Péter Tamás Nagy

ISLAMIC ART AND ARTEFACTS IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARY

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2015

ISLAMIC ART AND ARTEFACTS IN

TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARY

by

Péter Tamás Nagy

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____
Chair, Examination Committee

_____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
Examiner

_____
Examiner

Budapest

May 2015

ISLAMIC ART AND ARTEFACTS IN

TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARY

by

Péter Tamás Nagy

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

ISLAMIC ART AND ARTEFACTS IN

TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARY

by

Péter Tamás Nagy

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

I, the undersigned, **Péter Tamás Nagy**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 19 May 2015.

_____

Signature

Abstract

My research represents a novel approach to the connections between Islamic art and Hungary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The present thesis brings together seemingly disparate artefacts, such as the rock crystal head of the Hungarian royal scepter, the ring of Béla III (1172–1196), a type of coin with pseudo-Arabic imagery issued by the same king and a wall painting of the Cella Trichora in Pécs, arguing that they form a coherent group from the point of view of their patrons. After discussing some persistent historiographical myths about the Islamic artefacts, Hungarian visitors in the Islamic world, and Muslims living in the country, the thesis presents four case studies focusing on the artefacts, with special attention to their date, origin and symbolic significance. Technical observations and comparison with a wide range of analogous material suggest that the rock crystal pommel was made either in Cairo in the second half of the eleventh century or in Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century, the ring has an early Iranian seal stone mounted on it, the coins imitated two types of Andalusian coins, and finally, that the fresco was inspired by a Sicilian or Andalusian textile. As other examples of Islamic artefacts reused in a Christian context suggest, it is justifiable to argue that the objects were understood as references to the Holy Land, which also facilitated attributing Christian significance to them. The present thesis proposes a similar interpretation for the surviving Islamic artefacts created or used in the Kingdom of Hungary in this period, and also associates this phenomenon with Béla III's political endeavours.

Acknowledgement

The following study deals with issues of several disciplines including Western European, Hungarian, Byzantine and Islamic art history, archaeology, history, numismatics, and Latin and Arabic philology. I certainly doubt that any scholar claims expertise in all these fields, nor would I ever do so. It goes without saying that due to the enormous literature, I could only refer to the most relevant and accessible publications. In addition, I have relied on the ever-helpful guidance of my two supervisors, Béla Zsolt Szakács and József Laszlovszky, who supported my work with insightful critique and honest enthusiasm. Apart from them, Alicia Walker, Avinoam Shalem, János Bak, Nóra Berend, Mária Vargha, Marcus Pilz, Máté Horváth and Zsuzsa Lovag also contributed to this thesis with their advice in some questions. Thomas Rooney and Zsuzsanna Reed tirelessly amended my language. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for the remaining errors in fact or interpretation, and those where added after any of the persons mention above read my text.

Table of contents

List of illustrations

(Stefan Weinfurter, *Das Jahrhundert der Salier 1024–1125: Kaiser oder Papst?* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2004), 170).

2.17. Henry V of Germany (1099–1125), book illustration, Anonymous chronicle of Henry V, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, The Parker Library, Ms. 373, fol. 83r. (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b2/Henry_V_edit.jpg).

2.18. Otto I (936–973), book illustration, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, Cod. S.P.48. olim fol. 129 sup.; ca. 1200. (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Otto_I_Manuscriptum_Mediolanense_c_1200.jpg, photograph by Andreas Praefcke).

3.1. The ring of Béla III, Hungarian National Museum, inv. no. 64.1848.2g; seal: Iran, 8th–9th c., mount: Hungary, last third of the 12th c. (https://www.flickr.com/photos/kotomi-jewelry/5688198790/in/photostream/).

3.2. The ring of Béla III. (Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese," fig. 146, drawing by G. Moretti).

3.3. The ring of Béla III. (Photograph by the author).

3.4. Seal stone, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. LI902.16; Iran, 8th–9th c. (http://jameelcentre.ashmolean.org/collection/7/10228/10285/21884).

3.5. Seal stone (image reversed), British Museum, London, inv. no. 1853 3–28 15; Iran, 8th–9th c. (Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals*, no. 41).

3.6. Seal stone, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Art, Budapest, inv. no. 58.161; Iran, 8th–9th c. (Kelényi and Szántó, *Artisans at the Crossroads*, no. 5.3.7).

4.1. CNH 101, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196). (http://www.pannoniaterra.hu/aukcio/2/1-26).

4.2. CNH 103, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196). (Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungaricae*, no. 103).

4.3. CNH 98, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196). (http://penztortenet.blog.hu/2014/02/11/a_xii_szazad_magyar_penzverese).

4.4. Gold coin of Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh; Murcia, 1162. (http://www.andalustonegawa.50g.com/almoravids/c30.jpg).

4.5. Almoravid gold coin; Córdoba, 1093. (http://www.andalustonegawa.50g.com/almoravids/2.jpg).

4.6. Gold coin of Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214); Toledo, 1222. (http://www.fuenterrebollo.com/faqs-numismatica/1250-dobla-alfonso8.html).

5.1. Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi* (detail), Uffizi Gallery Museum, Florence, inv. no. 1890 / 8364; 1423. (Ines Borchart, ed. *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei von der Antike bis zum Beginn der Moderne* (Berlin: Yorck Project, 2005, CD-ROM)).

5.2. Mural painting, Cella Trichora, Pécs; ca. late 12th–early 13th c. (Fülep and Duma, "Examinations of the Wall Paintings," fig. 1b).

5.3. Pier-capital, crypt, *katholikon*, Hosios Loukas Monastery; 1st half of 11th c. (Photograph by Alicia Walker).

5.4. Mural painting, royal chapel, castle, Esztergom; late 12th c. (Photograph by András Fehér).

5.5. Mural painting, royal chapel, castle, Esztergom; late 12th c. (Photograph by András Fehér).

5.6. Reliquary of Saint Potentianus, Treasury of Saint Stephen Cathedral, Sens, France; Byzantium or Sicily, 12th c.
(Evans, ed. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 344.).

5.7. Mantle of Roger II, Schatzkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. XIII 14; Palermo, 1133/1134.
(Photograph by the author).

5.8. Pulpit, San Gennaro Church, Capannori (Lucca); 1162.
(http://www.contadolucchese.it/Pagina%20Pievi%20Romaniche/Pievi%202/San%20Gennaro/Pulpito_2.JPG).

5.9. Chasuble of Saint John of Ortega, Parochial Church, Quintanaortuño (Burgos); Almería, 1st half of the 12th c.
(Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus*, 107, fig. 1).

5.10. Mosaic decoration, Sala di Ruggero, Norman Royal Palace, Palermo; 1154–1166.
(http://interamericaninstitute.org/Sicily%20samples_09.jpg).

5.11. Almoravid textile fragment, Museum of Burgos, inv. no. 316/BU.1; Andalusia, 1st half of the 12th c.
(Laura Rodríguez Peinado and Ana Cabrera Lafuente, eds, *La investigación textil y los nuevos métodos de estudio* (Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 2014), 105, fig. 4).

6.1. Alhambra vase, National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm, inv. no. NMK47; Malaga, 2nd half of the 14th c.
(Mikael Ahlund, Anders Bengtsson and Margareta Gynning, *Highlights: Famous and Forgotten Art Treasures from Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2014), 19.).

6.2. Brick-work with pseudo-Arabic decoration, Church of the Holy Apostles, Athens; end of the 10th c.
(Franz, *Holy Apostles*, fig. 2, drawing by H. Besi).

6.3. St. James the Lesser and St. James the Greater, mural painting, San Giovanni in Monterrone, Matera; 13th c.
(http://www.wikimatera.it/home/index.php?page=296&foto_gallery&object=2792).

6.4. Mural painting, Santa Maria di Anglona, Tursi; late 12th c.
(http://www.medioevo.org/artemedievale/Images/Basilicata/Anglona/Santa%20Maria%20D'Anglona%2058.jpg).

6.5. Pier-capital, Santa Maria di Anglona, Tursi; late 12th c.
(http://www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=1282&lang=en).

6.6. "Throne of Saint Peter", San Pietro di Castello Church, Venice; backrest: Syria, 11th–12th c., throne: Venice, 12th–13th c.
(Photograph by the author).

6.7. "Reliquary of the holy blood", rock crystal bottle, Treasury of Saint Mark Cathedral, Venice, inv. no. 63; Cairo, late-10th–early 11th c., mount: Venice, 13th c.
(http://www.allposters.com/-sp/Reliquary-of-the-Precious-Blood-Treasure-from-the-Basilica-of-San-Marco-Posters_i1591951_.htm).

6.8. Glass flask with enamel decoration, Treasury of Saint Stephen Cathedral, Vienna; Syria, late-13th c.
(Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 250).

Introduction

Connections between Islamic art and medieval Europe is a relatively well researched field, especially in the last two decades or so. However, no attempt has been made to study the same connections in the case of Hungary, and scholarship of Islamic art focuses on the Ottoman period of the country. My interest in Islamic artefacts in Hungary derives from the preface of Géza Fehérvári's invaluable monograph on Islamic art and architecture.[1] The author briefly summarises the history of artistic connections between Hungary and the Islamic world including medieval objects, some of which are discussed in the present thesis in detail.

One may enumerate several medieval Islamic objects found within the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary mostly from the late Middle Ages, but such a list raises the obvious question of what makes these pieces a coherent ensemble. It is unreasonable to juxtapose objects only because they were produced in the Islamic world, and which have nothing more in common. Instead, the present thesis focuses on the time-span from Béla III (1172–1196) to Andrew II (1205–1235), because, as it will be argued, the aim behind collecting or imitating Islamic objects might well have been the same in this period. There are two objects produced in the Islamic world, the head of the royal sceptre and the ring of Béla III, while a type of coin issued by the same king and the pseudo-Arabic wall paintings in Pécs imitatate Islamic visual culture. In addition, some written evidence mentioning Islamic objects exists, but to my knowledge no other piece rightfully claimed to be Islamic survives. The underlying

1. Géza Fehérvári, *Az iszlám művészet története* [The history of Islamic art] (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 1987), 9.

question of the present thesis is how these Islamic artefacts were used in a Christian context in this period.[2]

The theoretical framework of the present thesis is fundamentally different from the traditional views of Hungarian scholarship on the topic. The objects studied here are usually referred to as "eastern" or "oriental", a notion that ignores the geographical loci of their origin and conceals this shortcoming by a vague and, in effect, meaningless category. Furthermore, modern scholarship increasingly eschews such concepts as "the East" and "the West" defined by cultural boundaries, and especially since the pioneering work of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, the concept of Mediterraneanism provides a more suitable framework for scholarly discourse.[3] Focusing on Islamic artefacts in a Christian territory, however, necessarily applies a religious dichotomy as one can clearly see in the title of Avinoam Shalem's pioneering monograph, *Islam Christianized*.[4] Although the present thesis owes much to Shalem's eye-opening work, his notion of East and West is not followed here. Many Christian territories had connections with Islamic lands situated west of them, and thus the points of the compass cannot be used to explain cultural boundaries. In addition, as will be shown, the present thesis discusses artefacts crossing those boundaries with relative ease.

Before examining the artefacts themselves, three important issues should receive attention in chapter one. The first section debunks some theories by previous scholars about the Islamic artefacts in Hungary. The second one will address the relevance of Hungarians

2. For practical reason, the present thesis refers to this group as "Islamic artefacts" even though they were not all produced in the Islamic world.

3. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). For the question Islamic art within Mediterranean studies, see Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Mediterraneanism: How to Incorporate Islamic Art into an Emerging Field," *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1–33.

4. Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996).

who visited the Holy Land as pilgrims and crusaders, and therefore had direct connections with the Islamic world. Does the period of Hungarian participation in the crusades have any connection with Islamic objects in the country? Third, it is well-known that Muslims lived in Árpád-age (1000–1301) Hungary, and they have routinely been associated with the Islamic artefacts by Hungarian scholars. In this regard, the last section will query whether they engaged in any profession which could explain the presence of Islamic artefacts in Hungary. Following this, the main discussion of this thesis will focus on the sceptre, the ring, the coins and the fresco in separate chapters (two to five). More often than not, the artefacts are the only sources available and therefore only archaeological and art historical methods can be used. Finally, the last chapter shall discuss the Hungarian phenomenon in a wider context, presenting parallels from different Christian territories, namely Byzantium, Italy, Spain and Central Europe. Based on the analogies, the interpretation proposed for Islamic art and artefacts in Hungary is similar to other parts of Europe: they were generally associated with the Holy Land, which facilitated attributing Christian significance to them.

Chapter 1.

Hungary and Islam

Historiographical myths

Many of the artefacts discussed below are surrounded by historiographical myths, invalid assumptions demised in Hungarian scholarship from one generation to the next. The present section does not review the complete body of scholarship, but only intends to point out the origins of some of the myths received. The first assumption is the role of trade connections between Hungary and the Islamic world in the twelfth century, the second one is that of Muslim minters in the country, and the third is associating the royal sceptre head with Henry II of Germany.

Josef Deér was the only scholar who briefly summarised the connections between Hungary and Islamic art in the twelfth–thirteenth century, and he states that Muslims must have traded with Islamic objects in the period.[5] Although evidence or reference is not provided, it can be inferred that the work of earlier historians, especially Lajos Glaser and Dénes Huszti, led him to this conclusion. Glaser and Huszti formulated their hypotheses despite of the fact that they were equally unable to present any evidence.[6] Deér mentions a

5. Josef Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1966), 173–76.

6. Lajos Glaser, "Der Levantehandel über Ungarn im 11. und. 12. Jahrhundert," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933): 356–63; Dénes Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok* [Italian-Hungarian trade connections] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941), 27–28. See also Zsigmond Pach, "Le Commerce du Levant et la Hongrie au Moyen Âge: Thèses, polémiques, arguments," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 31, no. 6 (1976): 1176–94.

ceremonial helmet found in the Danube in 1877 as evidence of trade connections between Hungary and the Islamic world in the period, but since this object dates probably from the fourteenth century, it can hardly be accepted as that.[7] Similarly, Zsuzsa Lovag proposes that the rock crystal head of the royal sceptre could "have arrived through direct commercial contacts with the Arabs which are supported by written sources and *dirhems* found in Hungary."[8] Since the author fails to provide further information on this question and written sources are silent about such commercial contacts, it seems that she reiterates a historiographical myth. Dirhems were indeed found in Hungary in great numbers, but they arrived almost without exception from the Samanid Principality (819–1005) in Transoxania, i.e. not from an Arabic territory and especially not from Fatimid Egypt where the origin of the sceptre head is generally sought.[9] In addition, the trade with dirhems ceased after the tenth century and thus has nothing to do with the period of our interest. Vague theories about supposed "oriental" traders in Hungary in the twelfth century are all easily refutable since we have no source about such connections.

In agreement with Deér, several scholars point towards the Muslim population of Hungary as an explanation for anything Islamic, especially the pseudo-Arabic imagery on the

7. Arthur U. Pope, ed. *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 1411A. Cf. Tibor S. Kovács, "Egy keleti díszsisak a tatárjárás korából [An oriental ceremonial helmet from the period of the Mongol invasion]," in *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve: Studia Archeologica*, vol. 9, ed. Lívia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy, 361–67 (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 2003).

8. Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, trans. Péter Balabán (Budapest: Corvina, 1980), 82. See also Gyula László, "Adatok a koronázási jogar régészeti megvilágításához [Data to shed archaeological light on the coronation sceptre]," in *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*, vol. 3, ed. Jusztinián Serédi (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 557.

9. Csanád Bálint, "Az európai dirhem-forgalom néhány kérdése [Some questions of the European dirhem circulation]," *Századok* 116, no. 1 (1982): 3–32; László Kovács, *Münzen aus der ungarischen Landnahmezeit* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 120–34.

coins of Béla III. They repeatedly state that Muslim employees of the royal mint are responsible for those, and generally refer to a booklet by László Réthy in which he first attributed these coins to Muslims living in Hungary.[10] Only lately has Nora Berend debunked this historiographical myth on the basis or her careful reading of sources. She has pointed out that translating *monetarii* as 'minters' makes simply no sense in the document from 1111 mentioning Muslim employees.[11]

A similarly popular theory prevails in Hungarian scholarship about the royal sceptre head. Gyula László proposed that it might have come to Hungary as a gift for Stephen I of Hungary (1000–1038) from Henry II of Germany (1002–1024),[12] a renowned collector of rock crystals. This hypothesis is one of the very few questions about the sceptre on which scholars agree.[13] They unanimously presuppose that the pommel dates from the tenth century and refer to the pioneering monograph by Carl J. Lamm. However, the dating suggested by Lamm is merely based on associating the pommel with Stephen I.[14] No one has even attempted examining the pommel itself, and as the chapter on this object shall demonstrate, Henry II cannot be associated with it.

10. László Réthy, *Pénzeverő Izmaeliták és Bessarábia* [Ishmaelite minters and Bessarabia] (Arad: Réthy, 1880).

11. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000-c.1300*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 121–22.

12. The German kings mentioned in the present thesis were Roman emperors as well, but, for practical reason, only one period of reign is given.

13. László, "Adatok a koronázási jogar régészeti megvilágításához," 556; Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown*, 82; Endre Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jogar [The Hungarian coronation sceptre]," in *„Magyaroknak eleiről": Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, ed. Ferenc Piti and György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 609–10; Endre Tóth, "Das ungarische Krönungszepter," *Folia Archaeologica* 48 (2000): 144–45.

14. Carl J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, vol. 1 (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1929–1930), 183.

Hungarians in the Islamic world

Direct connections between Hungary and the Islamic world were limited in the period discussed here. Diplomatic relations had not been established before the late fourteenth century, albeit there were two main motives for travelling to the Middle East: pilgrimage and crusade. Since these questions are relatively well-studied, the section below only highlights some basic points.[15]

Pilgrims seldom left traces in sources, but one important route to Jerusalem went through Hungary. Legendary sources inform us that right after the beginning of the Christianisation of the country, Stephen I founded two hostels for pilgrims, one in Constantinople and one in Jerusalem. The latter remained functioning for centuries and presumably hosted Hungarian pilgrims. Then in the mid-twelfth century the Stephenite Order founded by King Géza II (1141–1161) established their headquarters there. We also know of a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin and Saint Stephen attached to the hostel. The earliest Hungarian pilgrim known from sources was prince Álmos in 1107.[16]

Prince Béla [III] allegedly meant to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem before his coronation in 1172, but the plan was never realised. Upon the request of Byzantine Emperor Manuel (1143–1180), Hungarians fought in the disastrous battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 against the Seljuq Turks. The first Hungarian crusaders recorded are those who joined the Third Crusade when the army of German Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1155–1190) travelled

15. See József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy and József Zsengellér, eds, *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk: Lovagrendek és emlékeik* [Hungary and the crusader wars: Military orders and their heritage] (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2006).

