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Arms and Armor Illustrated in the Art of the Latin East

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The purpose of this paper is to try to discover whether the visual arts of the Latin East contain evidence of differences between the military equipment of the Crusader States and that of Western Europe. The most important visual sources are, of course, manuscripts produced at Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century, though other sources such as carvings in ivory or stone, Eastern Christian or Syriac manuscripts, and various forms of visual art from Frankish Cyprus and Greece may also be useful.

The men who established the Latin States in Syria and Palestine would have relied primarily on European forms of equipment, mostly manufactured in the West. Yet even at this early date some Eastern Mediterranean influences could be expected. Not only were local troops employed, particularly Armenians who often fought for the Crusader states,¹ but documentary sources also make it quite clear that weapons and armor changed hands following battles between Christians and Muslims.² This is not the place to discuss the degree of similarity between crusader, Fāṭimid, Armenian, Arab, Kurdish or even Saldjūq Turkish equipment³ since it is the difference between these military traditions that is more important in the present context.

One complicating factor could, however, be that Western European arms and armor were by no means uniform in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although there had, perhaps, been a greater degree of uniformity in European military technology and military fashion during the eleventh and twelfth centuries than at any other time, there remained clear differences between, for example, northern French styles of the late eleventh century and of the twelfth

- 1 Raymond C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 47; Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (2nd ed., Oxford, 1988), pp. 92, 157.
- 2 Among the many references to military equipment changing hands following a Christian or Muslim victory are those in Fulcher of Chartres' account of the battle of Ascalon in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Rita Ryan, ed. H.S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969) pp. 127-128, and in Usāmah ibn Munqidh's *Kitāb al 'Itibār*, ed. Philip H. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), p. 149.
- 3 Usāmah ibn Munqidh, pp. 51-52; David Nicolle, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1982), pp. 193-194, 219, 381.

and those of Norman Italy.⁴ Norman Italy and Sicily were, of course, already under considerable Byzantine and Maghribi Islamic influence.⁵ Late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Italian arms and armor, not only from the Mezzogiorno and Sicily but also from central and northern Italy, also differed to a marked degree from the military equipment of France or Germany.⁶ In fact the military technology and fashions, as well as the military organization and tactics, of thirteenth-century Italy may have a special significance where the arms of the later Crusader States are concerned. The historical reasons for this include trade as well as political and cultural contacts.⁷

The role of Byzantium was, course, also important. The Byzantine influence on some of the arts of the Latin East is clearly visible, but how much military or technological impact Byzantium had on the Crusader States is less clear. It might have been considerable but a realistic judgment would require much more study of the arms, armor and general military history of later Byzantium. This remains a relatively neglected subject, particularly regarding the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but one whose importance is gradually being appreciated by Byzantinists.^{7*} Twelfth-century Comnenid Byzantium adopted a great deal from Western Europe,⁸ while Palaeologue Byzantium of the later thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries may have been under even stronger Turkish influence.⁹

For convenience in this article, all works of art produced by Latins in the Middle East, or executed in a basically Western European style, will be referred to as "Crusader Art." Illustrations of armed and armored men abound in such sources but here I shall focus on examples portraying unusual equipment, particularly that which might have resulted from local or regional influence. Before doing so, however, it is important to stress the fact that in general such

4 David Nicolle, *The Normans* (London, 1987), pp. 4-8, 28-46.

5 David Nicolle, "The Monreale Capitals and the Military Equipment of Later Norman Sicily," *Gladius* 15 (1980), 87-103; Id., "The Cappella Palatina Ceiling and the Muslim Military Heritage of Norman Sicily," *Gladius* 16 (1983), pp. 45-145.

6 Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967); Lionello G. Boccia, "L'armamento in Toscana dal Millecento al Trecento," and "L'armamento quattrocentesco nell'iconografia toscana," in *Civiltà delle arti minori Toscana. Atti del I Convegno. Arezzo, 11-15 maggio 1971* (Florence, 1973), pp. 193-212.

7 Good bibliographies on this subject may be found in various articles in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, including: Helene Wieruszowski, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades," 2:3-44; Elizabeth Chapin Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291," 2:599-629; Jean Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece," 2:235-276; Peter Topping, "The Morea, 1311-1364," 3:104-140.

