Bernat Racz

THE RELIQUARY OF PÉTERMONOSTORA: A TWELFTH-CENTURY MOSAN PHYLACTERY DISCOVERED IN HUNGARY

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Central European University Private University

Vienna

June 2023

The Reliquary of Pétermonostora: A Twelfth-Century Mosan Phylactery Discovered in Hungary

by

Bernat Racz

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____
Armin Bergmeier
Chair, Examination Committee

_____
Béla Zsolt Szakács
Thesis Supervisor

_____
József Laszlovszky
Thesis Supervisor

Vienna
June 2023

The Reliquary of Pétermonostora: A Twelfth-Century Mosan Phylactery Discovered in Hungary

by

Bernat Racz

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Sophie Balace
External Reader

Vienna
June 2023

Author's declaration

I, the undersigned, **Bernat Racz**, candidate for the MA degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern 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.

Vienna, 16 May 2023

Bernat Racz

Abstract

The so-called Reliquary of Pétermonostora, discovered at a private monastery in Hungary in 2013, consists of two large enamel plaques depicting the Ascension of Christ and the Washing of the Feet, and three fragments of a long florally decorated gilded copper strip. After their unearthing, the objects pertaining to the artwork remained without a correct identification for a decade. This thesis is the first detailed study of this exceptional artwork. The analysis of the style, technique, and shape presented here reveals that the reliquary was made in the Meuse Valley around 1170. The artist responsible for its production was related to the works at Stavelot in the 1160s, and to a workshop that created a group of semicircular enamel plaques kept at the British Museum. The Mosan provenience established by the artwork's stylistic connections suggests that it was following the shape of polylobed reliquaries known as phylacteries. In addition to the fragments previously assigned to the reliquary, I suggest that a plaque depicting an angel – found near the other fragments – should also be considered as part of the object. Unfortunately, the artwork's context in Hungary is not as clear as its ties to the Meuse Valley, and therefore it is unknown how the reliquary ended up at this private monastery, however, the study of the art of the court presents interesting links to Mosan art in the period soon after the reliquary's creation. Furthermore, the object advances the study of the monastic and cultural landscape of private monasteries in the 12th century.

Acknowledgments

I am very thankful for the help of my two supervisors Béla Zsolt Szakács and József Laszlovszky whose advice was essential for my research. I would like to express my gratitude to Szabolcs Rosta, István Pánya, and Tamás Magdus for supporting my research and giving me full access to the objects kept at the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét.

During the initial stages of the research, I benefited greatly from conversations with the art historians Etele Kiss, Zsuzsa Lovag, and Imre Takács. In addition to their expertise, I was also able to consult Zsuzsanna Herceg the restorer of the copper strips, who shared very valuable material and technical insights with me and provided many photographs of the fragments. I would also like to thank Sophie Balace who confirmed my working hypothesis about the origin of the enamel plaques. In addition, I truly appreciate the invitation of Andrea Lantos (Viski Károly Museum of Kalocsa) to a conference on recent medieval research projects about the Middle Ages in Bács-Kiskun County, where I presented the preliminary results of my research in December.

I am grateful for the help, advice, and opinion of Katalin Szende, György Geréby, Gábor Klaniczay, Sarah C. Luginbill, and my colleagues at CEU. Regarding the images, I would like to thank the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin and especially Andreas Heese and Katrin Falbe. Lastly, I was also greatly helped by my family in Europe and in South Korea.

Table of contents

Introduction

Pétermonostora

In 2013, during the excavation of the archeological site of Pétermonostora ("Peter's monastery" near Bugac, Hungary) two exceptionally large enamel plaques were discovered (**fig. 1. 1**). The iconography of the two plaques and their combination is peculiar. The scene on the left side is taking the entire plaque to represent the Ascension of Christ (**fig. 1. 2**). The right side depicts the story of Christ washing Peter's feet in two separate registers (**fig. 1. 3–4**). In addition to these, a florally decorated gilded copper strip consisting of three fragments, which seems to have been connected to the enamels, was also found among the ruins (**fig. 1. 5; 2. 12–15**).

Pétermonostora was a private monastery founded around 1130.[1] Its first mention in the second decade of the 13th century describes it as a property of the Becse-Gergely kindred whose members were one of the most influential lords of the period.[2] The archeological evidence suggests that the monastery was destroyed during the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241–1242. The settlement discovered around the monastery seemed unexpectedly large for a relatively small monastic complex.[3] While there were excavations near the monastery in the 20th century, it was not until the early 2000s that research conducted by Edit Sárosi for her MA thesis at CEU highlighted the importance of the site.[4] A few years after the research of Sárosi, Szabolcs Rosta started his excavation at the site. After more than a decade of excavations led by Rosta, it can be clearly seen that the settlement of Pétermonostora and its monastery was a

[1] Edit Sárosi and Szabolcs Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," in *Religion, Cults & Rituals in the Medieval Environment*, ed. Christiane Bis-Worch and Claudia Theune (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017), 103–13.
[2] For an explanation of private monasteries and kindreds including the Becse-Gergely see Chapter 3.
[3] Sárosi and Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," 111.
[4] Edit Belényesyné Sárosi, "Transformations in the Settlement Structure in the Territory Between the Danube and Tisza Rivers: Monostor- A Case Study" (Master, Budapest, Central European University, 2001).

regional center, which is visible in the size of the proto-urban settlement surrounding the monastery (the core area was 1800 m by 800 m, to this other patches of settlement joined).[5] The urban nature of the site is also shown by the stone foundations of eight excavated houses. Stone was a scarce resource in the area and therefore it serves as a clear sign that this settlement was different from the typical villages of the area before the Mongol invasion, in fact, a hundred other wattle-and-daub houses were documented on the surface of the plowed fields around the monastery, but it is very likely that there were even more.[6]

In addition to the archeological value of the monastery and the settlement, the art historical one certainly proved to be extraordinary. A private monastery is not where one would expect to uncover fragments of a great variety of expensive liturgical objects since usually these were small institutions with relatively common items. Indeed, it is striking that among the ruins of the basilica several fragments of processional crosses (Limoges, Hungarian, Mosan), different types of bone carvings (North German (?) book cover, one apostle figurine from a reliquary casket (?) from Cologne) were discovered with many small fragments of possibly larger artworks.[7] Furthermore, a wide array of stones and architectural fragments were also unearthed such as marble, the so-called Hungarian red marble (a marble-like limestone), and late 12th-century (?) gothic capital fragments, which truly show that the monastery was extraordinarily rich.[8] Nevertheless, clearly, the most important object of the monastery was the artwork consisting of the enamel plaques and the copper strip fragments.

[5] Sárosi and Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," 111.
[6] Sárosi and Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," 111.
[7] Szabolcs Rosta, "Bugac-Pétermonostora egyedülálló leletei és kapcsolatai," [The Unique Finds of Pétermonostora] in *Az Árpádok országa* [Kingdom of the Árpádians], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2022), 304–7.
[8] Norbert Jankovics, "A bugaci Pétermonostora egykori templom és kőfaragványai. Előzetes beszámoló a művészettörténeti feldolgozásról," [The Basilica of Pétermonostora and its Stone Carvings. A Preliminary Report]. *Műemlékvédelem* LXI, no. 1–2 (2017): 8–20.

Research History

The first interpretation of the two enamels and the copper strip dates back to the moment of the discovery in 2013. One of the plaques was uncovered in the nave and the other was unearthed in one of the side aisles with the fragments of the copper strip. Both plaques were in a secondary position and seem to have been deposited there during the clearing of the monastery after its destruction (**fig. 1. 6–7**). Upon establishing the connection between the plaques and the copper strip, Rosta made the conclusion that these plaques must have been placed together forming a circular reliquary. The side cover would have covered the wooden core of the two plaques (**fig. 2. 1**).[9]

After the first examinations of Etele Kiss the curator of medieval metalworks in the Hungarian National Museum, the object was presented as an artwork made in Cologne with stylistic marks from Limoges.[10] This interpretation was a result of the green and blue appearance of the enamel and possibly the engraved figures. Some ornamental aspects also contributed to this brief interpretation. It seemed to have found firm ground for a while in the existing connection between the two artistic centers.[11] Eventually, this theory was restated in the catalog of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét in 2020.[12]

In the catalog of the recent exhibition *Királyok és szentek* [Kings and Saints], Etele Kiss briefly described the enamel plaques as mixing the styles of masters from "Germany" and Limoges. Kiss emphasized that they cannot be linked to any region in "Germany" and therefore

[9] *Az Aranymonostor ereklyéje* [The Relic of the Golden Monastery], Documentary, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awk3Le1SQq8.
[10] Szabolcs Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora] in *"Carmen Miserabile" A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei*, ed. Rosta Szabolcs and V. Székely György (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), 204, note 24.
[11] Dietrich Kötzsche, "Limoges et le Saint Empire," in *L'oeuvre de Limoges: art et histoire au temps de Platagenêts; actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel les 16 et 17 novembre 1995*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, Collection "Conférences et colloques" du Louvre (Paris: La Documentation française, 1998), 317–40.
[12] ifj. László Gyergyádesz, ed., *A Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum kincsei / Treasures of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét* (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2020), 147.

the possibility that it was created by artists working in Hungary should not be excluded.[13] In the same chapter's catalog section, the object was described by Rosta as a reliquary made in the area of Cologne.[14] These interpretations are all just a few lines and the reliquary remained without a detailed study.

The study of the enamels of medieval Latin Europe is extensive and often it cannot be separated from other metalworks. The works of Marie-Madeleine Gauthier can be mentioned among the most influential endeavors of researching these enamels. While Gauthier mainly focused on the enamel art of Limoges, she also covered all the other enamel centers of Latin Europe in her seminal work titled *Émaux du moyen âge occidental*.[15] Other works that focused on the Mosan and Rhenish production are also plenty. For example, in the second part of the 20th century, the catalogs of the *Rhein und Maas* (1972) and the *Ornamenta Ecclesiae* (1985) exhibitions are truly informative regarding the works of these regions.[16] The careful study of the artworks listed in these clearly outlines the three main separate enamel centers that also interacted with one another. The interaction was most common between the Rhenish and the Mosan schools. Nevertheless, the two can be clearly separated.

Catalogs of the Mosan collections are also essential, most notable is the one dedicated to the artworks in the collection of the Brussels Royal Art and History Museum which is named after its main exhibition site: *La salle aux trésors* (1999).[17] In the last two decades, exhibitions,

[13] Etele Kiss, "Az Árpád-kori magyar egyházak felszerelése" [The Artworks of Churches in Árpádian-age Hungary] in *Az Árpádok országa* [Kingdom of the Árpádians], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2022), 283.
[14] Rosta, "Bugac-Pétermonostora egyedülálló leletei és kapcsolatai" [The Unique Finds of Pétermonostora], 304–7.
[15] Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Émaux du moyen âge occidental* (Fribourg: Office du livre, 1972); for Limoges see also John Philip O'Neill, ed., *Enamels of Limoges: 1100–1350* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996).
[16] Anton Legner, ed., *Rhein und Maas* (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972); Anton Legner, ed., *Ornamenta ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik* (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985); see also Josy Muller, ed., *Tesori dell'arte mosana (950–1250)* (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1973).
[17] Claire Dumortier, ed., *La salle aux trésors* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999); For example Neil Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II Northern Romanesque Enamel (London: British Museum Press, 1993); Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Oeuvres d'art mosan au Musée de l'Ermitage à Léningrad," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 44, no. 2 (1975): 85–107.

conferences, and publications were dedicated to Mosan art with a special focus on metalworks. These publications are most notably *L'art mosan: Liège et son pays à l'époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (2007)*, Une Renaissance. L'art entre Flandre et Champagne 1150–1250* (2013), the volumes of *L'oeuvre de la Meuse* (2014, 2016), and *L'art mosan: un art entre Seine et Rhin?* (2019).[18]

The scholarship on Mosan art is the most important for the Reliquary of Pétermonostora as it will be demonstrated below. The highly intellectual compositions and the unique quality of these artworks provided space for many different types of examinations. While the scholarship on Mosan metalworks includes both the 12th and the 13th centuries, it can be clearly divided into two different groups by the visual appearance of the objects: one before c. 1200 and one after.[19] For the Reliquary of Pétermonostora the relevant one is the one before the turn of the century.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the research was clearly focused on the formal aspects of these objects and on reconstructing the production of main artists like Godefroy de Huy.[20] Nevertheless, in the second part of the 20th century, iconographic aspects gained more prominence.[21] In the last two decades, more emphasis was placed on the devotional and

[18] Benoit Van den Bossche, ed., *L'art mosan: Liège et son pays à l'époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007); *Une renaissance: l'art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013); Philippe George, ed., *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. I, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2014); Philippe George, ed., *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. II, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016); Sophie Balace, Mathieu Piavaux, and Benoit Van den Bossche, eds., "L'art mosan: un art entre Seine et Rhin? Réflexions, bilans, perspectives. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Liège-Namur 7-8-9 octobre 2015," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 85–86 (2014–2015) (2019): 1–248.

[19] Figurative enamels are not that prominent in the 13th century and in the second period the originality of the Mosan production is very much affected by the Gothic tendencies arriving from France, see Sophie Balace, "Historiographie de l'art mosan" (PhD, Liège, Université de Liège, 2009), 228. While we consider the central decades of 12th century as the "Golden Age" of Mosan art, it is likely that there was also a significant number of artworks in the 11th century, see Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1951), 114; for the 12th century see also Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 189–204.

[20] See Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 194; Balace, "Historiographie de l'art mosan," 238–295.

[21] See for example Jean Squilbeck, "Le sacrifice d'Abraham dans l'art mosan," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 37 (1965): 79–93; Nigel Morgan, "The Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels," in *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. II (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972), 263–78. Köln:

liturgical aspects of these items, while also maintaining the stylistic and iconographic interpretations.[22]

The Artwork's Importance for Mosan Art

The Pétermonostora enamel plaques provide new information for all the aspects listed above. While they belong among these Mosan artworks, they have elements that have not been known in the surviving Mosan enamel compositions. The Pétermonostora plaques are unique in their size, unusual in their iconography, and have stylistic elements that, while clearly belonging to the tradition of the Meuse, represent a very special stylistic conception. Furthermore, the artwork's devotional aspects in relation to its shape and iconography are also special. In addition, the other fragments of the reliquary are also exceptional in this regard. Therefore, the Pétermonostora reliquary certainly has extensive new implications for the research of Mosan art.

Methodology

In the initial stages of my research, conclusions circulating without any detailed study had to be dismantled. The approach that pointed out certain elements and identified the object as being from Cologne with stylistic marks from Limoges took only parts without an extensive network and established an incorrect preliminary identification. My research is also based on tracing visual similarities (including style, technique, and iconography), but a crucial part of this

Schnütgen-Museum, 1972; Philippe Verdier, "Richesse et signification de l'iconographie mosane," in *La Wallonie. Le pays et les hommes. Lettres - arts - culture*, vol. I (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1977), 259–67.

[22] See for example Marcello Angheben, "Les reliquaires mosans et l'exaltation des fonctions dévotionnelles et eucharistiques de l'autel," *Codex Aquilarensis* 32 (2016): 171–208; Patrick Henriet, "Relire l'autel portatif de Stavelot," in *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'Oeuvre de la Meuse*, ed. Philippe George, vol. II (Liège: Brepols, 2018), 179–208; Heidi C. Gearhart, "Memory, Making, and Duty in the Remaclus Retable of Stavelot," *Gesta* 58, no. 2 (2019): 137–55; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image: The Golden Retable of the Pentecost at Stavelot," *Material Religion* 16, no. 1 (2020): 9–40.

approach was the exclusion of elements that do not fit into networks. While one must be careful with the reconstruction of artistic networks and timelines, there is enough material remaining from the Mosan production for the identification of at least some basic connections and for the creation of a timeframe. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the situation in East Central Europe and specifically not for the Great Hungarian Plain, therefore the approach here is significantly more careful and general since not much can be verified with certainty. Nevertheless, the combination of the archeological context, the historical information, and art history related to the centers of art production in Hungary proves to be useful in providing the context of the reliquary's reception. In addition, the reliquary is also important as a factor that shaped its own context, especially the monastic landscape of Pétermonostora.

The Aim of the Present Study

In this thesis, I will illustrate that the fragments of the reliquary can be assigned to a Mosan artist or workshop operating in the 1160s and 1170s. I will demonstrate this through the object's stylistic and technical aspects. The latter suggests that the object was a very specific type of reliquary called a phylactery and it followed the iconography and overall conception of many of the reliquaries that had this special shape. While the artwork remains to be exceptional both in its regional and its broader Western context, it may be possible to find out details about the circumstances of its local context through the connections of the Becse-Gergely kindred with the court of Béla III (r. 1172–1196) at Esztergom. The size of the enamel plaques is unique, and as it will be shown the complete object was truly impressive. The reliquary is among the greatest enamel compositions of the period and its presence in a private monastery in Hungary certainly has significant implications for the study of the art and the society of the period.

1. The Reliquary's Style

1. 1. Description of the Enamels

The two semicircular enamel plaques are each 25 x 12 cm. On the left, in the plaque of the Ascension, we witness three apostles who are staring at the sky where angels are announcing the Ascension of Christ (**fig. 1. 2**). The two angels are holding out scrolls, the text of the one on the left says *HIC IHC • Q • ASVPT • E* which stands for "*hic Iesus qui assumptus est*" ("this same Jesus, who has been taken from you into heaven") and would continue in the Bible as "*a vobis in caelum, sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in caelum*" ("will come back in the same way you have seen him go into heaven").[23] The other angel's text is *VIRI • GALILEI • QVID • AMI* which stands for "*viri Galilaei, quid admiramini*" and continues in the Bible as "*aspicientes in caelum*" ("Men of Galilee, why do you stand here looking into the sky?").[24] The order of the texts indicates that the plaque's composition has to be read from right to left. Above them is the towering body of Christ located on a cloud in a position of departure. One of his feet is already in the air and the other one is steadily balanced while gaining momentum from the cloud. At the top of the composition appears the hand of God in a separate sphere reaching out for Christ. The Ascension is in a space construction that is not truly characteristic of the scene, and as it will be shown below, it was probably using the composition of other similar scenes that may have proved to be appropriate for creating such a complex composition in a semicircular field.

[23] Acts 1:11.
[24] Acts 1:11.

The other plaque contains two scenes divided by an architectural background (**fig. 1. 3** and **1. 4** for the damaged parts). The upper register shows Christ and Peter discussing the importance of the foot washing offered by Christ. Peter is holding a key which identifies him and a scroll with the text *N • PEDES S: MAN • ET • CAPV*, that is, *"non* [*tantum*] *pedes sed manum et caput"* (Not only my feet but also my hands and head).[25] As in the case of the Ascension, the scene has to be read from right to left. Therefore, Christ's text precedes Peter's by saying *SI • N • N • ERIs MECV* which stands for "*si non* [*lavero te*]*, non eris mecum*" ("Unless, I wash you, you will not be with me").[26] An architectural structure separates this scene from its continuation below, where the kneeling figure of Christ is washing Peter's feet above a basin. The gesture of Peter during the washing refers to the words he mentions above.

Two scenes depicting the Washing of the Feet on the façade of S. Pietro in Spoleto show us a similarly arranged composition (**fig. 1. 8**).[27] In the scene on the left, Christ is approaching Peter to wash his feet and Peter resists. In the second scene, Christ is washing Peter's feet and the apostle is asking Christ to wash his head too. The Pétermonostora plaque combines the events already in its first register, instead of resisting Peter already accepts the washing in the first scene. Below, the element of head washing appears again with Peter's renewed expression of his desire. Therefore, even though at first sight the washing of his feet seems to be of importance, actually the head receives much more emphasis. The two scenes of the washing are also highly unusual because they lack the other apostles. This lack of presence is especially striking in the lower scene which is traditionally depicted with the other apostles lining up around Peter. Even though the decision to exclude the apostles may be explained by the lack of space, it is still striking with its sole focus on Peter's role in the events.

[25] John 13:9.
[26] John 13:8.
[27] Joan Esch, *La chiesa di San Pietro di Spoleto* (Firenze: Olschki, 1981), 100–101; see also Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Baptism of the Apostles," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9 (1956): 236.

1. 2. Technical and Stylistic Description of the Fragments

The material of the plaques is bronze[28], and their enameling is mostly champlevé but in the case of some decorative elements it is cloisonné. The technique is clearly visible on the damaged areas where the enamel fell out and the bronze body of the plaque is exposed (**fig. 1. 9**). Here, the bronze lines (of the main bronze body) dividing the different enamel beddings are also visible. The backs of the plaques are marked with three inscriptions. In the middle of the plaque of the Washing of the Feet "*DEX*" is inscribed (**fig. 1. 10**), indicating that it was the right plaque (from a frontal view of the reliquary). On the left plaque "*SIN*" is inscribed in the middle (**fig. 1. 11**), indicating that this was the left plaque, and at the bottom, the inscription "*INFE*" refers to the lower side of the plaque (**fig. 1. 12**).