16. Pál G. Bozsóky, "Szent István jeruzsálemi alapítványairól [On the foundations of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem]," in *Doctor et apostol: Szent István tanulmányok*, ed. József Török (Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994), 34–39, 52–53; Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian pilgrims] (Budapest: História, 2003), 67–69; György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Balassi, 2013), 293–308.

through the country in 1189, although many of them returned from Byzantium. Béla met personally with Frederick in his royal palace at Esztergom, and presented the emperor with generous gifts.[17] Towards the end of his life, Béla III made an oath to the pope that he would lead a crusade, but his death in 1196 prevented him to execute it.[18]

Béla III's crusading mentality may not be independent from the canonisation of King Ladislaus (1077–1095) in 1192, in which the king had an active role himself. It seems that the legend of Ladislaus also began to spread at this time. As Ladislaus had fought against the 'pagan' Cuman invaders of Hungary, legends represent him as a precursor of the crusaders. It was even believed that if he had not died in 1095, he would have led the First Crusade. Such legendary stories were possibly propagated for clear political reasons as Béla III found his model as a Christian king in Ladislaus.[19]

Prince Andrew inherited the obligation of crusade from his father in 1196, but he was more interested in fighting for the royal throne against his brother, King Emeric (1196–1204).

17. *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. Graham A. Loud (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 58; Arnold of Lübeck, "Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 21, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1869), 171–72. The latter source mentions four camels.

18. James R. Sweeney, "Magyarország és a keresztes hadjáratok a 12–13. században [Hungary and the crusades in the 12th–13th century]," *Századok* 118 (1984): 116–19; András Borosy and József Laszlovszky, "Magyarország, a Szentföld és a korai keresztes hadjáratok [Hungary, the Holy Land and the early crusades]," in *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk: Lovagrendek és emlékeik*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy and József Zsengellér (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2006), 85–87.

19. "Legenda S. Ladislai regis," ed. Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 2, ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 521–22; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princess: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 175–94; László Veszprémy, "Dux et praeceptor Hierosolimitanorum: König Ladislaus (László) von Ungarn als imaginärer Kreuzritter," in *The Man of Many Devices: Who Wandered Full Many Ways*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, 470–77 (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999); László Veszprémy, *Lovagvilág Magyarországon: Lovagok, keresztesek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon* [The world of chivalry in Hungary: Knights, crusaders and military engineers in mediaeval Hungary] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), 95–103.

The two brothers eventually signed a peace agreement stipulating, under the influence of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), that they would go on crusade together. In fact, neither of them was interested in the precarious campaign in the first place, and the attack of the Fourth Crusade on the city of Zadar under Hungarian sovereignty in 1202 eventually made Hungarian participation impossible. After Andrew II inherited the throne in 1205, he was still unwilling to execute his father's oath. Only in 1217 did he finally depart for the Holy Land. The king himself did not participate in battle, but preferred supporting the military orders and acquiring holy relics instead. A reference in the *Chronicon Pictum* mentions that he used his treasures in order to collect as many relics as he could in the Holy Land. He purchased body relics of Saint Stephen protomartyr, Saint Margaret, the virgin, Saint Thomas apostle and Saint Bartholomew, a piece of Aron's rod and one of the jars in which Jesus allegedly turned water into wine at the Marriage at Cana.[20]

The reigns of Béla III and Andrew II are relatively rich in Islamic artefacts, and this can hardly be a coincidence with their crusader mentality. Béla's first wife, Agnes, was born in Antioch before moving to Constantinople where they married, and her father was Raynold of Chatillion, prince of Antioch (1153–1160). In short, Béla and Andrew inevitably had the most contacts with the territory where Islamic objects were produced.

20. "Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV," ed. Sándor Domanovszky, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1, ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999, reprint), 466; Sweeney, "Magyarország és a keresztes hadjáratok," 119–24; György Szabados, "Egy elmaradt keresztes hadjáratról [On a cancelled crusade]," in *„Magyaroknak eleiről"*, 473–92, 485; Borosy and Laszlovszky, "Magyarország, a Szentföld, és a korai keresztes hadjáratok," 79, 86–88; László Veszprémy, "The Crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary, 1217–1218," *Jacobus* 13–14 (2002): 87–110.

Muslims in Árpád-age Hungary

As demonstrated above, scholars often attribute the presence of Islamic artefacts in Hungary to local Muslims, and, therefore, the following pages summarise what is known about them in the twelfth–thirteenth century. Some Muslim groups had possibly joined the Hungarian tribes before they reached the Carpathian Basin in around 895, but most of them arrived in later waves.[21] Despite the beginning of the Christianisation of the country around 1000, Muslims remained settled in the kingdom at least until 1300.[22]

The most invaluable account about Muslims in Hungary comes from Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1169/1170), an Andalusian traveller who spent three years in the country between 1150 and 1153:

> The descendants of the Maghāriba[23] are thousands, [i.e.] countless there, and the descendants of Khwarezmians are also thousands, [i.e.] countless there. The descendants of the Khwarezmians serve the kings, pretend to be Christians, and conceal their Islamic faith. The descendants of the Maghāriba do not serve the Christians except for in wars, and they proclaim their Islamic faith.[24]

21. See György Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei* [Eastern elements of the Hungarian people] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1990), 50–56, 86–93; Gyula Kristó, *Nem magyar népek a középkori magyarországon* [Non-Hungarian ethnic groups in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003), 37–44; Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 64–6; Erdal Çoban, "Eastern Muslim Groups among Hungarians in the Middle Ages," *Bilig* 63 (2012): 55–60.

22. After the end of the Árpád dynasty in 1301, we no longer hear about Muslims in sources; Nora Berend, "A Note on the End of Islam in Medieval Hungary: Old Mistakes and Some New Results," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 2 (2014): 205.

23. The meaning of "awlād al-Maghāriba" has been much debated, see Kristó, *Nem magyar népek*, 47–9; Attila Katona-Kiss, "A „sirmioni hunok": Egy muszlim katonai kötelék a XII. századi magyar királyi erőkben [The Huns from Sirmion: A Muslim military group in the twelfth-century Hungarian forces]," in *Fons, skepsis, lex: Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, ed. Tibor Almási, Éva Révész and György Szabados, 168–69 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010).

24. Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras Eurasiáticas*, trans. and ed. César E. Dubler (Madrid: Imprenta y Editorial Maestre, 1953), 27 (Arabic), 65 (Spanish).

Apart from the report of Abū Ḥāmid, the Muslims are often mentioned in legal documents. For instance, a law of the Synod of Szabolcs in 1092 reads as follows: "9. […] The merchants, called Ishmaelites, who after having been baptized return to their old religion (viz. Islam) through circumcision, shall be removed from their dwelling to different villages. But those, who have proved themselves innocent by ordeal, shall remain in their own dwellings."[25] King Coloman (1095–1116) also issued several laws against Muslims prohibiting "their misdeeds", such as fasting, abstaining from pork, bathing, and ordered them to build a church in every village.[26]

As for the professions of the Muslims, some were engaged in domestic trade within the country, and those who lived in their own villages must have worked in agriculture. Kings occasionally also recruited them as auxiliary contingents in the army. Others were employed in high-rank state positions, even as *comes camere* ('Count of the Chamber' or *'ispán'*), which meant overseer of the mint, of tolls, or of salt-trade.[27] The most important source about royal Muslim functionaries is the Golden Bull issued by Andrew II in 1222. Article 24 reads as "Ishmaelites and Jews shall not be allowed to become counts of the chamber of the mint, of salt, and of tolls [or] nobles of the realm".[28]

Just around the same time as the Golden Bull, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) found a group of Muslim students from Hungary in Aleppo. He asked one of them about their country, and he replied:

> Our country is beyond Constantinople in the kingdom of one of the Frank nations (*umma*) called al-Hunkar. We are Muslims, subjects of their king on the edge of his

25. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, *1000–1301*, trans. and ed. János Bak et al. (Idyllwild, Calif.: C. Schlacks, 1999, 2nd rev. ed.), 55.

26. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom*, 28.

27. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 113–15, 120–24, 133–34, 140–42.

28. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom*, 34.

> country. We [inhabit] 30 villages all of which are almost like a smaller town, except for that the king of al-Hunkar does not allow us to surround any of them with walls, because he fears that we would revolt against him. […] Our language is the language of the Franks. […] We participate with them in military service and campaign with them against every enemy because they only fight against the enemies of Islam.[29]

Legal sources, especially from the thirteenth century, inform us that the kings issued several laws in order to convert the Muslims to Christianity, but the next king often had to confirm these laws, which indicates that they were not obeyed. Popes from the early thirteenth century were keen on accusing the kings for their sympathy with Muslims and Jews, and the laws against them might well have been for the sake of Rome rather than for real consequences. There were opponents of Muslim functionaries probably for economic reasons, but the kings sometimes preferred relying on Muslims and Jews.[30] The location and profession of the Ishmaelites clearly explain the distinction between crypto-Muslims and Muslims as noted by Abū Ḥāmid. Odd habits of those living in the administrative and commercial centres and employed by the royal offices might well have caused denouncements to the kings, hence the laws against them. On the other hand, Muslims living in their own villages and working as peasants or shepherds were probably allowed to retain their own lifestyle.

The partial excavations of two Muslim villages, Böszörmény and Orosháza, provide further information on Muslims. Although archaeologists found a large amount of artefacts,

29. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, vol. 1, ed. Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jundī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 384. Cf. Zakariyyāʾ al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen: Druck und Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchbandlung, 1848), 411. This short passage seems to be based on the account of Yāqūt. Muslims living in the Srijem/Srem region and participating in the Byzantine-Hungarian wars were also mentioned by John Kinnamos in his *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 86, 186.

30. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 156–61.

the material culture has no Islamic feature.[31] The only exception is the lack of pig bones, which means that they followed the prohibition of Islam on consuming pork. It has also been proposed that the burials near Orosháza refer to a Muslim population,[32] but the graves do not follow Islamic burial practice. The ground rule for Muslim burials is that the grave should be situated perpendicular to the *qibla* (the direction of Mecca), and the body should lay on its right side facing Mecca. The burials at Orosháza are evidently different from this.

In short, Muslim craftsmen, long distance merchants and minters were – according to the evidence available today – absent from the Kingdom of Hungary in the twelfth–thirteenth century. Even when Muslims engaged in trade with the Islamic world in the tenth century, they only had connections with Central Asia, which does not explain the presence of Egyptian, let alone Andalusian, artefacts in Hungary.

31. See Ildikó M. Antalóczy, "A nyíri izmaeliták központjának, Böszörmény falunak régészeti leletei I. [Archaeological finds of Böszörmény, the centre of the Ishmaelites of Nyír I]," *Hajdúsági Múzeum Évkönyve* 4 (1980): 131–70; Zsigmond Hajdú and Gyöngyvér E. Nagy, "A nyíri izmaeliták központjának, Böszörmény falunak régészeti leletei II [Archaeological finds of Böszörmény, the centre of the Ishmaelites of Nyír II]," *Hajdúsági Múzeum Évkönyve* 9 (1999): 31–68; László Szabó, "Megjegyzések a „böszörmények" kérdéséhez a Hajdúböszörmény határában talált Árpád-kori falu régészeti leletei alapján [Notes on the the question of Böszörménys according to the finds of the Árpád-age village near Hajdúböszörmény]," *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (2002–2003): 73–108.

32. Zoltán Rózsa and Beáta Tugya, "Kik voltak az első Orosháza lakói? Problémafelvetés egy kutatás kezdetén [Who were the inhabitants of the first Orosháza? Raising a problem at the beginning of the research]," *Mozaikok Orosháza és vidéke múltjából* 6 (2012): 21–25; Zoltán Rózsa et al., "Árpád Period Muslim Settlement and Cemetery in Orosháza," *Hungarian Archaeology* (2014): 1–7.

Chapter 2.

The royal sceptre head

The crown jewels of Hungary are among the few medieval royal regalia in the world, and the sceptre is simply the finest piece of its kind surviving in Europe from the Middle Ages (Figure 2.1). It consists of two main parts: a 38 cm long handle covered with gilded silver overlay, and a roughly spherical rock crystal pommel (6.1 to 7.3 cm in diameter) carved, polished and smoothed with superior craftsmanship (Figures 2.2–2.5). It depicts three stylized lions projecting from the background in relief. Two gold plates and three X-shaped double ribbons decorated with gold filigree hold the two parts together. The trails for the mounting ribbons are engraved on the rock crystal forming roundels around the beasts and leaving out three times two triangles in between the medallions. Originally 26 chains hung from the ribbons and the plates ending in little balls, but two of them are missing today.[33]

Fatimid rock crystals

Given the high quality of the material, scholars generally assume that the sceptre head was produced in Egypt during the Fatimid dynasty (969–1171) as many of the finest medieval rock crystals in the world.[34] However, identifying Fatimid rock crystals is anything but

33. Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown*, 82–9; Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jogar," 593–98; Tóth, "Krönungszepter," 113–21.

34. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, vol. 1, 183, 204, 210.

straightforward today, and the quality of the raw material in itself is inadequate evidence.[35] Scholars have for long believed that the finest rock crystal objects were all made in Fatimid Egypt, even though according to al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) the most important rock crystal workshop operated in Basra in the Persian Gulf.[36]

Numerous Islamic rock crystals are found in European museums today, but since the objects rarely bear inscriptions, it is usually difficult to firmly define their place and date of production. There are only three main, definitely Fatimid, exceptions. The magnificent pearl-shaped ewer in the treasury of Saint Mark in Venice (Figure 2.6) bears the name of its patron, Caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–996).[37] The second one is a similarly shaped ewer in Florence,[38] and its inscription mentions the title *qāʾid al-quwwād* ('leader of the leaders'), which was in use roughly in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[39] Finally, the third datable Fatimid rock crystal, a crescent-shaped object (Figure 2.7) with the name of Caliph al-Ẓāhir (1021–1036) is in Nuremberg today.[40]

One problem with the three identifiable Fatimid rock crystals is that they are quite different from one another, and even the quality of the craftsmanship varies. The earliest datable piece, the al-ʿAzīz ewer, produced soon after the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 969

35. For questioning the Fatimid origin of rock crystals in general, see Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1998), 23–25.

36. Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir*, ed. Fritz Krenkow (Hydarabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīya, 1936), 184.

37. See Hans R. Hahnloser, ed. *Il tesoro e il museo [di San Marco]* (Firenze, Sansoni, 1971), no. 124; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, no. 57, pp. 60–61 and 212–13.

38. See David S. Rice, "A Datable Islamic Rock Crystal," *Oriental Art* 2 (1956): 85–93.

39. Ḥusayn ibn Jawhar, a military officer for whom the title was created in 1000, was not the only one who bore it. See Ṭaqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ bi-akhbār al-aʾimma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafāʾ*, vol. 2, ed. Muḥammad Ḥ. M. Aḥmad (Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1996), 72ff.

40. See Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 62–3.

possibly indicates that a workshop had been operating there. Nonetheless, scholars generally agree on dating the finest pieces between ca. 975 and 1050.[41]

Rock crystal pommels

Including the Hungarian sceptre head, five rock crystal pommels constitute a group of comparable objects, but two of them disappeared during World War II. Today there is one depicting three griffins in Bamberg and one with geometric motifs and an inscription in Cairo. The two lost objects were one with floral motifs in Essen and one depicting three birds in Berlin (Figures 2.8–2.11).[42] The animals visible on the pommels are frequent in medieval art and not specifically Fatimid, although the odd, half-crouching half-standing, pose of lions also occurs in Fatimid sculpture.[43] The five pommels feature similar form and dimensions (ca. 4.5 to 7 cm), albeit they also differ from one another. What follows here is a short comparative analysis of the objects focusing on the one in Budapest.[44]

Decorations of all the five pieces project in high relief, although the forms vary between figural depictions surrounded by a background engraved (Bamberg, Berlin and Budapest) and simpler linear motives projecting (Cairo and Essen). It is noteworthy, that, contrary to the

41. The latest source for Fatimid rock crystal production is the account of a Persian traveller, Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1088); Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādyānī, *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston Jr. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1986), 53.

42. Robert Schmidt, "Die Hedvigsgläser und die verwandten fatimidischen glas- und kristallschnittarbeiten," *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift: Jahrbuch des schlesischen Museums für Kunstwerbe Altertümer* 6 (1912), 65; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, nos 36–7. For the Cairo piece, see Bernard O'Kane, ed., *The Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006), no. 58. I am thankful to Holger Kempkens for allowing me to view the pommel in Bamberg.

43. See the brass lion sculpture in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo; O'Kane, ed., *The Treasures of Islamic Art*, no. 65.

44. Many of the ideas presented here were formed together with Marcus Pilz (Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich).

pommels, only the outlines of the animals on the finest Fatimid ewers project from the background in relief but not their bodies.[45] Fatimid rock crystals also normally feature some motifs that help identifying additional pieces. Dots on the bodies of the animals, hatching along their outlines, the 'line and dot' motif and the half palmettes are characteristic. Four of the pommels feature some of these motifs, while the Budapest pommel, featuring none, is clearly distinct. Compared with the Bamberg piece, for instance, the lions are drawn by crude lines, and the beasts are anything but lifelike. The delicate leaf-like endings of tails found on many Fatimid rock crystals become simple bulbs with lines on this object.

Scholars often assume that the pommels intentionally functioned as sceptre (or mace) heads, but it is hardly likely in the case of the Cairo piece. We know from al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) that Fatimid caliphs used sceptres. He mentions among the caliphal regalia a certain *qaḍīb*: "that is a stick of 1.5 cubit (*shibr*) in length, covered with gold which is embellished with pearls and precious stones. It is in the hand of the caliph on the greater processions."[46] This source is unfortunately indecisive. More importantly, the Cairo pommel is only bored to about the middle of the object, and thus had it been mounted on a handle inserted in its hole, its inscription would have been upside down.

In any case, a ceremonial significance of the pommels is justifiable, and they might have had functions different from one another, especially as they were designed for different types of mounting. The Essen and the Cairo pieces do not feature trails for ribbons but only borings. The Berlin and Budapest ones, in addition to their borings, also feature three X-shaped trails engraved between the medallions, and three times two triangles project in relief

45. For the techniques of Fatimid rock crystal carving, see Anna Contadini, "The Cutting Edge: Problems of History, Identification and Technique of Fatimid Rock Crystals," in *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999); Elise Morero et al., "Carving Techniques of Fatimid Rock Crystal Ewers (10–12th cent. A.D.)," *Wear* 301, nos 1–2 (2013): 150–56.

46. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, vol. 3 (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya, 1914), 472.

between the shafts of the bands. These two also served the same purpose, as the Berlin piece was mounted on an ivory sceptre.[47] The one in Bamberg also differs because the animals are not in roundels and the tail of one of the griffins would have obstructed a ribbon there.

Based on the evidence available today, the four pommels in Cairo, Berlin, Essen and Bamberg can still be considered as Fatimid. The one in Cairo bears a barely readable inscription mentioning Muḥammad and ʿAlī,[48] i.e. a strongly *Shiʿite* message suggesting a Fatimid origin. It has been proposed that the style of epigraphy points towards the reign of al-Ḥākim (996–1021),[49] but the inscription on the Nuremberg crescent (between 1021 and 1036) is more comparable with the inscription on the Cairo piece. The pommels with decoration in high relief might well date later than the most delicate ewers, i.e. towards the mid-eleventh century.[50] The Essen piece is generally dated on the basis of its mount, a reliquary cross produced between 971 and 982, but it could have been mounted in that any time later.

One, hitherto unnoticed decorative element should be highlighted on the Budapest piece. As mentioned above, the six triangular fields between the shafts of the X-shaped bands project in high relief. They are decorated with smaller triangles inserted upside down. This geometric motif is interesting because, as Rosemarie Lierke has pointed out, it is a characteristic element of the so-called "Hedwig Beakers", a group of thirteen glass objects and ten fragments of uncertain origin (Figure 2.12). She argued that the triangles might be a

47. Shalem, *Islam Christianised*, 198.

48. Abd el-Ra'uf Ali Yousuf, "A Rock-Crystal Specimen in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, and the Seven Fatimid Domes in the Qarāfa al-Kubrā, Cairo," in *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*, ed Marianna Barrucand (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 311. Yousuf's reading is grammatically incorrect, and the two names probably refer to Prophet Muḥammad and Imām ʿAlī, rather than to two Fatimid personalities as he proposed.