7* Since the presentation of this paper, an excellent study of Byzantine arms and armor has been published, written by Taxiarchis Kollias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988).

8 Rudi P. Lindner, "An Impact of the West on Comnenian Anatolia," in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten* (Vienna, 1982), from prepublication photocopy.

9 Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia-1259," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953), 101-141; Id., *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West, 1258-1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Michael J. Angold, *The Administration of the Nicene Empire, 1204-61* (unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1967-68), *passim*.

Crusader Art depicted arms and armor identical to those seen in Western Europe. Hence it is only a minority of items which will be investigated here.

Most of the unusual or non-Western elements dating from the twelfth century reflect Byzantine or Armenian artistic influence. This, however, was a highly stylized, traditional and iconographic influence which stemmed from a Byzantine or Armenian art which may not itself have reflected military equipment in current use by Byzantine or Armenian warriors. Still less might it reflect weaponry used in the Latin States of the Middle East. Such purely iconographic influences probably include the apparent splinted or lamellar upper-arm defenses and skirts worn by the figure of Joshua in a twelfth-century Syriac Gospel (fig. 19A) which might have been made in the Principality of Antioch (Cambridge University Library, MS 01.02). Comparable defenses had also appeared somewhat earlier on the ivory bookcover of Queen Melisende's Psalter now in the British Museum (fig. 15A-B). Splinted or lamellar arm and groin protections are portrayed throughout the thousand-year history of Byzantine art. They were almost certainly based upon ancient Greek and Roman items of equipment, in particular the shoulder-covering *pteruges* which had served in part as unit identification marks since the days of Alexander the Great.¹⁰ Such pseudo-Classical armor may conceivably have been worn by Palace troops on ceremonial occasions but is most unlikely to have been issued as genuine protective equipment by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, still less so in the fourteenth and fifteenth. To further complicate this matter a third figure on Queen Melisende's ivory book cover, one who represents *Fortitude* (fig. 15B), wears similar upper-arm and groin defenses as part of a full-length armor. The most logical interpretation of *Fortitude's* armor would see it as a long lamellar cuirass, perhaps of hardened leather, similar to those worn by some Muslim warriors and perhaps also by provincial Byzantine or Armenian troops. Then there is the question of why such an "Oriental" form of armor has been given to one of the Virtues while Goliath (fig. 15C) and *Avarice* (fig. 15A) wear armor which is at least partially of mail and which would thus seem closer to crusader equipment. Perhaps the fact that Queen Melisende was herself the daughter of an Armenian princess and granddaughter of the Armenian ruler Gabriel of Malatya may hold a clue. Melisende also did much to foster good relations between Latins and Armenians.¹¹

Such pseudo-Classical and Byzantine-inspired iconographic styles can still be seen in one *Histoire Universelle* (fig. 32B, B & C) of c. 1286 from the scriptorium in Acre (Ms. Add. 15268, British Library, London). This manuscript will be discussed again as it also includes figures who might have been influenced by the current reality of thirteenth-century Byzantine arms and armor rather than simply by Byzantine artistic convention. Concerning the problem of what Byzantine warriors really wore, it is worth studying a small early thirteenth

10 Nick Sekunda, *The Armies of Alexander the Great* (London, 1984).

11 Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:232.

century carved marble tympanum from Larnaca (fig. 20A-B). This was made at a time when the island of Cyprus was already under Latin rule (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. A2-1982). The mail hauberks, coifs, and chausses worn by Pilate's soldiers and by guards at the Holy Sepulcher are typically Western. Yet the absence of surcoats over such mail armor would have been unusual in, for example, early thirteenth century France. It appears, however, to be common in Byzantine art of the later twelfth, the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries. Other equally detailed but rather later Cypriot sources such as the *Icon of The Virgin Mary* (fig. 38) and the *Icon of St. Nicholas* from the church of St. Nicholas tis Steyis in Kakopetria (fig. 39) (both in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia) show purely Western warriors with mail hauberks, surcoats and, in one case, a Great Helm. A series of earlier and better-known carvings from Nazareth (Church of the Annunciation Museum, Nazareth) seems to reflect Mediterranean European prototypes both in the style of carving and in the military equipment portrayed (fig. 14A-C). One feature is, however, extremely interesting and would have been unusual in an European context. This is the very broad and spade-like arrowhead used by a demon who draws a recurved composite bow (fig. 14C). Such arrowheads had long been used by Muslim archers who employed them in hunting and also against unarmored foes or those protected only by quilted "soft" armors. A great many have been found in Central Asian Turkish archeological sites, in the region where such arrowheads may have first evolved. Such a device may well have seemed diabolical to unaccustomed Westerners.

