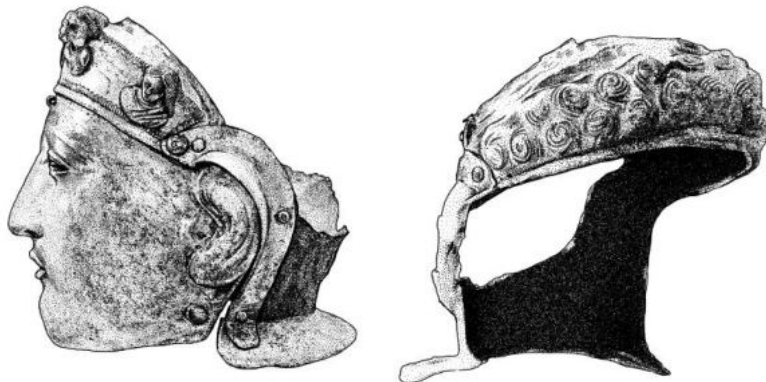
Roman cavalrymen on the altar of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus<sup>16</sup> wear similar helmets, which is consistent with the information of Polybius, who asserted that the Roman cavalry of his time was equipped in Greek style (Polyb. VI. 25). This altar dates from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and hence reflects a continuation of this tradition of helmets at a later time.

In the first decades AD "Attic" helmets appeared in scenes depicted on the so-called "Gemma Augustea".<sup>17</sup> Some of these Hellenistic helmets of "Attic" style, were



From the left: **Fig. 4.** Helmet from Northwich (author's drawing), **Fig. 5.** Helmet from Hallaton (author's drawing), **Fig. 6.** Helmet from the Waal at Nijmegen (author's drawing).

obviously copied from Greek art, as, for example, a helmet with three crests belonging to goddess Athena (Roma), which tramples the armour of a defeated enemy. G. Waurick compares helmets depicted on the "Gemma Augustea" with known samples of an "Attic" helmet, especially with helmets of Melos type, which have volutes on the sides, arched neck-guard and crest on the bowl.<sup>18</sup>



From the left: **Fig. 7.** Helmet from Nijmegen (author's drawing), **Fig. 8.** Helmet from Brza Palanka (author's drawing).

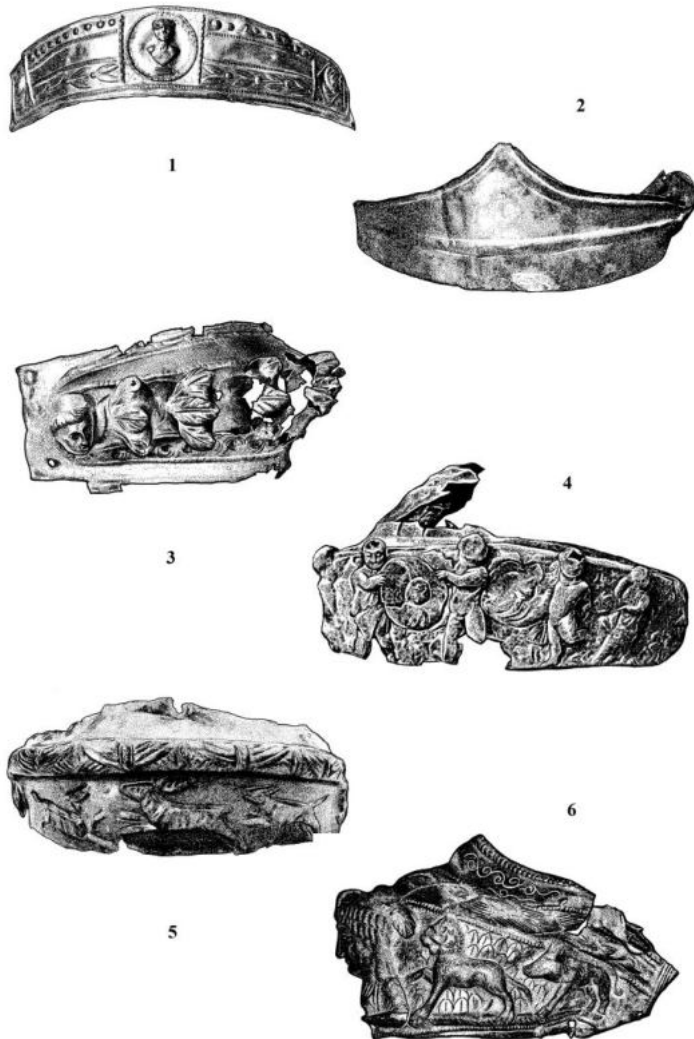
<sup>16</sup> WAURICK (1983) Taf. 51.