49. Hilfried Seipel, ed. *Schätze der Kalifen: Islamische Kunst zur Fatimidenzeit* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999), no. 105.

50. Cf. Kurt Erdmann, "Fatimid Rock Crystals;" Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 23–5.

sign of the Sicilian origin of the objects, referring to the shape of the island; and that the "Hedwig Beakers" were produced under William II (1166–1189).[51] While many scholars accept the Sicilian origin today,[52] it is hard to imagine why artisans would have marked only glass objects with this triangle sign. Accepting the connection between the "Hedwig Beakers" and the Budapest pommel, the idea that the latter was produced in Sicily as well seems to be a logical conclusion. The main problem with this hypothesis is that the existence of a rock crystal carving workshop has not been proven anywhere around the Mediterranean in this period except for Egypt. Avinoam Shalem, however, has insightfully proposed to attribute some rock crystal objects to Norman Sicily,[53] and a somewhat comparable rock crystal ewer in Saint Petersburg proposed to be Sicilian may support this hypothesis.[54]

In short, the origin of the Budapest pommel cannot be firmly ascertained, but comparison with similar pieces suggests that the object might well be a later imitation of earlier rock crystal objects. The basic iconography and the fineness of the raw material is similar to earlier pieces, but the carving technique is incomparably less refined. Details and additional decorative elements are missing, and the forms of the lions' body are rather cubic compared with the animals depicted on other rock crystals with delicate lifelikeness. Based on this, two

51. Rosemarie Lierke, *Die Hedwigsbecher: Das normannisch-sizilische Erbe der staufischen Kaiser* (Mainz-Ruhpolding: F. Rutzen, 2005).

52. Jens Kröger, "The Hedwig Beakers: Medieval European Glass Vessels Made in Sicily around 1200," in *The Phenomenon of 'Foreign' in Oriental Art*, ed. Annette Hagedorn (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006), 27–46.

53. Avinoam Shalem, "The Rock-Crystal Lionhead in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe," in *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*, ed. Marianna Barrucand, 359–66 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999); also Rudolf Distelberger, "Der Gefäße aus Bergkristall," in *Nobiles Officinae: Die königlichen Hofwerkstatten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wilfried Seipel (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2004), 109–13, nos 15, 20–7. Cf. Jeremy Johns and Elise Morero, "The Diffusion of Rock Crystal Carving Techniques in the Fāṭimid Mediterranean," https://www.academia.edu/5896062 (Accessed: 22 April 2015).

54. Seipel, ed. *Nobiles Officinae*, no. 23.

explanations can be proposed. The pommel could either be a Fatimid piece produced after the apogee of the workshop, i.e. after the mid-eleventh century, or a product of another workshop where they imitated earlier Fatimid rock crystals pommels, probably in Norman Sicily.

The route of Fatimid rock crystals to Europe

One of the scarce written sources on Fatimid rock crystals is in the travelogue of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1088) who visited Cairo between 1147 and 1150. He writes as follows:

> On the north side of the mosque [of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ] is a bazaar called Sūq al-Qanādīl [Lamp Market], and no one ever saw such a bazaar anywhere else […] I saw extremely fine crystal, which the master craftsmen etch most beautifully. [This crystal] had been imported from the Maghreb, although they say that near the Red Sea, crystal even finer and more translucent than the Maghrebi variety had been found.[55]

Despite the traveller's fascination with these marvellous objects, there was an even finer and more translucent kind of rock crystal than what he saw at the market, and the two types differed in the provenance of the raw material.[56] Most interestingly, objects of the finest quality were not available for commoners, but were most likely produced and circulated within the palaces of the caliphs. This must be especially true in the case of caliphal ceremonial objects such as the rock crystal pommels.

Several of the Islamic rock crystal objects in Germany today have been associated with Henry II (1002–1024), a renowned collector of these objects. However, we can only attribute two pieces to him with certainty, a cup and a plate, because those are mounted on the Ambo

55. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels*, 53 (The first note in square brackets and the corrections of some transcription errors are mine).

56. The rock crystal from the Red Sea probably came from Madagascar, see Stéphane Pradines, "The Rock Crystal of Dembeni, Mayotte Mission Report 2013," *Nyame Akuma* 80 (2013): 59–72. See also Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 17–18.

of Aachen given to the cathedral by Henry II probably in 1003.[57] Anna Contadini has recently proposed an Abbasid origin for the cup, while the plate is probably Fatimid.[58] The most likely explanation for the route of the two rock crystals, along with other objects embellishing the ambo, is via Byzantium, where the imperial treasury included many Fatimid and Abbasid objects, and diplomatic gifts were often presented to the Ottonians.[59] In that case, Henry II hardly had a clue about the ultimate Islamic origin of his rock crystals; they were just two among other exotic pieces coming from Byzantium.

The Islamic rock crystals in the possession of Henry II were utilitarian, even if highly precious, vessels. Contrary to that, ceremonial objects of the highest quality, such as the rock crystal pommels, were unlikely to leave palace treasuries intentionally. Indeed, the translocation of high quality rock crystal pieces to Europe is generally explained by the uprising in Cairo in the 1060s when the military leaders robbed the caliphal treasuries. The *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (originally late eleventh century) and two accounts of al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) inform us about incalculable numbers of rock crystals being taken from the palace in 1068–1069, and that subsequently numerous priceless objects were acquired by

57. For the ambo, see Erika Doberer, "Studien zu dem Ambo Kaiser Heinrichs II. im Dom zu Aachen," in *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung*, ed. Friedrich Gerke, Georg von Opel and Hermann Schnitzler, 308–359 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1957); Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 91–99.

58. Anna Contadini, "Sharing a Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity around the Mediterranean, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 28–30. The so-called "Chalice of Henry" in Munich has a similar cup which can also be attributed to the collection of Henry II; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, no. 45.

59. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 45–6; Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," 30; H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Did Theophano Leave Her Mark on the Ottonian Sumptuary Art?," in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 252–53.

commoners.[60] Scholars generally agree that the finest rock crystal objects in European treasuries dispersed from the caliphal palace after this date. A similar incident occurred when Vizier al-ʿAbbās ibn Abī al-Futūḥ escaped from the inimical atmosphere of Cairo in 1154 taking as much of the treasury with him as he could. But then Franks attacked, robbed and killed him in Palestine, and thus numerous objects came into their possession.[61] Other Fatimid rock crystals made their way to the imperial treasuries of Constantinople, from where they could also have been taken to Europe, especially when the crusaders occupied the city in 1204 or when they eventually left in 1261.[62]

It seems unreasonable to associate any of the rock crystal pommels with Henry II, especially the Hungarian piece. The inventory of the Cathedral of Bamberg informs us that six *nodi cristallini* were there in 1127,[63] but we do not know whether *nodus* (singular of *nodi*) meant this kind of pommel. Accepting the Fatimid origin of the Hungarian sceptre head, it can be inferred that it most likely arrived to Hungary from either the Holy Land or Byzantium. In the first case, the most likely period is when Hungarians participated in the crusader wars, i.e. between the reigns of Béla III and Andrew II. In the second case, the connections with Byzantium were definitely the strongest during the lifetime of Béla III who had been raised in the imperial palace as the prospective heir of Manuel I.[64]

60. *Book of Gifts and Rarities: Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf*, trans. Ghāda al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, [1996]), 229–41; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, vol. 2, 282–84; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āṯār*, vol. 2, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2002), 370–77. See also Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 60–66.

61. Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2008), 86.

62. See Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 56; Contadini, "The Cutting Edge," 325; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 27–28; Jonathan M. Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 195–97.

63. *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1967), 18.

64. Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations Between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 96, 112–24.

The reconstructed story of the Hungarian sceptre head perfectly corresponds to what the author of the *Book of Gifts and Rarities* writes about the precious objects after the dispersion of the caliphal treasuries of Cairo:

> Some people have informed me that wealthy merchants transported some [of the precious items] to other cities and to all countries, [where] they became beautiful adornments and treasures for their kings and also ornaments and objects of pride for their kingdoms.[65]

The sceptre of the king

When was the rock crystal pommel mounted onto the Hungarian royal sceptre? The dating of the metal elements with filigree decoration is, again, problematic,[66] but scholars attribute a group of jewels with filigree decoration to the same royal workshop. Gyula László proposed an early twelfth-century dating for them,[67] while Deér re-dated them to around 1200.[68] Many scholars consider a slightly earlier period as the heyday of a royal filigree workshop,[69] while Béla Zsolt Szakács argues for distinguishing between objects usually associated with each other.[70] In short, the style of filigree provides little help for dating the sceptre.

Endre Tóth has recently reconsidered the earlier opinions and dated the sceptre to the reign of King Stephen I (1000–1038).[71] First, he uncritically accepts Lamm's dating of the pommel based merely on the legendary association of the sceptre with King Stephen. Second,

65. *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, 230.

66. Many scholars have mentioned that the style of filigree is no firm evidence for datig in the period; see for instance Éva Kovács, *Romanesque Goldsmith' Art in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1974), 18; Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jogar," 595, 605.

67. László, "Adatok a koronázási jogar régészeti megvilágításához," 538–50. The only evidence for his dating is the use of colours of *cloisonné enamel*, which is easily questionable.

68. Deér, *Die heilige Krone*, 180, n426.

69. Kovács, *Goldsmith' Art*, 19–24; Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown*, 89; Ernő Marosi, *A romanika Magyarországon* [The Romanesque style in Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 2013), 122–23.

70. Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Remarks on the Filigree of the Holy Crown," *Acta Historia Artium* 18 (2002): 56–57.

71. Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jogar;" Tóth, "Krönungszepter".

he points out some analogies with late tenth- and early eleventh-century German filigree objects, but ignores the Hungarian group of jewels mentioned above. Third, Tóth's argument is based on two depictions of rulers with sceptres supposedly comparable with the Hungarian one, the seal of Rudolf III of Burgundy (993–1032) and the bull of Henry II of Germany (Figure 2.13). These two images do not reveal whether the rulers hold a long staff or a short sceptre in their hands. Less ambiguous book illustrations (Figures 2.14–2.18), however, clearly demonstrate that short sceptres came to be used later. The first sceptre is that of Henry III (1028–1056), which is a shorter version of the staff of Otto III (983–1002) surmounted by a sphere and a bird. Henry IV (1053–1105) and his two sons hold sceptres surmounted by crosses. The only sceptre with a simple spherical head is that of Henry V (1099–1125). Finally, the *Manuscriptum Mediolanense* from c. 1200 depicts Otto I (936–973) with a sceptre ending in a sphere surrounded by three smaller gems.[72]

The pictorial evidence does not support the preconception of Tóth that analogies for the Hungarian sceptre should be sought at the German royal court, especially since the miniatures also reveal that the sceptres' handles are from the same material as their heads. The evidence suggests that by no accident the search for analogies is a pointless undertaking; the Hungarian sceptre is a unique object and its patron should be credited with originality instead of searching for its exemplars in vain.

Finally, when did kings begin using sceptres in Hungary? Stephen I had a lance instead of sceptre on his contemporary depiction on the Hungarian coronation mantle and on a coin issued by him.[73] The figure of an enthroned ruler with sceptre first appears on the coins of

72. Milan, Ambrosiana Library, Cod. S.P.48. olim fol. 129 sup.

73. János Bak, "Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter: Sanctity of Insignia in Medieval East Central Europe," in *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Gábor Klaniczay (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, 2nd ed.), 57–8; László Kovács, "Újra a nagyharsányi kincsről és a LANCEA REGIS köriratú denárról

Béla III, and archaeologists discovered a sceptre in his tomb at Székesfehérvár. As for written sources, the establishing charter of the Abbey of Tihany (1055) mentions the ruler as *sceptrifer* ('sceptre bearing'), but this is probably a symbolic expression referring to possessing power rather to a real object.[74] Such an object could well have existed in Hungary as early as the eleventh century, but it gained higher significance later when it became a standard item of the royal regalia.

Based on the filigree work of the sceptre, scholars generally attribute it to Béla III, and investigating the sceptre head corroborates this attribution. Béla III was buried in 1196 with another sceptre among other regalia presumably made for his burial instead of the real crown jewels. In addition, his person fits both explanations for the provenance of the pommel. He had been educated in the Byzantine court before ascending to the throne, and thus he would have been able to acquire the rock crystal pommel either from there or from the Holy Land. Alternatively, the hypothesis that the pommel comes from Norman Sicily under William II, also suggests that the pommel was contemporary with Béla III.

[Again on the treasury of Nagyharsány and the denars with the LANCEA REGIS inscription on its rim]," *Századok* 129, no. 5 (1995): 1075–1104.

74. Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jogar," 612–13; Tóth, "Krönungszepter," 147. However, a sceptre may have played a role in the coronational ordo of King Salamon (1063–1074); József Laszlovszky, "Angolszász koronázási ordo Magyarországon [Anglo-Saxon coranational ordo in Hungary]," in Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008), 95.

Chapter 3.

The ring of Béla III

In early December 1848, workers discovered two sarcophagi made of lavish red limestone while digging a drain at Székesfehérvár, the coronation city of the Árpád dynasty. Realising the importance of the finds, the Hungarian National Museum appointed János Érdy to supervise the excavations. Due to the harsh winter, the job was hastily carried out; nevertheless, it remains the only excavated and identified medieval royal tomb in Hungary, and Érdy also discovered three less important burials. The two royal sarcophagi contained numerous goods in addition to the two skeletons: the king was interred with a crown, a sceptre, a sword, an encolpion, a bangle, a pair of spurs, a processional cross and a ring, and his wife with a crown and a ring. It is noteworthy that many of the goods are humble symbols of kingship produced for the burial, while the two rings, the encolpion and the processional cross had been used before.[75]

75. For the discovery, see János Érdy, "III. Béla király és nejének Székes-Fehérvárott talált síremlékei [The tombs of Béla III and his spouse discovered at Székesfehérvár]," in *Magyarország és Erdély képekben*, vol. 1, ed. Ferenc Kubinyi and Imre Vahot (Pest: Emich Gusztáv Bizománya, 1853), 45. The grave goods have still not been adequately published and discussed in detail, but see Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei [The burial regalia of Béla III and his spouse]," in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. Gyula Forster, 207–30 (Budapest: A Magyar Kormány, 1900); Éva Kovács, "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei [Funeral insignia of Béla III and Anne of Antioch]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 21 (1972): 1–14; or in German: Éva Kovács, "Die Grabinsignien König Bélas III. und Annas von Antiochien," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15 (1969): 3–24; Éva Kovács, *Romanesque Goldsmiths' Art in Hungary*, trans. Lili Halápy (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), nos 10–11.

Neither the sarcophagi nor the goods provide any direct reference to the identity of the persons. Reverend János Pauer, Érdy's assistant, was the first to attribute the two skeletons to Béla III and his first wife, Agnes of Antioch.[76] This attribution has been accepted ever since then, but Endre Tóth recently queried it and proposed to attribute the tombs to Coloman (1095–1116) and his wife instead.[77] The anatomical data of the two skeletons, however, agree with what we know from written sources about Béla and Agnes, and the rich collection of objects excavated from their graves agrees with the date of their death.[78]

The gold ring found on Béla's right index finger is believed to have come from the Islamic world and therefore it is of special interest for the present study.[79] It is made of gold and has a purple almandine (iron-rich garnet) gemstone, mounted by four half round-shaped tripartite nails, with an Arabic inscription engraved on it (Figures 3.1–3.2). The present chapter discusses this object, its symbolic importance, origin and date, mainly using technical observations and some analogous material.

A history to reconstruct

Early descriptions of the object note that by pulling out two little nails from the side of the bezel, the upper part of the ring opens and reveals a little repository under it. The type is

76. János Pauer, *A Székesfehérvárott fölfedezett királyi sirboltról* [About the royal tomb discovered at Székesfehérvár] (Székesfehérvár: n.p., 1849), 19–34; see also Aurél Török, "Jelentés III-ik Béla Magyar király és neje testereklyéiről [Report on the relics of King Béla III of Hungary and his wife]," *Értekezések a Természettudományok Köréből* 23, no. 4 (1893): 196–97.

77. Endre Tóth, "III. Béla vagy Kálmán? A székesfehérvári királysír azonosításáról [Béla III or Coloman? On the identification of the royal tomb at Székesfehérvár]," *Folia Archaeologica* 52 (2005/2006): 141–61.

78. Kinga Éri et al., "Embertani vizsgálatok III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna földi maradványán [Anatomical examination of the remains of Béla III and Agnes of Antioch]," in *150 éve történt: III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának felfedezése* [After 150 years: The discovery of the tomb of Béla III and Agnes of Antioch] ed. Vajk Cserményi (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999), 9–15.

79. I am thankful to Etele Kiss for allowing me to view this object.

called “poison ring” and was in use from ancient times supposedly for hiding poison intended for suicide should the wearer face torture. Despite such legends, the main function of these rings was to contain small personal objects, especially relics.[80] Needless to say, such repository function corresponds to our image of a Christian king, and thus referring to this type as ‘repository ring’ is arguably more accurate.

It has been pointed out that the hoop of the ring was reworked at the shoulders.[81] Upon close analysis, the extension is visible, and the hoop is evidently larger than an average male finger. Thus it fits the anatomical data of the skeleton: his body weight must have been over 100 kilograms (220 pounds).[82] That is, either Béla acquired a ring too small for him and had it resized in order to fit onto his fleshy finger, or he had used it in his youth and later had it adjusted to his growing finger size. Accepting that the ring was used as a reliquary explains while Béla would want to resize it either at the time of acquisition or as an old beloved object of his.

Bearing an Arabic inscription, the stone definitely comes from the Islamic world, but the same does not apply for the ring. Deér notes the close similarity of the half round-shaped nails with those on the lower part of the holy crown of Hungary,[83] but in Zsuzsa Lovag’s expert opinion, such detail is no decisive evidence.[84] There are, however, more significant details to be observed. One of the four nails is situated very closely to the Arabic inscription (Figure 3.1). As it will be discussed below, the gemstone was originally a seal and the closely

80. Katherine M. Lester and Bess V. Oerke, *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Dover: Mineola Publications, 2004, reprint), 332–33.

81. Czobor, “III. Béla és hitvese,” 215–16; Mária Hlatky, *A magyar gyűrű* [The Hungarian ring] (Budapest: Pallas Nyomda, 1938), 46.

82. Éri et al., “Embertani Vizsgálatok,” 11.

83. Deér, *Die heilige Krone*, 46.

84. Personal communication (16 May 2015).

placed nail would impede – or at least make uncomfortable – to stamp with it, which proves that the stone lost its original function when it was mounted onto the ring. That is, the ring was not produced for the original owner of the seal, but for someone who would use the stone as a decorative gem. In addition, early Islamic seals are usually oval in shape, rounded or rectangular seals are rare and always feature flat surface.[85] In turn, the gem of Béla's ring cut *en cabochon* is almost perfectly rounded today at its base. Detailed observation, however, reveals that the upper part of the gem is more oval than its base (Figure 3.3) indicating that originally the stone must have been oval as well. Consequently, it seems that the stone had to be recut to be set on the ring, or, in other words, neither the stone was made for the mount, nor vice versa.