Of those manuscripts illuminated in the Latin East, one of the earliest is an *Histoire Universelle* dating some where between 1250 and 1287 (fig. 33A-K) which might have come from the Principality of Antioch (Vatican Library, MS. Pal. Lat. 1963). Though damaged, most of the miniatures in this manuscript portray relatively light equipment comparable to that used in Italy or Spain. Given climatic conditions in the Latin East, similarities with southern Europe are understandable. A lack of surcoats, which is particularly noticeable on some of the illuminations in this manuscript, was also characteristic of some parts of the Iberian Peninsula and central and southern Italy as well as Byzantium. Perhaps the most interesting illumination illustrates the siege of Antioch by warriors of the First Crusade. This includes some well preserved "Saracen" defenders (fig. 33A-D) who indicate a good knowledge of Islamic equipment on the part of the artist. Among the attacking crusaders is a knight who rides a horse with an unusual form of *caparison* or horse-armor (fig. 33L). This picture is very damaged but a close inspection of the original drawing shows the *caparison* to have consisted of a single piece of material with a small cutout below the saddle. Normal European *caparisons* of this period consisted of two separate sheets tucked beneath the saddle's pommel and cantle. The most obvious parallels with this particular horse-covering are similarly constructed one-piece *caparisons* or horse-armors on two very fine examples of thirteenth-

century Islamic metalwork. The best known is the famous Freer Gallery "Canteen" (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 41.10) which, though purely Islamic in style and provenance, includes Christian scenes or subjects. This does not, however, mean that the many mounted warriors who also decorate its surface represent crusaders. They are totally Islamic in their equipment, costume, and harness. Half of the horses wear a variety of *caparisons* or armors while the remainder are uncovered. Far less well known is a magnificent inlaid candlestick-base which is probably from the late Ayyūbid period (private collection of Dr. Paolo Costa, Rome).¹² Both come from the *Djazīrah* region of northeastern Syria, northern Iraq or southeastern Turkey. Such forms of *caparison*, all of which probably illustrate heavy felt horse-armors known as *tidjāf* in Arabic and *bargustuwān* in Farsi, similarly appear in the famous late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century *Warqa wa Gulshāh* manuscript from northwestern Iran (Topkapi Library, Istanbul, MS. Haz. 841). Furthermore an identical *caparison* is illustrated on a less well known early thirteenth century broken ceramic (fig. 47) which may have been made by a Syrian potter in the Principality of Antioch (Hatay Museum, Antakya, Turkey). This particular ceramic could, however, illustrate a Western warrior as he is dressed in a full mail hauberk and mail *chausses* rendered in a Byzantine manner.

Another unusual manuscript from the Latin East is the *Arsenal Bible* (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5211) whose miniatures are illuminated in a very Byzantine style (fig. 35A-E). This is a more than normally realistic Byzantine style which could shed considerable light on the military equipment of the Comnenid Empire. The cavalry, though armored, are relatively lightly equipped and have more in common with the serjeants of Western Europe than with the knights. Their brimmed war-hats, or *chapels de fer*, and separate gauntlets both represent styles of equipment which would become common in Western Europe at a later date. There are, in fact, a few interesting instances where military equipment appears first in the art of the Latin East and only later in the West. Another example might be found in an illustration of the "Story of Troy" from an *Histoire Universelle* in Dijon (Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 562, f. 89v). Here a guardsman carries a dagger, perhaps an early form of *basilard*, on his right hip (fig. 36K). Such substantial daggers do not appear in European art until the close of the thirteenth century and were not common until the early fourteenth. Even then they seem first to have become popular in Italy, particularly in the Angevin south and in Tuscany.¹³ It is, of course, worth noting that these two regions not only had much in common with each other but were

12 This candlestick-base was displayed in the "Nomad and City" exhibition at the Museum of Mankind (London, 1976). It has never been fully published, although drawings of the military figures were included in my unpublished Ph.D. thesis, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam*, fig. 300.