The two plaques have a beaded outer surface with four holes on their outer edges. The left plaque also has a hole in the middle of its straight inner border. The background of the scenes is of turquoise and green champlevé enamel which contains cloisonné rosettes in light and dark blue. A cross-like pattern in yellow, white, and a darker turquoise is also cloisonné. In addition to these, four small circles of yellow also appear. Between the beaded edge and the background of the scenes, a thin line of enamel reaches around the compositions.

The architectural elements on the right were created by incision and enameling. The figures are created by engraving, except for the three apostles at the lower part of the left plaque. The elaborately enameled draperies are cut out from the composition above the feet. The two on the left are young apostles who look very similar, they have long hair, which appears to be extending to the central part of their foreheads. Their eyes and noses are large, and their facial features are formed by sharp lines. Their eyes, eyebrows, and noses are all

[28] The Kecskeméti Katona József Museum describes it as bronze, therefore in this thesis I will follow the museum's interpretation, but the material could also be another type of copper alloy.

created by very sharp, not always interconnecting lines. This results in elongated eyes, and noses with somewhat awkward recurving lines. Among the two, the one on the right has a bejeweled piece of fabric covering his shoulders and neck. The bearded enameled figure is one of the finest of the composition and it is clearly more complex in its enameling and engraving. His hair is also protruding to his forehead, and he has a distinct beard. His drapery is covering his body and seems to follow its movement.

The angels are different from the apostles. Their draperies are extremely elaborate and of high quality, but they are engraved and not enameled. While the faces of the angels are made with lines similar to those used for the apostles, they seem significantly more exaggerated. The draperies are clearly emphasizing their bodies and aid the expression of movement. Around their heads are haloes in yellow enamel and they both wear a bejeweled piece of clothing around their necks – the one on the right being more elaborate. Their wings are enormous and the one on the left presents it from the side, offering a beautiful view of its elegant design. Whereas the one on the left is notable for its movement, the one on the right can be praised for its natural and almost classical enthroned position from which he leans downwards.

The ascending Christ's clothing and body are even more elaborate than those of the angels. He is bearded, his eyes are turned upwards and because of this his irises/pupils appear to be way smaller than those of the others. A bejeweled fabric appears on several parts of his clothing, and it is even present on his banner. His cross and its banner are contributing to the effect of speed and to space creation. His halo is from yellow enamel, but it is interrupted by the cross arms in bronze.

The artist has used white and light blue enameling to create clouds for Christ and the angels, which are characterized by excessively wavy lines. A similar line appears to mark the sphere of God. There, the initial white of the wavy line is followed by two different lines of

enamel in light blue and dark blue, and finally, the space of God is marked by green and three incised stars.

The other plaque has a somewhat more complicated decoration due to the architectural parts and the environmental specifications. Fortunately, it also preserves some of its gilding. The figures on the right are damaged, but it is clearly visible that their engraved draperies are extremely complex and expressive. The haloes of Peter are in yellow enamel and Christ's cross in the halo is marked by turquoise. The architectural structure includes columns and a horizontal dividing line created by an arch, which is emphasized by two different types of blue enamel. The arch bears on its sides tower-like buildings. The central part of the structure is topped by a dome which has two windows filled with yellow enamel. The element covering the scene above also represents a variation of this, but with a less complex central dome that is executed fully in enamel. The windows emerging from the structures on the sides are marked mostly by turquoise and partly with yellow enamel. Yellow also appears in the columns along with blue, this combination is meant to imitate marble. An incised ornamentation, consisting of rectangles and vertical incisions, appears on the buildings. Another notable element of the scene, as mentioned above, is its aim to create a sense of environment. This is visible above in the creation of what appears to be an interior space with a much lighter blue enamel decoration and below in the yellow dots which might be stars. The seat of Peter is also marked by a characteristic line in yellow enamel. The basin uses many of the colors to enhance its quality.

After their discovery, the two reliquary plaques were immediately grouped together with the florally decorated copper strip (**fig. 1. 5; 2. 12–15**). The long and fragmented object was interpreted as the side cover. It is gilded and was also decorated with vernis brun which is barely visible today. The width of this strip is 5 cm. The longest fragment has a length of 40 cm, the middle one is 16 cm, and the shortest is 11 cm. It seems like an end fragment survived on the middle-sized piece since it terminates in a straight line on one end. All three parts share

the same pattern, but it is notable that none of the elements repeat and that there is variation even in the side vegetation that grows out from the borderline of the composition.

A fragment of a plaque with an embossed angel was discovered at the excavation site and was not assigned to the reliquary, however, as it will be illustrated below, it is clearly part of a reliquary fragment (**fig. 1. 13**). It consists of two parts, one is a corner fragment and the other may have been part of the center of the composition. The rectangular plaque was embellished with vernis brun. The composition is framed by the lack of vernis brun on the edge.

1. 3. The Origin of the Style: Rhine or Meuse?

The two plaques of Pétermonostora and their side cover were initially interpreted as a hybrid artwork produced in Cologne but also bearing the influence of Limoges. In contrast to this theory, based on a careful study of the artwork it is possible to assign it to a production of a specific Mosan school. This identification suggests that there are no signs of hybridity and that the object is related neither to Cologne nor to Limoges. Nevertheless, the technique and the style of the enamel should be briefly discussed here in relation to these artistic centers.

The technique of the Pétermonostora plaques is not the most common one among the enameled reliquaries of the period. Although one would fundamentally define the plaques as works with enamel decoration, many of the figures lack the enamel, and their appearance is determined by the engraving of their clothing and not by the enamel. The elegant and surprisingly complex engraving of the draperies presents the figures with a strong sense of plasticity. The artist not only mastered the elaborate flow of drapery but also had the sophistication to create areas where the clothing would attach itself to the limb of a figure – as we see on the leg of the ascending Christ.

Other than the enameling, the faces of the figures are decisive in giving a "stylistic identity" to the artist. The rendition of the oldest apostle on the Ascension plaque reaches the quality of the finest Mosan works with the exception of his nose which fails to follow a more sophisticated clear turn that is characteristic of the best Mosan works. While the older apostle's nose is not of the finest Mosan quality, overall, he is far from the "roughness" of the works characterizing the majority of Rhenish art, and other centers like Hildesheim.

Even if we look at elements of the plaques that appear in other artistic centers, their difference from them is evident. In many Rhenish or Saxon works there is a clear difference in the appearance of the figures. For example, a pyx from Hildesheim shares some similarities in its shape with the Pétermonostora reliquary plaques, however, its simplistic rendition of the faces and the impetuous movement of some of the figures signals a clear difference (**fig. 1. 14**).[29] A similar tendency can be observed when examining the St. Heribert shrine which seems to have certain elements that are shared with the Pétermonostora reliquary, but all these parts are somewhat distorted by the Rhenish taste/hands (**fig. 1. 15**).[30] The faces are much rounder, and the eyes are flatter and wider which all correspond to other Rhenish faces. In addition, the architecture and the clothing of the figures may seem similar at first glance, but they are also somewhat different. In fact, the resemblance comes from the Mosan impact on the artwork.[31]

1. 4. Tracing the Design: Decorative Indicators

In locating the style of the Pétermonostora enamels, a decoration, which at first sight may seem trivial, proves to be an important indicator. The textile band decoration ornamented with precious stones appears in several parts of the composition, for example on the upper part of

[29] Philippe Verdier, "The Cleveland Portable Altar from Hildesheim," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 61, no. 10 (1974): 339–42.
[30] Martin Seidler, *Der Schrein des Heiligen Heribert in Köln-Deutz* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016).
[31] Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 203.

Christ's mantle in the Ascension. We can state that the artist clearly favored this pattern. It consists of a central rhombus or a leaf-like motif which is surrounded by several smaller dots and circles. The same decoration transverses Christ's body above the foot at the lower end of the drapery. The pattern is irregular in both cases because the dots seem to take over the place of the regularly appearing large circles.

The central rhombus surrounded by four smaller circles finds its place in the decorative patterns of clothing and objects most commonly in the art of the 12th century (in most cases it is without the additional smaller dots). It does not indicate a particular site of production because this type of design appears both in Rhenish, Mosan, and even Limoges enamels. In general, it is truly widespread in the 12th century, but it also appears in earlier examples.[32] In the art of the Rhine Valley, the base plate of the Barbarossa Chandelier in the Cathedral of Aachen, made around 1170, bears this pattern on the mantle of the angel on the right, but here it is in a form of a more rationally spaced decoration (**fig. 1. 16**).[33] An artwork that has been described in relation to the base plate of Aachen is a *Maiestas Domini* depiction in a sacramentary from Cologne (Cologne, Dombibliothek no. 157) with a date around 1164 (**fig. 1. 17**).[34] The same pattern appears below the neck of Christ and in the form of a separate piece of textile it is also wrapped around the central part of his upper body. The drawing's origins can be traced back to the city of Liège, which is the most important city in the Mosan region.[35]

[32] For example, in drawings from the second part of the 11th century, see Melanie Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2009), 62. The decoration also appears in a dome reliquary made in Cologne around 1180, see Jörg-Holger Baumgarten, "Kuppelreliquiar," in *Ornamenta ecclesiae*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. II (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), 411–13. The bejeweled pattern was so common that it even appeared in the sphere of Limoges in the Eucharistic casket of Grandmont (1190–1195), see Gauthier, *Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, Émaux du moyen âge occidental,* Ill. 54.

[33] Dietrich Kötzsche, "Bodenplatten des Aachener Barbarossaleuchters," in *Rhein und Maas*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. I (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972), 268–69.

[34] Anton von Euw, "Sakramentar," in *Rhein und Maas*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. I (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972), 294.

[35] Alain Marchandisse and Marc Suttor, "L'histoire du pays mosan à l'èpoque romane (1000–1250)," in *L'art mosan: Liège et son pays à l'époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Benoit Van den Bossche (Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007), 37–60.

The *Maiestas Domini* has also been associated with what appears to be a truly important series of illustrations for determining the origin of the Pétermonostora plaques. Most of these are located in the so-called Mosan Psalter of Berlin (1160–1170, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS. 78 A 6).[36] The motif of the bejeweled textile appears in a great variety of locations throughout the scenes of the manuscript. In the scene of St. John the Baptist Preaching, the decoration is there on the lower edge of the clothing of the man next to the Baptist and on the clothing of the man behind him (**fig. 1. 18**). Notably, the pattern is in the same place as on the *Maiestas Domini*, right below the neck.[37] Other images from the codex also include the decoration with figures very similar to the Pétermonostora ones. The pattern presents itself on different parts of the tunics and textiles, on an elaborate decorative border or a separate piece of decorative clothing (**fig. 1. 19**), and even on the decoration of the chariot of Joseph (**fig. 1. 20**). Interestingly, it has been suggested that this codex was a pattern-book for Mosan goldsmiths.[38]

The master of the Mosan psalter also used one specific element that is relatively uncommon in the art of the period but also appears in the Pétermonostora reliquary. It is the ornamental disk that is present on the clothing of Melchizedek in the depiction of Abraham and Melchizedek in the Kupferstichkabinett MS (**fig. 1. 21**). The circular disk is there on Peter's and Christ's legs during the Washing of the Feet, on Peter's thigh above in the conversation scene, and it also appears on the ascending Christ's shoulder. The above-listed similarities

[36] The Mosan codex was formerly thought to be a psalter which only kept its images and lost the rest of the psalter. Since this interpretation is not likely, it is now often called a "pseudo psalter", see George, *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. I, 49; Balace, "Historiographie de l'art mosan," 511. For a detailed study see Elisabeth Klemm, *Ein romanischer Miniaturenzyklus aus dem Maasgebiet* (Wien: Adolf Holzhausens, 1973).
[37] Jacques Stiennon, "Fragmente eines Psalters," in *Rhein und Maas*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. I (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972), 296–97.
[38] Gretel Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph: A Mosan Enamel in the Walters Art Gallery," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980): 45–48; Eduard Sebald, "Fragment eines Psalters (?)," in *Ornamenta ecclesiae*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. I (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), 292–94.

indicate that the artist of the Pétermonostora plaques was familiar with these Mosan illustrations. Indeed, he did not stop at copying only the decorative patterns.

1. 5. The Mosan Manuscripts

There are two other manuscript fragments that are considered to be connected to the Berlin manuscript in some form, one is a folio preserved in Liège (**fig. 1. 22–23**), and the other is a folio from the Victoria and Albert Museum (**fig. 1. 24**). Karl Hermann Usener suggested that the so-called Wittert folio from Liège was part of the Berlin manuscript.[39] This is unlikely, but a more probable suggestion was provided by Paul Wescher who attributed both the Berlin manuscript and the Victoria and Albert Museum folio to the same hand.[40] The Liège folio's connection was clarified by Suzanne Collon-Gevaert who emphasized that the Berlin manuscript, the folio in the Wittert collection in Liège, and the other folio from the Victoria and Albert Museum all came from the same artist.[41]

Hanns Swarzenski, in his seminal work on church treasures, dedicated a few lines to the St. John scenes from the manuscript. He called it the "Liège picture book" and argued that the Berlin codex must have been one of the most complete biblical cycles in the West, which preserved parts of Early Christian visual narratives not found anywhere else. He also mentioned that it is possible that it was copied from an even earlier book.[42] Interestingly, he associated it with heavy Byzantine influence and connected it to sculptures and enamels of the shrines and

[39] Karl Hermann Usener, "Reiner von Huy und seine künstlerische Nachfolge," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 7, no. 1 (1933): 77–134.
[40] Paul Wescher, "Eine Miniaturenhandschrift des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Maasgegend," *Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* 49 (1928): 90–94; Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," 37.
[41] Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, "Quelques miniatures mosanes du XIIe siècle," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 2 (1933): 344–45. See also Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," 41; Balace, "Historiographie de l'art mosan," 511, 557.
[42] Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe* (London: Faber, 1974), 31; See also Hanns Swarzenski, *Mosaner Psalter-Fragment: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 78 A 6 aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz-Berlin* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974).

crosses associated with the work of Godefroy de Huy. Swarzenski also mentioned that it was possibly made to serve as a pattern book for Mosan artists.[43] A series of images from the manuscripts and of Mosan enamels collected and examined by Gretel Chapman reveals the similarity between the artist's work, the Mosan works in metal, and the Pétermonostora plaques.[44]

In the Wittert folio, the artist's aim to create a composition that takes up the entire space is impressive, through this, a scene is created that is organized vertically. On the other side of the folio, he divided the space to create two separate areas for different scenes that share the same theme (or the same story). The artist of the Pétermonostora plaques used the same layout of the two sides to create this unusual composition. The similarity between Abraham and the ascending Christ is the most obvious, but the rest of the vertical composition also corresponds to some extent, for example, the figures staring up from the bottom. In addition, there is an aim to separate the scene at the middle register, in this case not with the angels, but by using an almost frieze-like narrative layout and repeating the two protagonists. Furthermore, the engraving and the general style of the drawings reveal several similarities. The drapery of Abraham and that of the Christ in the Ascension are almost identical. This is most visible in the grouping of the drapery below the knee, the triangle-shaped folds between the legs, the large empty space left over the right leg, and the angular twist of the drapery next to the left foot (**fig 1. 25**).

The matching layout of the composition and the style demonstrates that the artist of the Pétermonostora reliquary was creating this unusual composition with the help of these drawings, – or copies after these compositions – especially with that of the Sacrifice of Isaac and, very conveniently, the other side of the folio showing the two scenes of blessing. In the

[43] Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, 31.
[44] Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," 34–59.

design of the complicated layout of the Washing of the Feet, the other side of the Wittert folio may have been helpful to the artist. His goal was to create a composition that recounts a story (or theme) on one plaque in two registers. Whether the artist created the Ascension first from the Sacrifice of Isaac or the Washing of the Feet scenes from the scenes of Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph and Jacob Blessing His Sons is not known, however, it appears as if he decided to use both sides to solve the problematic layout.

Other figures from the Berlin manuscript also have many similarities with those of the two plaques. There is a whole group of young men who share an abundance of matching and similar traits with the young apostles of Pétermonostora. Other than their general physiognomic traits, their hair extending to their forehead, their strangely shaped large noses, the lines between their noses and eyes, and the outer lines of their eyes, which are not meeting on the edges of the eyes, are all matching (**fig. 1. 26**). The bejeweled clothing pattern appears on many of them including the same neckwear that is present on the angel on the right (**fig. 1. 19**). The older apostle has similarities with a group of bearded figures from the same manuscript, for example, in the case of the hair, the "open eye design", the handling of the nose (in this case with a wedge-like line), and the beard (**fig. 1. 27**). The composition that contains all the three types of figures that were a direct influence on the Pétermonostora apostles is the Jacob Sending His Sons to Egypt from the Berlin psalter (**fig. 1. 28**). Here the young man with a hat close to the camels is like the two young apostles of Pétermonostora. The bearded son standing closest to the sitting Jacob is similar in appearance to the older apostle of the Ascension. The enthroned Jacob also seems to share some aspects with this figure from Pétermonostora, especially the impression of his long beard and hair. This scene is also relevant for the sitting position which may have influenced the Washing of the Feet scene, while clearly being somewhat different. Moreover, the hand gesture of Jacob and the bearded son is an exact match of the hand in the Washing of the Feet, except that there it is reversed. The lifted leg seems to complicate the

scene, but the angels of the Berlin psalter's Jacob's Ladder (**fig. 1. 29**) and their climbing legs may have served as an additional model for the feet washing.

General similarities can be seen between the ascending Christ of Pétermonostora and John the Baptist in the scene of the Baptism (**fig. 1. 30**). In addition, the general design of the Liège folio (which also appears in Berlin) is present even in the enamel. This is most visible in the characteristic folds of the drapery between the legs of Isaac and the enameled garb of the young apostles of Pétermonostora. And finally, truly striking is the use of the same design of drapery on the dress of Sarah in the scene of the Beating of Hagar and in the ascending Christ's drapery (**fig. 1. 31**).

The determination of the origin of the architectural background used on the left plaque is not without any difficulty. The Berlin Psalter has scenes with architectural backgrounds and frames, but none of them is a complete match. The closest resemblance can be seen in the scene of Christ in the Temple (**fig. 1. 32**) where similar columns surround the scene, and the two lateral arches, just like the ones on the plaques of Pétermonostora, are using a transition from a brighter blue to a darker one. The central arch surrounded by towers, which have windows in their roofs, could be related to the Washing of the Feet scenes. And in general, the two scenes of the Washing of the Feet seem to divide the Christ in the Temple composition's architectural part, since the discussion of Peter takes place under one wide arch, and the lower scene unfolds between two abrupt arches resembling the lateral arches of the Berlin psalter composition. The emphasis on the depiction of the tile decoration is also present in both designs. Furthermore, the child Christ could be in some ways related to the Christs of the right plaque, at least in his hair, even if they survive in very damaged conditions.[45]

[45] Draperies present on the figures of the Floreffe Bible (British Library, Add MS 17737–38) also seem to have some elements in common with the Pétermonostora scenes. Nevertheless, these seem to be somewhat different in their exaggerated lines. Where the engraved draperies of Pétermonostora aim to create an elaborate system of real clothing, the draperies of Floreffe are just overly decorated. In addition, some of the figures and elements of composition are similar, but they might be a result of a common source and not a result of a direct connection.

1. 6. A Group of Mosan Enamels

Based on Collon-Gevaert's identification and suggestion one would have to assign the manuscript to the area of Liège, in fact, she connected it to the city because of its resemblance to the precious metal objects.[46] This does not indicate that the Pétermonostora reliquary was made in Liège, however, it does suggest that the workshop or artist responsible for its production had certainly been truly familiar with the production of Liège and drawings of the manuscript artist. Another interesting connection was pointed out by Gretel Chapman who described an enamel plaque in the Trier Domschatz (**fig. 1. 33**) as the most closely related enamel object to the Wittert folio.[47] The plaque has the same blessing composition. Chapman's suggested connection is intriguing because it is likely that the Trier plaque formed one phylactery with a series of plaques in London.[48] This connection makes perfect sense if we examine the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the London plaques (**fig. 1. 34; 2. 2–3**). What is immediately apparent is the connection between this work and the Wittert folio which is clearly visible in the figure of the angel. The two angels of Pétermonostora seem to be a reworked version of the manuscript angel and they may be a workshop variant of the London plaque's angel. The connection between the three is extremely striking in the gesture of the right hand but it also seems as if the Pétermonostora angels were created by inventing two different angels from a combination of the Wittert and the London angels' faces. Because of this, I would suggest that the plaques of Pétermonostora were made after the plaques of London.