<sup>17</sup> WAURICK (1983) 266 - 271, Taf. 37.

<sup>18</sup> WAURICK (1983) 268.

However, it is not just echoes of conservative iconographic tradition, since in addition to images of similar “Attic” helmets there are specimens which have come down to us.

One of them is a bronze helmet with volutes and floral ornaments found<sup>19</sup> (fig. 2) at the Ponte Sisto in Rome. This piece is similar to the helmet found in Pergamum (Bergamo, Turkey) (von Lipperheide collection)<sup>20</sup> and to the helmet of the burial which was



**Fig. 9.** Frontons (browbands) from Roman helmets: 1 – Amerongen; 2 – Nijmegen; 3 – from the Waal at Nijmegen; 4 – Pamuk mogila at Brestovets near Plovdiv (before restoration); 5 – former Axel Guttman collection (AG 809); 6 – Leidsche Rijn (author’s drawing).

<sup>19</sup> DEHN (1911) 252.

<sup>20</sup> SCHRÖDER (1912) 327, 34; Beil. 12, 4.

destroyed during the construction of the Vladikavkaz fortress (State Hermitage).<sup>21</sup> Unlike the find in Rome, the latter pieces are not decorated and, apparently, are earliest and date back to the Hellenistic era. Unfortunately, it does not seem possible to date this interesting piece reliably. But if this helmet really dates back to the ancient period, then this proves clearly that imitation of the Attic helmet existed in Rome of the Imperial period.



From the upper left: **Fig. 10.** Helmet from Pamuk mogila at Brestovets near Plovdiv (after restoration) (author's drawing), **Fig. 11.** Helmet from private European collection (author's drawing), **Fig. 12.** Helmet from former Axel Guttman collection (AG 461) (author's drawing), **Fig. 13.** Helmet from Butzbach (author's drawing).

Also to this group can be attributed two earlier helmets from Herculaneum dated by the first half of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (fig. 3), which H. R. Robinson catalogues as the imperial-Italic

<sup>21</sup> RABINOVICH (1941) Tabl. XXIII.

type (in his classification: Imperial-Italic A).<sup>22</sup> However, with their small neck-guards and the absence of forehead peaks, these specimens differ from other helmets of this type (according to the above classification). At the same time, as on the helmets of the Attic type, their frontal part is decorated with a roll forming a sharp top in the middle of the forehead and with volutes. As a result, both specimens are closer to the Attic type, though because of their unusual decoration, it is doubtful whether both helmets are authentic, and H.R. Robinson even considers the possibility of an antique dealer's forgery.<sup>23</sup> However, it is tempting to construe these samples as a transitional form between the "Attic" helmet and the later Roman cavalry helmets of I-II centuries AD.

On the other hand, these helmets are very different from those depicted on cavalrymen's funerary reliefs of 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and later on the "realistic" reliefs of triumphal columns and arches.

The soldiers on Trajan's Column wear helmets, which vary in shape, although most belong to the Weisenau type. A small part of helmets have small vertical frontons in the form of onlay strap in the frontal part of the bowl, and some of them also have volutes which are reminiscent of the "Attic" helmet. Such helmets on the images of infantry and cavalry were combined with *lorica segmentata* and chain mail.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, it is unnecessary to search for direct relation of this helmets type as a specific native troops, and with a certain military rank.