13 Shirley Bridges and John W. Perkins, "Some Fourteenth Century Neapolitan Military Effigies," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24 (1956), 158-173; Claude Blair, "The Word 'Baselard'," *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 11.4 (1984), 193-206.

also in close cultural, political, and economic contact with Latin Greece, Byzantium and the Islamic lands of the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore it is a well-documented fact that many Muslim military elites had long considered it normal to carry both a sword and a *khanjar* or other form of substantial dagger.¹⁴

The most widespread item of unusual equipment to be seen in manuscripts from crusader Acre is, however, the round or oval shield. While such shields may have been commonly used by Western European infantry, particularly in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, they were not a normal item of what might be called "knightly" equipment. It is, therefore, remarkable to see how often they are placed in the hands of heavily armored Christian knights and other élite or "virtuous" warriors in the Acre manuscripts. Some are small enough to be regarded as bucklers (figs. 28J, 30C & 32C) but many others are slightly larger oval-shaped shields (fig. 30A, 31C & 32G). This time it could be misleading simply to see Islamic influence in an apparent preference for round or oval shields at a time when the Byzantines had largely adopted the long kite-shaped shield of the Westerners.¹⁵ Instead the military situation of the late thirteenth century Eastern Mediterranean should be considered. The Crusader States were in final retreat with defensive siege warfare as their prime military consideration. This generally entailed fighting on foot in confined conditions. Here round or oval shields, held in the fist or strapped only to the forearm, would probably have been easier to manage than would larger kite-shaped heavy cavalry shields which were strapped to the upper- and forearm as well as being held tight against the body.

The Acre manuscripts also include other peculiar features, though these latter are generally associated with Muslims or "infidel" warriors. In addition to remarkably accurate drawings of Islamic sabres (fig. 31A), winged maces (fig. 29F), quivers (fig. 32K), Mamlūk headgear (fig. 29D & F) and Islamic styles of horse-harness, some other peculiar objects are apparently being thrown by hand (fig. 28A & B). Could these be crude representations of Mamlūk *qārūrah*, *qunbalah*, or other kinds of fire-grenade? The *Histoire Universelle* now in the British Library (MS. Add. 15268) has already been described as having many Byzantine features. These include, in addition to brimmed war-hats (fig. 32C & H) similar to those in the *Arsenal Bible*, some apparently segmented or splinted neck defenses (figs. 32A, C & H). This type of armor would be worn by most warrior saints in fourteenth-century Byzantine and Balkan art and is similar to a rare form of scale or splinted neck protection occasionally seen with *bascinet* helmets in early fourteenth century Western European art. The possibility that

¹⁴ Nicolle, *Military Technology* (note 3 above), pp. 40-42.

¹⁵ Quite where the long cavalry shield popularly known as a "Norman shield" first originated is still a matter of considerable debate. Dr. Ada Bruhn de Hoffmeyer has argued that it was first developed in 10th- or 11th-century Byzantium: "Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid," *Gladius* 5 (1966), 8-152.