For the Floreffe Bible see most recently Jacqueline LecLercq-Marx, "Autour de la Bible de Floreffe (région mosane, c. 1160): questions d'iconographie," in *L'art mosan: un art entre Seine et Rhin? Réflexions, bilans, perspectives. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Liège-Namur 7-8-9 octobre 2015*, ed. Sophie Balace, Mathieu Piavaux, and Benoit Van den Bossche (Bruxelles: Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 2019), 71–83.

[46] Collon-Gevaert, "Quelques miniatures mosanes du XIIe siècle," 345.

[47] Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," note 15.

[48] Kahsnitz, "Sieben halbrunde Emails in Nürnberg, London und Trier: zwei maasländische Phylakterien des 12. Jahrhunderts," esp. 118–119; Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II, cat. 5–8

In other works that were created in the vicinity of Liège, we may identify several characteristics of the Pétermonostora plaques.[49] A particularly fascinating object is the Stavelot Portable Altar (**fig. 1. 35**).[50] The artwork was made in the 1160s and probably served as the prototype of many enameled metalworks including the Pétermonostora reliquary. The portable altar's compositions are portrayed on an enamel surface just like the plaques of Pétermonostora. Furthermore, the two objects also share the enameled background in similar colors. The Stavelot Portable Altar also contains many kneeling figures which may have contributed to the design of the kneeling Christ's rendition on the Pétermonostora reliquary. These kneeling or lying figures also appear in several cases on a work connected to the Stavelot Portable Altar.[51] The portable altar is in its style less refined when compared with the Pétermonostora plaques. Nevertheless, one has to consider that the latter were much larger and allowed the artist more space to portray expressions and faces. The portable altar has clear similarities with the Liège manuscript artist's works. It seems to share with these illustrations and the Pétermonostora Ascension the divine sphere and especially the design of its wavy edge with the transition from white to blue (**fig. 1. 36**). Stavelot is also relevant as a center of goldsmiths in the 1150s and 1160s since many artists must have worked on the projects initiated by Abbot Wibald (d. 1158), and it is very likely that the artist of the Pétermonostora plaques was participating in those works since as it will be shown in Chapter Two, it is a site that is

[49] There are several enamel plaques that are using figures or elements of these figures that are similar to the Pétermonostora ones, however, one has to be aware of the difference in the execution of some of these. Some are better in quality, and some are worse, but ultimately, they seem different from the Pétermonostora figures while retaining these elements of similarities. This is because the artists were not directly connected to the artist/workshop responsible for producing the Pétermonostora plaques but were only using the same models and a common 'Mosan visual world'.

[50] Henriet, "Relire l'autel portatif de Stavelot," 179–208.

[51] Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, "Un autel portatif Mosan de Florence et les miniatures d'Echternach," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 5 (1933): 112–15; Joyce Brodsky, "The Stavelot Triptych: Notes on a Mosan Work," *Gesta* 11, no. 1 (1972): 22–23.

relevant for the shape too.[52] The Pétermonostra plaques were made after the Stavelot Portable Altar, and it is very likely that they were produced soon after the London phylactery plaques.

1. 7. The Issue of Limoges

The figurative design clearly points to the Meuse Valley and not to Cologne, however, the question of Limoges still remains to be addressed in connection with the plaques. One of the most well-known events of diffusion of the style so characteristic of Limoges and its surroundings is connected to monks who traveled from the center of the Limoges enamel production area to Cologne and Siegburg.[53] The records of these journeys, however, do not prove much about the spread of the technique and the style.[54] These documents most likely attest to one among many undocumented instances of the spread of the style of Limoges across Latin Europe.

Etele Kiss based his theory about the plaques of Pétermonostora on this famous interaction, and he thought that what appeared to him as stylistic traits referring to Limoges were indicating that this was a result of this interaction.[55] In contrast, these objects connected to Limoges are different in their appearance and most of them are clearly another formulation of Limoges enamels.[56] The elements from Limoges are also problematic in their dating. It can be said that if the plaques were inspired by the art of Limoges in their rosettes, then they were made after 1180 at the earliest, but not before, simply because the style does not appear before

[52] The architectural background of the Washing of the Feet plaque has an empty space below its lower dome and above the upper left column's capital, this solution also occurs on the Remaclus Retable's architectural decoration.
[53] Kötzsche, "Limoges et le Saint Empire," 317–40.
[54] On Limoges and the Meuse Valley see Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "Émaillerie mosane et émaillerie limousine," in *l'art mosan. Journées d'études*, ed. Pierre Francastel (Paris: Colin, 1953), 127–37; Albert Lemeunier, "Limoges et l'art mosan. Concordances et différences, dans le catalogue de l'exposition Émaux de Limoges, XIIe–XIXe siècle, Namur," in *Émaux de Limoges XIIe–XIXe siècle* (Namur: Société Archéologique de Namur, 1996), 43–52; Balace, "Historiographie de l'art mosan," 134–42.
[55] Kiss, "Az Árpád-kori magyar egyházak felszerelése" [The Artworks of Churches in Árpádian-age Hungary], 283; Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora], 204, note 24.
[56] Gauthier, "Émaillerie mosane et émaillerie limousine," 127–37; Kötzsche, "Limoges et le Saint Empire," 335–40.

that date. However, an early date is not likely, and it seems that a date from the mid-1180s or even the 1190s would be more likely since these early works were probably spreading slowly. Therefore, there is a clear problem with the Limoges elements from the perspective of dating. A closer examination of the motifs attributed to Limoges will reveal that the conflicted dating is not the only problematic element.

A particularly interesting part of the decoration that could be related to Limoges at first glance is the use of small crosses. In Mosan works, the motif of the small crosses appears on a cross in the British Museum, known as the London-Berlin cross since its other side is in Berlin (**fig. 1. 37**).[57] Here, they are not located in the zone of the scenes, but they are used for creating ornamental segments in several sections of the main body.[58] This artwork is also copying the Wittert folio blessing scene, or other enamels reinterpreting that scene.[59] In another Mosan cross in the Walters Art Museum, the small cross decoration appears in the enameled background of the crucifixion (**fig. 1. 38**).[60] On this cross the similarity of Christ to the Pétermonostora Christ is also notable.

The floral motifs could also be misinterpreted for the rosette decoration of Limoges enamels. However, a very similar design can be seen on the Triptych Reliquary of the Holy Cross from Liège, which contains a plaque with a rosette decoration on a turquoise background (**fig. 1. 39**).[61] There are two kinds of rosette variations on the Pétermonostora plaques, one is a

[57] Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II, cat. 4; Lindsay Corbett, "Liturgical Polyvalence and the Potential of Performance: Reassessing the London-Berlin Cross" (Master, Montréal, McGill University, 2017).
[58] Another similar cross also uses a cloisonné design, see Camille Broucke, "Une grande croix émaillée mosane reconstituée vers 1160–1170 (Louvre, Stuttgart, Cologne et Nantes)," in *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. II, ed. Philippe George, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016), 147.
[59] Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," 42–43.
[60] Philippe Verdier, "Un monument inédit de l'art mosan du XIIe siècle. La crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 30 (1961): 115–75.
[61] Philippe George, "De l'interdisciplinarité: à propos du triptyque de la Sainte Croix à Liège," in *De la passion à la création: hommage à Alain Erlande-Brandenburg*, ed. Miljenko Jurković, Dissertationes et monographiae 9 (Zagreb: Motovun, 2017), 109–17.

standard floral motif, but the other one looks like a rhombus-shaped rosette. The second type also appears on the London-Berlin cross on the sides of the cross and it implies that the circular one is just a different variation of this rhombus-rosette and has not much in common with the decoration type used in the artworks of Limoges which is often gilded at the edge and generally uses a richer color scheme.[62]

The last element that could be connected to Limoges is the group of yellow circles that appear on the lower section of the right plaque. Similar dots are common in works from Limoges, however, compared to those, these are not as formulated and they are missing a clear frame, and most importantly in Limoges, they are created with gilding and not with enameling. There are only four dots, and they are all located in one place in contrast to Limoges where they appear all over the decorated surface. Furthermore, similarly to the rosettes, the first examples of these dots appear around 1180 and they become common by 1190. Therefore, just like in the case of the rosettes, they are too late for the Pétermonostora plaques. I would suggest that the restricted appearance is meant to give an environmental specification by referring to stars. This works well with the scene above in which the artist may have tried to illustrate an interior by using blue enameling between the two figures.

1. 8. The Style of the Side Cover and the Angel Plaque

In addition to the design of the plaques, the style of the Pétermonostora reliquary's side cover and the plaque with the angel can also tell us about the origin of the artwork. The Pétermonostora reliquary's strip is particular since it has a circle that encloses each one of the main flowers (**fig. 1. 5; 2. 12–15**). Notably, the circles are not part of the structure of the

[62] The decoration also occurs in artworks connected to Hildesheim, however, there the style of the figures and the compositions are completely different, see Dorothee Kemper, *Die Hildesheimer Emailarbeiten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Objekte und Eliten in Hildesheim 1130 bis 1250 (Regensburg; Hildesheim: Schnell & Steiner; Bernward Medien, 2020).

flowers, as the artist decided to use this as an artificial barrier, which gives a remarkable appearance to each part and emphasizes the beauty of their execution. Analogies do exist in works of metal, such as a similar strip on the Shrine of St. Felicitas in Münster (**fig. 1. 40**)[63] or in a plaque that recently surfaced at an auction and was assigned to a Mosan workshop (**fig. 1. 41**).[64] Other artworks that bear similar plaques are, for example, the Shrine of St. Oda in the British Museum (**fig. 1. 42**),[65] the Shrine of St. Servatius (**fig. 1. 43**),[66] the purse reliquary in the Maastricht Treasury (**fig. 1. 44**).[67] However, their designs are not fully matching and seem to be inferior to the detailed execution of the Pétermonostora side cover. This difference is particularly visible in the extensive and finely worked variously shaped plaques of the Reliquary of St. Monulphe in Brussels (**fig. 1. 45**; originally from the St. Servatius Shrine of Maastricht).[68] The Pétermonostora strip is notable for its extremely high quality and aesthetic sense among all of these plaques and side covers. Its closest match in style is not to be found in small plaques or side covers, but in the back of a phylactery reliquary in St. Petersburg (**fig. 1. 46**).[69] Just like the Pétermonostora side cover, the St. Petersburg reliquary's back plaque is made by gilding the background and not the leaves. This dynamically changing floral composition in separate circles seems to be very popular already in the 1160s when it appears in the Pentecost Retable of Stavelot where some leaves are resembling the Pétermonostora side

[63] Gerd Althoff, ed., *Goldene Pracht: Mittelalterliche Schatzkunst in Westfalen* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2012), 88, 358.
[64] Lot-art, LOT 30561501.
[65] Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II, cat. 17
[66] Renate Kroos, *Der Schrein des Heiligen Servatius in Maastricht und die vier zugehörigen Reliquiare in Brüssel* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985).
[67] Henk van Os, ed., *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages* (Baarn: De Prom, 2001), 73.
[68] Sophie Balace, "Pignon-reliquaire de saint Monulphe," in *La salle aux trésors*, ed. Claire Dumortier (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 44–45.
[69] van Os, *The Way to Heaven*, 120–22.

cover's decoration.[70] Both the Retable of Stavelot and the St. Petersburg phylactery had been formerly associated with Godefroy de Huy or his circle.[71]

The Stavelot Portable Altar is also interesting in relation to the Pétermonostora side cover and angel fragment (**fig. 1. 47**). Even though the floral pattern on the back of the portable altar is different from the carefully outlined and dynamically changing leaves of the Pétermonostora strip, its initial impact and its usage are surprisingly similar.[72] Here, the Triptych Reliquary of the True Cross (Guennol Triptych) can also be mentioned since the backside of the two triptych wings bears a similar decoration also in vernis brun (**fig. 1. 48**).[73] The back of another phylactery from Lobbes (**fig. 1. 49**) and – as mentioned above – the back of the phylactery of the Hermitage have floral decorations that are like the Pétermonostora side decorations, and the back of a phylactery from Cleveland can also be listed here (**fig. 1. 50**).[74] Moreover, the design in vernis brun matches the technique of the Pétermonostora angel fragment (**fig. 1. 13**), as it will be discussed in Chapter Two.

The fragment depicting the angel was found in the debris of the basilica just a few meters away from the two plaques (**fig. 1. 6–7**). Szabolcs Rosta, the excavating archeologist, has also pointed out the articulation of the direction of the hair near the ear in the case of both angels on the enamel plaque and the gilded angel of the fragment.[75] The appearance of the mouth also suggests a connection. The similarity of the technique – discussed in Chapter Two

[70] See for example Pentcheva, "Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image," esp. 19: "Stavelot film."
[71] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Oeuvres d'art mosan au Musée de l'Ermitage à Léningrad," 94; This association, however, has been applied to many artworks of different styles, see Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique*, 149.
[72] For the discussion of the back see Henriet, "Relire l'autel portatif de Stavelot," 189–90.
[73] Holger A. Klein, "Triptych of the True Cross," in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli et al. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 180–81.
[74] Paul Williamson, *The Wyvern Collection: Medieval and Renaissance Enamels and Other Works of Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2021), 58–63; The image of the hand of God in the middle of the back is a result of an alteration, as is the exposed core in the front; Martina Bagnoli et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), cat. 180.
[75] Szabolcs Rosta, personal communication, 25 April 2022.

– and the style (with some differences, such as the outlining of the halo) creates the possibility for the plaque to be part of the reliquary.

Overall, it can be said that the reliquary fragments seem to be related to the workshops at Stavelot in the 1160s. The side cover is also using a tradition present in Stavelot. The plaques are originating from the Liège manuscript artist's works and use the style and technique of the portable altar from Stavelot. The artist of the Pétermonostora plaques was probably participating in some works related to Stavelot and was later also inspired by the use of cloisonné enamels while keeping the tradition present in the Stavelot Portable Altar. Other than the use of mixed enamels, the iconographic similarities and the matching characteristics in the figures, especially the angels, may indicate that the artist of the Pétermonostora plaques was also in contact with the artist(s) of the London-Berlin cross and the London phylactery plaques.

2. The Reliquary's Shape

2. 1. The Two Enamel Plaques

The surviving fragments indicate that the shape of the Pétermonostora reliquary was not a common one. Originally, the reliquary was considered to be a fully circular one by the excavating archeologist (**fig. 2. 1**).[76] In this reconstruction, the two plaques met in the middle, however, as I will illustrate below this is unlikely since similar plaques and techniques point to another shape with different variations.

Among the closest examples is a group of Mosan artworks kept in the British Museum (**fig. 1. 34; 2. 2–3**) from which a plaque was also mentioned above in connection with the style of the Pétermonostora plaques. It is likely that these plaques in London formed one reliquary which was originally located in the Prüm Abbey.[77] The similarity of the two reliquaries is especially evident in the treatment of the edge and the location of the pinholes. The pinholes are almost in the same location on the plaque showing Moses with the Brazen Serpent as on the Pétermonostora plaques (**fig. 2. 3**), however, their placement is not as evident on the Pétermonostora reliquary due to the larger size of the plaques. The holes and the lack of any attachment that would indicate their use as moveable covers also suggest that the plaques were fixed. As an interesting point of divergence, the Moses plaque is lacking the pinhole in the middle of the inner part of the object. While the left side of the Pétermonostora reliquary bears this pinhole, the right side does not.

[76] *Az Aranymonostor ereklyéje* [The Relic of the Golden Monastery].
[77] Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II, 5–8.

The exact shape of the Pétermonostora reliquary is unknown. It may be a rather unusual reliquary, but based on the examples of complete phylacteries and partial remains like the "Prüm Abbey piece", it can be suggested that the work belonged to a larger structure that could have included other enamel plaques. As mentioned above, the thin strip of gilded copper with floral decoration – discovered in the debris of the basilica – was possibly belonging to the side decoration. If it covered the sides of the reliquary, we could imagine it as the side of many Mosan phylactery reliquaries, such as the one in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**fig. 2. 4**),[78] or the one in St. Petersburg which, as described above, is also relevant for the decoration of its back cover.[79] Another good example of such an object would be the mentioned Lobbes phylactery, which depicts scenes connected to the discovery of the True Cross and may have served as a reliquary of a fragment of the True Cross (**fig. 2. 5**).[80]

Phylacteries were especially popular in 12th- and 13th-century Mosan art.[81] In Late Antiquity, phylacteries were worn as amulets and were considered to be protecting their owners.[82] It is in the 19th century that scholars started naming the large polylobed Mosan

[78] Stephen Nicholas Fliegel, "XV. Phylactère," in *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. I, ed. Philippe George, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2014), 114–18.
[79] Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Oeuvres d'art mosan au Musée de l'Ermitage à Léningrad," 91–94.
[80] Étienne Bertrand, "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes," in *L'oeuvre de la Meuse* , vol. I, ed. Philippe George (Liège: Feuillets de la Cathédrale de Liège, 2014), 111–13.
[81] On phylacteries see Konrad Hoffman, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 180; Étienne Bertrand, "Phylactères," in *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. I, ed. Philippe George (Liège: Feuillets de la Cathédrale de Liège, 2014), 104–10; Bertrand, "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes," 111–13; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Oeuvres d'art mosan au Musée de l'Ermitage à Léningrad," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 44, no. 2 (1975): 91–93; Rainer Kahsnitz, "Sieben halbrunde Emails in Nürnberg, London und Trier. Zwei maasländische Phylakterien des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Anzeiger des Germanisches Nationalmuseums* (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1992); Albert Lemeunier, "Essai de reconstitution d'un phylactère mosan," *Revue belge d''archéologie et d''histoire de l''art* 65 (1996): 27–39; Jean-Claude Ghislain, "Les émaux romans de style mosan d'un reliquaire au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Guy Baillet à Langres," in *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, vol. II, ed. Philippe George, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016), 147; Heather Egan, "Les phylactères mosans. Notes sur leur signification métaphorique et fonctionnelle," in *L'art mosan: Liège et son pays à l'époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Benoit Van den Bossche (Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007), 152–53.
[82] Nino Zchomelidse, "Deus-Homo-Imago: Representing the Divine in the Twelfth Century," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2010), 122; Kahsnitz, "Sieben halbrunde Emails in Nürnberg, London und Trier: zwei maasländische Phylakterien des 12. Jahrhunderts," 111; Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1940), 23–27, 295–300; Don C. Skemer,

reliquaries as phylacteries.[83] The specific shape for reliquaries was invented by the goldsmiths of the Meuse Valley.[84] It seems that they started to create them in the middle part of the 12th century and the production continued into the 13th century when even other production centers would make them with different characteristics.[85] Usually, they include forms of plaques, rhombuses, or polylobed shapes with a size of around 20–25 cm and a depth of a few centimeters. The metal surface is covering a wooden core, which is most often made from oak. It is inside this oak covering that the relics are placed. The relic was in most cases accessible from a door placed on the back part of the object.[86]

The importance of the front as a representative side and the back as a functional space is also visible in the difference between the decoration of the two sides. While the front would be decorated with enamels and gilded plaques with precious stones, the back usually appears to be generally vernis brun or simply copper which often contains an engraving.[87] In several cases, inscriptions appear on the back.

Phylacteries are a perfect example of the deep theological and intellectual nature of the works of Mosan artists which André Grabar has defined as "ultra intellectual".[88] Even if the shape of the Pétermonostora reliquary did not resemble a typical phylactery (maybe only two plaques and a rectangular center formed the reliquary), the pinholes and the side cover indicate a type of assembly that was typical of phylacteries, moreover, the use of different decorative techniques also show that the Pétermonostora reliquary was following the technical construction of phylacteries. Therefore, the technical similarity also confirms the Mosan origin.

Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages, Magic in History (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 11–12.

[83] Zchomelidse, "Deus-Homo-Imago: Representing the Divine in the Twelfth Century," 123.

[84] Bertrand, "Phylactères," 106.

[85] Christine Descatoire, "Un reliquaire original: le phylactère," in *Une renaissance: l'art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013), 167–69.

[86] Bertrand, "Phylactères," 106.

[87] Bertrand, "Phylactères," 106.

[88] André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting* (New York: Skira, 1958), 121.