It is difficult to decide when and where the various phases in the history of this object occurred. One can only be sure that the resized ring including the gemstone recut belonged to Béla III later in his life. The stone and the ring came into his possession separately, and he unified the two objects. We also know that the hoop had to be resized at some point, and it seems assumable that the two alterations, mounting the stone and resizing the hoop, occurred on the same occasion. These observations lead to the conclusion that both the stone and the repository ring, separately, were highly valued by the king. That is, he considered a visibly Islamic object especially appropriate for his own personal use, most likely for holding a small relic.

85. Ludvik Kalus, *Catalogue des cachets, bulls at talismans islamiques* (Paris: Bibliothec Nationale, 1981), 9; Venetia Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: British Museum 2011), 16. For extensive catalogues of comparable material, see also Ludvik Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Derek J. Content, ed., *Islamic Rings and Gems: The Benjamin Zucker Collection* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1987); Marian Wenzel, *Ornament and Amulet: Rings of the Islamic World* (London: Nour Foundation, 1993).

Date and origin of the gemstone

Dating the gemstone and defining its origin is only possible by examining the epigraphic features of the Arabic inscription and finding analogous seals. Two Syrian priests were the first to read the inscription correctly as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad,[86] which is a common proper name in Arabic. Then the renowned Hungarian orientalist, Ignác Goldziher confirmed the reading, and dated the object in a private letter to Gyula Forster on 18 September 1898. He states that "the inscription in its style still belongs to the so-called Kufic script, but it does not bear its total rigidity and angularity […]. The style of the script indicates that the ring is not much older than the reign of Béla III or exactly contemporary with that."[87]

Goldziher could be correct in his dating, but he did not have much comparable material published about either Arabic epigraphy or Islamic seals in his time. Oddly enough, no description of the object mentions that the Arabic inscription is written in negative, from left to right, which means that it was produced as a seal for its owner named ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. In other words, the Hungarian king wore someone else's ring, and thus it seems that he did not known what the inscription said. Generally in medieval Europe when Islamic objects were reused, it is clear that their inscriptions were not understood and mostly not even recognised as writings.[88]

Seals similar to the one on Béla III's ring were produced virtually everywhere in the Islamic world in great numbers. The basic rule in Arabic epigraphy is that early inscriptions used an angular script inaccurately called Kufic, while later it was superseded by several rounded types after the pioneering works of two master calligraphers of the Abbasid court, Ibn Muqla (d. 940) and Ibn Bawwāb (d. 1022). Yasser Tabbaa pointed out that the transition

86. Török, "Jelentés," 200–1.

87. Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese", 215, n. 2.

88. On this question, see more in chapters five and six below.

started in the early eleventh century in the central and eastern Islamic lands, but it only became more wide-spread during the so-called Sunni revival, i.e. the fight against Shiʿites and crusaders from the mid-twelfth century onwards.[89]

Venetia Porter has recently published hundreds of medieval Islamic seals from the collection of the British Museum. Nearly none of them can be firmly dated; however, she proposes four main periods for them between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries.[90] The engraved inscription of the ring of Béla III is mainly angular with some rounded elements, for example the *ʿayn*, the two *mīm*s, and the two *dāl*s. According to Porter's catalogue, the fact that the letters' shafts do not feature wedge-shaped endings indicates a date between the seventh and the ninth centuries. However, later inscriptions do not always feature such endings either, and conservatism of style is often an issue to reckon with.[91] Inscriptions from as late as the first half of the twelfth century are quite archaic in some cases, especially in Andalusia.[92]

Similar objects may offer more insight into the problem of dating. There is a group of early Islamic seals of supposedly Iranian origin that bear striking similarities to the piece in Hungary. They share the same shape and raw material, as well as the single line of inscription with a name and its epigraphic style. Two pieces in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 3.4), at least eight in the British Museum (Figure 3.5), one in the National Library of Paris, one in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Art in Budapest (Figure 3.6) and at least two in the

89. Yasser Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part 2, the Public Text," *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994): 119–47.

90. Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals*, 15–16.

91. Kalus, *Catalogue des cachets*, 8.

92. It can be observed for example on the backrest of the *minbar* or pulpit from the Kutubiyya Mosque dated to 1137; Jonathan M. Bloom et al., *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), figs. 9, 10, 17, 96, and 101.

Benjamin Zucker Collection are all closely related to each other.[93] Although they are all published as Iranian, it should be emphasised that only the piece in Paris has been collected in Iran, i.e. their place of production is not entirely certain. In addition, this particularly modest style of epigraphy could have been used later than the proposed eighth–ninth century.

In summary, the ring excavated from the tomb of Béla III poses several problems. Its bezel is embellished with an Islamic seal made in Iran in the eighth or ninth century, but the ring was most likely produced in Hungary originally with a rounded gemstone. When Béla III acquired the Iranian seal, he ordered it to be reshaped and mounted on the ring regardless that it was made for someone called ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. The facts that Béla III resized the ring and recut the stone – instead of having new ones – suggest that he attributed certain significance to both pieces. In addition, he was even buried with this ring among royal and religious goods. The ring's significance might well be better understood in the light of the other Islamic artefacts, and thus it shall be addressed in the concluding section of the present thesis.

93. See respectively Kalus, *Islamic Seals*, nos 1.2.2 and 1.3.8; Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals*, nos 41, 51, 65, 73, 82, 83, 85 and 290; Kalus, *Catalogue des cachets*, 1.3.14; Béla Kelényi and Iván Szántó, *Artisans at the Crossroads: Persian Arts of the Qajar Period (1796–1925)* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2010), no. 5.3.7; Content, ed., *Islamic Rings and Gems*, seals/nos 42–43. In addition, three pieces are also comparable but they feature different inscriptions: rings/no. 46 (mounted on a later ring), seals/nos 8 and 16. The catalogue only mentions their material as garnet.

Chapter 4.

The pseudo-Arabic coins

There is a barely understood and surprising chapter in the numismatic history of Árpád-age Hungary: the coins that feature imitations of Arabic inscriptions. László Réthy, the doyen of Hungarian numismatics, identified three different variants of this type, and he labelled them as CNH 101 to 103, but the middle one later turned out to be a gilded forgery (Figures 4.1–4.2).[94] No other medieval coin struck in Hungary can be rightfully considered to feature pseudo-Arabic.[95]

In the present study, CNH 101 and CNH 103 shall be referred to in general as the pseudo-Arabic coins. They have four lines of "legend" on the obverse encircled by a fifth one along the rim. The reverse has a similar arrangement but with only three lines across the area in a smaller roundel. The signs can clearly be identified as imitations of Arabic characters, but trying to read them would be both impossible and against their original purpose: the minters intended them as decorative elements rather than readable inscriptions. What follows in the present chapter is dating the pseudo-Arabic coins, identifying the exemplar(s) imitated, and finally proposing an explanation for the phenomenon of copying Islamic coins.

94. László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungaricae: Magyar egyetemes éremtár* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899), no. 101. Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), no. 73. Géza Jeszenszky, "Az első magyar rézpénzek [The first Hungarian copper coins]," *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 34–35 (1935–1936): 46–47. For a detailed analysis of many variants with numerous illustrations, see Csaba Tóth, József Géza Kiss and András Fekete, "III. Béla kufikus jellegű rézpénzeinek osztályozása: Classification of the Cufic-like Copper Coins of Béla III," *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 106–7 (2009–10): 73–87.

95. With the possibly exception of CNH 109, but in this case the imagery is infinitely stylised.

Dating the CNH 101

Pseudo-Arabic coins have been excavated in many places in the territory of medieval Hungary, but mostly individual pieces are found.[96] As they feature no readable inscription, we can only date this type with the assumption that it was minted parallel with another, the so-called Byzantine type, the CNH 98 (Figure 4.3).[97] These two types are often found in the same archaeological context, and the main reason for associating the two is that both are made of copper whereas all other medieval Hungarian coins are of silver or gold. In addition, Ujszászi has recently pointed out some similarities in the sigla on the pseudo-Arabic and the Byzantine types.[98] Thus, the task here is to date the coeval Byzantine coins in order to date the pseudo-Arabic pieces.

The Byzantine type shows two enthroned figures on its obverse and one on its reverse in a typically Byzantine pictorial manner.[99] Coins minted in Constantinople often depict the emperor and his heir on the obverse and Jesus or Mary on the reverse. The reverse of the Hungarian coins features a clearly legible legend: SANTA MARIA (Saint Mary), while the

96. For the most exhaustive catalogue see Róbert Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek* [Twelfth-century copper coins in Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 2010), 146–62. There is also one major treasury find from Hort (Heves county) with 975 pieces of pseudo-Arabic coin; see Lajos Huszár, "A horti XII. századi rézpénzlelet [A find of twelfth-century copper coins at Hort]," *Folia Archaeologica* 16 (1964): 145–55.

97. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungaricae*, 98–100. The three are variants of the same type of coin; see also Huszár, *Münzkatalog*, no. 72.

98. Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 35.

99. Although Suchodolski proposed a possible German origin for this imagery, it is generally accepted to be Byzantine in manner; Stanislaw Suchodolski, "East or West?: Concerning Iconographic Patterns of the Hungarian Copper Coins of the So-Called Byzantine Type," in *Emlékkönyv Bíró-Sey Katalin és Gedai István 65. születésnapjára/ Festschrift für Katalin Bíró-Sey und István Gedai zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Krisztina Bertók and Melinda Torbágyi (Budapest: Argumentum, 1999): 267–75. Cf. Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 14–5, 94–6 n64, and 97–8 n75.

legend on the obverse is less clear: REX BELA (King Béla) is decipherable on the left side, while the one on the right seems to read REX ScS, i.e. REX SANCTUS (saint king).

The Árpád dynasty had four kings named Béla, and the one depicted here is generally accepted to be Béla III. The main support for this identification is the Byzantine iconography of the coins, which was most likely adapted by Béla III who had grown up in the court of Constantinople as the heir of the imperial crown. In addition, copper coins were in use in Byzantium in this period,[100] and thus it is likely that Béla III would have introduced them to Hungary. The other figure on the coins may be either Saint Stephen (1000–1038) or Saint Ladislaus (1077–1095) as those two kings were canonised saints.[101] Accepting that Béla III minted the Byzantine coins, we should credit him with the pseudo-Arabic coins too.[102] Finally, some coins from burials provide further evidence for dating the copper coins to the reign of Béla III.[103]

Islamic model(s) in Hungary

As mentioned above, two variants of the pseudo-Arabic coins exist. The first question to resolve is the number of the different Islamic exemplars imitated. CNH 101 and CNH 103 clearly differ in their obverses, but the latter should be considered as a careless imitation of the former. It can be observed that its general appearance is the same as that of CNH 101, and it only simplifies the pseudo-Arabic imagery into vertical and horizontal lines and little

100. Cécile Morrisson, "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation," in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 919–20. Normann Sicily also used copper coins, see Lucia Travaini, "Aspects of the Sicilian Norman Copper Coinage in the Twelfth Century," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 151 (1991): 159–74.

101. "Saint king" typically refers to Stephen, but since Ladislaus was canonised in 1192 in a process initiated by Béla III, the question in not firmly resolved.

102. Jeszenszky, "Az első magyar rézpénzek," 39–46; Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 8–11, 35.

103. Huszár, "A horti rézpénzlelet," 151–53.

circles. It might well be the case that CNH 103 imitates not original Islamic coins but the earlier CNH 101, especially given that their reverses are nearly identical. In short, there is one exemplar to identify: that of CNH 101.

László Réthy was the first to propose an Islamic model for CNH 101 correctly,[104] but, regrettably, his short article has been mostly overlooked in the past century. He discovered that coins of the Almoravid dynasty, that ruled Morocco and Andalusia between 1062 and 1143, were copied in Hungary. Almoravid coins have the same general arrangement of legends as those of CNH 101, but Réthy did not have detailed catalogues at his disposal for the identification of the exact exemplar. Recently Ujszászi has identified the model as the coins of Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh (1147–1172) ruler of the principality of Murcia after the Almoravids (Figure 4.4).[105]

Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn (1061–1106), the first Almoravid prince, established mints in several cities of Morocco and Andalusia. The coins struck during his reign follow the same general arrangement as CNH 101 and those from the reigns of his successors.[106] After the end of the Almoravid rule in the Iberia Peninsula, Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh took control of the principality of Murcia, and he issued several types of coins with the same general arrangement of imagery as his predecessors. Ujszászi correctly identifies the exemplar of CNH 101 with the coins of Ibn Mardanīsh, but, oddly enough, he only compares their

104. László Réthy "Réthy László igazgató-őr jelentése spanyolországi tanulmányútjáról [Report of head-curator László Réthy on his study trip in Spain]," *Jelentés a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 1906. évi állapotáról* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1907): 141–49.

105. Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 43. By "Muhamed ibn Szaid" Ujszászi probably means Muḥammad ibn Saʿd who is better known as Ibn Mardanīsh.

106. A fine collection has been published online: "Coins of al-Andalus: Tonegawa Collection/ Maskūkāt al-Andalus: Majmūʿa Tūnaghāwa," http://www.andalustonegawa.50g.com (Accessed: 18 February 2015). See especially A. Canto García and Tawfīq ibn Ḥāfiẓ I., *Moneda Andalusi: La Coleccion del Museo Casa de la Moneda* **(**Madrid: Fundación Real Casa de la Moneda, 2004), nos 517–696.

obverses. One important sign he notes is the five-pointed star on several of Ibn Mardanīsh's coins, which was simplified into a four-pointed star on the Hungarian pieces.[107]

The reverses of all coins struck by Ibn Mardanīsh are more densely inscribed than their obverses, and thus CNH 101 does not follow its exemplar in this respect. In fact, its decoration is so small and simplified that it hardly imitates anything closely. Still, some little signs do resemble Almoravid coins; however, contrary to what might be expected, these signs match with obverses of Almoravid coins. The two little circles at 12 o'clock on the reverse of CNH 101 derive from the letter *mīm* similarly placed on Almoravid coins at the end of the word *imām* (leader). At the bottom of the Hungarian coin one little circle can be seen surrounded by two fishhook-shaped signs that derive from the letters *wāw* and *nūn*, respectively, in the word *muʾminīn* (believers) on Almoravid pieces. This arrangement appears on many Almoravid coins (Figure 4.5), but only on one of the coins of Ibn Mardanīsh, which does not feature the five-pointed star.[108]

Based on this, it is possible infer that whoever minted CNH 101 had two different Andalusian coins as exemplars, one issued by Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh, and one probably Almoravid coin. The Hungarian minters copied the imagery from the obverses of the Andalusian coins to the two sides of CNH 101, but its reverse is clearly less careful an imitation.

Why mint pseudo-Arabic coins?

As mentioned in chapter one, scholars usually attribute the pseudo-Arabic coins to the Muslim population of medieval Hungary. In fact, the mint was strictly under royal control at

107. Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 43. Such stars can be seen on García and ibn Ḥāfiẓ, *Moneda Andalusi***,** nos 685 and 687–92**.**

108. García and ibn Ḥāfiẓ, *Moneda Andalusi*, nos 541, 558, 559, 686.

the time, and there should be no doubt about that the king and his advisories decided the preferred imagery for the coins. Generations of excellent scholars reiterated the same myth about Ishmaelite minters until Nora Berend eventually made the effort to read the sources closely. She convincingly argued that in the only source which mentions Ishmaelite *monetarii*, a charter from 1111, the Latin term does not mean 'minters', but rather 'tax-collectors' or 'mint-masters'.[109] Even if some Muslims worked at the mint, they hardly knew any Arabic, and it sounds anything but reasonable for a king to allow his minters to strike odd motifs as they like. Otto of Freising, who travelled through Hungary in 1147, also informs us that "in so vast an area no one but the king ventures to coin money".[110]

The reason why Béla III decided to imitate Islamic coins cannot be separated from the fact that the pseudo-Arabic, similarly to the Byzantine, type is made of copper. The fact that two different types were issued by the same king, presumably around the same time and in great number, eliminates the possibility that the pseudo-Arabic coin was made for Muslims. Conversely, it seems that the king initiated a monetary reform after the troublesome decades of devaluating money from the early twelfth century onwards, and the great number and wide circulation of copper coins prove that it is likely to have been, in the short run, quite successful.[111] Sooner or later the money lost value, and many coins were eventually pierced through to be used for secondary purposes and superseded by bracteate-type coins.[112] It

109. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 121–22. See also Katarína Štulrajterová, "Convivenza, Convenienza and Conversion: Islam in Medieval Hungary (1000–1400 CE)," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, no. 2 (2013): 185. For the charter, see *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima,* vol. 1, *1000–1131*, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 382–83, no. 138/I.

110. Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. Charles C. Mierow and Richard Emery (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1966), 67.

111. For the wide circulation see Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 146–62.

112. Jeszenszky, "Az első magyar rézpénzek," 39; Márton Gyöngyössy, *Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526)* [The monetary history of Hungary (1000–1526)] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2012), 21. For dating the

suggests that the two types served the same purpose, but species are normally made from silver. A possible explanation why Béla III introduced copper instead is that silver was temporarily unavailable at this time.[113]

Before proposing an, admittedly hypothetical, explanation of the pseudo-Arabic coin of Béla III, an interesting analogy from the Kingdom of Castile should be enlisted. Almoravid coins called *morabetinos* or *marvedi* circulated and were highly regarded in the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula as the most valuable currency of the period. After the end of the principality of Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh in 1172, the supply of *morabetinos* dwindled, and Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214) began minting his own imitation of Almoravid coins (Figure 4.6).[114] They adapt the general appearance of the *morabetinos* and the Arabic language for the legends, but significantly changed the wording. The obverse says "The imam of the Christian faith, pope ALF; In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the One God: whosoever believes and has faith will be saved." The reverse translates as "The emir of the Catholics Alfonso son of Sancho may God support him and make him victorious; This dinar was struck in the city of Toledo year two and twenty and two hundred

bracteates to Béla III's reign, see Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1325* [The monetary history of Hungary 1000–1325] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1916), 238–39.

113. See Michael Alram, "Der Friesacher Pfennig in den mittelalterlichen Alpenländern," in *Die Friesacher Münze im Alpen-Adria-Raum*, ed. Reinhard Härtel, 97–134 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1996); Szabolcs Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása [The devastation of Pétermonostora]," in *'Carmen miserabile': A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei*, ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014): 205–6; and also Mária Vargha's forthcoming monograph entitled *"For Where Your Treasure Is, There Your Heart Will Be Also": Central-Eastern European Grave Goods and Mongol Invasion Hoards* on this question.

114. Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 168–69; Miquel Crusafont, Anna M. Balaguer and Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 6, *The Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 62–3, nos 360–62.

and a thousand of Ṣafar."[115] In addition to the explicit Christian meaning of the legend, a cross can be seen on the obverse of the coin.

As mentioned above, the *morabetinos* were considered extremely valuable money in the Iberian Peninsula. The Byzantine Empire also had a tradition of minting high quality gold coins, and those were also used in other territories of Europe,[116] including Hungary.[117] One possible theory to explain why the Hungarian king imitated these two types from the cheap, in effect valueless, material is that he was compensating its value with that of the imagery. That is, the imageries of the coins were probably meant to add value to the cheap specie by resembling the appearance of the most valuable currencies of the period.