There are many images of Attic helmets on Roman monuments going back to the first two centuries AD. They are depicted on Trajan's Column, Trajan's triumphal relief (parts of which were subsequently embedded into the Arch of Constantine), and on other monuments.

Often such helmets are associated with Praetorians. These are soldiers involved in the funeral ceremony (*decursio*) on the pedestal relief of Antoninus Pius column and soldiers on the famous so-called "Praetorian relief" from the Louvre. As a rule, all of them are richly decorated with embossed floral ornament, have a browband with volutes in the temporal region and equipped with longitudinal crests with plumes.

The soldiers' armaments shown on the Marcus Aurelius column are similar to what is depicted on Trajan's Column. But we see some differences. There is a hemispherical bowl on most of the helmets. In this case, the frontal arc comes back to the nape of the helmet actually girding it. This form of the helmet has no parallels in real finds, and we can talk about some kind of artistic stylization. This version of the "Attic" helmet shown on the heads of third part of the Roman soldiers on Marcus Aurelius column.<sup>25</sup> Similar helmets also

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<sup>22</sup> ROBINSON (1975) 65 - 67, Pl. 150 - 151.

<sup>23</sup> WAURICK (1983) 65.

<sup>24</sup> WAURICK (1983) 293.

<sup>25</sup> WAURICK (1983) 297.



presented on the reliefs of Septimius Severus arch.<sup>26</sup> "Attic" helmets with volutes and fronton continued to depict in Roman iconographic sources until the IV<sup>th</sup> century AD. It can be seen on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (the beginning of the IV<sup>th</sup> century AD.), and on the Arch of Constantine, and even on the reliefs from Theodosius column (end of the IV<sup>th</sup> century AD).<sup>27</sup>

However, these monuments depict "Attic" type variants not yet known in any actual findings, such as helmets with protruding fillet, separating the occipital part of the bowl and neck-guard. Apparently, it was a common type of helmet, but does not yet have an exact analogy among archaeological finds.

Later, many of the features of the "Attic" helmet can be traced on the cavalry helmets of Weiler/Koblenz-Bubenheim type that are both very close to face-mask helmets. These helmets are different from the "Attic" helmet (hence the name "pseudo-Attic") with presence of the neck-guard and with wide cheek-pieces covering the ears. To soften the "non-classical" impression on cheek-pieces were portrayed realistic ears, which visually reduce the width. But volutes there are not at all known specimens.

The emergence of new types helmets are well illustrated by cavalrymen's tombstones, but archaeological finds of such helmets have appeared recently. Most of the tombstones clearly demonstrate helmets with small neck-guard and diadem in the form of ornamental strip (fig. 1, 2, 4–6).

Some of the monuments show bowl's decoration in the form of curly hair. Also we can see wide decorated cheek-pieces covering the ears (eg, tombstones of Flavius Bassus, Romanius etc.). The earliest representations of these helmets can be seen on the arch in Orange, which testifies to their existence in the early years of the I<sup>st</sup> century AD.

In 1981 in Luxembourg at Weller south of Arlon, on the outskirts of a small urban necropolis a tomb was discovered dating back first half of the I<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>28</sup> A completely preserved helmet was found there, which is known as the type that includes similar specimens such as Northwich<sup>29</sup> (fig. 4), Nijmegen,<sup>30</sup> Xanten-Wardt,<sup>31</sup> Rennes,<sup>32</sup> Koblenz-Bubenheim<sup>33</sup> helmets.

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<sup>26</sup> WAURICK (1983), Taf. 60, 3.

<sup>27</sup> WAURICK (1983), Taf. 55, 61, 1.

<sup>28</sup> FAIRON, MOREAU-MARÉCHAL (1983) 551 -564.