2. 2. Narrative and Communicative Function

Mosan phylactery reliquaries also had an impact on portable altars, such as that of Stavelot, and on stained glass. The latter is visible in the four-lobed example of Châlons-en Champagne (Châlons-sur Marne).[89] From the valley of the Meuse, there are a few extant phylactery reliquaries that remain, and in addition to these, there are several plaques.[90] As mentioned above, one of the closest surviving phylacteries based on the form and the content of the plaques is the Lobbes phylactery. This reliquary does not only present us with allegorical figures and angels, but it shows us narrative scenes. There are other phylactery plaques with narratives, however, the compositions of Lobbes appear to be comfortable in their space just as the Pétermonostora scenes. Another similar presentation of a narrative is present in the above-mentioned London phylactery. A notable part of many phylacteries is their exposition. Many of them were most likely hung from above which would have also allowed them to be carried in processions.[91]

Some phylacteries are assumed to have carried pieces of the Holy Cross.[92] The shape of the phylactery was ideal for a theme related to the cross since iconographically the form was conceived as a specific type of cross. In the case of phylacteries which did not contain a piece of the cross, the shape would have created an intriguing dialogue between the death of Christ and the martyrdom of saints depicted on the phylactery.[93]

[89] See Bertrand, "Phylactères," 107; Sophie Balace, "L'art mosan versus l'art de la France du Nord," in *Une renaissance: l'art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013), 37–44; C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200*, Yale University Press Pelican History of Art (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 383, 384; Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de Châlons-sur-Marne et l'art mosan," in *Relations artistiques entre la France et les autres pays depuis le haut Moyen Âge jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle: Actes du XIXe Congrès international d'histoire de l'art, Paris, 8-13 septembre 1958* (Paris: A. Bontemps, 1959), 188; Louis Grodecki, "Vitraux de la cathédrale de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1950, no. 1 (1954): 199.
[90] Bertrand, "Phylactères," 108.
[91] Bertrand, "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes," 111.
[92] Bertrand, "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes," 111; Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, trans. Lee Preedy (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97–103.
[93] Hoffman, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 181.

An interesting observation can be made regarding the iconographic communication of phylacteries when the phylactery on the St. Valentine Reliquary is examined, which like the St. Monulphe Reliquary was part of the St. Servatius Shrine (**fig. 2. 6**).[94] The different parts of the phylactery all provide a certain characteristic related to the presence of the saint located inside. In the center, we find the armed *Veritas*, and around him *Spes*, *Caritas*, *Fides*, and *Iustitia* all stand for certain values that the saint's remains embody.[95] Thus, phylacteries had a way of communicating separate ideas through individual plaques which were all creating the identity of the 'object' deposited inside the reliquary. This iconographic novelty of the composition is used in a very poetic way, and it may have been absolutely relevant for the plaques of Pétermonostora.

The Lobbes phylactery has representations that are directly connected to its function as a reliquary of the True Cross. Its two focal points are the True Cross and St. Helena, meaning that it is a reliquary specifically dedicated to the Finding of the True Cross. The scenes of the phylactery depict and show the cross in two cases: At the bottom, Judas Cyriacus finds the True Cross and, in the scene on the top, we see the cross resurrecting a dead man. The two other scenes do not show it, but they are also part of the narrative of the invention. On the left, we see Helena asking the advice of the Jews and on the right Judas is frightened by the fire. Therefore, all the scenes are referring to the central object in a direct manner, and half of them show it directly. The communicative capacity of the Reliquary of Pétermonostora is somewhat similar. The scenes on the right side are clearly referring to one story. They not only present the narrative but also reaffirm specific points about the importance of humility. The idea of humility is paired with the importance of Peter as a representative of the apostles and humanity in the conversation with Christ. Interestingly, the vertically unfolding story plays with the idea

[94] Sophie Balace, "Pignon-reliquaire de saint Valentin," in *La salle aux trésors*, ed. Claire Dumortier (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 46–7.
[95] Hoffman, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 170.

of height and heaven. When Christ says *SI • N • N • ERIs MECV* which stands for "*si non* [*lavero te*]*, non eris mecum*" ("Unless, I wash you, you will not be with me"),[96] he refers to the future and possibly to heaven. This is also evident from what he says at the beginning of this event (not shown here): "You do not realize now what I am doing, but later you will understand."[97] In the lower register, Christ is located slightly below Peter in an equal position. The scene is clearly centered on the lower part and even though the figures are not standing, their space is much shorter which forces them to be crowded into the lower left corner of the plaque. The two registers are using their position in the vertical order to express their relation to 'lower' or 'higher' ideas. The other plaque confirms the relevance of this organization since it also follows a composition from Earth to Heaven. The apostles, almost at the same height as the Washing of the Feet, are staring upwards in wonder. The two angels mark the border between Earth and the beginning of Heaven, while Christ above them, at the height of the 'argument' of Peter and Christ, is reaching for the hand of God. It is notable that the two angels are dividing the space just like the architecture on the other plaque. They are like the two structural parts located above the capitals on the right and the shape of their scrolls and wings are like the arches.

2. 3. The Largest Existing Phylactery Plaques

The Phylactery of Pétermonostora must have been more than twice the size (c. 50 cm x 50 cm instead of 23 cm x 23 cm) of the majority of phylacteries which means its remains constitute the fragments of the largest extant reliquary of this type. Yet, simply the size of its enamels is already exceptional, but the size itself does not indicate that we should envision the reliquary as a different or even as a radically new form of a reliquary since it is using an already well-functioning technical construction. Therefore, even if the interpretation of the object as a large

[96] John 13:8.
[97] John 13:7.

phylactery may seem radical, it is actually a moderate interpretation in contrast to appearances like the one envisioned previously by Rosta.

In Stavelot, the lost Retable of St. Remaclus (**fig. 2. 7**), which was commissioned by Abbot Wibald and was destroyed in the 17th century, contained a phylactery-shaped artwork that had plaques that were slightly wider than the remaining two enamel medallions of *Fides* and *Operatio*, each 14 cm, and were almost two times their height.[98] This would mean that the plaques of the phylactery-shaped part were very similar in size to the Pétermonostora plaques. While most of the Stavelot Retable was a gilded embossed composition, the four main plaques of the in-built 'phylactery' were enamels, which makes it crucial for the Pétermonostora plaques. [99]

The iconography, the composition, and the ratio of the decoration at Stavelot were similar to the St. Petersburg Mosan phylactery's appearance which on its backside, as discussed above, had a floral decoration that is similar in its conception to the Pétermonostora reliquary's side cover. Since this lost work from Stavelot is the only one containing similarly sized enamel plaques, it is very likely that it is in some way connected to the Pétermonostra one especially because of the additional connection with the phylactery in St. Petersburg. This would suggest that the reliquary may have been connected to the altar in a similar way. Yet, I would suggest a free-standing location, since if we accept the angel fragment as the backside of the object, then it was either located on a stand or it had a similar appearance to the Stavelot retable, but in this case, it would have been hanging above the altar or in front of it in the choir.[100] This reference to Stavelot is an intriguing addition to the remarks made in the section dedicated to

[98] Gearhart, "Memory, Making, and Duty in the Remaclus Retable of Stavelot," 141–42; Hadrien Kockerols, "Découverte d'un second dessin du retable de Saint Remacle à Stavelot," in *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'Oeuvre de la Meuse*, ed. Philippe George, vol. II, Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège (Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016), 209–35.
[99] Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 194.
[100] For example, in the case of the Lobbes phylactery and the Cleveland phylactery the ring on their top indicates that they were most likely exhibited in a hanging position.

the style and serves as another important link between the Reliquary of Pétermonostora and Stavelot.

2. 4. The Angel Plaque

The central plaque of the backside of the St. Petersburg phylactery has a gilded framing in its corner that is much like the frame appearing on the fragment depicting an angel from Pétermonostora (**fig. 1. 13**). Angels appear as an iconographic motif on the front and backsides of Mosan reliquaries. In the Brussels Art and History Museum, the backside of the Florennes Triptych, dated around 1200, preserves several angels in vernis brun (**fig. 2. 8**).[101] On the St. Valentine Reliquary, around the phylactery, there are four angels in similar positions. Even though these are engraved, above them appears the embossed figure of the saint, which is similar in its impact to the Pétermonostora angel. Angels also appear on the back of the Waulsort Phylactery in Namur (**fig. 2. 9**).[102]

The vernis brun back covers were important elements of both phylacteries and portable altars. This is not only valid for the Meuse area, but there are examples even from Hildesheim (**fig. 2. 10**).[103] On the other hand, the fragment of the angel from Pétermonostora appears to be much more elaborate than these plaques since it is also embossed. The elaborate execution of the fragment indicates that this would have been a visible part of the object. As mentioned already in the stylistic analysis, the angel plaque seems to share similarities with the two reliquary plaques and the side cover. I would propose that this fragment belongs to the backside of the reliquary. In the case of phylacteries, it was common to have a simpler, yet similar quality

[101] Sophie Balace, "Triptyque de Florennes," in *La salle aux trésors*, ed. Claire Dumortier (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 52–53.
[102] Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, 73–74; Verdier, "Un monument inédit de l'art mosan du XIIe siècle. La crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery," 144–47.
[103] Paul Williamson, *The Medieval Treasury: The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986), 114–15.

back cover, which was rectangular and frequently used the same type of decoration in vernis brun.[104] If the composition was symmetric, then there were three other figures in each of the corners (**fig. 2. 11**). The angel is 10 cm tall and approximately 9 cm wide (with the missing hand). If the composition was following the size of the height of the enamel plaques, then we have to calculate with 25 cm. This would mean that the 9 cm wide angel was followed by an approximately 7 cm wide empty space which may have held a narrower composition in the middle and would have been followed by another angel of 9 cm. The same is valid for the height, the 10 cm for the angel should be assigned two times and then 5 cm would have been empty or part of another composition.

2. 5. The Side Cover

The interpretation of the gilded copper strip (**fig. 1. 5; 2. 12–15**) as a side cover for the reliquary is a likely possibility for both the phylactery and for the alternative idea of a circular reliquary where the two plaques are placed together in the middle. Many phylacteries are decorated in a similar way, some are using separate pieces, and some are encircled by an uninterrupted side cover. There are two sets of two holes on the longest and the middle-sized strip. The two holes appearing on the smaller and bent strip (**fig. 2. 12**) do not seem to match those at the right end of the long strip (**fig. 2. 13**; one was lost during the restoration due to corrosion but is still visible in this photograph).[105] The holes on the shorter piece are almost exactly above each other, while the two holes on the long strip are not in one line. The one closer to the edge (this part does not exist anymore) is not located above the other but slightly to the side. In addition,

[104] Cynthia Hahn, "Portable Altars (and the Rationale): Liturgical Objects and Personal Devotion," in *Image and Altar 800-1300: Papers from an International Conference in Copenhagen 24 October – 27 October 2007*, ed. Poul Grinder-Hansen, vol. 23 (Copenhagen: Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History, 2014), 51.

[105] The side cover is in a state of continuous decay since even the best efforts could not clean the inner corrosion of the metal.

the two pairs of holes have different shapes. This would indicate that these two parts were not matching on the reliquary. These may have been holes for a rock crystal ornament, but it is also possible that these were the points where the handles for hanging were attached.[106]

In a reconstruction where the side cover is imagined as being from one piece, the relatively straight mark of bending near the holes on the longest fragment could indicate that this was a place where two lobes of enamel plaques met (out of four or more). For another type of reconstruction of the side cover, the length of the longest fragment can be considered as an almost complete individual piece of copper strip (attached using the holes), since it is approximating the circumference of one plaque, and it may be possible that it was broken right where the fragments ended. The lack of decoration or corrosion on the end opposite of the holes might indicate that this was another end fragment like the middle-sized one (where the decoration also appears to end or to have been corroded in a similar manner) and the holes on the other side could also suggest an end of a fragment. In fact, the corrosion on the ending of the middle-sized fragment and on both sides of the longest fragment may indicate that these were parts that were between two lobes. This would mean that there were additional smaller lobes – found on most phylacteries. When the side cover strips reached these smaller lobes their ending parts would have touched another fragment of copper and thus were also concealed.

2. 6. Eucharistic Aspects of Phylactery-Shaped Composition

Even though the surviving two plaques do not represent scenes of a clearly eucharistic nature, it could be argued that the Washing of the Feet, which is about taking part with Christ, may be

[106] For hanging something see the purse reliquary in the treasury of St. Servatius's Basilica Maastricht (here figure 1. 44) which shows this well even if in its current form the manner of hanging is later than the 12th century. See both the holes and the application of the rock crystal on the top of the staurotheke in Brussels, 1035. In both examples very similar plaques are used as side covers.

considered as an allusion. This "taking part" is especially relevant since this act happened either immediately before, during, or after the Last Supper.[107] Furthermore, as mentioned above, the shape of the phylactery (whether it is with two or more lobes) recalls the crucifixion, therefore, the shape creates an extra iconographic layer that also recalls the Eucharist in the guise of sacrifice.[108]

Including the Washing of the Feet can serve as a reference to the Eucharist. Christ tells Peter that without this he will not be allowed to take part with him. If we reconstruct the event of the Last Supper in a way that the Washing of the Feet precedes the Eucharist, then Christ's words regarding being with him are directly referring to the Last Supper and to the Eucharist. As it was recently discussed by Marcello Angheben, it was not unusual for a Mosan reliquary to have Eucharistic connotations.[109] Indeed, a eucharistic association can be seen in the works of Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075–1129) whose writings are known to have had an impact on Mosan works, also in the case of Stavelot since Wibald was his student.[110] Rupert, in his *De divinis officiis,* relates the line "*si non lavero te, non habebis partem mecum"* ("Unless, I wash you, you will not be with me")[111] to "*Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum, non habebitis vitam in vobis*" ("unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you").[112] The story of Christ the Bread of Life continues with many of his disciples doubting him except for the Twelve. Christ addressed the doubters in the following way: "Does this offend you? Then what if you see the Son of Man ascend to where he was before! The Spirit gives life; the flesh counts for nothing."[113] Thus, the Ascension

[107] Kantorowicz, "The Baptism of the Apostles," 212–14.
[108] Hahn, "Portable Altars (and the Rationale): Liturgical Objects and Personal Devotion," 53.
[109] Angheben, "Les reliquaires mosans et l'exaltation des fonctions dévotionnelles et eucharistiques de l'autel," 171–208.
[110] Gearhart, "Memory, Making, and Duty in the Remaclus Retable of Stavelot," 138, 147–48.
[111] John 13:8.
[112] John 6:53; J. P. Migne, ed., "R. D. D. Rupertus abbas monasterii S. heriberti tuitiensis: De divinis officiis libri XII," in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. CLXX (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1854), 144.
[113] John 6:62, *si ergo videritis Filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius?*

appears here in direct context with the Eucharist in which it is used to demonstrate its importance. The people who were responsible for the intellectual content of the composition may have aimed to relate to this connection which would also add to the connections to Stavelot. Therefore, the two sides of the phylactery created a common message.

2. 7. Other Fragments

Some of the other objects that were discovered in and around the monastery may tell us something more about the shape of the reliquary, however, one must be careful with assigning objects into groups and coming up with broader implications about the artistic and material culture of the site. It should be emphasized that the reliquary plaques came from the debris of the monastery from a secondary position. In the case of most objects, it is very hard to make a connection or explain their relation to each other.

In addition to the parts that clearly belonged to the reliquary, there are fragments that could also be classified as belonging to the artwork. Among these are many small fragments of gilded copper plaques with inlaid gems (the gems are missing). There are two large pieces that are notable because in addition to the gems they also have small circles with polished surfaces, which appear commonly in Mosan objects (**fig. 2. 16**). Nonetheless, the way they held the stones, and their general quality do not live up to the rest of the reliquary. A similar situation is also present for the beaded edge fragments, which can be quite long (**fig. 2. 17**). They seem to represent different types – some are thicker than others – and it cannot be excluded that part of these belonged to the backside of the reliquary. Another interesting fragment is a small, gilded base of a column that could be imagined as the base of a decorative column on a liturgical object since it was only visible from the front as the lack of its backside tells us (**fig. 2. 18**).

A fragment that clearly dates from the period and was made with the technique so common in the Meuse Valley might have also been part of the artwork. It is a small fragment of a longer inscription with the letters "TRIN" (**fig. 2. 19**). Its vernis brun and its letter type appear among many Mosan fragments from the second part of the 12th century. It is very similar in its appearance to the St. Petersburg phylactery's frontal inscription, where the T slightly differs, but the letters – including the T – conform to other Mosan inscriptions. The only issue with this piece is that it was found at a considerable distance from the rest of the fragments (more than 100 meters). Yet, I would still emphasize the connection of this object that may have ended up at this distant location during the plundering, the mining of the site's stones during the Middle Ages, and later due to the plowing. The same is valid for two other pieces of copper sheets with vernis brun, which were also found near the "TRIN" fragment and may be connected to it or to the angel plaque. The connection between these fragments remains dubious.

There is a group of objects that are not related to the reliquary, but they seem to bear the style and technique of Mosan artists. They were found outside the basilica in the monastic complex next to each other in one archeological layer, where they were deposited at the same time. The group includes a Mosan enamel with a depiction of Mary which would have been on the left side of the cross with a clear preference for the use of yellow enamel (**fig. 2. 20**). The plaque is much like one preserved in the British Museum (**fig. 2. 21**).[114] In addition to the Mosan enamel, there is a fragmented Rhenish or Mosan corpus and a very simple base (**fig. 2. 22–23**). The figure of Mary on the enamel can be dated to the 1160s and thus may have arrived together with the reliquary. The enamel is of very fine quality, and it is somewhat in contrast with the two other fragments. They may have been deposited there during the dismantling of

[114] Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. II, Cat. 13.

the ruins in the 13th century and may have been buried out of piety which does not mean that they necessarily belonged to the same object. The enamel constitutes the only other Mosan enamel ever discovered in the lands that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary.

3. The Patronage and the Relic

After determining the artistic connections of the Reliquary of Pétermonostora and analyzing the shape and its implications for the function, the final task of this examination should be the survey of the context of the reliquary. Without written sources, it is not easy to establish an objective understanding of the commission, patronage, and the reasons for these. The contextual information is important for understanding the pre-arrival process, but the reliquary itself is also a primary source for understanding the monastic landscape of Pétermonostora.[115] Not only with its Mosan origin but also as an object establishing its own conditions of reception and thus forming its environment.

3. 1. The Becse-Gergely Kindred and the Monastery

The excavations indicated that the monastery which owned the reliquary was founded in the first half of the 12th century.[116] It is mentioned as the property of a branch of the Becse-Gergely kindred from the 13th century.[117] János Karácsonyi, in his seminal work on the nobility of medieval Hungary, argued that extended families of nobles had monasteries which he called "kindred monasteries" (*nemzetségi monostorok*).[118] These institutions would have served as centers where common ancestors were buried. Nonetheless, this view has been challenged by

[115] Hedwig Röckelein, "Monastic Landscapes," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 816–30; Laszlovszky and Röckelein, "Medieval Monastic Regions in Central Europe – The Spiritual and Physical Landscape Setting of Monastic Orders and Religious Houses," 296–308.
[116] Sárosi and Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," 107; On monasteries in East Central Europe see Emilia Jamroziak, "East-Central European Monasticism: Between East and West?" in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 882–900.
[117] Kandra, Kabos, *A váradi regestrum* [The Regestrum of Várad] (Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat, 1898), 202; Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora], 194; Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, IV. vol. 2 (Budae: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 461.
[118] János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900).

different scholars who argued for the non-existence of this concept, because the term is not present in any medieval source.[119] Furthermore, the private monasteries in 12th-century Hungary fit in with the general Western context of private monastery foundations which indicates that such a monastery as Pétermonostora was not a central site for the whole kindred but only for one part of it.[120]

According to Simon of Kéza's (fl. 1280s) *Gesta Hungarorum* written in the 1280s, two members of the kindred, Becse and Gregory (Gergely), accompanied Béla III during his stay at the Byzantine court.[121] Karácsonyi argued that this reference means that they traveled with the future king to Constantinople and oversaw his stay in the imperial city.[122] This is an intriguing source because it shows that members of the Becse-Gergely kindred were important political actors. Interestingly, Simon of Kéza had also noted that the family had a French

[119] Péter Levente Szőcs, "Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries" (PhD, Budapest, Central European University, 2014); see also Péter Levente Szőcs, "Monasteries Under Private Patronage Within the Social and Economic Topography: Centers, Residences, and Estates. Several Case Studies of Medieval Hungary," in *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 161–70. For the previous discussions see István Petrovics, "Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája" [The Problems with the Concept of Kindred Monasteries in Medieval Hungary] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: acta iuvenum: sectio historica* 1 (1978): 11–24; Erik Fügedi, "'Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio.' A nemzetségi monostor" [The Kindred Monastery], *Századok* 3 (1991): 35–68, esp. 54. Erik Fügedi, "Kinship and Privilege. The Social System of Medieval Hungarian Nobility as Defined in Customary Law," in *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe: Kinship, Property and Privilege*, ed. János Bak (Budapest: Hajnal István Alapítvány, 1994), 55–75; on the architectural aspects see Béla Zsolt Szakács, "A templomok nyugati térelrendezése és a 'nemzetségi monostor' kérdése" [The Western Complexes of Churches and the Question of Kindred Monasteries in Hungary] in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare, 2004), 71–98.

[120] Jonathan R. Lyon, "Nobility and Monastic Patronage: The View from Outside the Monastery," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 848–64.

[121] Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. Frank Schaer and László Veszprémy, trans. László Veszprémy, Central European medieval texts (New York: Central European University Press, 1999), 142–43.