From Andalusia to Hungary

Although, as demonstrated above, Andalusian coins were imitated in the royal mint, archaeologists have not unearthed Islamic coins in Hungary from this period. The present section offers a tentative explanation for this phenomenon using a contemporary documentary source. Even though the journey of the Almoravid coins to Hungary is not possible to trace precisely, this source describes a specific event that we, some eight centuries later, may use to reconstruct one of the possible routes.

In 1177 Pope Alexander III dispatched a rather angry letter to Raynerius, archbishop of Split and Michael, bishop of Trogir. He complains that his sub-deacon Raymond of Capella had been robbed by pirates from Šibenik while sailing to Venice under papal flag. Many treasures and some important letters had allegedly been lost, and thus the pope orders

115. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), no. 133 (adapted translation).

116. Robert S. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History* 11, no. 3 (1951): 209–34.

117. Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 61.

Raynerius and Michael to investigate the case, and threatens them with excommunication should they not be able to find the pirates.[118] Piracy in the Adriatic Sea is not in itself relevant for the present study, what is important, however, is that a document published separately enumerates objects reclaimed by Pope Alexander III. Among several European currencies, there are 108 Almoravid and 100 Almohad dinars mentioned.[119]

Although the Dalmatian coast did not belong to Hungary at this time, Béla III reoccupied it within a few years after the incident. Since the later history of the treasures in unknown, a connection with Béla III cannot be proven. However, this incident provides an interesting example of how Almoravid coins travelling in the Mediterranean may have reached Hungary. One way or another, at least two different Andalusian coins arrived to Hungary. They were imitated along with Byzantine pieces in the royal mint, and this can only be interpreted as a monetary reform by Béla III.

118. *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel, vol. 6, *890–1235* (Budapest: Eggenberger, 1867), no. 77.

119. *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, no. 78.

Chapter 5.

Pseudo-Arabic decoration at Pécs

Imitating Arabic inscriptions is not a rare phenomenon in medieval Europe.[120] Probably the earliest instance of pseudo-Arabic imagery is on a coin of King Offa of Mercia (757–796), which copies Abbasid dinars, and only adds the ruler's name and title in Latin. Byzantine churches in the territory of modern-day Greece often had pseudo-Arabic decoration on their façades in brickwork, *champlevé* ceramic panels or marble stringcourses, as well as in mosaics and frescoes in their interior decoration from the second half of the tenth century. Italian Renaissance paintings often feature decorative motifs deriving from Arabic inscriptions, mostly in haloes and on edges of clothes. One supreme example is on the *Adoration of the Magi* by Gentile da Fabriano from 1423 (Figure 5.1).

What is referred to as pseudo-Arabic decoration here is the imitation of Arabic inscriptions, made by someone who was presumably illiterate in Arabic, or else did not intend to produce a readable text. Others often call it pseudo-Kufic, which refers to a specific, angular, type of Arabic epigraphy (*kūfī* in Arabic). Although the script copied in the period under review was indeed Kufic, the more general term 'pseudo-Arabic' is arguably more

120. See in general Kurt Erdmann, "Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters," *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen klasse* 9 (1953): 467–513; Denys T. Spittle, "Cufic Lettering in Christian Art," *Archaeological Journal* 111, no. 1 (1954): 138–52; George C. Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 329–44; Richard Ettinghausen, "Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World," in *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904–1975)*, 28–47 (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1976); Rosemond E. Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 51–71.

accurate because the artists did not consciously distinguish between angular and rounded epigraphy, but rather copied what they saw.[121] The present chapter deals with the only instance of pseudo-Arabic in twelfth–thirteenth-century Hungary, other than the copper coins, the mural paintings of the Cella Trichora in Pécs. The origin, date and meaning of this decoration are all more-or-less open questions. It will be proposed that Mediterranean textiles transmitted the pseudo-Arabic decoration, and thus their possible origin and route to Hungary, along with frescos at Esztergom, will also be discussed.

Cella Trichora, Pécs

A rectangular structure with three apses at Pécs, the so-called Cella Trichora, was discovered in 1922. According to the nearly century-old interpretation, the building was first a Late Antique burial chamber with three apses, and later reused as a church. More recently, Sándor Tóth re-dated the structure to the eleventh century, but the question is still debated today.[122] The walls were painted in two different periods, and dating the older layer varies from the fourth to the twelfth century in scholarship.[123] Be that as it may, the purpose of the present section is to focus on the second layer of mural painting that features a curtain pattern with a pseudo-Arabic decorative edge (Figure 5.2). Archaeologists also discovered some plaster

121. In agreement with Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 51; and Alicia Walker, "Pseudo-Arabic 'Inscriptions' and the Pilgrim's Path at Hosios Loukas," in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. Antony Eastmond, 99–123 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

122. Sándor Tóth, "Régészet, műemlékvédelem, történelem [Archaeology, monument protection, history]," *Építés- építészettudomány* 5, nos 3–4 (1973): 621–22. See also Krisztina Hudák and Levente Nagy, *A Fine and Private Place: Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopianae/Pécs*, trans. Marianne Sághy (Pécs: Sopianae Örökség, 2005), 60–1.

123. Melinda Tóth, *Árpád-kori falfestészet* [Árpád-age mural painting] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 45–6.

fragments from the upper parts of the walls that were once painted with figures, presumably of saints.[124]

The pseudo-Arabic decoration forms a continuous line on the edge of a painted wall hanging which might well have run all around the chapel originally, but of which only nine curves remain today. A band of repetitive pseudo-Arabic decoration can be seen at the lower part of the curtain between double border lines. It is clearly visible upon closer observation that only one "word" formed by three "letters" is being repeated, and also that all the three "letters" have floriated decoration on their ascendants. This type of Arabic epigraphy, the so-called floriated-Kufic, came to be used around the mid-tenth century in North Africa,[125] and thus the frescoes cannot be dated earlier. Ferenc Fülep and György Duma associated the use of pseudo-Arabic with Byzantium, and proposed dating it between the end of the eleventh and that of the twelfth century.[126] In contrast, Melinda Tóth proposed an Italian origin for the frescoes, and dated them to the second half of the twelfth century.[127] The arguments provided below follow different routes but suggest a dating similar to that of Tóth. The question shall be corroborated on the basis of assessing textiles that could have transferred this decorative motif to Hungary.

The mural paintings of the Cella Trichora at Pécs clearly imitate a textile wall hanging decoration. Although a Byzantine origin for this textile has been proposed, the main problem with this hypothesis is that despite the relative abundance of pseudo-Arabic in Byzantium, not a single piece of wall hanging textile with pseudo-Arabic or its imitation on mural

124. Ferenc Fülep and György Duma, "Examinations of the Wall Paintings in the Cella Trichora of Pécs," *Folia Archaeologica* 23 (1973): 195–96; Tóth, *Falfestészet*, 42–3.

125. See Sheila S. Blair, "Floriated Kufic and the Fatimids," in *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*, ed. Marianne Barrucand, 107–16 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999).

126. Fülep and Duma, "Wall Paintings," 205–9.

127. Tóth, *Falfestészet*, 43–5.

painting has come down to us. Even though mural paintings in Byzantium seldom feature pseudo-Arabic, there are a few interesting exceptions: some pier-capitals in the crypt of the south church (*katholikon*) of the Hosios Loukas Monastery near Steiri completed by 1011 or 1022 (Figure 5.3) and in the *katholikon* of the Daphni Monastery near Athens (late eleventh century).[128] Despite the similarity of the depictions, a pier-capital could not have possibly inspired a curtain. It should also be emphasised that other objects such as manuscripts, metalwork, ceramics, etc. could not have transferred pseudo-Arabic onto a curtain either. Consequently, the origin of this particular decoration should be sought on textiles or their imitation on wall paintings.

Mediterranean textiles

Reproductions of wall hangings on frescoes were popular in many places, for instance in the Chapel of St. John at Pürgg in Austria (third quarter of the twelfth century)[129] and in the cathedral of Aquileia (ca. 1200),[130] but none of them feature pseudo-Arabic pattern comparable with the one at Pécs. A Hungarian analogy for a wall hanging transferred into mural painting can be seen at the royal chapel of the castle of Esztergom (Figures 5.4–5.5)

128. Hubert Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle-Byzantine Churches," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 32 (1931–1932): 129; Manolis Chatzidakis, "À propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc," *Cahiers Archeologiques* 19 (1969): 127–50; Charalambos Bouras, "The Daphni Monastic Complex Reconsidered," in *AETOS: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998*, ed. Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998), 12. The pseudo-Arabic paintings have been dated to the twelfth century.

129. Philipp Dollwetzel, "Die romanischen Wandmalereien in der Johanneskapelle in Pürgg-Trautenfels (Steiermark)," https://de.scribd.com/doc/49638661/Die-romanischen-Wandmalereien-in-der-Johanneskapelle-in-Purgg-Trautenfels-Steiermark (Accessed: 13 February 2015), figs 8, 17, 52.

130. Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting: Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Austria*, trans. Mary Whittall (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pl. 78.

built by Béla III.[131] Scholars generally assume that the original textile came from Byzantium, but they could only provide far-fetched analogies. In fact, it has often been stated that the origin of textiles from the early and high medieval Mediterranean is impossible to localise on the basis of style. Motifs applied on Mediterranean textiles mainly derive from a common source, namely what is called Sasanian art of Iran (224–651),[132] and interactions routinely occurred between the different centres of production.[133] The textiles imitated at Pécs and Esztergom can only be categorised as *Mediterranean,* especially because the material is perishable, and thus the corpus surviving today is accidental. Similarly, Arabic inscription or pseudo-Arabic decoration is a common visual feature around the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

Despite that, the origin of the textile imitated at Pécs and Esztergom could tentatively be pointed out. Luxury textiles and silks were produced at many centres around the Mediterranean, but regarding their later impact on European textile production, the most important places were Sicily and Spain. The finest silk workshop of Sicily was situated in the palace complex in Palermo in the Norman period (1091–1194), especially after Roger II (1130–1154) deported master-weavers from Corinth and Thebes in 1147.[134] Silks were partly produced by Muslim craftsmen as attested by an Arabic tombstone of a silk weaver from

131. See Mária Prokopp, "Francia-magyar művészeti kapcsolatok III. Béla udvarában, Esztergomban [French-Hungarian artistic connections in the court of Béla III in Esztergom]," in *Francia-Magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, ed. Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss, 291–314 (Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Kiadó, 2013) with further literature. For the building activity of Béla III, see Marosi, *A romanika*, 85–91.

132. What scholars traditionally refer to as "Sasanian art" has recently begun to be reinterpreted. For such a contribution see Matteo Compareti, "The So-Called *Senmurv* in Iranian Art: A Reconsideration of an Old Theory," in *Loquentes linguis: Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, ed. Pier G. Borbone, Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco, 185–200 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006).

133. David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 212–26.

134. Jacoby, "Silk Economics," 225.

1072,[135] and also mentioned by Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217), an Andalusian traveller who met with a Muslim embroider, Yaḥyā ibn Fityān, in the royal palace of Palermo in 1184/85.[136]

Unfortunately, there are very few textiles surviving today with either Arabic or pseudo-Arabic decoration that were already in Christian Europe in this period. The reliquary of Saint Potentianus from the twelfth century, decorated with pseudo-Arabic roundels, is often believed to be a Byzantine piece, but it has quite plausibly been attributed to Norman Sicily (Figure 5.6).[137] Arabic inscriptions were applied on Sicilian textiles as exemplified among others by the mantle of Roger II dated to 1133/34 (Figure 5.7).[138] Some churches in South Italy also began featuring pseudo-Arabic on mural-paintings in the late twelfth century,[139] and finally textiles with pseudo-Arabic seem to have inspired floor mosaics in South Italy.[140]

Silk production also gained popularity in North Italy, especially in Lucca, in the second half of the twelfth century when Genovese merchants began to trade with textile fabrics from Spain in great quantity.[141] Such early textiles from Lucca do not survive today, but they were

135. See Seipel, ed. *Nobiles Officinae*, no. 80.

136. Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla: The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. William Wright and Michael J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1907), 325. See also the anonymous chronicle referred by the pseudo-name, Hugo Falcandus; Ugo Falcando, *La historia o liber de regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium*, ed. Giovanni B. Siraguza (Roma: Palazzo Madama, 1904), 178–80.

137. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture in the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), no. 344.

138. See Seipel, ed. *Nobiles Officinae*, no. 66.

139. Maria V. Fontana, "Byzantine Mediation of Epigraphic Characters of Islamic Derivation in the Wall Paintings of Some Churches in Southern Italy," in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, 61–76 (London: Warburg Institute, 1999).

140. For example in the Santa Maria del Patire Church near Rossano (1105) and the cathedrals of Taranto (1160), Otranto (1165), and Brindisi (mid-twelfth c.). See Maria V. Fontana, "L'influsso dell'arte islamica in Italia," in *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*, ed. Giovanni Curatola (Milano: Silvana, 1993), 456–58.

141. Jacoby, "Silk Economics," 218; Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 30. For the history of Luccan silk production, see Florence Edler de Roover, "The Silk Trade of Lucca," *The Bulletin of the Needle and the Robin Club* 38, nos 1–2 (1954): 28–48.

imitated on more durable material, for example on the pulpit in the San Gennaro Church in Capannori (Lucca) in 1162 (Figure 5.8). In addition, late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century paintings prove the existence of many textiles with Arabic inscriptions or pseudo-Arabic decorations in North Italy. Master painters including Cimabue, Giotto, Duccio di Buoninsegna, etc., often dressed the Holy Family and especially Mary in "oriental" garments signified by pseudo-Arabic bands.[142]

Islamic textiles produced in Andalusian often travelled to Christian territories as exemplified by the chasuble of Saint John of Ortega made during the reign of ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf (1106–1143) and then refashioned for Christian use around the mid-twelfth century (Figure 5.9).[143] Since many Hungarians went for pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella already in this period,[144] and King Emeric I (1196–1204) married an Aragonese princess, Constantia, in 1196,[145] a similar textile piece may also have travelled as far as Hungary.

Textiles at Pécs and Esztergom

The mural paintings at Esztergom are generally referred to as "the lion frescoes", but the beast on the right side of the royal chapel's apse is, in fact, either a cheetah or a leopard (Figure 5.5). The animal walks towards the right and turns its head backwards. This beast is of great importance because cheetahs or leopards appear less often than lions in medieval art.

142. A supreme early example is the so-called Rucellai Madonna by Duccio di Buoninsegna from 1285 and a wall-hanging on the *Dream of Pope Gregory IX* in the upper church of Assisi; Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 33, and 56–58.

143. Cristina Partearroyo, "Almoravid and Almohad Textiles," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed., Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 106.

144. Ádám Anderle, *Hungría y España: Relaciones milenarias* (Szeged: Juhász Gyula Tankönyvkiadó, 2007), 16–18.

145. Anderle, *Hungría y España*, 22–8; György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné [Constantia of Aragon Hungarian queen]," in *Királylányok messze földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, ed. Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth, 163–75 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzem, 2009).

They were, however, quite popular in Sicily and the *muqarnas* ceiling of the Cappella Palatina (around 1140) and the mosaic decoration of the so-called Sala di Ruggero (between 1154–1166) both feature such animals (Figure 5.10). Andalusian depictions also show cheetahs and leopards, and one textile with such beast in the Museum of Burgos (Figure 5.11) is quite reminiscent to the fresco at Esztergom.[146]

Written sources also inform us about how Mediterranean silks travelled to Hungary. The letter of Pope Alexander III, discussed in the previous chapter, enumerates several pieces of clothing among the objects robbed by Dalmatian pirates in 1177,[147] but their place of production in unclear. After the sack of Constantinople in 1204, a cleric traveling through Hungary was robbed, and then Pope Innocent II demanded from Andrew II to recover the treasures including some textiles.[148] We also know that Venetian merchants traded with silks in Hungary before 1217.[149] A uniquely significant documentary source written in 1264, the register of luxury items given away for buying the loyalty of influential persons by Prince Stephen, includes several different Islamic textiles.[150] It enumerates 12 pieces called *atabit*, originally an Islamic silk named after its first place of production, the ʿAttābiyya district of Baghdad.[151] In the present case, however, it is more likely that the textiles came from Islamic

146. Cf. Seipel, ed. *Nobiles Officiae*, no. 75.

147. *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, vol. 6, *890–1235*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1867), no. 78.

148. *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis*, vol. 3:1, ed. György Fejér (Budapest: Royal University of Hungary, 1829), 22–3.

149. *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, vol. 6, no. 233.

150. Dénes Huszti, "IV. Béla olaszországi vásárlásai [Purchases of Béla III in Italy]," *Közgazdasági Szemle* 9–10 (1938): 737–70; László Zolnay, "Ifjabb István király számadása 1264 [The register of King Stephen from 1264]," *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964): 79–114.

151. Jacoby, "Silk Economics," 217.

Spain, especially Almeria, where *ʿattābī* silks are reported to have been waved.[152] A second Islamic type is what the list calls *purpura tartarensis* which should be identified as textiles from Il-Khanid (1256–1335) Iran.[153] There are also some extremely valuable *transmarina*, viz. Middle Eastern, textiles.

The frescoes in Pécs imitated elements from the common artistic vocabulary of the Mediterranean although the most likely origin of the textiles is Sicily or Andalusia where similar artefacts were produced. The frescoes in Esztergom may well have imitated a Sicilian or Andalusian, rather than a Byzantine, textile too. Although style itself, it should be remembered, is not sufficient to identify the origin of a Mediterranean silk, lions and cheetahs were routinely depicted as symbols of royal imagery in Sicily. In addition, the mural paintings at Pécs can be most plausibly dated to the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century. The silk production of Sicily began in the mid-twelfth century, and pseudo-Arabic decoration in South Italy first appeared some decades later. Lucca started importing Andalusian and Byzantine silks around 1150, and Almoravid silks were also in fashion in Christian territories in the second half of the twelfth century.

The function of the Cella Trichora is essential for understanding the significance of the pseudo-Arabic decoration. It most likely functioned as a burial chamber either as part of the Late Antique cemetery of Pécs, or only later in the Middle Ages. Under the vestibule, south of the main room, two burials have been discovered, and it is assumable that the chapel was

152. According to a twelfth-century geographer, weavers in Almeria produced many different textiles including *ʿattābī*; al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, ed. and trans. Reinhart Dozy and Michael J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1866), 197 (Arabic), 240 (French).

153. Jacoby, "Silk Economics," 232. See also James C. Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, 62–73 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002).

used for commemorating a saint, probably a martyr.[154] That is, the pseudo-Arabic decoration was applied in a Christian context, and as the next chapter shall demonstrate, people in medieval Europe recognised no contradiction in that.

154. Otto Szőnyi, "A pécsi ó-keresztény temető sírkamrái és kápolnája [The burial chambers and chapel of the proto-Christian cemetery at Pécs]," *Magyar Művészet* 5, no. 8 (1929): 544; Hudák and Nagy, *A Fine and Private Place*, 61.

Chapter 6.

Islamic art in a Christian context

The artefacts studied in the previous chapters provide evidence for how Islamic visual culture was used in Hungary in the period under review. The significance of the artefacts is hardly questionable, and what remains is to interpret their simbolic value. As we have no relevant source for any of the artefacts except for those mentioned already, only analogies from different parts of the Christian world can be used. The material presented in this chapter is strongly selective as it only aims to introduce a range of cases most relevant for understanding the Hungarian phenomenon. One point to start with is the jar allegedly from the Marriage at Cana acquired by Andrew II in the Holy Land.[155] One may rightfully doubt that the king actually found a twelve hundred-year-old vessel, and as the present chapter shall demonstrate, many similar myths were created about Islamic objects in medieval Europe.