<sup>29</sup> ROBINSON (1975) 94, Pl. 247 - 249.

<sup>30</sup> ENCKEVORT, WILLEMS (1994) 130, Fig. 4.

<sup>31</sup> FEUGÈRE (1994) 105.

<sup>32</sup> FEUGÈRE (1994) 107.

<sup>33</sup> KLUMBACH (1974) 45, No. 32, Taf. 32.



From the left: **Fig. 14.** Face-mask helmet from Roshava Dragana barrow at Chatalka (author's drawing), **Fig. 15.** Helmet from Koblenz-Bubenheim (author's drawing), **Fig. 16.** Helmet from Vechten (after KALEE (1989) Fig. 16, author's drawing).

This specimen has a bowl of iron, which is decorated with rows of relief curls. Iron cheek-pieces depicting the ear plating with bronze. Helmets discovered during gravel-dredging operations in a former Rhine channel near Xanten-Wardt (Germany)<sup>34</sup> give some information about the production of these samples, which were mounted from the bowl of iron, which was then plated with a richly decorated silver sheet. One of these helmets has retained traces on the surface of the textile coating, which can also be seen on the other recently discovered cavalry helmets. Other helmets found in the pit for ritual offerings near the Roman camp at Nijmegen (Netherlands) have a textile coating in such excellent condition that it was possible to reconstruct it. It was designed as a knitted hat that covered a wig of hair (horse or human) covering helmet bowl. At the same time on the exemplars found in Nijmegen there were no hammered decoration in the form of curls. This unusual circumstance leads one to believe that perhaps the owners of cheapest unadorned copies followed the fashion by decorating the helmet with real hair.

The examples mentioned were coated with silver, giving the helmets amazing shine and also protecting the iron from rusting. Additional protection against moisture was provided by horsehair wigs with elements of the textile coating that used to be put on the bowls.

Hellenistic pieces, as well as iconographic images of Alexander the Great, which were reflected in Roman art, could be the prototype of such helmets.<sup>35</sup> Most probably, a helmet with rendered curly hair became popular in the army as it invoked the image of Alexander's helmet existing in the iconography. Roman generals were depicted wearing similar helmets (see, for example, a bust of Germanicus of Erbach (Odenwald)<sup>36</sup>), which resembles, although in a somewhat modified shape, the image of Alexander appearing on a coin of Seleucus I.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> JUNKELMANN (1996) 27, Abb. 42.

<sup>35</sup> BRACCESSI (1987) 53 - 65; CRESCI MARRONE (1987) 66 - 77.

<sup>36</sup> JUNKELMANN (1996) 27, Abb. 43, 48.

<sup>37</sup> KÜNZL (1999) 157.

Helmets with the browband fronton or diadem shown on Roman cavalry tombstones found in recent years correspond to more and more real extant analogies. Due to archaeological findings its evolution during I-III centuries AD can be reconstructed. However, the dates of discovered exemplars are only approximate, and in the absence of precise dating some of the samples cannot be used with confidence to build an evolutionary series of up to decades. Nevertheless, changes can be traced with reasonable certainty to within a few decades to centuries. In contrast to the iconographic sources, actual samples of Roman "Attic" and "pseudo-Attic" helmet types have been presented so far only as expensive and decorated exemplars, which makes it part of the defensive cavalry armament.