[122] János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század* közepéig [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century], 215–16; From 1163 to 1169, during the height of Byzantine influence in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary, Béla was betrothed to the daughter of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) Maria Komnene (1152–1182). He was treated as the heir of the empire, receiving the title *despotes* and the name Alexios, however after the birth of the emperor's son in 1169, he was no longer the heir and eventually left Byzantium for the throne in Hungary in 1172. Ferenc Makk, "Relations hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31, no. 1/2 (1985): 3–32; Makk Ferenc, *The Árpáds and the Comneni Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).

origin[123] which Karácsonyi did not accept.[124] It is not an easy task to determine the origin of the family and their role under Béla III since there is not much that is known about the history of the kindred in the 12th century.

The first and only mention of the family's connection to the functioning monastery is from 1219. The text also mentions a certain Abbot Stephen of the monastery of "Pethur" along with members of the kindred.[125] Soon after the monastery's destruction by the Mongols in 1241, it is mentioned again in a document issued in 1258 which states that the son of Becha, Dyonisius, gave up the right of patronage.[126] Given the information from Simon of Kéza and the importance of the family under Béla III, it may be possible that they acquired the monastery at the early stage of the reign of Béla III, however, this remains to be unknown due to the lack of sources. On the other hand, the kindred had already established a certain status before associating their names with Béla III, as demonstrated by the appearance of two of its members and their lands between the Danube and the Tisza rivers in the late 11th-century founding charter of the royal monastery of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia).[127]

---

[123] Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 166–67.

[124] János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century], 215–16.

[125] "*Gregorius, filius Salad impeciit Filekam seruum Cozme comitis de occisione sui seruientis, arbitris Jacob, Marcus, Herne et abbate Stephano de Pethur in provincia Shung, pristaldo Feud de villa Noen. Cum Fileka propter infirmitatem in locum venire non posset, Simon frater eius pro illo portato ferro mundatus est.*" Kandra, *A váradi regestrum* [The Regestrum of Várad], 202; for an introduction to Benedictine monasteries in Hungary before the Mongol invasion (among them kindred monasteries) see Gyula Kristó, "Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról" [Benedictine Monasteries in Hungary Before the Mongol invasion of 1241-1242] *Századok* 138 (2004): 403–11; see also Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary: Catalog] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000); Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Bencés templomok az Árpád-korban: korszakok és régiók" [Benedictine Monasteries in Árpádian-age Hungary: Periods and Regions] in *Örökség és küldetés: Bencések Magyarországon* [Heritage and Mission: The Benedictine Order in Hungary], ed. Illés Pál Attila and Juhász-Laczik Albin (Budapest: METEM, 2012), 753–63.

[126] In this charter the same Gregorius and Herne appear. Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, IV. vol. 2, 461.

[127] Petrovics, "Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája" [The Problems with the Concept of Kindred Monasteries in Medieval Hungary], 11–24. 15; see also Melinda Szőke, *Garamszentbenedeki apátság alapítólevelének nyelvtörténeti vizsgálata* [Linguistic Study of the Foundation Charter of the Monastery of Garamszentbenedek], Magyar névarchivum kiadványai 33 (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem kiadó, 2015); Belényesyné Sárosi, "Transformations in the Settlement Structure in the Territory Between the Danube and Tisza Rivers: Monostor- A Case Study," 38.

The lands of the Becse-Gergely were relatively fragmented and they spread out over a vast territory from the western part of the kingdom to the south-eastern part (the latter would be the most prominent area of their domain after the Mongol invasion).[128] The size and location of their 12th-century territories are hard to determine. Nonetheless, we do have some interesting information regarding their early holdings. Two other important monasteries were in these distant eastern holdings, one near Bethlen (Beclean, Romania) and one near Boros-Jenő (Ineu, Romania).[129] The first one was a rich monastery that was destroyed during the Mongol invasion,[130] and the other one already belonged to the kindred in 1199.[131]

The dedication of the monastery of Pétermonostora is not known. As mentioned above, the settlement's name in Hungarian means 'Peter's monastery' which could indicate that the basilica was also dedicated to St. Peter. In fact, after Mary, Peter was the most common titular name for Benedictine monasteries before the Mongol invasion.[132] Nevertheless, these types of names seem to indicate the name of the owner or his kindred, like in the case of Ákosmonostora (the Monastery of Ákos). Furthermore, its appearance in the Latin text of 1219 as *Pethur* and not as Petrus could be interpreted as stemming from the name of somebody called Peter who owned or founded the monastery. Therefore, while it would be convenient to think that the monastery was dedicated to St. Peter and thus had a reliquary and a relic of the same saint, the dedication cannot be proved. The situation of the name and the patronage is complicated by

[128] Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century], 220–26, for their extensive eastern lands see 223–25.
[129] Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century], 217–18. In addition to these and Pétermonostora, the kindred owned at least four other monasteries. It seems like the importance of the kindreds cannot be measured by the number of monasteries they had, see Szőcs, "Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries," 43.
[130] Wenzel, Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár* [A New Collection of Árpádian-age Charters], vol. II (Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottmánya, 1861), 28, 33.
[131] Ferdinandus Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. I (Strigonii: Aegydius Horák, 1874), 160–61.
[132] Kristó, "Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról" [Benedictine Monasteries in Hungary Before the Mongol Invasion of 1241–1242], 410.

the fact that the name Peter does not appear to be a common name among the members of the kindred. In fact, Karácsonyi identified only one member called Peter between the 12th and 14th centuries.[133] This Peter is mentioned indirectly in connection with his son Dyonisius in 1267, the date seems too late for the 12th-century foundation of the monastery. Nevertheless, we do not know the name of Peter's father nor what branch of the kindred he belonged to which could mean that some of his ancestors from the 12th century could have also been called Peter. Another possibility lies in the nature of some private foundations. Erik Fügedi has argued that many private religious foundations were created because of the lack of children which could mean that the name for the settlement originates from a 12th-century member of the kindred who left his wealth to the monks.[134]

3. 2. The Relic

The presence of the new reliquary signifies an important change in the history of the monastery. If we assume that the reliquary arrived soon after its creation in the 1170s, then we can attempt to speculate with reason about the history of the cult in the monastery. It is most likely that the monastery had already owned at least one relic. This relic may have been placed in the new reliquary. Another possible understanding of the monastery and the relic suggests that the reliquary may have arrived with the relic as an additional 'new' relic for the church. This would initiate the beginning of a new cult. Either way, in both situations the arrival of the new reliquary indicated the importance of the cult whether old, renewed, or completely new. The arrival of the new reliquary brings the renewal of the religious activity related to the relic.

[133] Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century], 214–16.
[134] Fügedi, "'*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio.*' A nemzetségi monostor" [The Kindred Monastery], 40.

The rationale behind the contents of reliquaries is not easily understood today. Sometimes an additional relic of a completely irrelevant saint is placed under a composition with a very specific theme as if to provide more glory to the site and to the reliquary.[135] Therefore, the content of the reliquary may never be known. Nonetheless, based on the iconography, the potential dedication of the basilica, and other details one can attempt to formulate hypotheses that may deepen our understanding of the site.

It is very likely that the reliquary contained a relic that was in some way related to Peter. Petrine relics are naturally important, and they could have political implications. In Trier, the reliquary of Andrew's sandal with Peter's beard and the Staff of St. Peter were both used to emphasize the imperial foundation of the archbishopric.[136] Archbishop Egbert (c. 950–993) used the staff to emphasize his direct relation to Peter. The material representation of this process was crucial in manifesting the political claims of the Archbishop of Trier. The Staff of St. Peter lacks the elaborate narrative of the Pétermonostora reliquary. Nevertheless, it is able to present a very specific message through a carefully arranged decorative scheme and the imposing shape of the staff.[137]

Regarding the relic and the monastic landscape, it should also be mentioned that Pétermonostora was situated at the border of the territories of the Archbishopric of Esztergom and the Archbishopric of Kalocsa. A rivalry developed between the two archbishops in the second half of the 12th century and culminated in a major conflict about the right of coronation in the 1170s.[138] It is known that disputes along this border occurred frequently. While nothing

[135] Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?," *Numen* 57, no. 3–4 (2010): 298.
[136] Thomas Head, "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier," *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 65, 71. The staff shape seems to have been especially connected to authority since there are other staffs used in a similar way, for example that of St. Patrick was used in a similar controversy, see J. Patrick Greene, *Medieval Monasteries*, Continuum Studies in Medieval History (London: Continuum, 2005), 96.
[137] Other than common representations of the evangelists, the lower part of the staff contains a series of pope and bishop portraits. St. Peter is among these figures and the patron Archbishop Egbert is also present. Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?," 286.
[138] György Györffy, "Thomas à Becket and Hungary," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 4 (1969): 45–52; Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, "The Church and Béla III of Hungary (1172-1196): The Role of Archbishop Lukács of

is known of the role of Pétermonostora in this controversy, due to its location and importance the exceptional reliquary and the potentially authoritative relic may have been actors in this turbulent ecclesiastical landscape.

Such an important object would have attracted people on Maundy Thursday and certainly on the feast day of St. Peter. Moreover, the site as a regional cultic center would have contributed to the economic development and centrality of the settlement. The large settlement around the monastery may also attest to the importance of the relic and to the cultic nature of the site.[139] An important relic and a luxurious, otherworldly reliquary would have provided influence for the monastery and for its patrons. The wealth of Pétermonostora and the settlement around it suggests that this reliquary would have been purposefully placed there to create an exceptional status for the site and also in order to show off the wealth of the patrons – both lay and monastic.

A phenomenon that is specifically connected to the cult at Pétermonostora is the abundance of precious objects. The presence of lavish artworks, like the reliquary, is attested by the archeological material.[140] Their beauty must have enhanced the impact of the sacred object. The amount of silver, gold, enamel, and gems must have been exceptional in the area. Therefore, pilgrims or other visitors entering the basilica witnessed a particularly intense experience which purely in its material manifestation rendered the monastery to be a special and a unique holy site in the area, in the middle of its economic center.

Esztergom," *Church History* 49, no. 4 (1980): 375–86; Koszta László, *A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása* [The Formation of the Archbishopric of Kalocsa], Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Egyháztörténeti Kutatóközpont, 2013), 79.

[139] For the importance of the site see Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora] 4/a; Rosta, "Rosta Szabolcs, "A Kiskunsági Homokhátság 13-16. századi településtörténete" [The Settlement History of the "Kiskunsági Homokhátság" Between the 13th and 16th Century] (PhD, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2014), 307.

[140] Sárosi and Rosta, "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study," 109–11.

In the first half of the 12th century, Bernard of Clairvaux described the perception of relics and a certain type of 'monastic economy' from his reformist perspective: "ordinary people think them much more holy if they are plastered with precious stones (…). The eyes are fed with gold-bedecked reliquaries, and the money boxes open (…). People run to kiss it; they are invited to give; and they look more at the beauty than venerate the sacred."[141] The lavish interior of Pétermonostora was certainly capable of catalyzing such reactions. From this quote we also see another connection between the wealth of a monastery and the fame of its reliquaries and wealth in general. Therefore, a reliquary is an investment for a site. In the case of Pétermonostora, it could be suggested that the cult or its renewal sometime after 1170 must have had an enormous impact on its status. The precious reliquary must have amazed anyone entering the basilica, and it would have encouraged them to leave a generous gift.

It is worthwhile to differentiate between the types of audiences encountering the reliquary. As Karen Rose Mathews described in her article about art and its viewers in Santiago de Compostela, the people who were in the most ideal position to understand the 'meaning' of an object were those who were exposed to the object every day in a contemplative environment.[142] Naturally, these were the monks who resided in the monastery. Since Pétermonostora belonged to the worldly elite, we can assume that members of the patron family could understand at least some of the composition.[143] This is a fascinating element because it unites the lay viewers with the religious community in a monastic context. Furthermore, these types of monasteries are important because they do not only reflect the royal interest and taste but also the aristocratic and even the monastic. The iconographic and cultic meaning was more important to people in the monastic environment, but the lay probably participated in

[141] Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*, epub edition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), Chapter 12.
[142] Karen Rose Mathews, "Reading Romanesque Sculpture: The Iconography and Reception of the South Portal Sculpture at Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000): 7.
[143] For a list of sources regarding the theoretical part see Mathews, "Reading Romanesque Sculpture," note 35.

celebrations where the object was also involved directly or indirectly. The family's ownership of the reliquary may have been crucial in a period when the nobility's self-awareness was rapidly developing.

In addition to the cultic aspects of the reliquary, the object may have been useful for the monastery in a legal way since it was common to use relics to legally validate oaths.[144] It is known that in late medieval Hungary bust reliquaries were taken on processions that were of a cultic and legal nature.[145] In fact, the first mention of Pétermonostora is from the *Regestrum Varadinense* which contains legal acts and some oath-takings that were performed in front of the tomb of St. Ladislas.[146]

3. 3. The Reliquary's Connection to the Court of Béla III

Pétermonostora as a rich monastery of the Becse-Gergely kindred was most likely related to the art of the court in some ways, especially because of the kindred's importance. During the last quarter of the 12th century, there were several cultural developments in Esztergom, which was the most important royal city of the time.[147] An example that resonates with the intellectual and artistic quality expressed on the reliquary is the Porta Speciosa of the Cathedral of Esztergom **(fig. 3. 1)**.[148] Dezső Dercsényi has suggested that the Porta Speciosa was built sometime between 1188 and 1195, due to the fact that the cathedral burned down after 1188 and based on the appearance of the depictions of Béla III and Archbishop Job (archbishop from

[144] Klaniczay Gábor, "A középkori magyarországi szentkultusz-kutatás problémái" [Problems in the Study of the Cult of Saints in Medieval Hungary] *Történelmi szemle* 24, no. 2 (1981): 273–86. 282; Ipolyi Arnold, *Magyar ereklyék* [Hungarian Relics] (Pest: Emich Gusztáv Magyar Akademiai Könyvnyomdász, 1862), 74.
[145] Klaniczay, "A középkori magyarországi szentkultusz-kutatás problémái" [Problems in the Study of the Cult of Saints in Medieval Hungary], 280; Ipolyi, *Magyar ereklyék* [Hungarian Relics], 79.
[146] Kandra, *A váradi Regestrum* [The Regestrum of Várad], 202.
[147] It was a site of major ecclesiastic and courtly commissions. It was also the seat of the Archbishop of Esztergom and home to a significant Walloon population. György Székely, "Wallons et Italiens en Europe Centrale aux XI. - XVI. siècles," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae* 6 (1964): 7–8.
[148] On the cathedral see Ernő Marosi, "Die Kathedrale „Esztergom II" der bau der St. Adalbertskathedrale im 12. Jahrhundert," *Acta Historiae Artium* 59, no. 1 (2018): 69–142.

1185 to 1204) it had to be finished before 1195.[149] For a long time, this was accepted as the correct dating, however, recently Imre Takács has challenged this with the reinterpretation of the original appearance of the monument and its reorganization soon after its creation. Takács suggested that because of the historical events related to the right of coronation at the beginning of the reign of King Emeric (1196–1204), it has to be dated to Emeric's reign.[150] Nevertheless, the portal is rooted in the cultural renewal of the 1180s and 1190s that may even go back to the early years of Béla's reign in the 1170s.

In his article on the inlaid decoration of the Porta Speciosa, Ernő Marosi has identified an important point of connection between the inlaid decoration of Esztergom and the production of Rhenish and Mosan art. Marosi noticed distinct similarities between the head of John the Baptist (**fig. 3. 2**) on the Porta Speciosa and the first figure on the Adoration of the Three Kings in the chandelier in Aachen. As discussed above, this is a work with ties to Liège.[151] Indeed, both St. John's and Daniel's (**fig. 3. 3**) faces seem to find their origins among the figures of the Liège manuscript, even if their formulation clearly drifted away from the original conception, possibly due to Rhenish influences. Marosi also pointed out the similarity between the allegorical depiction of April and May on the floor decoration of the monastery of Saint-Bertin and the side decoration of the throne at Esztergom with a pruning figure, which also belongs to the commissions of the 1180s and 1190s (**fig. 3. 4**).[152] As Marosi described, the

[149] Dercsényi writes 1195, but Béla III died in 1196. He based parts of his theory on the old chronology of the St. Anne portal of the Notre-Dame which was dated to the 1180s at the time. While we know that the St. Anne Portal was reused in the first decades of the 13th century from the previous façade of the Notre-Dame and it dates between 1145 and 1155, Dercsényi tried to show the modernity of the Porta Speciosa by assigning it to only a decade after the 'Saint Anne Portal of the 1180s'. Dezső Dercsényi, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa of Esztergom] (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1947), 26, for the St. Anne Portal see Damien Berné and Philippe Plagnieux, eds., *Naissance de la sculpture gothique: Saint-Denis, Paris, Chartres: 1135–1150* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, 2018); Imre Takács, *Az esztergomi Porta speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa at Esztergom], Thesaurus Mediaevalis (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2020).
[150] Takács, *Az esztergomi Porta speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa at Esztergom], 44–46.
[151] Ernő Marosi, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran (Esztergom)," *Acta Historiae Artium*, 1971, 209–214; Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, 156.
[152] Marosi, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran (Esztergom)," 214–215; Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 65; Ernő Marosi, "Esztergom zwischen Ost und West: einige Fragen ungarischer Kunst unter Béla III,"

floral decoration, the expressive movement, and the densely lined drapery all return to Mosan sources.[153] Marosi even brought up possible connections between the Porta Speciosa and the St. Heribert shrine, which while clearly more connected to Cologne, is a work with many Mosan elements.[154] Furthermore, he mentioned the Waulsort Phylactery's style and iconography as an important source for the Porta Speciosa. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the Becse-Gergely kindred's patronage is connected to the Mosan tendencies manifesting at the court of Béla III, even if the works listed here were produced at least 10 years after the reliquary.[155]

During the reign of Béla III, there was an important renewal of the cultural life in the upper clergy and among the members of the court.[156] The revival was mainly inspired by a series of students educated in France, most importantly in Paris at the Monastery of Saint-Geneviève.[157] A clear sign of this is the very early introduction of the cult of Thomas Becket

Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 15 (1979): 59; On the throne see most recently Imre Takács, "A Marble Throne from Esztergom with a View to the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: Commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. Rosa Alcoy et al. (Paris: Picard, 2012); Takács, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa at Esztergom], 85–88.

[153] Marosi, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran (Esztergom)," 214–215; Marosi, "Esztergom zwischen Ost und West," 59; Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts*, 65.

[154] Marosi, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran (Esztergom)," 209–214.

[155] For the Mosan impact in other regions of the eastern part of Central Europe see Joseph Philippe, ed., *Rapports historiques et artistiques entre le Pays mosan et la Pologne, du XIe au début du XIIIe siècle: colloque d'étude tenu a Liège, aux Musées Curtius et du verre, du 7 au 14 septembre 1980* (Liège: Musée Curtius, 1981). An interesting theory was put forward by Helmut Buschhausen who argued that the inlaid sculptures of Esztergom (containing Byzantine influences) may have been seen by Nicholas of Verdun. According to Buschhausen the artist used these in his later work including the Klosterneuburg 'Altar'. While the theory seems intriguing for enamel-related connections between the Meuse Valley and Esztergom, there is no evidence for such a contact. Helmut Buschhausen, "The Klosterneuburg Altar of Nicholas of Verdun: Art, Theology and Politics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37, no. 1 (1974): 6.

[156] Imre Takács, *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* [The Reception of French Gothic Art in Hungary During the Reign of Andrew II] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2018), 18, 38–39; On the new intellectual environment and especially on universities and students see Dercsényi, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa of Esztergom], 26; József Laszlovszky, "Nicholaus Clericus: A Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14, no. 3 (1988): 217–31; József Laszlovszky, "Hungarian University Peregrinatio to Western Europe in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century," in *Universitas Budensis 1395–1995. International Conference for the History of Universities on the Occasion of the 600th Anniversary of the Foundation of the University of Buda*, ed. László Szögi and Júlia Varga (Budapest: Archiv der Loránd Eötvös Universität, 1997), 51–61.

[157] Emil Jakubovich, "P. mester. Adalékok az Anonymus-kérdéshez" [Master P. Additions to the Anonymus Question] in *Klebelsberg Emlékkönyv* (Budapest: Budapesti Hírlap nyomdája, 1925), 185–186; István

(1118–1170) in Esztergom by Archbishop Lucas (archbishop from 1158 to 1181) and his successor Job, who like Becket studied at Saint-Geneviève.[158] Moreover, in the last decades of the 12th century, there was also a clear change in the diplomatic culture of the court which is related to the intellectual development of the court and thus possibly to the new manners in the composition of artworks and the inscriptions surrounding them.[159] One specific element that can most likely be connected with the impact of these studied men is the classicizing late 12th-century decoration of the Cathedral of Esztergom. This classicizing aspect and an appeal of antiquity, or at least the desire to imitate royal and high clerical commissions, is visible in the use of red marble in the Basilica of Pétermonostora.[160] This stone was the main material for both the Porta Speciosa and the throne.[161] The first 'dated' use of red marble was for the tomb

Hajnal, *L'enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales* (Budapest: Académie des sciences de Hongrie, 1959), 191–195; 'László Mezey, "Les rapports intellectuels entre la France et la Hongrie des Árpáds. Recherches nouvelles textes nouveaux," *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (1975): 327–334; Mezey László, *Deákság és Európa. Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* [Students and Europe. Introduction to the Foundations of Hungarian Intellectual Culture] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 136–39, 141.