the *bascinet* itself reflected Eastern Mediterranean influence is an interesting but as yet unresolved question. In addition this particular *Histoire Universelle* illustrates a body armor which could provide an Eastern Mediterranean prototype for the later Western European coat-of-plates (fig. 32B). On the other hand the illustration could be interpreted as a form of Islamic *kazāghand*, a mail jerkin or hauberk covered in decorated fabric and with a padded or quilted lining,¹⁶ as might another illustration in the same manuscript (fig. 32G). Such a form of armor was certainly adopted in the West, probably via the crusades or from men who had served in Byzantine Anatolia. It entered European military terminology as the *auberc jaserant* and in various other linguistic variations.¹⁷ Numerous Islamic terms or forms of military equipment are mentioned in literary sources which either reflected the ethos of Holy War against Islam, such as *The Song of Roland*, or which may originally have been written in the Latin East, such as certain sections of the Old French Crusade Cycle including *Beatrix*, *Elioxe* and *Les Chétifs*. In addition to the *auberc jaserant*¹⁸ there are coifs in "Turkish" fashion,¹⁹ these perhaps being fabric-covered, large *afeutremens* beneath saddles,²⁰ which might refer to felt horse-armor; various forms of mace²¹ long before such weapons became popular in Europe; a multitude of javelins, some with clearly Arabic names²² long after such weapons had been largely abandoned in most parts of Western Europe, plus composite bows of Turkish form;²³ Persian or Turkish rather than Arabic names for war-drums;²⁴ and tin containers for Greek Fire.²⁵

Next come two very interesting engraved tomb-slabs of the Lusignan family (fig. 23A-B) from the former Cathedral in Famagusta (soon to be in the Limasol Historical Museum, Cyprus). They might date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries and one shows a sword hung from a baldric in a manner until then only seen in Byzantine, Western Islamic or Andalusian sources, and in Iranian illustrations of specifically Arab warriors. Potentially more important, however, are the plated greaves worn by this same Lusignan figure. Here a more accurate dating would be useful, for such leg defenses were only just coming into use in the West. They may first have appeared in southern and central Italy and

16 Assadullah S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Westward Journey of the Kazhagand," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 11 (1983), 8-15.

17 Melikian-Chirvani, "Westward Journey," pp. 23-28.

18 Thomas A. Jenkins, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (London, 1924), line 1647; Geoffrey M. Myers, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle, 5: Les Chétifs* (Alabama, 1981), pp. 7, 35, 74-75; Jan A. Nelson, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle 1: La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne: Beatrix* (Alabama, 1977), pp. 184, 197-198; Emanuel J. Mickel, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle, 2: La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne; Elioxe* (Alabama, 1977), p. 69.

19 *Beatrix*, pp. 153-154.

20 *Beatrix*, p. 178; *Chétifs*, p. 24.

21 *Chétifs*, pp. 12, 20-21, 35.

22 *Chétifs*, pp. 4, 8, 20-21, 35, 47, 84; *Chanson de Roland*, lines 2075 and 2156.

23 *Chétifs*, pp. 44, 82, 83, 120.

24 *Chanson de Roland*, lines 852 and 3137.

25 *Chétifs*, p. 120.

were almost certainly made of *cuir-bouilli* hardened leather.²⁶ While an Italian influence on Frankish Crusader Cyprus seems likely, the whole question of whether early Italian forms of hardened leather armor were an indigenous development or resulted from outside influence remains unresolved.²⁷ If the latter did lie behind Italian *cuir-bouilli* armor then the Latin States in Greece, and perhaps also Cyprus, are possible sources for such influence. If the arms of Latin Greece and Cyprus were different from those of, for example, Italy then the question arises of how such styles evolved and whether they were an internal development or reflected influence from elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Anatolian Turks, North African Arabs and, to a lesser degree, the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria made considerable use of leather armor. This would, however, normally have been used in hardened leather lamellar rather than consisting of large sheets of *cuir-bouilli* as in Italy and perhaps also here in Cyprus.

Too little is known about the arms and armor of Byzantium and the Balkans of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century to judge the possible degree of Byzantine or Balkan influence on Latin Greece and Cyprus. A wall painting of St. George from the fourteenth-century Principality of Achaia does, however, pose some interesting questions (*in situ* Church of St. George, Geraki Castle, Greece). He is illustrated in late Byzantine style and on his leg is a slender riding boot, though this could also conceivably represent a flexible greave of thick leather (fig. 46). Such a boot is unlike that normally associated with the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Turks though it has clear parallels in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Georgia and Iran. Perhaps it reflected the riding equipment of those Alans who fought for early fourteenth century Byzantium in large numbers.²⁸ Finally there is an unidentified form of decorated flap or sleeve covering part of his left arm which might just represent a hardened leather *rerebrace* such as those seen in early and mid-fourteenth century southern Italian sources.²⁹