Based on the available material, there are two variants of browband fronton on the helmets. Sometimes the frontal part of the helmet decorated with an embossed relief, simulating a kind of tiara (diadem). Such is the helmet from Hallaton (fig. 5). It can be called the forerunner of "pseudo-Attic" helmets of Guisborough/Theilenhofen type of the end of II<sup>nd</sup> - the first half of the III<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In other cases, this "tiara-fronton" was made of a metal sheet, just riveted to the forehead of the helmet. Such finds are dated by I<sup>st</sup> – early II<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The pieces of the I<sup>st</sup> century AD – early II<sup>nd</sup> century AD are Weiler-type helmets with a decorated riveted browband. They are the helmets from Nijmegen<sup>38</sup> (fig. 6, 7) and Brza Palanka<sup>39</sup> (fig. 8). A similar helmet is in a private collection. There are also some preserved browbands that were attached to helmets of this kind. Pieces of this type were found in Nijmegen<sup>40</sup> (fig. 9, 2–3), Leidsche Rijn<sup>41</sup> (fig. 9, 6) and in the Pamuk mogila near Plovdiv<sup>42</sup> (fig. 9, 4; 10). The National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) in Leiden has an embossed helmet browband from Amerongen, which bears a bust of the emperor (?) in the centre and two male heads on the sides<sup>43</sup> (fig. 9, 1). This find dates from around the early II<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The pieces from Butzbach<sup>44</sup> (fig. 13) and Hallaton<sup>45</sup> (fig. 5) can be considered as a transitional design between early and later helmet modifications with a vertical fronton.

Narrow "diadem" plate is also present on the face-mask helmet from Roshava Dragana barrow at Chatalka<sup>46</sup> (fig. 14). Plate-frontons imitating a "crown" of the "Attic" helmet were most probably attached to the frontal part of the helmets from Northwich

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<sup>38</sup> KLUMBACH (1974) 46 - 47, Taf. 33, 61 - 62, Taf. 46; ROBINSON (1975) 98, pl. 269 - 271; NEGIN (2010) 48, fig. 32.

<sup>39</sup> PETROVIĆ (1993) 97 - 106; AMATO, SUMNER (2009) 185 - 186, fig. 270.

<sup>40</sup> KLUMBACH (1974) 47 - 48, Taf. 34, 51 - 52, Taf. 37; ROBINSON (1975) 98, pl. 269 - 271.

<sup>41</sup> LANGEVELD, GRAAFSTAL, SWINKELS, KÜNZL (2010) 297 - 304.

<sup>42</sup> SENZACIONNO (2013); *Unikalni artefakti* (2013) 7; *Predstavyat unikalniya boen paraden shlem ot Brestovitsa za nad 1.5 mln evro* (2015).

<sup>43</sup> KLUMBACH (1974) 52 - 53, Taf. 37; ROBINSON (1975) 138 - 139, pl. 417 - 420.

<sup>44</sup> JUNKELMANN (1992) 190 - 191, Abb. 169.

<sup>45</sup> SCORE (2011); SHARP, JAMES (2012) 38 - 41.

<sup>46</sup> BUJUKLIEV (1986) Pl. 8, №91.

(fig. 4), Koblenz-Bubenheim (fig. 15) and Vechten<sup>47</sup> (fig. 16). The initial presence of described plate on these specimens might be indicated by frontal part without any decoration, and this empty space is ideal for fastening the fronton plate. Moreover, on the left side of Koblenz-Bubenheim helmet remained riveted fragment of the fronton plate. All surviving plates are richly decorated with relief decoration and very similar to helmets from iconographic sources, which show similar decorated helmets of Praetorians and cavalrymen.

Because some items of this type have rich decoration, it may be tempting to consider it parade armour. M. Feugère gives to these helmets a place on the border between combat and ceremonial specimen,<sup>48</sup> which makes sense, since there is a variety features as the ceremonial and combat helmets.

All known helmets of Weiler type dated by I<sup>st</sup> century AD, but in the beginning of the II<sup>nd</sup> century AD these helmets were replaced by Guisborough type.

Maximum distribution of Guisborough/Theilenhofen type accounts for the III<sup>rd</sup> century AD. They are often considered to be parade helmets because of their rich embossed decoration. Recently, however, researchers are inclined to believe that it was a normal combat helmet.