Europeans often sought after Islamic objects for the quality of their craftsmanship, exotic appearance and religious connotations. One particularly interesting object in reference to the jar of Andrew II is a so-called Alhambra Vase (fourteenth century) originally kept in Famagusta, which was believed for centuries to be one of the jars from the Marriage at Cana as well (Figure 6.1).[156] The fact that Islamic objects usually bear Arabic inscription was generally considered as a sign of origin from the Holy Land and, in that manner, served as corroboration of such legendary connotations. The use of pseudo-Arabic decoration as

155. "Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV," 466.

156. Otto Kurz, "The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase," in *The Decorative Arts of Europe and the Islamic East, Selected Studies*, 205–12 (London: Dorian Press, 1977); Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 135, no. 287.

reference to the Holy Land signifies a general misunderstanding in Christian Europe. People were aware of the Middle Eastern origin of this motif, but instead of associating it with coeval Islam, they associated it with the birthplace of Christianity.[157]

Pseudo-Arabic decoration first appeared in great number in Byzantine churches. The practice seems to have begun at the Church of the Theotokos of the Hosios Loukas Monastery near Steiri dating from the last third of the tenth century, then carried on in Athens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and barely ventured far from these two localities. The most important case is in the later church, the *katholikon*, of the Hosios Loukas Monastery completed by 1011 or 1022, where they used this decorative element as a reference to the Biblical lands.[158] A similarly interesting example is in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Athens, dated to the last quarter of the tenth century.[159] All outer walls of the building are decorated with pseudo-Arabic brickwork in small blocks between the ashlars, except for the western facade of the *narthex* altered by later modifications. According to Alison Frantz's interpretation, the pseudo-Arabic decoration is "purely decorative" in this case.[160] However, one should note that the pseudo-Arabic pattern literally encircles the building, which might be meant to convey a symbolic meaning. In addition, a cross appears inserted in the pseudo-Arabic decoration on the main apse with two Greek letters on its either side: IC XC, i.e. the common abbreviation of Jesus Christ's name in Greek (Figure 6.2). Therefore, a Christian interpretation for the pseudo-Arabic programme is assumable, similarly to the two churches of the Hosios Loukas Monastery.

157. Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza*, 51–71.

158. Nicolas Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 250; Chatzidakis, "Fondateur de Saint Luc," 127–50; Walker, "Pseudo-Arabic."

159. Alison Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1971), 24–6.

160. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 7.

The most relevant corpus of mural paintings in Latin Europe featuring pseudo-Arabic is in South Italy, Apulia and Lucania, dating from the late twelfth to the late thirteenth century (Figures 6.3–6.5).[161] The Chapel of St. John in Pürgg (Austria) from the 1160s also has pseudo-Arabic decoration on its triumphal arch, which was probably inspired by South Italian examples.[162] The most interesting instances of pseudo-Arabic decoration appear around saints in South Italian churches: real or painted arches bear this decoration framing the Ascension of Christ, Saint Cosmas and Damian, Saint James the Lesser, Saint James the Greater (Figure 6.3), Saint Mary with Christ, Saint Katherine and other figures.

Norman Sicily had probably the strongest artistic connection with Islamic polities in the Middle Ages. The Cappella Palatina in Palermo has a magnificent *muqarnas* ceiling with Islamic style paintings, and the pavement of the church also indicates the work of craftsmen from the Islamic world. It seems that at least two Islamic workshops operated in Palermo, one from Fatimid Cairo and one from Morocco or Andalusia.[163] Two fragments of ceremonial inscriptions in Arabic suggest that Roger II did not only adopt some visual aspects of art, but also Islamic ceremonies.[164] In other words, Norman Sicily seems not to have endowed Islamic art with a Christian meaning as it happened in other parts of Europe. However, churches in South Italy already began featuring pseudo-Arabic with a Christian meaning at the end of the twelfth century.

161. See Fontana, "Byzantine mediation."

162. Admittedly, the church of Pürgg dates earlier than the oldest South Italian examples of pseudo-Arabic decoration, but this inconsistence should be attributed to the accidental surviving material.

163. See Ernst J. Grube and Jeremy Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* (Genova: The Bruschettini Foundation, 2005); as well as several studies in Dittelbach, ed. *Die Cappella Palatina*; and Lev Kapitaikin, "'The Daughter of al-Andalus': Interrelations between Norman Sicily and the Muslim West," *al-Masāq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 113–34.

164. Jeremy Johns, "The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1993): 150–53.

Apart from Sicily and South Italy, the principalities of the Italian mainland also had various connections with the Islamic world, and Venice was arguably the most important among all.[165] The so-called Throne of Saint Peter in the San Pietro di Castello Church was believed for centuries to be the original seat of the apostle despite the Arabic, actually Quranic, inscriptions engraved on it (Figure 6.6). The throne is made of different marble pieces, and its backrest is an Islamic tombstone from Syria. The slab came to Venice in the period of the crusades, and then it gained a completely new function and meaning in the bishopric church of the city.[166] The treasury of Saint Mark in Venice has an extensive collection of Islamic objects, especially rock crystals used for centuries as reliquaries or liturgical objects.[167] The most striking example among them is a Fatimid rock crystal bottle mounted on a gold chalice (Figure 6.7). This piece shows how the meaning of Islamic objects transformed once they arrived in a Christian context. The bottle was originally a secular vessel as its Arabic inscription says "blessing and glory [to the owner]". Despite that, it was considered to be a holy reliquary as the Latin inscription on its mount reads "hic est sanguinus XRI" (this is the blood of Christ). It is also clear in this case that the Arabic inscription was most likely mistaken for a decorative motif.[168]

165. See especially Giovanni Curatola, ed. *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte islamica in Italia* (Milano: Silvana, 1993); Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000; Stefano Carboni, ed. *Venice and the Islamic world 828–1797* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007).

166. Staale Sinding-Larsen, "Saint Peter's Chair in Venice," in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Johnson*, ed. Moshe Barasch, Lucy F. Sandler and Patricia Egan (New York: Abrams, 1981), 35–50; Carboni, ed. *Venice and the Islamic world*, no. 87.

167. See Hahnloser, ed. *Il tesoro e il museo*, nos 117–39.

168. See Hahnloser, ed. *Il tesoro e il museo*, no. 128; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, no. 47; Contadini, *Fatmid Art*, 29; Anna Contadini, "Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe," in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformation*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 47–8.

The Iberian Peninsula witnessed continuous interactions between Muslims and Christians in the Middle Ages, which also resulted in the relocation of many Islamic objects to Christian territories. In a recent article, Mariam Rosser-Owen argues that the Islamic objects were not always understood as crusaders' booty, but many were peacefully translated along with Christian relics from Islamic territories in the tenth–eleventh century. The examples suggest that Islamic reliquaries seemed to be perfectly appropriate for holding Christian relics. That is, the phenomenon of Islamic objects in Christian hands in Spain is comparable with the numerous reliquaries beyond the Alps, especially in Germany.[169]

Islamic textiles refashioned as chasubles are also particularly important for understanding such Christianisation of objects. It may sound striking that Saint John of Ortega (d. 1163) performed liturgy wearing a chasuble with the Arabic inscription: "Victory from God to the leader of the Muslims, ʿAlī [ibn Yūsuf], made by […] (Figure 5.9).[170] The inscription, again, must have remained unread. Pseudo-Arabic was also used with inevitably Christian meaning in Spain. A wooden reliquary box, the Arca Santa in the Cathedral of Oviedo made around 1100, has many pseudo-Arabic decorations on it. Contrary to that, legend has it the object came from Jerusalem and contained several relics of Jesus and Virgin Mary, and the pseudo-Arabic decoration was probably meant to prove its provenance and authenticity.[171]

Many Islamic objects in European church treasuries were already considered sacred when they arrived there due to the relics they contained. In addition, many were associated with Biblical stories. For example, a little rock crystal flask mounted on the reliquary cross of

169. Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia," *Art in Translation* 7, no. 1 (2015): 39–64; cf. Avinoam Shalem, "From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 24–38.

170. Partearroyo, "Almoravid and Almohad Textiles," 106 (translation modified).

171. Flora Ward, "Thoughts on Pseudoscript," https://grammarrabble.wordpress.com/2014/08/19/thoughts-on-psuedoscript-flora-ward (Accessed: 14 May 2015).

Borghost represents the Holy Cup in which Jesus's blood flowed.[172] A slightly later but no less relevant example is a Mamluk glass canteen in the Saint Stephen Cathedral in Vienna, on which the enamel paintings clearly depict secular subjects (Figure 6.8). However, it came into the possession of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria (1358–1365), and people believed it to contain soil sprinkled with the blood of the innocents massacred by Herod.[173] The exotic appearance of Islamic objects and especially the Arabic inscriptions on them, in Avinoam Shalem's words, "helped to bestow Biblical aura on them". Indeed, those features could have proven the authenticity of the relics enshrined.[174]

The enlisted examples suggest that there was a wide-spread meaning behind collecting or imitating Islamic objects in Europe. In addition to their superior craftsmanship and exotic appearance, Islamic artefacts were considered significant from a Christian point of view because they were believed to come from the Holy Land. This interpretation stands equally for pseudo-Arabic decorations in eleventh-century Byzantine churches and reliquaries in Spanish church treasuries. As many of the objects were translocated to Europe in the period of the crusades, the Hungarian phenomenon should also be interpreted in this context.

172. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, no. 5.

173. Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), no. 124.

174. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 129–37.

Conclusions

The four case studies presented in chapters two to five discussed disparate materials with only two features binding them together. First is that they were either made in the Islamic world or imitated Islamic artefacts. However, a seal stone produced in early Islamic Iran has little to do with twelfth-century coins from Andalusia, unless we consider the second binding aspect: they all appeared in Hungary roughly at the same time. Scholars of art history might be able to distinguish between different styles of art and types of epigraphy today, but this was unimaginable in the Middle Ages for people who hardly even recognised Arabic inscriptions as such. In other words, medieval people were not able to distinguish between objects from different parts of the Islamic world, but generally considered them as "oriental".

The previous chapters intended to define the date of the Hungarian royal sceptre, the royal ring, a type of coin and a fresco, and it emerged that they likely date from the reign of Béla III or slightly later. Despite the thorough study, some of these dates remain uncertain, and hopefully further research will clarify these problems. The most important conclusion to be drawn here is the general meaning behind collecting or imitating Islamic artefacts during the period of the crusades, and that is associating them with the Holy Land. In addition, evidence allows us to propose that Béla III had a pioneering role in this phenomenon.

The only artefact discussed here without (pseudo-) Arabic is the Hungarian sceptre head, and thus one may doubt that medieval people recognised it as Islamic. Nevertheless, we know that rock crystal objects were highly valued in medieval Europe because local craftsmen did not possess the necessary carving technique in this period, and the material itself had

Christian religious associations.[175] It has been suggested that the rock crystal pommel came from Sicily together with the "Hedwig Beakers", which were also used in a Christian context like many Islamic objects, and this phenomenon sheds new light on an archaeological find from the royal palace of Buda, a small glass fragment of possibly a "Hedwig Beaker".[176] As rock crystals usually arrived in Europe via the crusades, this piece may also have been associated with the Holy Land. People certainly considered the translucent pommel with relief decoration of a royal symbol, a lion, as an extremely valuable and unique object. Furthermore, a passage of the Bible may explain the significance of the *rock crystal* sceptre head. When describing the Heavenly Jerusalem, it says that an angel "shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as *crystal*, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb."[177] The royal sceptre was clearly a sacred object that could have represented the sovereign of the holy kingdom.

Béla III's attitude towards Islamic objects is most clearly explained by his ring. He acquired a repository ring and most likely used it as a reliquary embellished with an almandine seal stone that would have had mediocre value had it not been engraved with an Arabic inscription. As we have seen, innumerable Islamic objects were used as reliquaries for Christian saints in medieval Europe, and Béla's ring seems to have been one of those too. Thus, the Arabic inscription was most likely mistaken for an exotic motif rather than recognised as the name of the previous owner of the seal stone.

The monetary reform of Béla III by introducing coins with pseudo-Arabic imagery is somewhat different from the two other cases. The two types of copper coins imitated the two

175. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 147–51.

176. Katalin Gyürky, "Fragment of a 'Hedvig Beaker' from the Royal Palace of Buda," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42 (1990): 205–8.

177. Apoc. 22:1.

most precious currencies of twelfth century Europe, and, therefore, it seems logical to associate the valueless material with the value of imagery. However, it should be emphasised that Arabic inscriptions were generally understood as decorative motifs associated with the Holy Land. The minters hardly recognised the exemplar coins as Andalusian (just as they are rarely recognised as such today), but logically associated with the territory where some Hungarians actually saw coins with Arabic legends, i.e. the Holy Land. Similarly, the fresco of Pécs with pseudo-Arabic decoration comprises a phenomenon hardly surprising: medieval European artisans often used this motif to signify persons and places in the Biblical lands. Finally, Andrew II's jar from the Marriage at Cana might have been an Islamic object mistaken for a Christian relic.

Béla III is generally considered as one of the most important kings of the Árpád dynasty. Since he was educated in Constantinople, he had to face many opponents who considered him foreign and Eastern Christian upon arrival on the throne of Hungary in 1172. Therefore, he was in need of building his legitimacy and proving his Catholic faith, and he later came to be successful in many of his royal endeavours. He also patronised some pieces of the royal regalia: the coronation mantle dating from 1031 had a collar piece sewn on it, the two separate parts of the royal crown were assembled together, and the sceptre was made most likely in this period. One may infer that these issues were all closely related to each other. Béla needed to prove his legitimacy and one of its means was creating a crusader representation. He supported the legend of his predecessor, Saint Ladislaus as a crusader king, renewed the royal regalia, and collected the Islamic artefacts that he might well have associated with the Holy Land. In this manner, the Islamic artefacts studied here should not be considered as anomalies, but rather as appropriate adornments of a Christian king.

Bibliography

Primary sources

al-Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān. *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir*. Edited by Fritz Krenkow. Hydarabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīya, 1936.

Book of Gifts and Rarities: Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf. Translated by Ghāda al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, [1996].

"Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV." Edited by Sándor Domanovszky. In *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*. Vol. 1. Edited by Imre Szentpétery, 217–505. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999, reprint.

Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus: Árpádkori új okmánytár. Vol. 6, *890–1235*. Edited by Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Eggenberger, 1867.

Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis. Vol. 3:1. Edited by György Fejér. Budapest: Royal University of Hungary, 1829.

Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima. Vol. 1, *1000–1131*. Edited by György Györffy. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992.

Freising, Otto of. *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*. Translated by Charles C. Mierow and Richard Emery. New York: WW Norton and Company, 1966.

al-Gharnāṭī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras Eurasiáticas*. Edited by César E. Dubler. Madrid: Imprenta y Editorial Maestre, 1953.

Ibn Jubayr, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad. *Riḥla: The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. Edited by William Wright and Michael J. de Goeje. Leiden: Brill, 1907.

Ibn Munqidh, Usāma. *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*. Edited by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2008.

al-Idrīsī, al-Sharīf. *al-Maghrib wa-arḍ al-Sūdān wa-Miṣr wa-l-Andalus / Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espag* [from *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*]. Edited and translated by Reinhart Dozy and Michael J. de Goeje. Leiden: Brill, 1866.

Kinnamos, John. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*. Translated by Charles M. Brand. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

"Legenda S. Ladislai Regis." Edited by Emma Bartoniek. In *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*. Vol. 2. Edited by Imre Szentpétery, 515–27. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999, reprint.

Lübeck, Arnold of. "Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Vol. 21. Edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz, 100–250. Hannover: Hahn, 1869.

al-Maqrīzī, Ṭaqiyy al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ bi-akhbār al-aʾimma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafāʾ*. Edited by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl. 3 vols. Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1996.

———. *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*. Edited by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid. 6 vols. London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2002.

Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse. Vol. 1, Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Edited by Bernhard Bischoff. München: Prestel, 1967.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādyānī. *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston Jr. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1986.

al-Qalqashandī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. *Subḥ al-aʿshā*. 17 vols. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya, 1914.

al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyāʾ. *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād.* Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchbandlung, 1848.

The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts. Translated by Graham A. Loud. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Vol. 1, *1000–1301*. Edited and translated by János Bak, György Bónis and James Sweeney. Idyllwild, Calif.: C. Schlacks, 1999, 2nd ed.

Ugo Falcando [Hugo Falcandus]. *La historia o liber de regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium*. Edited by Giovanni B. Siraguza. Roma: Palazzo Madama, 1904.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Muʿjam al-buldān*. 7 vols. Edited by Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jundī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990.

Secondary sources

Ahlund, Mikael, Anders Bengtsson and Margareta Gynning. *Highlights: Famous and Forgotten Art Treasures from Nationalmuseum*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2014.

Anderle, Ádám. *Hungría y España: Relaciones milenarias*. Szeged: Juhász Gyula Tankönyvkiadó, 2007.

Antalóczy, Ildikó M. "A nyíri izmaeliták központjának, Böszörmény falunak régészeti leletei I [Archaeological finds of Böszörmény, the centre of the Ishmaelites of Nyír I]." *Hajdúsági Múzeum Évkönyve* 4 (1980): 131–170.

Bak, János. "Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter: Sanctity of Insignia in Medieval East Central Europe." In *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond*. Edited by Balázs Nagy and Gábor Klaniczay, 56–65. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, 2nd ed.

Bálint, Csanád. "Az európai dirhem-forgalom néhány kérdése [Some questions of the European dirhem curculation]." *Századok* 116, no. 1 (1982): 3–32.

Berend, Nora. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000-c.1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

———."A Note on the End of Islam in Medieval Hungary: Old Mistakes and Some New Results." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 2 (2014): 201–6.

Blair, Sheila S. "Floriated Kufic and the Fatimids." In *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*. Edited by Marianne Barrucand, 107–16. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.

Bloom, Jonathan M. *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007.

Bloom, Jonathan M., Ahmed Toufiq, Stefano Carboni, Jack Soultanian, Antoine M. Wilmering, Mark D. Minor, Andrew Zawacki and El Mostafa Hbibi. *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.

Borosy, András and József Laszlovszky. "Magyarország, a Szentföld és a korai keresztes hadjáratok [Hungary, the Holy Land and the early crusades]." In *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk: Lovagrendek és emlékeik*. Edited by József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy and József Zsengellér, 75–90. Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2006.

Bouras, Charalambos. "The Daphni Monastic Complex Reconsidered." In *AETOS: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to Him on April 14, 1998*. Edited by Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter, 1–14. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998.

Bozsóky, Pál G. "Szent István jeruzsálemi alapítványairól [About the foundations of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem]." In *Doctor et apostol: Szent István tanulmányok*. Edited by József Török, 23–82. Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994.

Brenk, Beat, ed. *La Cappella Palatina à Palermo*. Modena: Panini, 2010.

Buckton, David, ed. *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984.

Carboni, Stefano. ed. *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.

Carboni, Stefano and David Whitehouse. *Glass of the Sultans*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Chatzidakis, Manolis. "À propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc." *Cahiers Archeologiques* 19 (1969): 127–50.

Çoban, Erdal. "Eastern Muslim Groups among Hungarians in the Middle Ages." *Bilig* 63, Autumn (2012): 55–76.

"Coins of al-Andalus: Tonegawa Collection/ Maskūkāt al-Andalus: Majmūʿa Tūnaghāwa." www.andalustonegawa.50g.com (Accessed: 18 February 2015).