[158] Györffy, "Thomas à Becket and Hungary," 45–52, esp. 49. A provostal church dedicated to Thomas Becket was even built near the Cathedral of Esztergom. Its first mention is from the time of King Emeric (1196–1204), Györffy, "Thomas à Becket and Hungary," 50; Laszlovszky, "Hungarian University Peregrinatio to Western Europe in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century," 54.

[159] Dercsényi, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa of Esztergom], 23; Thomas Bogyay, "L'iconographie de la « Porta speciosa » d'Esztergom et ses sources d'inspiration," *Revue des études byzantines* 8, no. 1 (1950): 91; Takács, *Az esztergomi Porta speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa at Esztergom], 29. Walloon settlers may have also participated in this process. András Kubinyi pointed out a correlation between the language used in a charter from Pécs issued in 1181 and one from Liège from 1171. This shows that among the many settlers arriving from Wallonia, there may have been some who found their place in the royal administration, which is an intriguing Mosan connection, see András Kubinyi, "Királyi kancellária és udvari kápolna Magyarországon a XII. század közepén" [Royal Chancellery and Chapel in Hungary During the Middle of the 12th Century] *Levéltári Közlemények* 46 (1975): 108–111; In addition, under Andrew II the Bishop of Veszprém and later Archbishop of Esztergom, Robert, was from Liège, see Knauz, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, I, 1874, 257; See also Székely, "Wallons et Italiens en Europe Centrale aux XI. - XVI. siècles," 3–71.

[160] Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora], fig. 15.

[161] Takács, *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* [The Reception of French Gothic Art in Hungary During the Reign of Andrew II], 23; The stone is a red type of limestone and not actual marble. See the works of Pál Lővei most recently Lővei Pál, *Porfír, kő, márvány: kőanyagok, kőfaragók, kőberakások a középkori Magyarországon* [Porphyry, Stone, Marble. Materials, Stonecarvers, Stone Inlays in Medieval Hungary], vol. I, Magyar történelmi emlékek, értekezések (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Művészettörténeti Intézet, ELKH, 2021), 128–146; In the 12th century Norman kings imported porphyry from Rome to serve as a suitable material for their sarcophagi, see Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge; New York: Harvard University Press, 1959); Livia Varga, "A New Aspect of the Porphyry Tombs of Roger II, First King of Sicily, in Cefalù," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992* (Boydell Press, 1993), 307–15. Apart from mentioning the Norman interest in porphyry, Lővei also mentions the importance of the color at the Byzantine court (in that case it is actual porphyry in the form of late antique sarcophagi) in relation to Béla III's early life, see Pál Lővei, "A tömött vörös mészkő – „vörös márvány" – a középkori magyarországi művészetben" ["The Red Marble" in the Art of Medieval

of Béla III's first wife Agnes Châtillon (c. 1154–1184).[162] There are also important remains with clear royal ties from the first decades of the 13th century from the Cistercian monastery of Pilisszentkereszt. Pál Lővei argued that most of the early red marble finds come from the area between and around Esztergom and Székesfehérvár. Due to this, he suggested that the stone originally may have been a material strictly related to the court and its environment.[163] Since Pétermonostora was destroyed in 1241, it is clear that the fragment is connected to the same development in the use of red marble. Other monasteries of the Great Hungarian Plain that used red marble possibly already at the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th were – among others – the monasteries of Szer and Ellés, which were close to Pétermonostora, and the somewhat more distant Csoltmonostora.[164] At Pétermonostora the amount and quality of the red marble is truly impressive.

An intriguing point in the discussion about possible ties between the court and the Reliquary of Pétermonostora is a revival that is taking place in private monasteries across the Great Plain, most notably in the monasteries mentioned related to the red marble. In these

Hungary] *Ars Hungarica* 20, no. 2 (1992): 5; for the late antique sarcophagi and their medieval reception see A. A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948): 1+3–26.

[162] Takács, *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* [The Reception of French Gothic Art in Hungary During the Reign of Andrew II], 29.

[163] Lővei, "A tömött vörös mészkő ["The Red Marble" in the Art of Medieval Hungary], 7.

[164] Takács, *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* [The Reception of French Gothic Art in Hungary During the Reign of Andrew II], 31; for the summary of Csolt see Irén Juhász, "A Csolt nemzetség monostora" [The Monastery of the Csolt Kindred] in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Kollár, Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 281–303; for the monastery of Szer see Ottó Trogmayer, "Fecerunt magnum aldumas. Gondolatok Szer monostorának építéstörténetéről" [Considerations Regarding the Building History of the Monastery of Szer] in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Kollár, Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 81–105. Ernő Marosi, "Szermonostor gótikus kerengőjének szobrai" [The Statues of the Gothic Cloister of Szer] in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Kollár, Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 107—122. Red marble was also used at Vértesszentkereszt, and Zsámbék, and also at Majk (a tombstone dated with a coin of Andrew II), however these are most probably from the early or middle part of the 13th century. For the excavation at Vértesszentkereszt see Éva Kozák, "A vértesszentkereszti románkori templom feltárása" [The Excavation of the Romanesque Church of Vértesszentkereszt] *Archeológiai Értesítő* 97 (1970): 279, 281, 282; For Zsámbék see Géza Lux, *A zsámbéki templomrom* [The Ruin of the Romanesque Church in Zsámbék] (Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1939), 30; Ilona Valter and Judit Tamási, "Zsámbék — premontrei templom és kolostorrom" [The Premonstratensian Church and Monastery of Zsámbék] *Régészeti Füzetek.* I/40 (1988): 124–25.

commissions links to the court can be demonstrated. In addition to the red marble, a few sculptural remains seem to date from the 1170s or 1180s and they appear to be connected to the ongoing constructions at Pécs and Székesfehérvár, which are related to the high clergy. Furthermore, fragments of gothic crocket capitals which may date from around 1200 (could include the last two decades of the 12th century) also indicate signs of this development that are possibly stemming from the emulation of the court.[165]

The courtly connections and the dissemination of great artistic creativity from Esztergom may explain the financial background for the object and could partially clarify the intellectual and creative side too. The extremely precious object's presence at this private monastery indicates a possible royal influence, especially since there seem to be some stylistic connections between Esztergom and the area of Liège in the last decades of the 12th century and the reliquary may have been part of this.

[165] For some of these fragments see Jankovics, "A bugaci Pétermonostora egykori templom és kőfaragványai. Előzetes beszámoló a művészettörténeti feldolgozásról" [The Basilica of Pétermonostora and its Stone Carvings. A Preliminary Report], 8–20.

Conclusion

The fragments discovered in 2013 at the private monastery of Pétermonostora belonged to a reliquary that was made in the Meuse Valley. The artwork traces the origins of its figurative design from codices attributed to an illuminator of the 1150s who worked in Liège, and it has its core prototype in the Portable Altar of Stavelot. While the side cover shows similarities with the production connected to Stavelot and to the ambiguous "circle of Godefroy de Huy", the motifs and the faces of the angels are dating from the late 1160s and show contacts with the so-called London-Berlin cross workshop whose works are known to have been in the Prüm Abbey. The artist of the Pétermonostora reliquary may have been a member of the workshops active in Stavelot in the 1160s, and later, a member of the workshop of the London-Berlin cross or at least he seemed to have shared stylistic and technical elements with them while also producing the Reliquary of Pétermonostora in the late 1160s or early 1170s. The assumed phylactery shape of the object also points to Stavelot where the St. Remaclus Retable contained a group of enamels that were very similar in size and ratio.

At Pétermonostora the artwork was most likely located in the nave of the small basilica in the vicinity of many precious objects including large pieces of the so-called red marble and several valuable liturgical objects and reliquaries. Due to its complex scenes and elaborate side cover, it is very likely that it was placed somewhere where it could have been admired from up close. Considering the Eucharistic aspects of its iconography, this location may have been near the altar. Furthermore, the angel plaque of the back also suggests that this was a free-standing composition either hanging or placed on a stand. The angel plaque represents less than a quarter of the back plaque, and it is likely that a significant part of the side cover is also missing. The same can be said about the front of the reliquary from which other plaques, possibly with enamel decorations, are also missing.

The wealth of the monastery was clearly related to a branch of the Becse-Gergely kindred, and it seems to confirm their importance at the court. While this explains the financial background of the object, it does not fully clarify the intellectual origins of the commission. Monastic connections with monasteries around Liège and specifically with Stavelot cannot be excluded, but the reliquary might have been connected to the court both in its artistic and intellectual provenience.

The Reliquary of Pétermonostora contained two of the greatest enamel compositions of the second half of the 12th century. The side cover and the angel plaque are also special due to their inventiveness and quality when compared with many other back covers. The reliquary's context in a private monastery in East Central Europe also contributes to the exceptional nature of the artwork, and it offers plenty of information for the study of Mosan art and the art of the region.

Figures for Chapter 1

Fig. 1. 1. Two enameled plaques from Pétermonostora, c. 1170, Bronze plaques with champlevé enamel, H. 25 cm, W. 12 cm (each), Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 2. Plaque of the Ascension from Pétermonostora, c. 1170, Bronze plaque with champlevé and cloisonné enamel, H. 25 cm, W. 12 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 3. Plaque of the Washing of the Feet from Pétermonostora, c. 1170, Bronze plaque with champlevé and cloisonné enamel, H. 25 cm, W. 12 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 4. Reconstruction of the plaques. Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Drawing by Ágnes Vida.

Fig. 1. 5. Side cover fragment from Pétermonostora (detail of the longest piece), c. 1170, gilded copper with vernis brun, L. 20 cm (on the image), W. 5 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 6. The monastic complex of Pétermonostora, 2013. Image: István Pánya.

1. 7. The Basilica of Pétermonostora with the different phases of construction. The two yellow dots mark the location of the reliquary plaques and the side cover fragments. The green dot shows where the angel plaque was discovered close to the surface at the beginning of Szabolcs Rosta's excavation of the hill.

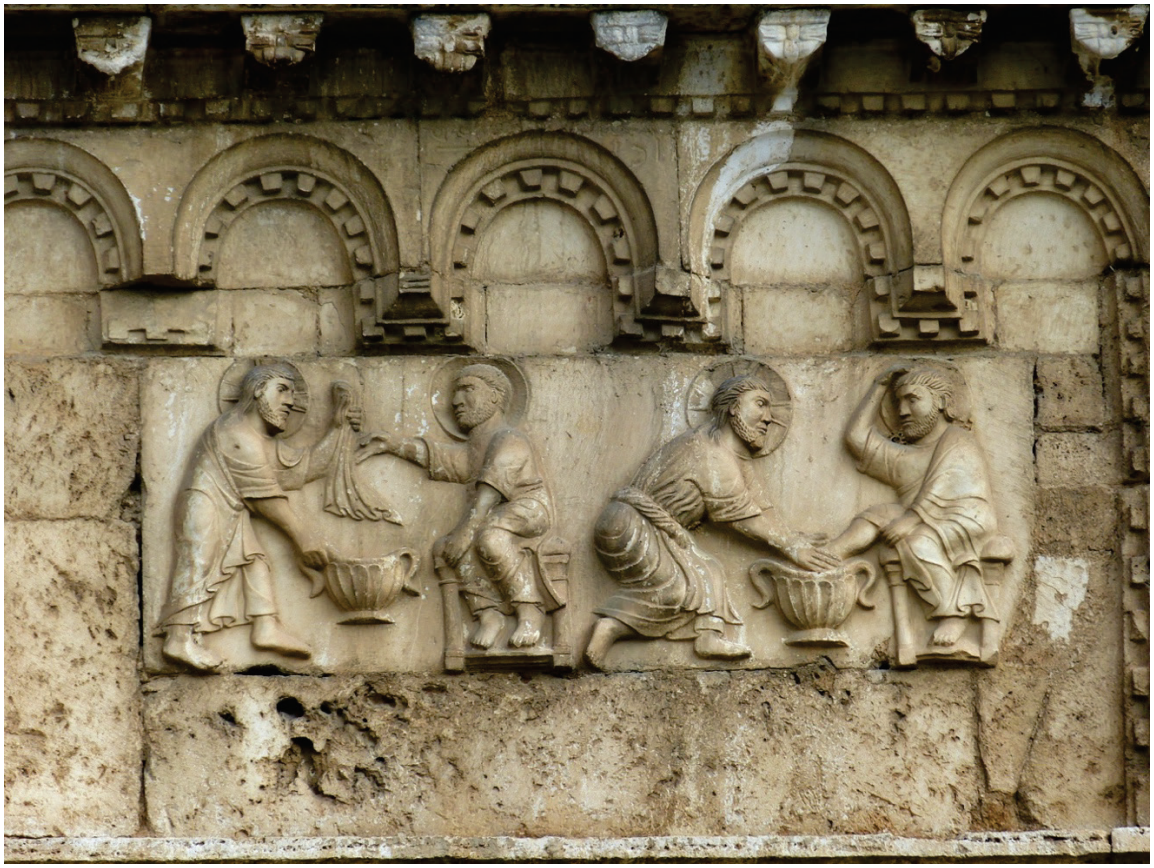


Fig. 1. 8. Relief of the Washing of the Feet, end of the 12th century, San Pietro in Spoleto. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 1. 9. Detail of the Washing of the Feet plaque. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 10. Detail of the backside of the Washing of the Feet plaque. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 11. Detail of the backside of the Ascension plaque. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 12. Detail of the backside of the Ascension plaque. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 13. Plaque with an angel from Pétermonostora, c. 1170, embossed plaque with vernis brun, H. 10 cm, W. 9 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 1. 14. Pyx, enamels: 1170–1180; wood core: 19th century, gilded copper, champlevé and cloisonné enamel, wood core (modern), H. 5.4 cm, W. 21.3 cm, D. 9.3 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1949.431. Image: Wikimedia Commons.
https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1949.431

Fig. 1. 15. Detail of the St. Heribert Shrine, 1160–1170, Cologne, St. Heribert. Image: Seidler, *Der Schrein des Heiligen Heribert in Köln-Deutz*, 132.

Fig. 1. 16. A base plate of the Barbarossa Chandelier in the Cathedral of Aachen, 1165–1175, gilded and engraved copper. Image: Kötzsche, “Bodenplatten des Aachener Barbarossaleuchters,” 268.

Fig. 1. 17. Maiestas Domini (originally from Liège?), 1164, Cologne, Dombibliothek, 157. Image: von Euw, "Sakramentar," 294.

Fig. 1. 18. Preaching of the Baptist (above), Baptism of the Jews (below), Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 9v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 19. The Blessing of Isaac, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 4r. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 20. The Exaltation of Joseph, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 6r. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

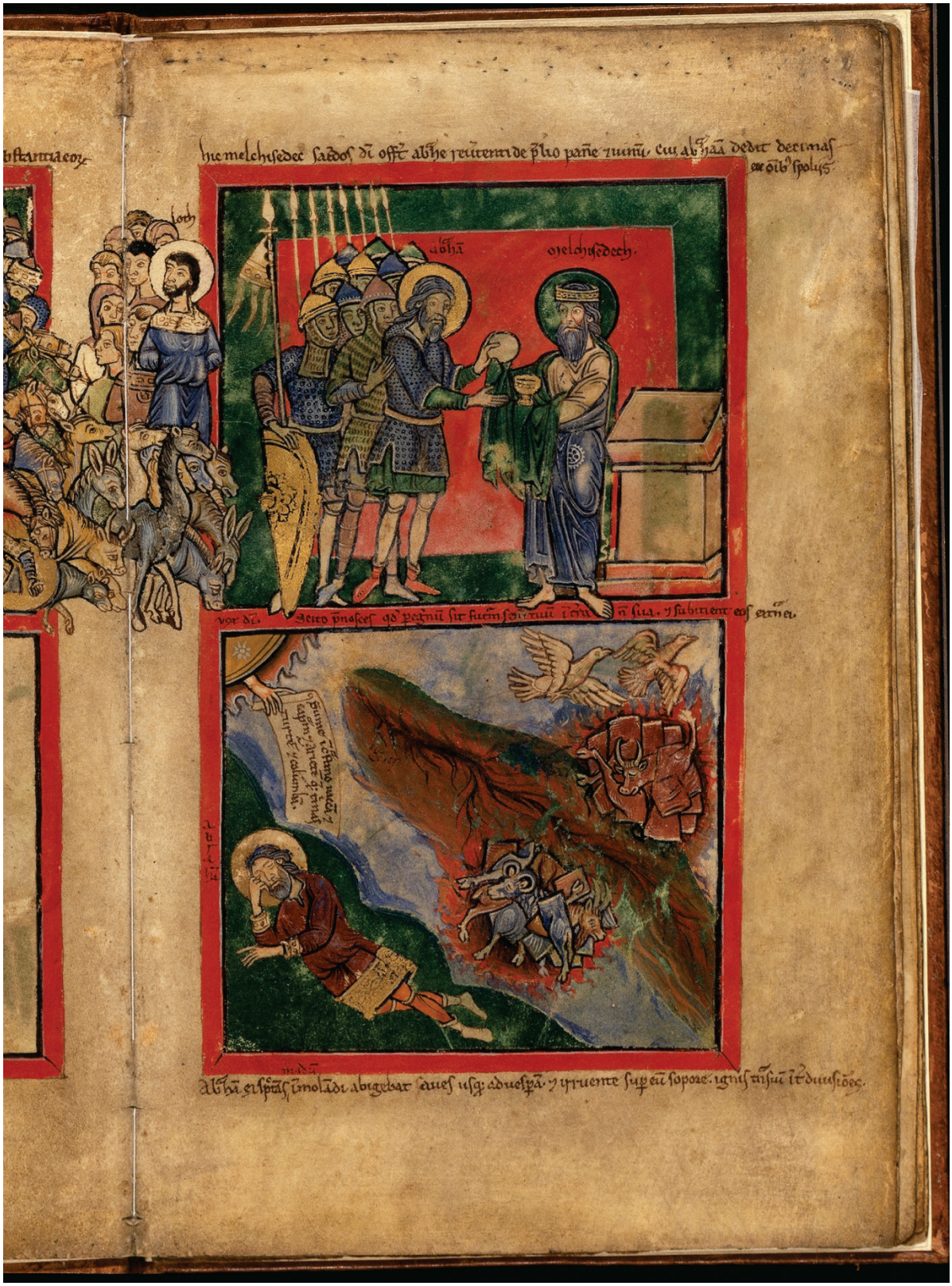


Fig. 1. 21. Abraham and Melchizedek (above), The Covenant of the Pieces (below), Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 2r. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 22. Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, Wittert folio, verso, 1150–1160, Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613. Image: Bibliothèque de l'Université.

Fig. 1. 23. The Sacrifice of Isaac, Wittert folio, recto, 1150–1160, Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613. Image: Bibliothèque de l'Université.

Fig. 1. 24. Cain and Abel, 1160–1170, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8982.
https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125624/manuscript-cutting-unknown/

Fig. 1. 25. Detail of the Pétermonostora Ascension and the Wittert folio Sacrifice of Isaac.

Fig. 1. 26. Similarities between the young apostles of Pétermonostora and some figures from the Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6

Fig. 1. 27. Similarities between the bearded apostle of Pétermonostora and figures from the Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6

Fig. 1. 28. Jacob Sending His Sons to Egypt, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 6v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 29. Jacob's Ladder, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 4v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 30. The Baptism of Christ, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 10v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 31. The Beating of Hagar (above), Hagar in the Desert, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 2v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 32. Christ in the Temple, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 9r. Image: Kupferstichkabinett.

Fig. 1. 33. Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, 1160–1170, copper plaque with champlevé enamel, H. 11.5 cm, 5.6 cm, Trier, Domschatz, 39. Image: Chapman, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph: A Mosan Enamel in the Walters Art Gallery," 40.

Fig. 1. 34. The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1150–1160, copper plaque with champlevé enamel, H. 11.3 cm, W. 5.7 cm, The British Museum, 1888, 1110.6.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1888-1110-6

Fig. 1. 35. Stavelot Portable Altar, c. 1160, gilded bronze with champlevé enamel and rock crystal, H. 27.5 cm, W. 17 cm, D. 10 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1590.

Fig. 1. 36. Left side: God Appears to Isaac, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.A.6, fol. 3v. Image: Kupferstichkabinett. Right side: Death of John the Apostle, detail of the Stavelot Portable Altar. Image: Genevra Kornbluth.