The basic shape of the Guisborough/Theilenhofen type helmet<sup>49</sup> is basically in the shape of the Weiler/Koblenz-Bubenheim type helmet,<sup>50</sup> but in the first one the browband diadem is replaced with a vertical fronton with volutes, and the crown is no longer decorated with curly hair and bears the image of figures, such as snakes, or several crests that imitate a plume of feathers. The cheek-pieces covered the ears, but the soldier's face remained open. The decorative design of the helmets resembles pseudo-Attic helmets existing at that time.<sup>51</sup>

This modification is evidenced by finds from Guisborough<sup>52</sup> (fig. 17, 3), Theilenhofen<sup>53</sup> (fig. 17, 4), Chalon-sur-Saône<sup>54</sup> (fig. 17, 2), Cetate-Războieni<sup>55</sup> (fig. 17, 1). Helmets from Chalon-sur-Saône and Cetate-Războieni have moderate decor. In contrast, the richness of decoration present on the helmet from Theilenhofen implies that it may justifiably be considered a part of ceremonial armor. This specimen has a ridge that make it similar to the Worthing type of helmets (fig. 17, 5–6).

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<sup>47</sup> KALEE (1989) 211, Fig. 16.

<sup>48</sup> FEUGÈRE (1994) 110.

<sup>49</sup> BORN, JUNKELMANN (1997) 63 - 66.

<sup>50</sup> FEUGÈRE (1994) 114; JUNKELMANN (2000) 87 - 90.

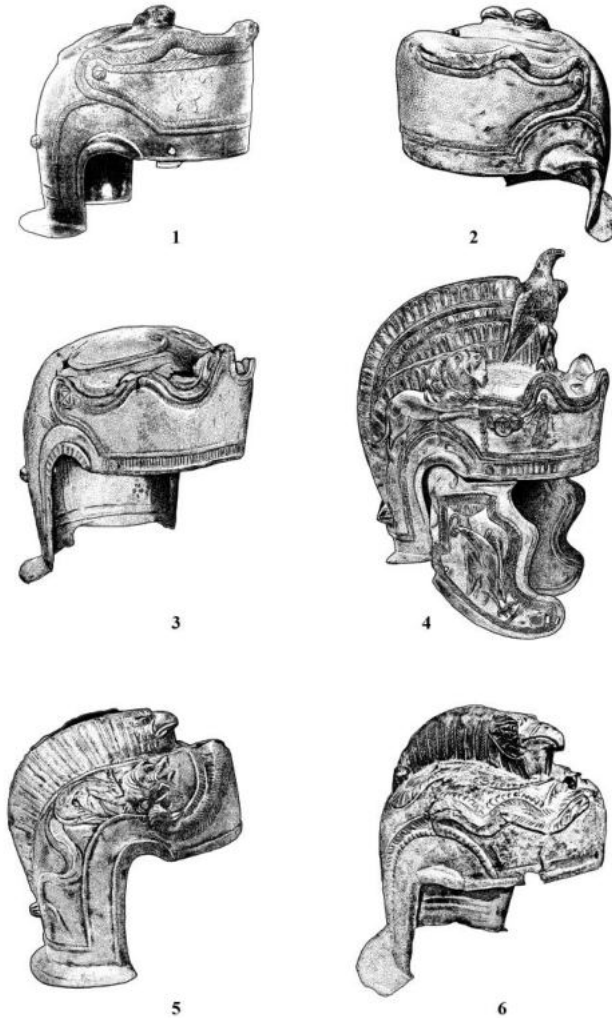
<sup>51</sup> JUNKELMANN (2000) 90.

<sup>52</sup> ROBINSON (1975) 132 - 134, pls. 391 - 393; GARBSCH (1978) 73, Taf. 31, 1 - 2.

<sup>53</sup> KLUMBACH, WAMSER (1976 - 1977) 41 - 61; GARBSCH (1978) 55 - 56, Taf. 10.

<sup>54</sup> DÉCHELETTE (1913) 253 - 258, pls. XLIII–XLIV; ROBINSON (1975) 132 - 134, pls. 394 - 396.