Compareti, Matteo. "The So-Called *Senmurv* in Iranian Art: A Reconsideration of an Old Theory." In *Loquentes linguis: Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*. Edited by Pier G. Borbone, Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco, 185–200. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Contadini, Anna. *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: V&A Publications, 1998.

———. "The Cutting Edge: Problems of History, Identification and Technique of Fatimid Rock Crystals." In *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*. Edited by Marianne Barrucand, 319–29. Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.

———. "Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe." In *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformation*. Edited by Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß, 42–64. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010.

———. “Sharing a Taste? Material Culture and intellectual Curiosity Around the Mediterranean, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century.” In *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*. Edited by Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, 23–61. Surrey: Ashgate, 2013.

Content, Derek J., ed. *Islamic Rings and Gems: The Benjamin Zucker Collection*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1987.

Crusafont, Miquel, Anna M. Balaguer and Philip Grierson. *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Vol. 6, *The Iberian Peninsula*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Csukovits, Enikő. *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian pilgrims]. Budapest: História, 2003.

Curatola, Giovanni, ed. *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*. Milano: Silvana, 1993.

Czobor, Béla. “III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei [The burial regalia of Béla III and his wife].” In *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*. Edited by Gyula Forster, 207–30. Budapest: A Magyar Kormány, 1900.

Deér, Josef. *Die heilige Krone Ungarns*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1966.

Demus, Otto. *Romanesque Mural Painting*. Translated by Mary Whittall. New York: Abrams, 1970.

Distelberger, Rudolf. “Der Gefäße aus Bergkristall.” In *Nobiles Officinae: Die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wilfried Seipel, 109–13. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2004.

Dittelbach, Thomas, ed. *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo: Geschichte, Kunst, Funktionen*. Kunzelsau: Swiridoff, 2011.

Doberer, Erika. “Studien zu dem Ambo Kaiser Heinrichs II. im Dom zu Aachen.” In *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung*. Edited by Friedrich Gerke, Georg von Opel and Hermann Schnitzler, 308–59. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1957.

Dodds, Jerrilynn D., ed. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Dollwetzel, Philipp. “Die romanischen Wandmalereien in der Johanneskapelle in Pürgg-Trautenfels (Steiermark).” https://de.scribd.com/doc/49638661/Die-romanischen-Wandmalereien-in-der-Johanneskapelle-in-Purgg-Trautenfels-Steiermark (Accessed: 13 February 2015).

Erdmann, Kurt. “‘Fatimid’ Rock Crystals.” *Oriental Art* 3, no. 4 (1951): 142–46.

———. “Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters.” *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 9 (1953): 467–513.

Érdy, János. “III. Béla király és nejének Székes-Fehérvárott talált síremlékei [The tombs of Béla III and his spouse discovered at Székesfehérvár].” In *Magyarország és Erdély képekben*. Edited by Ferenc Kubinyi and Imre Vahot. Pest: Emich Gusztáv Bizománya, 1853.

Éri, Kinga, A. Marcsik, J. Nemeskéri and F. Szalai. “Embertani vizsgálatok III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna földi maradványán [Anatomical examination of the remains of Béla III and Agnes of Antioch].” In *150 éve történt: III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának felfedezése*. Edited by Vajk Cserményi, 9-15. Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999.

Ettinghausen, Richard. “Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World.” In *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904–1975)*, 28–47. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1976.

Evans, Helen C. and William D. Wixom, eds. *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Fehérvári, Géza. *Az iszlám művészet története* [The history of Islamic art]. Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 1987.

Fontana, Maria V. “Byzantine Mediation of Epigraphic Characters of Islamic Derivation in the Wall Paintings of Some Churches in Southern Italy.” In *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*. Edited by Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, 61–76. London: Warburg Institute, 1999.

———. “L’influsso dell’arte islamica in Italia.” In *Eredità dell’Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*. Edited by Giovanni Curatola, 455–76. Milano: Silvana, 1993.

Frantz, Alison. *The Church of the Holy Apostles*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1971.

Fülep, Ferenc and György Duma. “Examinations of the Wall Paintings in the Cella Trichora of Pécs.” *Folia Archaeologica* 23 (1973): 195–213.

García, Alberto C. and Tawfīq ibn Ḥāfiẓ I. *Moneda Andalusí: La Colección del Museo Casa de la Moneda*. Madrid: Fundación Real Casa de la Moneda, 2004.

Garrison, Eliza. *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Glaser, Lajos. “Der Levantehandel über Ungarn im 11. und. 12. Jahrhundert.” *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933): 356–63.

Gray, Basil. "Thoughts on the Origin of "Hedwig" Glasses." In *Studies in Chinese and Islamic Art*. Vol. 2, 341–47. London: Pindar Press, 1987.

Grube, Ernst J. and Jeremy Johns. *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*. Genova: The Bruschettini Foundation, 2005.

Gyöngyössy, Márton. *Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526)* [The monetary history of Hungary (1000–1526)]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2012.

Györffy, György. *A magyarság keleti elemei* [Eastern elements of the Hungarian people]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1990.

———. *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work]. Budapest: Balassi, 2013.

Gyürky, Katalin. "Fragment of a 'Hedvig Beaker' from the Royal Palace of Buda." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42 (1990): 205–8.

Hahnloser, Hans R. ed. *Il tesoro e il museo [di San Marco]*. Firenze, Sansoni, 1971.

Hajdú, Zsigmond and Gyöngyvér E. Nagy. "A nyíri izmaeliták központjának, Böszörmény falunak régészeti leletei II [Archaeological finds of Böszörmény, the centre of the Ishmaelites of Nyír II]." *Hajdúsági Múzeum Évkönyve* 9 (1999): 31–68.

Hlatky, Mária. *A magyar gyűrű* [The Hungarian ring]. Budapest: n.p., 1938.

Hóman, Bálint. *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1325* [The monetary history of Hungary 1000–1325]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1916.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Howard, Deborah. V*enice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Hudák, Krisztina and Levente Nagy. *A Fine and Private Place: Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopianae/Pécs*. Translated by Marianne Sághy (Pécs: Sopianae Örökség, 2005.

Hunka, Ján. *Mince Arpádovcov z rokov 1000–1301: Ich podiel na vývoji hospodárstva stredovekého Slovenska* [Árpád-age coins from 1000 to 1301: Their role in the development of medieval Slovakia's economy]. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 2013.

———. "Medené mince Béla III: Dosledok menovej reformy v Uhorsku? [The copper coins of Béla III: A consequence of the monetary reform in Hungary?]." *Historicky Casopis* 42, no. 4 (1994): 609–24.

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina, 1979.

———. "A horti XII. századi rézpénzlelet [A find of twelfth-century copper coins at Hort]." *Folia Archaeologica* 16 (1964): 145–55.

Huszti, Dénes. "IV. Béla olaszországi vásárlásai [Purchases of Béla III in Italy]." *Közgazdasági Szemle* 9–10 (1938): 737–70.

———. *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok* [Italian-Hungarian trade connections]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941.

Jacoby, David. "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 212–26.

Jeszenszky, Géza. "Az első magyar rézpénzek [The first Hungarian copper coins]." *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 34–35 (1935–36): 35–47.

Johns, Jeremy. "The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1993): 133–59.

Johns, Jeremy and Elise Morero. "The Diffusion of Rock Crystal Carving Techniques in the Fāṭimid Mediterranean." www.academia.edu/5896062 (Accessed: 22 April 2015).

Kalus, Ludvik. *Catalogue des cachets, bulles et talismans islamiques*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1981.

———. *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Kapitaikin, Lev. "'The Daughter of al-Andalus': Interrelations Between Norman Sicily and the Muslim West." *al-Masāq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 113–34.

Katona-Kiss, Attila. "A „sirmioni hunok": Egy muszlim katonai kötelék a XII. századi magyar királyi erőkben [The Huns from Sirmion: A Muslim military group in the twelth century Hungarian forces]." In *Fons, skepsis, lex: Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. Edited by Tibor Almási, Éva Révész and György Szabados, 159–71. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010.

Kelényi, Béla and Iván Szántó, eds. *Artisans at the Crossroads: Persian Arts of the Qajar Period (1796–1925)*. Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2010.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princess: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe*. Translated by Éva Pálmai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kovács, Éva. "Die Grabinsignien König Bélas III. und Annas von Antiochien." *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15 (1969): 3–24.

———. "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei [Funeral insignia of Béla III and Anne of Antioch]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 21 (1972): 1–14.

———. *Romanesque Goldsmiths' Art in Hungary*. Translated by Lili Halápy. Budapest: Corvina, 1974.

Kovács, Éva and Zsuzsa Lovag. *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*. Translated by Péter Balabán. Budapest: Corvina, 1980.

Kovács, László. *Münzen aus der ungarischen Landnahmezeit*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989.

———. "Újra a nagyharsányi kincsről és a LANCEA REGIS köriratú denárról [Again on the treasury of Nagyharsány and the denars with the LANCEA REGIS inscription on its rim]." *Századok* 129, no. 5 (1995): 1075–104.

Kovács, Tibor S. “Egy keleti díszsisak a tatárjárás korából [An oriental ceremonial helmet from the period of the Mongol invasion].” In *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve: Studia Archeologica*. Vol. 9. Edited by Lívia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy, 361–67. Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 2003.

Kristó, Gyula. *Nem magyar népek a középkori magyarországon* [Non Hungarian ethnic groups in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Lucidus, 2003.

Kröger, Jens. “The Hedwig Beakers: Medieval European Glass Vessels Made in Sicily around 1200.” In *The Phenomenon of ‘Foreign’ in Oriental Art*. Edited by Annette Hagedorn, 27–46. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006.

Kurz, Otto. “The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase.” In *The Decorative Arts of Europe and the Islamic East, Selected Studies*, 205–12. London: Dorian Press, 1977.

Lamm, Carl J. *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*. 2 vols. Berlin: D. Reimer, 1929–1930.

László, Gyula. “Adatok a koronázási jogar régészeti megvilágításához [Data to shed archaeological light on the coronation sceptre].” In *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*. Vol. 3. Edited by Jusztinián Serédi, 769–810 Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938.

Laszlovszky, József. “Angolszász koronázási ordo Magyarországon [Anglo-Saxon coranational ordo in Hungary].” In Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp. *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, vol. 1, 91–114. Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008.

Laszlovszky, József, Judit Majorossy and József Zsengellér, eds. *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk: Lovagrendek és emlékeik* [Hungary and the crusader wars: Military orders and their heritage]. Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2006.

Lester, Katherine M. and Bess V. Oerke. *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. Dover: Mineola Publications, 2004, reprint.

Lierke, Rosemarie. *Die Hedwigsbecher: Das normannisch-sizilische Erbe der staufischen Kaiser*. Ruhpolding: F. P. Rutzen, 2005.

Lopez, Robert S. "The Dollar of the Middle Ages." *Journal of Economic History* 11, no. 3 (1951): 209–34.

Mack, Rosemond E. *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Makk, Ferenc. *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations Between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*. Translated by György Novák. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989.

Marosi, Ernő. *A romanika Magyarországon* [The Romanesque style in Hungary]. Budapest: Corvina, 2013.

Megaw, Hubert. "The Chronology of Some Middle-Byzantine Churches." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 32 (1931–1932): 90–130.

Miles, George C. "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 329–44.

Morero, Elise, Haris Procopiou, Roberto Vargiolu, Jeremy Johns and Hassan Zahouani. "Carving Techniques of Fatimid Rock Crystal Ewers (10–12th Cent. A.D.)." *Wear* 301 (2013): 150–56.

Morrisson, Cécile. "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation." In *The Economic History of Byzantium*. Edited by Angeliki E. Laiou, 909–66. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.

O'Kane, Bernard, ed. *The Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006.

Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 245–55.

Pach, Zsigmond. “Le Commerce du Levant et la Hongrie au Moyen Âge: Thèses, polémiques, arguments.” *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 31, no. 6 (1976): 1176–94.

Partearroyo, Cristina. “Almoravid and Almohad Textiles.” In *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. Edited by Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 105–14. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Pauer, János. *A Székesfehérvárott fölfedezett királyi sirboltról* [About the tomb discovered at Székesfehérvár]. Székesfehérvár: n.p., 1849.

Peinado, Laura R. and Ana C. Lafuente, eds. *La investigación textil y los nuevos métodos de estudio*. Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 2014.

Pope, Arthur U., ed. *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. 6 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1938–39.

Porter, Venetia. *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 2011.

Pradines, Stéphane. “The Rock Crystal of Dembeni, Mayotte Mission Report 2013.” *Nyame Akuma* 80 (2013): 59–72.

Prokopp, Mária. “Francia-magyar művészeti kapcsolatok III. Béla udvarában, Esztergomban [French-Hungarian artistic connections in the court of Béla III in Esztergom].” In *Francia-Magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*. Edited by Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss, 291–314. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Kiadó, 2013.

Réthy, László. *Pénzverő Ismaeliták és Bessarábia* [Ishmaelite minters and Bessarabia]. Arad: Réthy, 1880.

———. *Corpus Nummorum Hungaricae: Magyar egyetemes éremtár*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899.

———. "Réthy László igazgató-őr jelentése spanyolországi tanulmányútjáról [Report of head-curator László Réthy on his study trip in Spain]." In *Jelentés a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 1906. évi állapotáról*, 141–49. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1907.

Rice, David S. "A Datable Islamic Rock Crystal." *Oriental Art* 2 (1956): 85–93.

Roover, Florence Edler de. "The Silk Trade of Lucca." *The Bulletin of the Needle and the Robin Club* 38, nos 1–2 (1954): 28–48.

Rosser-Owen, Mariam. "Mediterraneanism: How to Incorporate Islamic Art into an Emerging Field." *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1–33.

———."Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia." *Art in Translation* 7, no. 1 (2015): 39–64

Rosta, Szabolcs. "Pétermonostora pusztulása [The devastation of Pétermonostora]." In *'Carmen miserabile': A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei*. Edited by Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, 193–230. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.

Rózsa, Zoltán and Beáta Tugya. "Kik voltak az első Orosháza lakói? Problémafelvetés egy kutatás kezdetén [Who were the inhabitants of the first Orosháza? Raising a problem at the beginning of the research]." *Mozaikok Orosháza és vidéke múltjából* 6 (2012): 21–25.

Rózsa, Zoltán, János Balázs, Viktor Csányi and Beáta Tugya. "Árpád Period Muslim Settlement and Cemetery in Orosháza." *Hungarian Archaeology* 2014 Autumn: 1–7.

Schmidt, Robert. "Die Hedvigsgläser und die verwandten fatimidischen Glas- und Kristallschnittarbeiten." *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift: Jahrbuch des schlesischen Museums für Kunstwerbe Altertümer* 6 (1912): 63–78.

Seipel, Wilfried, ed. *Schätze der Kalifen: Islamische Kunst zur Fatimidenzeit*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999.

———, ed. *Nobiles Officinae: Die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2004.

Shalem, Avinoam. "From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid." *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 24–38.

———. *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996.

———. "The Rock-Crystal Lionhead in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe." In *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*, ed. Marianna Barrucand, 359–66. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.

Sinding-Larsen, Staale. "Saint Peter's Chair in Venice." In *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Johnson*. Edited by Moshe Barasch, Lucy F. Sandler and Patricia Egan, 35–50. New York: Abrams, 1981.

Spittle, Denys T. "Cufic Lettering in Christian Art." *Archaeological Journal* 111, no. 1 (1954): 138–52.

Spufford, Peter. *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Štulrajterová, Katarína. "Convivenza, Convenienza and Conversion: Islam in Medieval Hungary (1000–1400 CE)." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, no. 2 (2013): 175–98.

Suchodolski, Stanislaw. "East or West?: Concerning Iconographic Patterns of the Hungarian Copper Coins of the So-Called Byzantine Type." In *Emlékkönyv Bíró-Sey Katalin és Gedai István 65. Születésnapjára / Festschrift für Katalin Bíró-Sey und István Gedai*

zum 65. Geburtstag. Edited by Krisztina Bertók and Melinda Torbágyi, 267–75. Budapest: Argumentum, 1999.

Sweeney, James R. "Magyarország és a keresztes hadjáratok a 12–13. században [Hungary and the crusades in the 12th–13th century]." *Századok* 118 (1984): 114–24.

Szabados, György. "Egy elmaradt keresztes hadjáratról [On a cancelled crusade]." In *„Magyaroknak eleiről": Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. Edited by Ferenc Piti and György Szabados, 473–92. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000.

———. "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné [Constantia of Aragon Hungarian queen]." In *Királylányok messze földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*. Edited by Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth, 163–75. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzem, 2009.

Szabó, László. "Megjegyzések a „böszörmények" kérdéséhez a Hajdúböszörmény határában talált Árpád-kori falu régészeti leletei alapján [Notes on the the question of Böszörménys based on the finds of the Árpád-age village near Hajdúböszörmény]." *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (2002–3): 73–108.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt. "Remarks on the Filigree of the Holy Crown." *Acta Historia Artium* 18 (2002): 51–62.

Szőnyi, Otto. "A pécsi ó-keresztény temető sírkamrái és kápolnája [The burial chambers and chapel of the proto-Christian cemetery at Pécs]." *Magyar Művészet* 5, no. 8 (1929): 537–44.

Tabbaa, Yasser. "The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part 2, the Public Text." *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994): 119–47.

Török, Aurél. "Jelentés III-ik Béla Magyar király és neje testereklyéiről [Report on the relics of King Béla III of Hungary and his wife]." *Értekezések a Természettudományok Köréből* 23, no. 4 (1893): 175–355.

Tóth, Csaba, József G. Kiss and András Fekete. “III. Béla kufikus jellegű rézpénzeinek osztályozása: Classification of the Cufic-like Copper Coins of Béla III.” *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 106–7 (2009–10): 73–87.

Tóth, Endre. *A koronázási jogar és palást* [The coronation sceptre and robe]. Szeged: Agapé, 2000.

———. “A magyar koronázási jogar [The Hungarian coronation sceptre].” In *„Magyaroknak eleiről”: Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. Edited by Ferenc Piti and György Szabados, 593–616. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000.

———. “Das ungarische Krönungszepter.” *Folia Archaeologica* 48 (2000): 111–53.

———. “III. Béla vagy Kálmán? A székesfehérvári királysír azonosításáról [Béla III or Coloman? On the identification of the royal tomb at Székesfehérvár].” *Folia Archaeologica* 52 (2005–6): 141–61.

Tóth, Melinda. *Árpád-kori falfestészet* [Árpád-age mural painting]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974.

Tóth, Sándor. “Régészet, műemlékvédelem, történelem [Archaeology, monument protection, history].” *Építés- építészettudomány* 5, nos 3–4 (1973): 617–30.

Travaini, Lucia. “Aspects of the Sicilian Norman Copper Coinage in the Twelfth Century.” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 151 (1991): 159–74.

Ujszászi, Róbert. *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek* [Twelfth-century copper coins in Hungary]. Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 2010.

Veszprémy, László. “The Crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary, 1217–1218.” *Jacobus* 13–14 (2002): 87–110.

———. “Dux et praeceptor Hierosolimitanorum: König Ladislaus (László) von Ungarn als imaginärer Kreuzritter.” In *The Man of Many Devices: Who Wandered Full Many*

Ways. Edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, 470–77. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999.