The evidence of both Christian and Islamic Middle Eastern art has sometimes been thought to reflect, either directly or indirectly, Western European military influence via the Crusades. A prime example of this is a well-known manuscript fragment from Fāṭimid Fustat (British Museum, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, inv. 1938-3-14-01). In the lower right-hand corner a warrior equipped in purely

26 In addition to the effigies in Naples listed by Bridges and Perkins (note 13 above), similar southern Italian effigies are to be found in Salerno and Lucera Cathedrals. The most important central and northern Italian sources showing such *cuir-bouilli* armor are: the tomb of Guillaume Balnis, 1282 (Convent of the Annunziata, Florence); wall paintings in the "Dante Hall," c. 1288-92 (Town Hall, San Gimignano); effigy of Lorenzo di Niccolò Acciaiuoli, c. 1352 (Certosa di Valdemaria, Florence); and wall paintings, c. 1330-35 (Church of Sant'Abbondio, Como).

27 Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, "L'armamento di cuoio e ferro nel Trecento italiano," *L'Illustrazione italiana* 1.2 (1972), 24-27.

28 David Nicolle, *Hungary and the Fall of Eastern Europe* (London, 1988).

29 Bridges and Perkins (note 13 above), pp. 158-173.

European style is falling from his horse. His arms, armor and horse-harness are so accurately portrayed that the Egyptian artist must surely have seen twelfth-century crusader warriors or have had access to first-hand drawings of them. Furthermore one can assume that the Muslim warriors, who are perhaps emerging from the city of Ascalon, are even more truthfully represented. Meanwhile the helmet of the supposed crusader has the angled-forward crown or profile commonly seen in twelfth-century Western illustrations of warriors. The form subsequently appeared in Christian manuscripts from Syria of the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, including the Syriac Gospel already mentioned (fig. 19A), and other parts of the Djazīrah.³⁰ Such illustrations can be taken as evidence of Western military influence. On the other hand helmets with comparable outlines had already appeared in Middle Eastern art of the pre-crusading era. Examples include eleventh-century carved wooden panels from the Fāṭimid Palace in Cairo (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo) as well as various somewhat doubtfully dated Byzantine sources such as the *Smyrna Octateuch* (Vatican Library, Cod. Gr. 746) and Cappadocian wall paintings in the Pürenli Seki Kilisesi (*in situ* Peristrema valley near İrhala, Turkey).

Where does this leave the question of who influenced whom in terms of military technology during the course of the crusades? It has been widely assumed that the crusaders and their successors in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin States were technologically in advance of their Muslim and even Byzantine foes,³¹ though perhaps inferior in terms of tactics and military organization. The old concept of the heroic crusaders finally succumbing only to vastly superior numbers of their fanatical foes is now defunct in most academic circles. Perhaps it is time to add to the "revisionist" view of crusader history by suggesting that in general military-technological terms the crusaders were not in advance of their Eastern Mediterranean foes. They might, in fact, have been inferior in certain significant respects. The precise history of the angled-forward conical helmet in which the front part of the helm was almost certainly thicker than the sides and rear, the fabric-covered and padded mail *kazāghand* body armor, the use of hardened leather *cuir-bouilli* armor, perhaps the *bascinet* helmet with its extended protection for the sides and rear of the head, the coat-of-plates, large war daggers, and various other items of military equipment should be studied in detail. All—rather than merely some as is now clearly the case—might prove to have been inspired to some degree by Byzantine or Islamic styles.

30 "Syriac Gospels," 1216-20 (MS. Add. 7170, British Library, London); "Syriac Gospels," early-mid 13 cent. (MS. Syr. 559, Vatican Library); "Syriac Gospel," 1226 (Derzafaren Monastery, Midyat, Turkey).

31 Lynn White, jr., "The Crusades and the Technological Thrust of the West," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. Vernon J. Parry and Malcolm E. Yapp (London, 1975), pp. 97-112.