Fig. 1. 37. Reliquary Cross, 1160–1170, gilded copper, champlevé and cloisonné enamel with precious stones and rock crystals, H. 37 cm, W. 25 cm, The British Museum, 1856, 0718.1. Image: Treasures of Heaven.
https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/treasuresofheaven/relics/Reliquary-Cross-Front.php

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1856-0718-1

Fig. 1. 38. Reliquary Cross, c. 1160–1170, champlevé and cloisonné enamel on gilded copper, H. 28.89 cm, W. 18.5 cm, D. 0.4 cm, The Walters Art Museum, 44.98. https://art.thewalters.org/detail/21139/reliquary-cross-2/

Fig. 1. 39. Detail of the Triptych Reliquary of the Holy Cross from Sainte-Croix of Liège, 1160–1170, Grand Curtius Museum, GC.REL.10a.1981.34002. Image: Bernat Racz. https://www.grandcurtius.be/en/museums-collections/religious-art-and-mosan-art/triptych-holy-cross

Fig. 1. 40. Detail from the Shrine of St. Felicitas from St. Felicitas in Lüdinghausen, 12th century, gilded copper plaques with vernis brun, Domkammer, Münster. Image: Althoff, *Goldene Pracht*, 88.

Fig. 1. 41. “A rare plaque from a reliquary in so-called "vernis brun", gilded copper with brown varnish inlay, comparable to niello. Mosan region. 12th century.”
Lot Art: Catawiki, 13 Nov 2019.
https://www.lot-art.com/auction-lots/Plaque-Romanesque-Copper-12th-century/30561501-plaque_romanesque_century-13.11.19-catawiki

Fig. 1. 42. Reliquary from the Shrine of St. Oda, 11th–13th century, silver, gilded silver, copper, gilded copper, champlevé enamel, rock crystal, horn, vernis brun, H. 58.5 cm, W. 38 cm, D. 5.6 cm, The British Museum, 1978, 0502.7. Image: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1978-0502-7

Fig. 1. 43. Shrine of St. Servatius (detail). 1170–1195, gilded, engraved, and embossed copper, enamel, vernis brun, Maastricht, Basilica of St. Servatius. Image: Bernat Racz.

Fig. 1. 44. Purse Reliquary, 1160–1180, gilded copper, enamel, vernis brun, H. 15.4 cm, W 14.1 cm, D. 4.4 cm, Maastricht, Treasury of St. Servatius Basilica. Image: Bernat Racz.

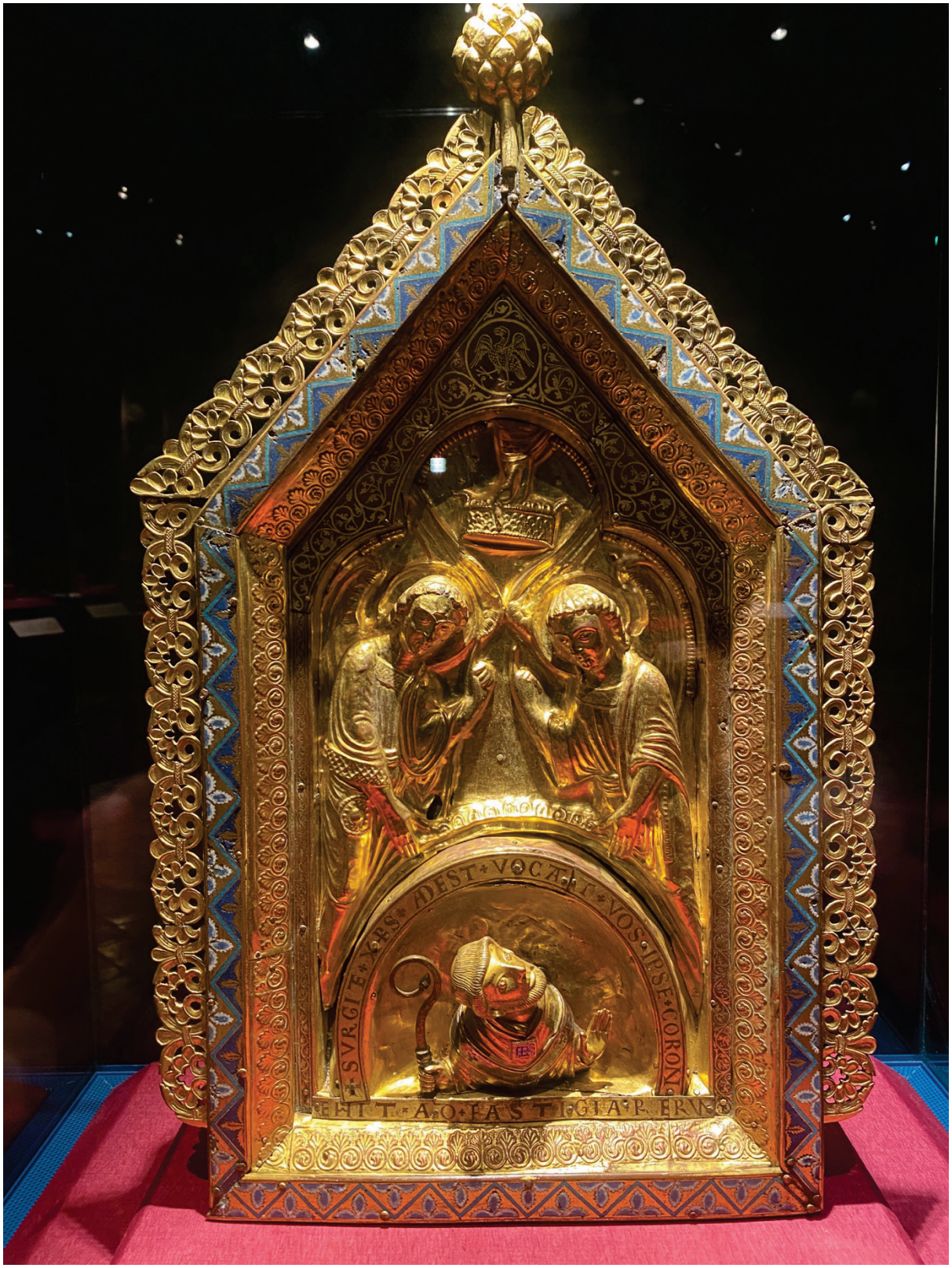


Fig. 1. 45. Reliquary of St. Monulphe, 1180–1200, gilded, engraved and embossed copper, enamel, vernis brun, H. 56 cm, W. 33 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1037. Image: Bernat Racz.

Fig. 1. 46. Phylactery (Reverse), c. 1165, gilded copper, champlevé enamel, vernis brun, H. 22.8 cm, W. 23 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, F-171. Image: van Os, *The Way to Heaven*, fig. 141.

Fig. 1. 47. Back of the Stavelot Portable Altar, 1160, gilded bronze with vernis brun, H. 27.5 cm, W. 17 cm, D. 10 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1590. Image: Henriet, "Relire l'autel portatif de Stavelot," 172.

Fig. 1. 48. Triptych Reliquary of the Cross (aka. Guennol Triptych; originally from Liège?), c. 1160–1170, gilded copper, champlevé enamel, vernis brun, and rock crystal, H. 27 cm, W. 29.2 cm, Private collection, UK. Image: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/652537

Fig. 1. 49. Backside of the Phylactery of the Legend of the True Cross from Lobbes, around 1160, gilded copper, vernis brun, champlevé enamel, gems, and rock crystal, H. 22,5 cm, W. 22,5 cm, D. 3 cm, The Wyvern Collection. Image: Bertrand, "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes," 112.
https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/treasuresofheaven/relics/Phylactery.php

Fig. 1. 50. Pendant with the Virgin and Child (back), c. 1160–1170, gilded copper, champlevé enamel, gems, rock crystals, vernis brun, H. 19.8 cm, W. 17 cm, D. 3.2 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, 1926.428. Image: Cleveland Museum of Art. https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1926.428

Figures for Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1. Reconstruction by Szabolcs Rosta and Pazirik Kft. *Az Aranymonostor ereklyéje* [The Relic of the Golden Monastery], Documentary, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awk3Le1SQq8

Fig. 2. 2. Phylactery plaques, The British Museum, 1888, 1110.3–6, H. 11.3 cm, W. 5.7 cm (each), originally from Prüm Abbey (?). Image: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1888-1110-3

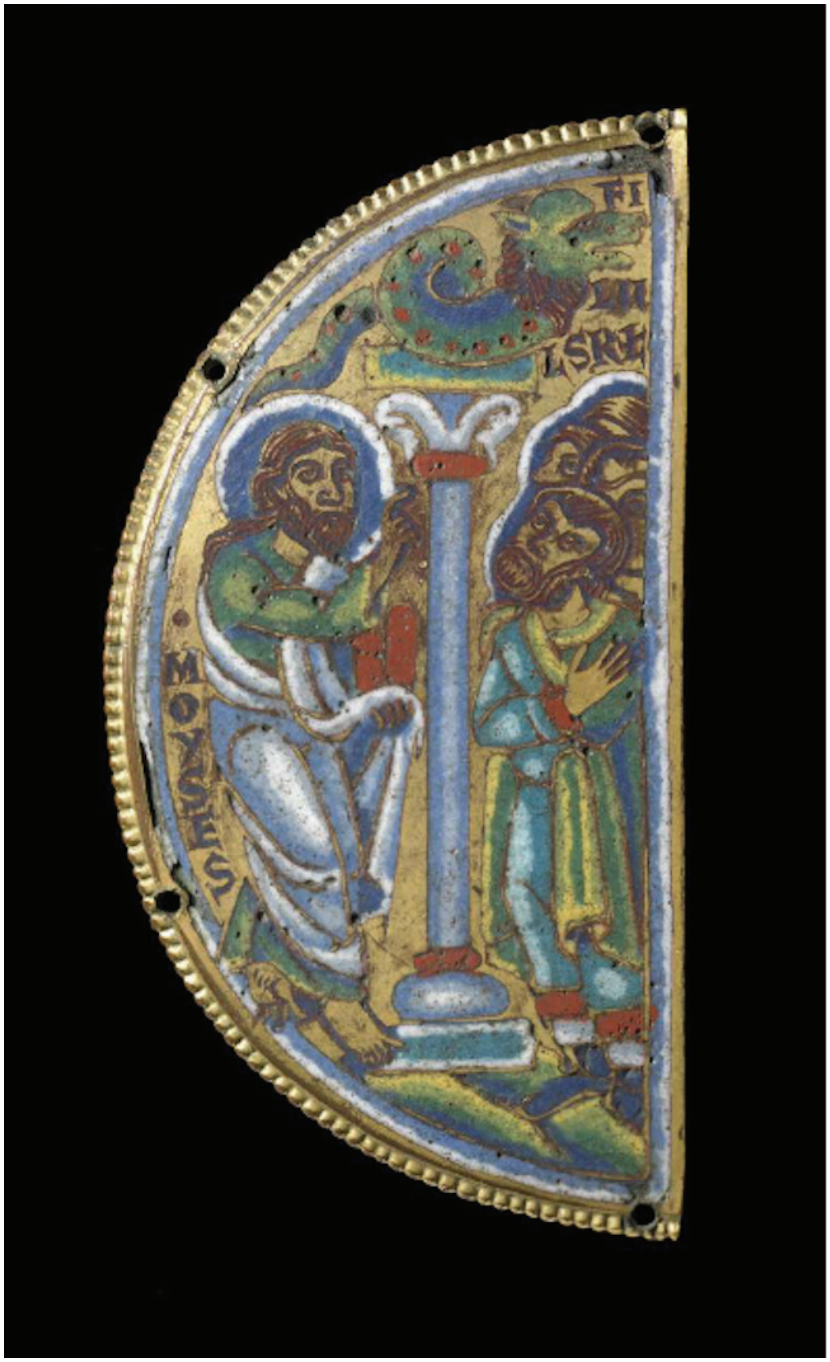
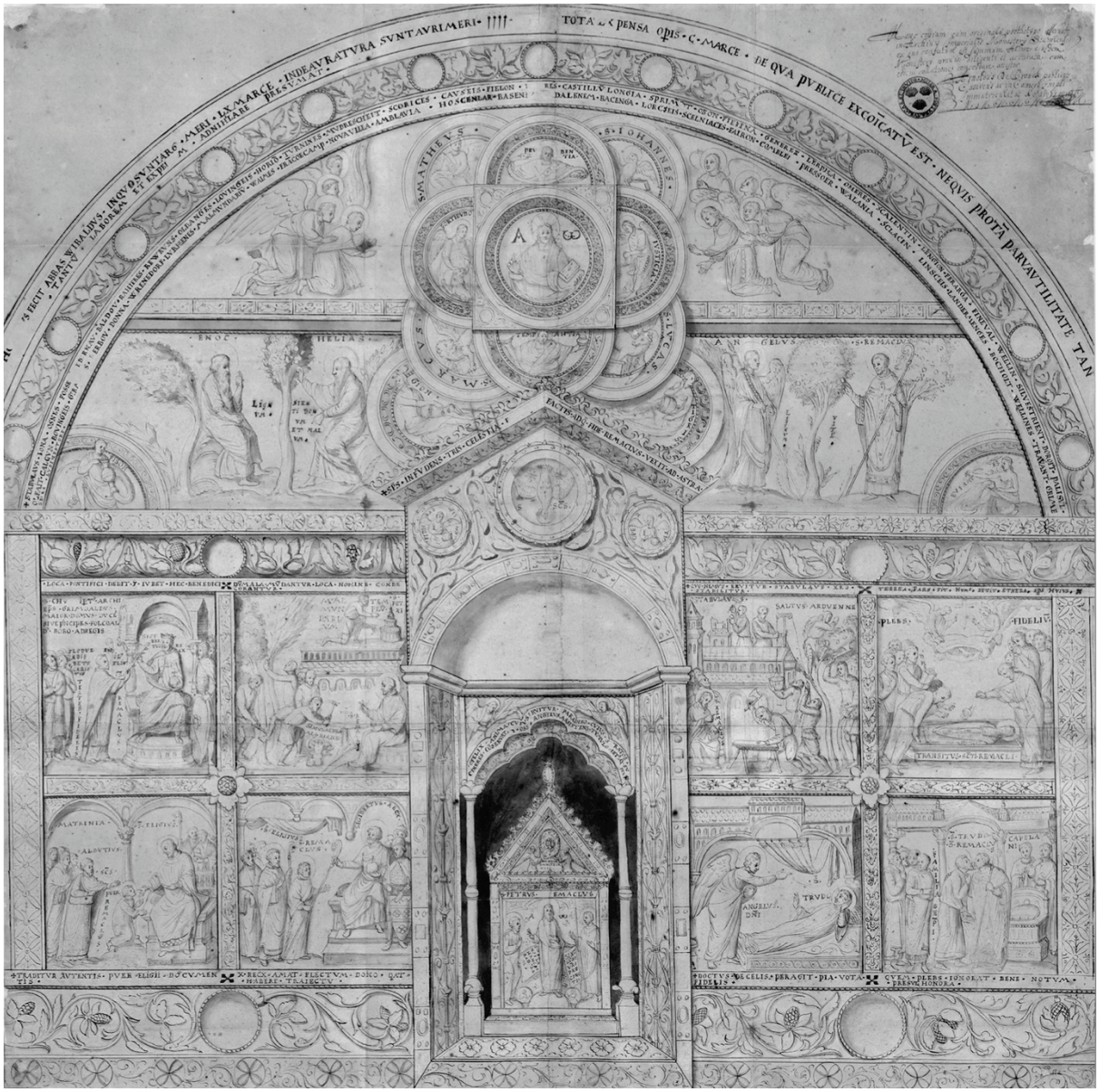


Fig. 2. 3. Moses with the Brazen Serpent, 1160–1170 (circa), champlevé enamels on gilded copper, 11.3 cm x 5.7 cm, The British Museum, 1888, 1110.3. Image: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1888-1110-3

Fig. 2. 4. Pendant with the Virgin and Child, c. 1160–1170, gilded copper, champlevé enamel, gems, rock crystals, vernis brun, H. 19.8 cm, W. 17 cm, D. 3.2 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1926.428. Image: Cleveland Museum of Art. https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1926.428

Fig. 2. 5. Phylactery of the Legend of the True Cross (Lobbes Phylactery), around 1160, gilded copper, vernis brun, champlevé enamel, gems, and rock crystal, H. 22,5 cm, W. 22,5 cm, D. 3 cm, The Wyvern Collection. Image: Treasures of Heaven. https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/treasuresofheaven/relics/Phylactery.php

Fig. 2. 6. Reliquary of St. Valentine, 1180–1200, embossed and engraved gilded copper, champlevé enamel, H. 56 cm, W. 33 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1038. Image: Bernat Racz.

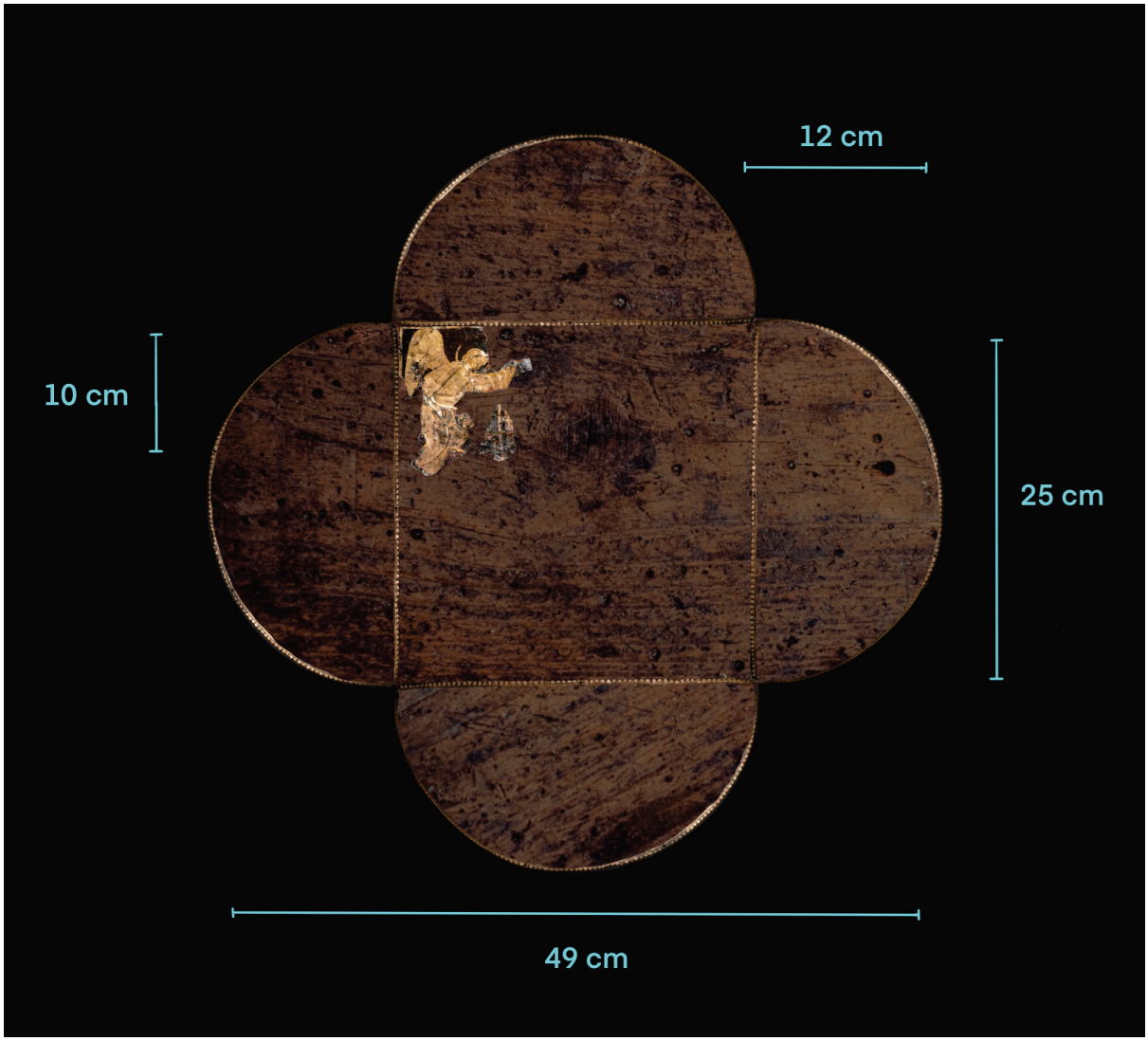


2. 7. Drawing of the Lost Remaclus Retable of Stavelot (1150s, champlevé enamel, embossed gilded copper), 1666, ink on paper, H. 87 cm, W. 86 cm, Archives de l'État à Liège, Tribunal de la Chambre impériale, 1148. Image: Gearhart, "Memory, Making, and Duty in the Remaclus Retable of Stavelot," 140.