<sup>55</sup> GARBSCH (1978) 100, Abb. 6; FEUGÈRE (1993) 112; D' AMATO, SUMNER (2009) 185, fig. 268.



**Fig. 17.** Helmets of Guisborough/Theilenhofen ant Worthing type: 1 – Cetate-Războieni; 2 – Chalon-sur-Saône; 3 – Guisborough; 4 – Theilenhofen; 5 – Worthing; 6 – Vetren, Silistra (author’s drawing).

Recently, there have been found several helmets, or their fragments, that form a class that may be regarded as a transition stage between the Weiler/Koblenz-Bubenheim and the Guisborough/Theilenhofen type. The most complete piece is in Guttman collection (AG 461)<sup>56</sup> (fig. 12). Despite the rich decoration of these helmets, currently, there are no reasons to classify them as purely parade ones.

However, in contrast to the Weiler type, Guisborough/Theilenhofen type helmets were completely of bronze and had no iron core. With regard to the protective properties of

<sup>56</sup> JUNKELMANN (2000) 15 - 160.

the material it is undoubtedly a significant step backwards. It is not clear whether this was a reflection of the general trend towards the making of armour for the sake of splendor, or is it merely a consequence of the fact that archaeologists have only ceremonial helmets of this type. On the other hand, having a less durable material, however, these helmets to ensure better protection by increasing the space between the head and helmet's bowl, which made it possible to use a thicker lining. The dating of this type of helmet is based on specimens found in Raetian sites ruined by Alamanni in the middle of the III<sup>rd</sup> century AD. However, M. Feugère believes that these helmets have appeared in the middle of I<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>57</sup> as some tombstones reliefs depict helmets with more pronounced browband tiara, which can be interpreted as a vertical fronton.

Thus, we can assume that during the first three centuries AD two modifications of the Roman imitation of the "Attic" helmet had evolved. Helmets with the vertical fronton were more viable. The earliest archaeological evidence of this variant it is helmet from Hallaton (dated by second quarter of the I<sup>st</sup> century AD) and later helmets of the Guisborough/Theilenhofen type can be dated to the first half of the III<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Helmets with riveted browbands (diadems) had not existed as long, and to judge by archaeological material they were circulated in the I-II centuries AD.

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<sup>57</sup> FEUGÈRE (1994) 113 - 114.

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## Summary

Roman propaganda monuments are known best of all and they are still often cited, especially in Hollywood blockbusters. Despite the many doubts expressed by modern researchers, they continue to be sources valuable in many aspects as those monuments, mostly located in the capital, show how military weapons were perceived by the inhabitants of the capital, including the sculptors who were working on these monuments. There are many images of so-called Attic helmets on Roman monuments dated back to the first two centuries AD. As a rule, all of them are richly decorated with embossed floral ornament, have a browband with volutes in the temporal region and equipped with longitudinal crests with gorgeous plumes. The question arises, what are the samples were depicted on the Roman reliefs? How accurately this specimen have been reproduced by artists and sculptors, or, perhaps, we see only a reflection of the Hellenistic artistic tradition?

There are helmets with a browband shaped as a vertical fronton with volutes existed. Their later modification is presented by finds from Guisborough, Theilenhofen, Chalon-sur-Saône. The pieces of the I<sup>st</sup> century AD – early II<sup>nd</sup> century AD are Weiler-type helmets with a decorated riveted browband. They are the helmets from Nijmegen, Brza Palanka and from other places. The pieces from Butzbach and Hallaton can be considered as a transitional design between early and later helmet modifications with a vertical fronton.

Thus, all of the above finds suggest that Attic helmets with browbands, which are often depicted on Roman propaganda monuments, are not the sculptors' invention, but helmets really common in the Roman imperial army, imitating the models of the earlier period.

**Keywords:** history, Roman army, art, helmet, antique