Crusader illustrations of arms and armor in the Latin East



- 1 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 2 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 3 Coin of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, 1136-1149 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 4 Coin of Baldwin I, Count of Edessa, 1098-1100 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 5 Coin of Richard, Lord of Marash, Principality of Antioch, early 12 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 6 Coin of Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, 1100-1118 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 7 Seal of Geoffrey of Bouillon, Jerusalem, 1099-1100 (after Prawer, *Histoire*).
- 8 Seal of a Count of Tripoli, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*).
- 9 Seal of a Viscount of Nablus, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 10 Seal of a Prince of Galilee, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 11 Seal of the Templars, 12 cent. (after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 12 Seal of a Lord of Marash, Principality of Antioch, 12 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 13 Carved relief, Palestine, 12 cent. (Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem).
- 14 "Weapons of Demons." Carved capitals from Nazareth, late 12 cent. (Church of the Annunciation Museum, Nazareth).
- 15 A—"Pride;" B—"Fortitude;" C—"Goliath." (Ivory book cover from *Queen Melisende's Psalter*, MS. Egerton 1139, British Museum, London).
- 16 A-H—f.7v: "Weapons at Betrayal;" I—f.10r: "Guards at Holy Sepulcher;" J—f.18v: "Sagittarius;" K—f.23v: Decorated initial. *Queen Melisende's Psalter*.
- 17 "Centurion at the Crucifixion." Icon from the Crusader States, 12 cent. (St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai).
- 18 Paintings of saints on columns, 12 cent. (*in situ* Basilica of the Nativity, Bethlehem).
- 19 A—f.63v: "Joshua;" B—f.199r: "Guard of Cyrus;" C—f.208v: "Army of Judas Maccabeus." Syriac Gospel, Principality of Antioch (?), late 12 cent. (University Library; Cambridge, MS. 01.02).
- 20 A—"Road to Calvary;" B—"Guards at the Holy Sepulcher." Carved marble tympanum from Larnaca, Cyprus, 1200-1250 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. A2-1982).
- 21 Coins of Bohemund IV, Prince of Antioch, 1201-1233 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 22 Coin of Raymond-Roupen, claimant to the Principality of Antioch, 1216-1219 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 23 Engraved monumental slabs of the Lusignan family, probably, from Aya Sofia Mosque (former Cathedral), Famagusta, late 13-early 14 cents. (soon to be in the Limasol Historical Museum, Cyprus).
- 24 Seal of Baldwin I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 1204-1205 (now lost, after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*).
- 25 Seal of Henry I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, early 13 cent. (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 26 Seal of John II of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, 1261 (Archivio di Stato, Venice).
- 27 A—f.166r: "Siege of Damascus;" B—129r: "Attack on Shayzar;" C-D—f.45r: "Muslim defenders, siege of Ma'arat;" E—f.45r: "Crusader attacking Ma'arat;" F—f.103r: "Siege of Tyre;" G—f.10v: "First Crusade;" H—f.18v: "Siege of Antioch;" I-K—f.36: "Capture of Antioch;" L—f.10v: "First Crusade;" M—f.27r: "Siege of Antioch;" N-O—f.36r: "Capture of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1280 (M.E. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library, Leningrad, MS. fr. fol. v. IV.5).
- 28 A-C—"Weapons of Muslim warriors;" D—f.91v: "Oedipus;" E—f.133v: "Death of Hector;" F—f.205v: "Holofernes;" G-H—"Helmets of Crusaders;" I—f.207v: "Soldier of Holofernes;" J—f.235r: "Soldier of Alexander;" K—f.96r: "Polyneices fights Tydeus." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1287 (BN, MS. fr. 20125).
- 29 A—f.64: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" B—f.307v: "Crusaders before Jerusalem;" C—f.182v: "Crusaders before Shayzar;" D—"Siege of Tyre;" E—"Muslim defenders, siege of Damietta;" F—"Siege of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1286 (BN, MS. fr. 9084).