———. *Lovagvilág Magyarországon: Lovagok, keresztesek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon* [The world of chivalry in Hungary: Knights, crusaders, military engineers in mediaeval Hungary]. Budapest: Argumentum, 2008.

Walker, Alicia. "Pseudo-Arabic 'Inscriptions' and the Pilgrim's Path at Hosios Loukas." In *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*. Edited by Antony Eastmond, 99–123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Ward, Flora. "Thoughts on Pseudoscript." grammarrabble.wordpress.com/2014/08/19/thoughts-on-psuedoscript-flora-ward (Accessed: 14 May 2015).

Watt, James C. Y. "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire." In *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. Edited by Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, 62–73. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.

Wenzel, Marian. *Ornament and Amulet: Rings of the Islamic World*. London: Nour Foundation, 1993.

Westermann-Angerhausen, Hiltrud. "Did Theophano Leave Her Mark on the Ottonian Sumptuary Art?." In *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*. Edited by Adelbert Davids, 244–64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Yousuf, Abd el-Ra'uf Ali. "A Rock-Crystal Specimen in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, and the Seven Fatimid Domes in the Qarāfa al-Kubrā, Cairo." In *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire*. Edited by Marianna Barrucand, 311–17. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.

Illustrations

2.1. The royal sceptre of Hungary, Parliament, Budapest; Hungary, last third of the 12th c.

2.2. The head of the royal sceptre of Hungary; Cairo or Sicily, 2nd half of the 11th c.

2.3. The head of the royal sceptre of Hungary.

2.4. The head of the royal sceptre of Hungary.

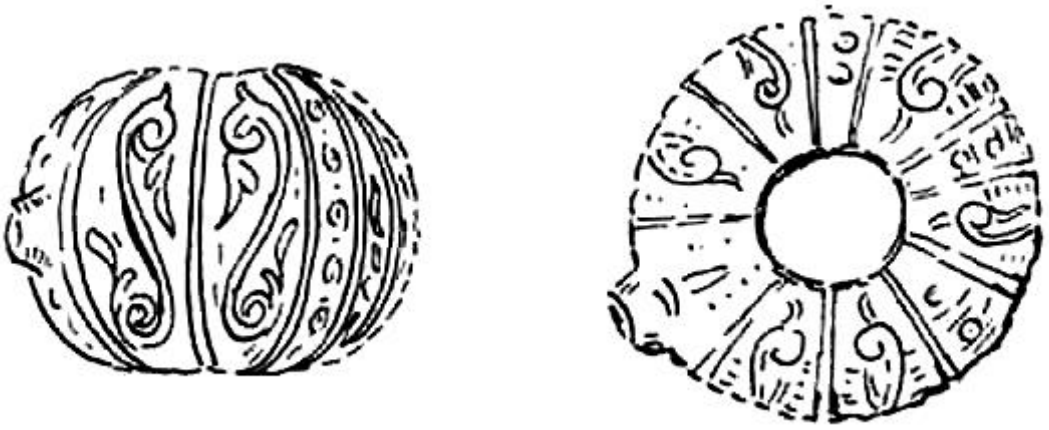
2.5. The head of the royal sceptre of Hungary, drawing.

2.6. Rock crystal ewer with the name of al-ʿAzīz Fatimid Caliph (975–996), Treasury of Saint Mark Cathedral, Venice, inv. no. 80; Cairo.

2.7. Crescent-shaped rock crystal with the name of al-Ẓāhir Fatimid Caliph (1021–1036), German National Museum, Nuremberg, inv. no. KG 695; Cairo, mount: Venice, mid-14th c.

2.8. Rock crystal pommel, cathedral treasury, Bamberg, inv. no. 2720/2-67; Cairo, ca. mid-11th c.

2.9. Rock crystal pommel, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 15445; Cairo, ca. mid-11th c.

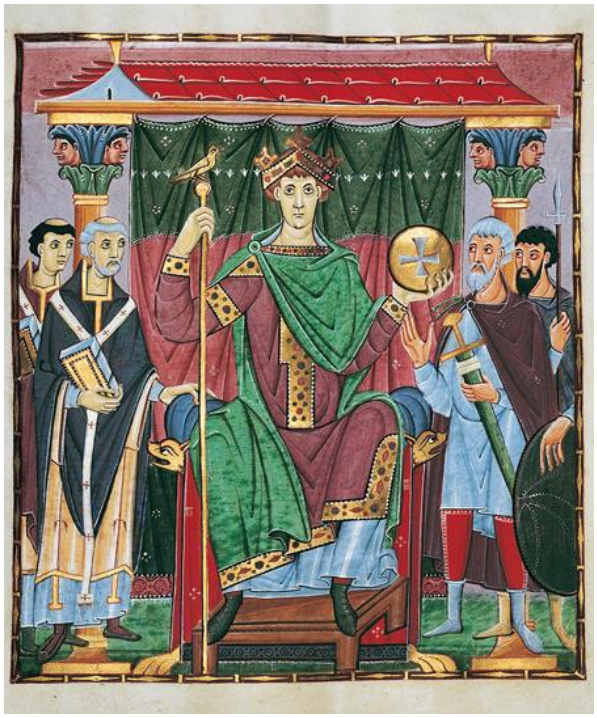


2.10. Rock crystal pommel (lost), cathedral treasury, Essen, drawing; Cairo, ca. mid-11th c. (?).

2.11. Rock crystal pommel (lost), Zeughaus Museum, Berlin; Cairo, ca. mid-11th c.

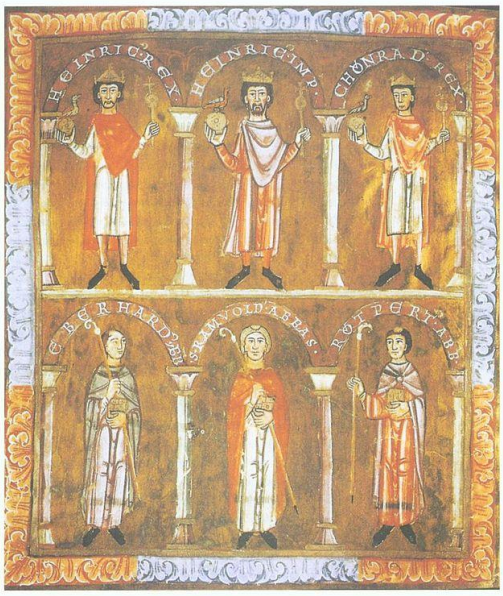
2.12. “Hedwig Beaker”, British Museum, inv. no. ME OA 1959.4-14.1; Sicily (?), late 12th c.(?).

2.13. Bull of Henry II of Germany, 1004.

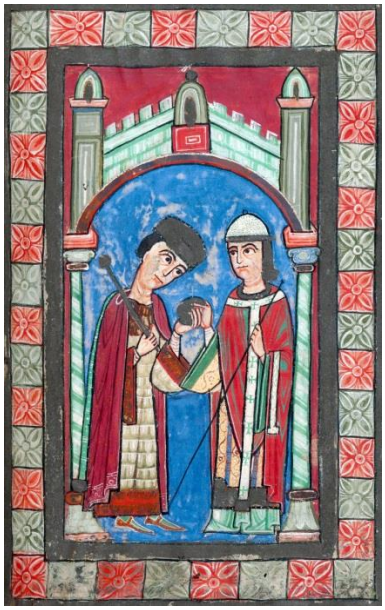


2.14. Otto III of Germany (983–1002) enthroned, book illustration, Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 4453, folio 24r.

2.15. Henry III of Germany (1028–1056), book illustration, Gospels of Henry III, Bremen, State and University Library, Ms.b. 21, fol. 3v.



2.16. Henry IV of Germany (1053–1105) and his sons, book illustration, Gospels of Henry IV, Krakow, Library of the Cathedral Chapter 208, fol. 2v.



2.17. Henry V of Germany (1099–1125), book illustration, Anonymous chronicle of Henry V, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, The Parker Library, Ms. 373, fol. 83r.

2.18. Otto I (936–973), book illustration, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, Cod. S.P.48. olim fol. 129 sup.; ca. 1200.

3.1 The ring of Béla III, Hungarian National Museum, inv. no. 64.1848.2g; seal: Iran, 8th–9th c., mount: Hungary, last third of the 12th c.

3.2. The ring of Béla III.

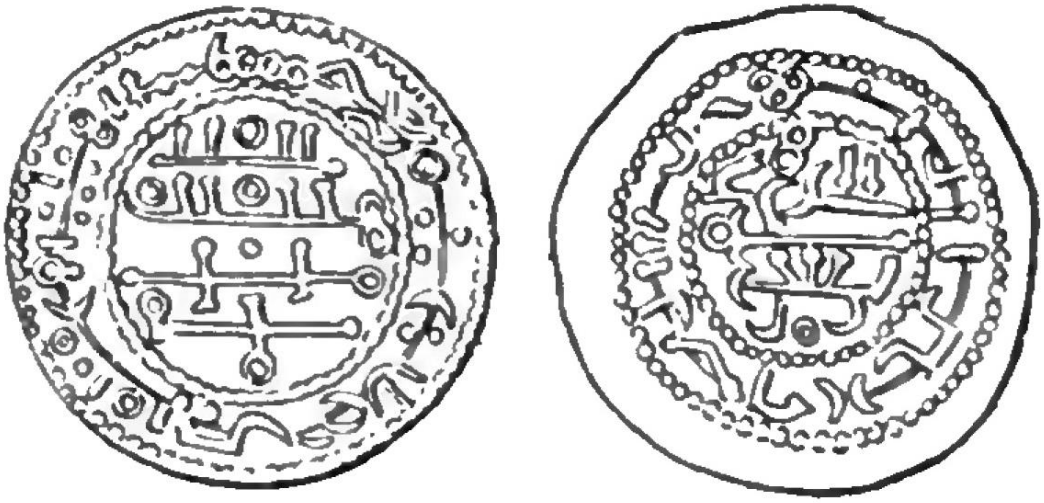
3.3. The ring of Béla III.

3.4. Seal stone, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. LI902.16; Iran, 8th–9th c.

3.5. Seal stone (image reversed), British Museum, London, inv. no. 1853 3–28 15; Iran, 8th–9th c.

3.6. Seal stone, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Art, Budapest, inv. no. 58.161; Iran, 8th–9th c.

4.1. CNH 101, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196).



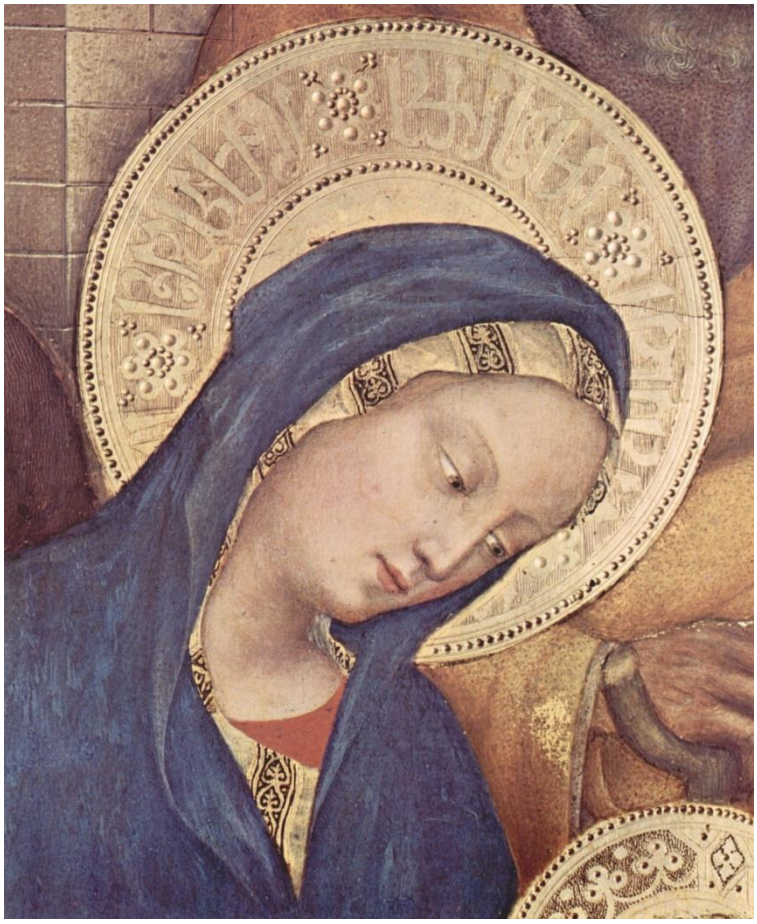
4.2. CNH 103, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196).

4.3. CNH 98, copper coin of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196).

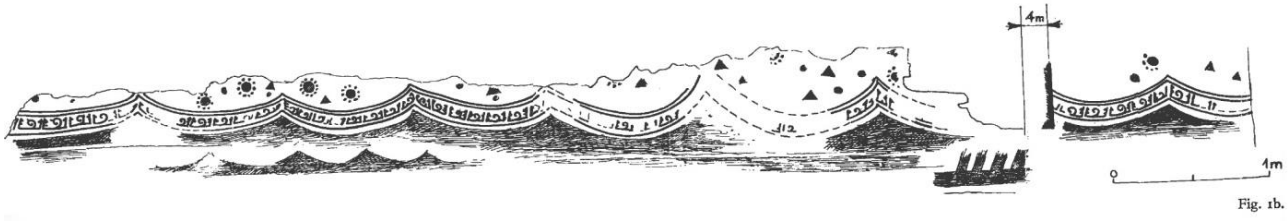
4.4. Gold coin of Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh; Murcia, 1162.

4.5. Almoravid gold coin; Córdoba, 1093.

4.6. Gold coin of Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214); Toledo, 1222.



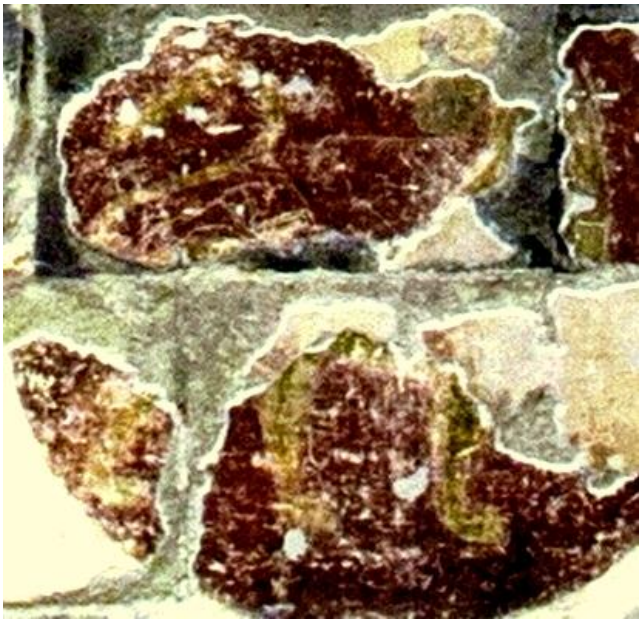
5.1. Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi* (detail),
Uffizi Gallery Museum, Florence, inv. no. 1890 / 8364; 1423.



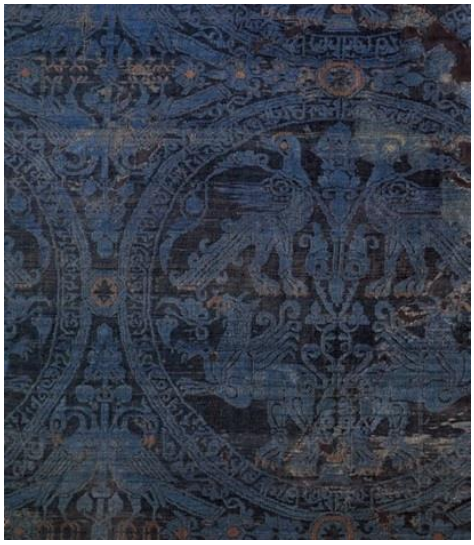
5.2. Mural painting, Cella Trichora, Pécs; ca. late 12th–early 13th c.

5.3. Pier-capital, crypt, *katholikon*, Hosios Loukas Monastery; 1st half of 11th c.

5.4. Mural painting, royal chapel, castle, Esztergom; late 12th c.



5.5. Mural painting, royal chapel, castle, Esztergom; late 12th c.



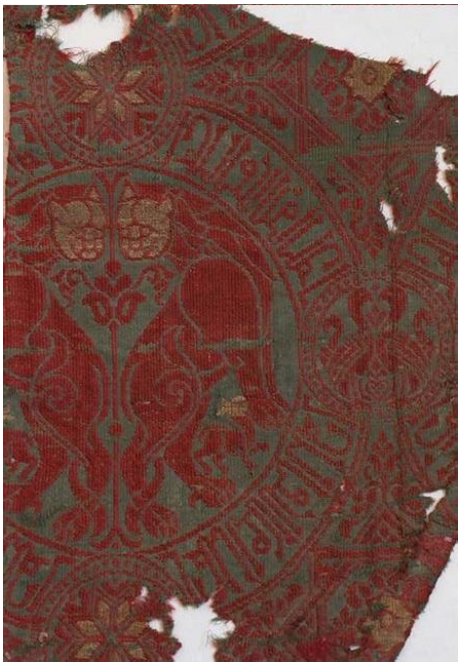
5.6. Reliquary of Saint Potentianus, Treasury of Saint Stephen Cathedral, Sens, France; Byzantium or Sicily, 12th

5.7. Mantle of Roger II, Schatzkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. XIII 14; Palermo, 1133/1134.

5.8. Pulpit, San Gennaro Church, Capannori (Lucca); 1162.

5.9. Chasuble of Saint John of Ortega, Parochial Church, Quintanaortuño (Burgos); Almería, 1st half of the 12th c.

5.10. Mosaic decoration, Sala di Ruggero, Norman Royal Palace, Palermo; 1154–1166.

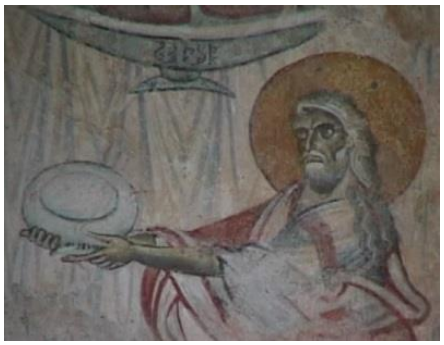


5.11. Almoravid textile fragment, Museum of Burgos, inv. no. 316/BU.1; Andalusia, 1st half of the 12th c.

6.1. Alhambra vase, National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm, inv. no. NMK47; Malaga, 2nd half of the 14th c.

6.2. Brick-work with pseudo-Arabic decoration, Church of the Holy Apostles, Athens; end of the 10th c.

6.3. St. James the Lesser and St. James the Greater, mural painting, San Giovanni in Monterrone, Matera; 13th c.



6.4. Mural painting, Santa Maria di Anglona, Tursi; late 12th c.

6.5. Pier-capital, Santa Maria di Anglona, Tursi; late 12th c.

6.6. “Throne of Saint Peter”, San Pietro di Castello Church, Venice; backrest: Syria, 11th–12th c., throne: Venice, 12th–13th c.

6.7.“Reliquary of the holy blood”, rock crystal bottle, Treasury of Saint Mark Cathedral, Venice, inv. no. 63; Cairo, late-10th–early 11th c., mount: Venice, 13th c.

6.8. Glass canteen with enamel decoration, Treasury of Saint Stephen Cathedral, Vienna; Syria, late-13th c.