- 30 A—f.61: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" B—162v: "Crusader crossbowman;" C—f.42r: "Siege of Antioch;" D—f.63: "Crusaders attack Acre;" E—f.33: "Crusaders attack Nicea." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1290-91 (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, MS. Plu. LXI.10).
- 31 A—f.153v: "Weapons of defenders of Shayzar;" B—f.16r: "Standard bearer of Geoffrey of Bouillon;" C—f.48v: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch." *History of Outremer*, Kingdom of Acre, 1287 (Bibliothèque municipale, Boulogne, MS. 142).
- 32 A—f.101b: "Scythians besiege their foes;" B-C—f.16r: "Soldiers of Nimrud;" D-E—f.1v: Border of frontispiece; F—f.123r: "Bow of Amazon;" G—f.71r: "Soldiers of Nimrud;" H—f.105v: Trojan or Greek warrior; I—f.48r: "Club of Joseph's brother;" J—f.104: "Mace of Goliath;" K—f.208r: "Warrior of Alexander;" L—f.136v: "Athenian in sea-fight." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, c.1286 (BL, MS. Add. 15268).
- 33 A-D—"Muslim defenders of Antioch;" E-F—f.31v: "Crusader warriors;" G-H—f.49r: "Crusaders massacre people of Antioch;" I—f.188r; J-L—f.40r: "Crusaders besiege Antioch." *Histoire Universelle*, Principality of Antioch (?), 1250-1287 (Vatican Library, MS. Pal. Lat. 1963).
- 34 "Goliath," *Book of Psalms*, Crusader States, 1275-1291 (Biblioteca capitolare, Padua, c.12, f.27b).
- 35 A-C—"Pharaoh's Army;" D—f.81r: "Sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter;" E—"Army of Holofernes." *Arsenal Bible*, Kingdom of Acre, 1275-1291 (Bibliothèque de l'Arménien, Paris, MS. 5211).
- 36 A—f.190: "Army of King Poros of India;" B-C—f.172v: "Army of King Poros of India;" D—f.86v: "Spear of Amazon;" E—f.86v: "Spear of Alexander;" F-G—f.70r: "Greeks;" H—f.51: "Spear of guard of Joseph in Egypt;" I—f.70r: "Greek;" J—f.51: "Soldier of Joseph in Egypt;" K—f.89v: "Greek or Trojan." *Histoire Universelle*, Kingdom of Acre, late 13 cent. (Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon, MS. 562).
- 37 A-C—"Soldiers in scenes of the Passion;" D—"St. George." *Icon of St. George*, Frankish (?) Greece, 13 cent. (Byzantine Museum, Athens, inv. 89).
- 38 "Donor figure," *Icon of the Virgin Mary*, Kingdom of Cyprus, c.1300. (Byzantine Museum, Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia).
- 39 "Soldiers in story of Dominican or Carmelite Order." *Icon of St. Nicholas* from Church of St. Nicholas tis Steyis, Kingdom of Cyprus, late 13 cent. (Byzantine Museum, Archbishop Macarios III Foundation, Nicosia).
- 40 *Icon of St. Sergius*, Crusader States, late 13 cent. (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai).
- 41 Icons, Crusader States (?), 13 cent. (Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai).
- 42 Fragment of Aldrevandini-style enamelled glass, Crusader States, Cyprus or Venice late 13-early 14 cents. (Museum of London, inv. 134-190-1982).
- 43 Incised stone slab from Kastiliotis, Kingdom of Cyprus, 14 cent. (Historical Museum, Nicosia).
- 44 "St. George," wall painting, Kingdom of Cyprus, 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou, Cyprus).
- 45 Seal of Guy de la Tour, titular king of Thessaloniki 1314 (BN, Cabinet des Médailles).
- 46 "St. George," wall painting, Principality of Achaia, 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of St. George, Geraki, Greece).
- 47 Fragment of a sgraffito-ware ceramic dish from Al Mina, Principality of Antioch (?), early 13 cent. (Hatay Museum, Antakya, Turkey).
- 48 A-B—"Sword of warrior Saint;" C—"Wooden club;" D—"Sword belt." Wall paintings, Venetian Crete, early 14 cent. (*in situ* Church of Panaghia Kera, Kritsa, Crete).
- 49 Funerary carving from Famagusta, Kingdom of Cyprus, mid-14 cent. (present whereabouts unknown, from a photograph in the possession of Mrs. T. Stylianou).