Fig. 2. 8. Details of the Florennes Triptych (from the Florennes Abbey), 1200–1210, engraved, embossed, and gilded silver, champlevé and cloisonné enamel, filigree, niello, gems. H. 51. 4, W. 56. 6 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 6. Image: Bernat Racz.

2. 9. Waulsort Phylactery, c. 1160, gilded engraved and embossed copper, champlevé enamel, H. 22 cm, L. 22 cm, D. 5 cm, Namur, Musée des Arts Anciens, SAN, 1. Image: akg-images.

Fig. 2. 10. Portable altar from Hildesheim, 1160–1170, porphyry, with plates of gilded copper, vernis brun, H. 22.9 cm, W. 38.5 cm, D. 2.7 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, 10-1873. Image: V&A.
https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115270/hildesheim-portable-altar-altar-unknown/



2. 11. Reconstruction of the backside of the reliquary by Bernat Racz and Nándor Racz.

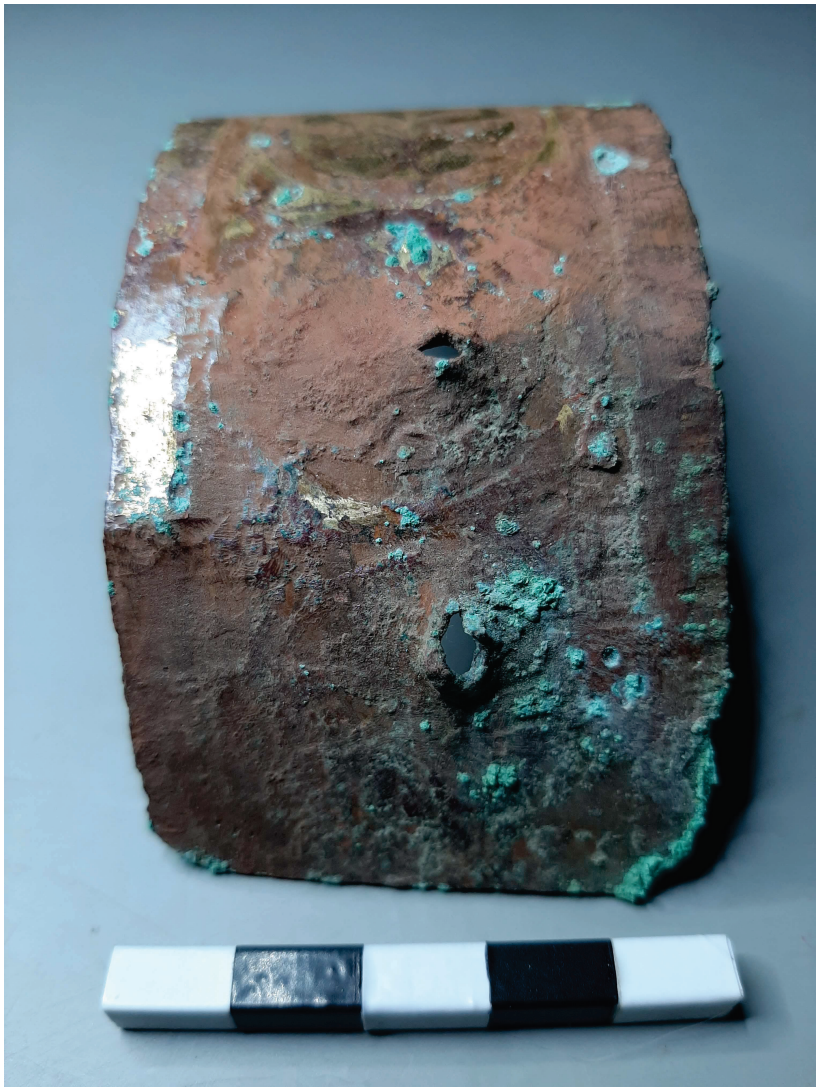


Fig. 2. 12. Side cover fragment from Pétermonostora (detail of the middle-sized piece), c. 1170, gilded copper with vernis brun, L. 16 cm, W. 5 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: Zsuzsanna Herceg.

Fig. 2. 13. Side cover fragment from Pétermonostora (the longest piece before the restoration), c. 1170, gilded copper with vernis brun, L. c. 40 cm (before the restoration, end with the holes is partially lost), W. 5 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: Zsuzsanna Herceg.

Fig. 2. 14. Side cover fragment from Pétermonostora (two smaller fragments), c. 1170, gilded copper with vernis brun, L. 16 cm, 11 cm, W. 5 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: Zsuzsanna Herceg.

Fig. 2. 15. Photo showing the reconstruction drawing of the three fragments by Zsuzsanna Herceg.

Fig. 2. 16. Two large fragmented gilded copper plaques from Pétermonostora with holes for gems and rock crystals, H. 6.2 cm, W. 9 cm (above), H. 4 cm, W. 6 cm (below), Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 2.17. A selection from the beaded decorative elements from Pétermonostora, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 2. 18. Gilded column base from Pétermonostora, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: Béla Zsolt Szakács.

Fig. 2. 19. The "TRIN" fragment with other vernis brun pieces, including the plaque with the angel, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: Béla Zsolt Szakács.

Fig. 2. 20. Plaque with the Virgin Mary from Pétermonostora, Mosan enamel from a cross (?), 1160–1170, gilded bronze with champlevé enamel, H. 6 cm, W. 2.3 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Fig. 2. 21. St. James, 1170–1180 (?),[166] champlevé enamel, H. 10 cm, W. 5 cm, The British Museum, 1850,1126.1.a. Image: The British Museum.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1850-1126-1-a

Fig. 2. 22. Corpus from Pétermonostora (Mosan/Rhenish), 1160–1170, H. 7.2 cm, W. 2 cm, Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

[166] I would suggest a dating between 1160 and 1170.

Fig. 2. 23. Cross stand from Pétermonostora, 1160–1170, gilded bronze (?), H. 15 cm, W. 5.5 cm (node), Katona József Museum of Kecskemét. Image: KJMK.

Figures for Chapter 3

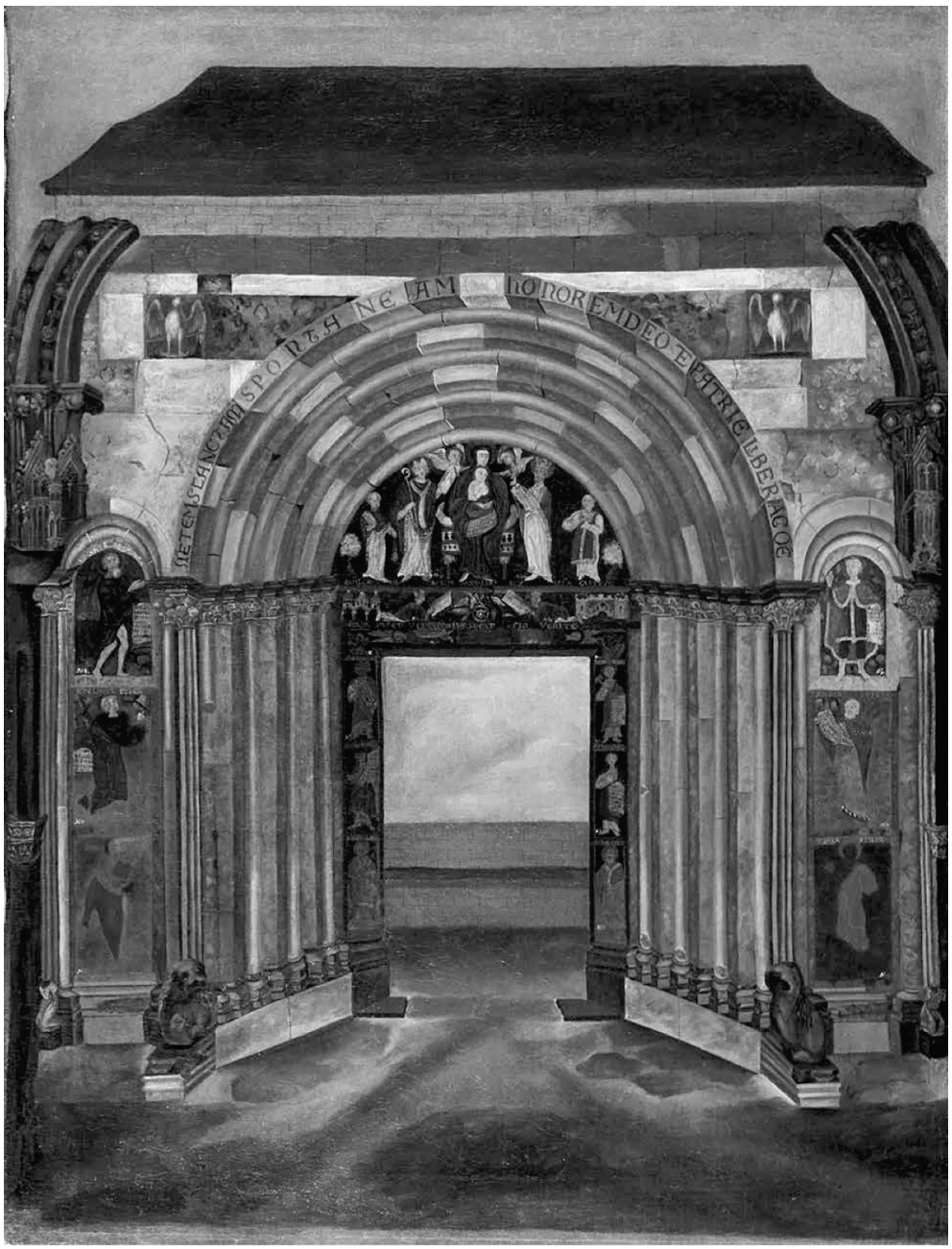


Fig. 3. 1. Porta Speciosa (destroyed), detail of an 18th-century painting commissioned by György Klimó, Esztergom, Christian Museum. Image: Marosi, "Die Kathedrale „Esztergom II" der bau der St. Adalbertskathedrale im 12. Jahrhundert," 72.

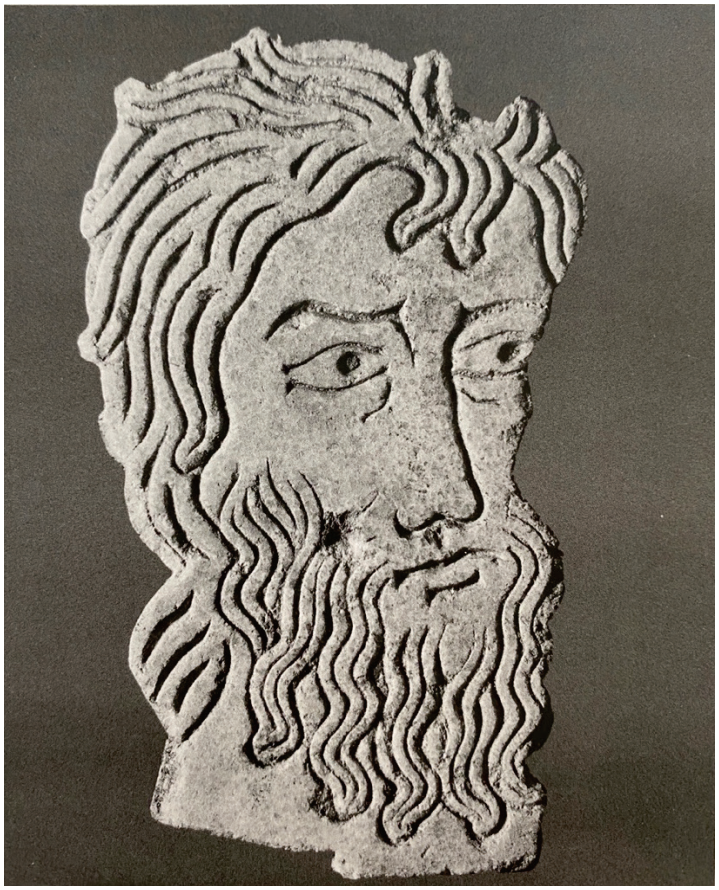


Fig. 3. 2. Head of John the Baptist, fragment from the Porta Speciosa of the Cathedral of Esztergom, c. 1180–1200, Esztergom Castle Museum. Image: Marosi, *Fénylik a mű nemesen. Válogatott írások a középkori művészet történetéről* ["Bright is the Noble Work." Selected Writings on the History of Medieval Art], fig. 663.

Fig. 3. 3. Head of Prophet Daniel, fragment from the Porta Speciosa of the Cathedral of Esztergom, c. 1180–1200, Esztergom Castle Museum. Image: Hung-art.hu.

Fig. 3. 4. Throne of Esztergom, left side panel, c. 1180–1200, Esztergom Castle Museum. Image: Marosi, *Fénylik a mű nemesen. Válogatott írások a középkori művészet történetéről* [“Bright is the Noble Work.” Selected Writings on the History of Medieval Art], fig. 672.

Bibliography

Althoff, Gerd, ed. *Goldene Pracht: Mittelalterliche Schatzkunst in Westfalen: 26. Februar bis 28. Mai 2012 in LWL-Landsmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster und in der Domkammer der Kathedralkirche St. Paulus, Münster*. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2012.

Angheben, Marcello. "Les reliquaires mosans et l'exaltation des fonctions dévotionnelles et eucharistiques de l'autel." *Codex Aquilarensis* 32 (2016): 171–208.

Az Aranymonostor ereklyéje [The Relic of the Golden Monastery]. Documentary, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awk3Le1SQq8.

Bagnoli, Martina, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson, eds. *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010.

Balace, Sophie. "Historiographie de l'art mosan." PhD, Université de Liège, 2009.

———. "L'art mosan versus l'art de la France du Nord." In *Une renaissance: l'art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250*, 37–44. Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013.

———. "Pignon-reliquaire de saint Monulphe." In *La salle aux trésors*, edited by Claire Dumortier, 44–45. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999.

———. "Pignon-reliquaire de saint Valentin." In *La salle aux trésors*, edited by Claire Dumortier, 46–47. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999.

———. "Triptyque de Florennes." In *La salle aux trésors*, edited by Claire Dumortier, 52–53. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999.

Balace, Sophie, Mathieu Piavaux, and Benoit Van den Bossche, eds. "L'art mosan: un art entre Seine et Rhin? Réflexions, bilans, perspectives. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Liège-Namur 7-8-9 octobre 2015." *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 85–86 (2014–2015) (2019): 1–248.

Baumgarten, Jörg-Holger. "Kuppelreliquiar." In *Ornamenta ecclesiae*, edited by Anton Legner, II:411–13. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985.

Belényesyné Sárosi, Edit. "Transformations in the Settlement Structure in the Territory Between the Danube and Tisza Rivers: Monostor- A Case Study." Master, Central European University, 2001.

Bertrand, Étienne. "Phylactères." In *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, Vol I, edited by Philippe George, 104–10. Liège: Feuillets de la Cathédrale de Liège, 2014.

———. "XIV. Phylactère de Lobbes." In *L'oeuvre de la Meuse*, edited by Philippe George, I:111–13. Liège: Feuillets de la Cathédrale de Liège, 2014.

Bogyay, Thomas. “L’iconographie de la « Porta speciosa » d’Esztergom et ses sources d’inspiration.” *Revue des études byzantines* 8, no. 1 (1950): 85–129.

Baert, Barbara. *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*. Translated by Lee Preedy. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Braun, Joseph. *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1940.

Brodsky, Joyce. “The Stavelot Triptych: Notes on a Mosan Work.” *Gesta* 11, no. 1 (1972): 19–33.

Broucke, Camille. “Une grande croix émaillée mosane reconstituée vers 1160–1170 (Louvre, Stuttgart, Cologne et Nantes).” In *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L’oeuvre de la Meuse*, edited by Philippe George, II:147. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016.

Buschhausen, Helmut. “The Klosterneuburg Altar of Nicholas of Verdun: Art, Theology and Politics.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37, no. 1 (1974): 1–32.

Chapman, Gretel. “Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph: A Mosan Enamel in the Walters Art Gallery.” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980): 34–59.

Collon-Gevaert, Suzanne. *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique*. Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1951.

———. “Quelques miniatures mosanes du XIIe siècle.” *Revue belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 2 (1933): 342–45.

———. “Un autel portatif Mosan de Florence et les miniatures d’Echternach.” *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 5 (1933): 112–15.

Corbett, Lindsay. “Liturgical Polyvalence and the Potential of Performance: Reassessing the London-Berlin Cross.” Master, McGill University, 2017.

Deér, Josef. *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*. Cambridge; New York: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Dercsényi, Dezső. *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa of Esztergom]. Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1947.

Descatoire, Christine. “Un reliquaire original: le phylactère.” In *Une renaissance: l’art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250*, 167–69. Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013.

Dodwell, C. R. *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200*. Yale University Press Pelican History of Art. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Dumortier, Claire, ed. *La salle aux trésors*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999.

Egan, Heather. “Les phylactères mosans. Notes sur leur signification métaphorique et fonctionnelle.” In *L’art mosan: Liège et son pays à l’époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, edited by Benoit Van den Bossche, 152–53. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007.

Esch, Joan. *La chiesa di San Pietro di Spoleto*. Firenze: Olschki, 1981.

Euw, Anton von. “Sakramentar.” In *Rhein und Maas*, edited by Anton Legner, I:294. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* IV. Vol. II. Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.

Fliegel, Stephen Nicholas. “XV. Phylactère.” In *L’oeuvre de la Meuse*, edited by Philippe George, I:114–18. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2014.

Freeman, Charles. *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*. Epub edition. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012.

Fügedi, Erik. “Kinship and Privilege. The Social System of Medieval Hungarian Nobility as Defined in Customary Law.” In *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe: Kinship, Property and Privilege*, edited by János Bak, 55–75. Budapest: Hajnal István Alapítvány, 1994.

———. “‘Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio.’ A nemzetségi monostor” [The Kindred Monastery]. *Századok* 3 (1991): 35–68.

Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. “Émaillerie mosane et émaillerie limousine.” In *L’art mosan. Journées d’études*, edited by Pierre Francastel, 127–37. Paris: Colin, 1953.

———. *Émaux du moyen âge occidental*. Fribourg: Office du livre, 1972.

Gearhart, Heidi C. “Memory, Making, and Duty in the Remaclus Retable of Stavelot.” *Gesta* 58, no. 2 (2019): 137–55.

George, Philippe. “De l’interdisciplinarité: à propos du triptyque de la Sainte Croix à Liège.” In *De la passion à la création: hommage à Alain Erlande-Brandenburg*, edited by Miljenko Jurković, 109–17. Dissertationes et monographiae 9. Zagreb: Motovun, 2017.

———, ed. *L’oeuvre de la Meuse*, Vol. I. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2014.

———, ed. *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L’oeuvre de la Meuse*, Vol II. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016.

Ghislain, Jean-Claude. “Les émaux romans de style mosan d’un reliquaire au Musée d’Art et d’Histoire Guy Baillet à Langres.” In *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L’oeuvre de la Meuse*, Vol. II, edited by Philippe George, 147. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016.

Grabar, André, and Carl Nordenfalk. *Romanesque Painting*. New York: Skira, 1958.

Greene, J. Patrick. *Medieval Monasteries*. Continuum Studies in Medieval History. London: Continuum, 2005.

Grodecki, Louis. "Les vitraux de Châlons-sur-Marne et l'art mosan." In *Relations artistiques entre la France et les autres pays depuis le haut Moyen âge jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle: Actes du XIXe Congrès international d'histoire de l'art, Paris, 8-13 septembre 1958*, 183–90. Paris: A. Bontemps, 1959.

———. "Vitraux de la cathédrale de Châlons-sur-Marne." *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1950, no. 1 (1954): 196–203.

Gyergyádesz, ifj. László, ed. *A Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum kincsei / Treasures of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét*. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2020.

Györffy, György. "Thomas à Becket and Hungary." *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 4 (1969): 45–52.

Hahn, Cynthia. J. "Portable Altars (and the Rationale): Liturgical Objects and Personal Devotion." In *Image and Altar 800-1300: Papers from an International Conference in Copenhagen 24 October – 27 October 2007*, edited by Poul Grinder-Hansen, 23:45–64. Copenhagen: Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History, 2014.

———. "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* 57, no. 3–4 (2010): 284–316.

Hajnal, István. *L'enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales*. Budapest: Académie des sciences de Hongrie, 1959.

Head, Thomas. "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier." *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 65–82.

Henriet, Patrick. "Relire l'autel portatif de Stavelot." In *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L'Oeuvre de la Meuse*, edited by Philippe George, II:179–208. Liège: Brepols, 2018.

Hoffman, Konrad. *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.

Holcomb, Melanie. *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009.

Ipolyi Arnold. *Magyar ereklyék* [Hungarian Relics]. Pest: Emicii Gusztáv Magyar Akademiai Könyvnyomdász, 1862.

Jakubovich, Emil. "P. mester. Adalékok az Anonymus-kérdéshez" [Master P. Additions to the Anonymus Question]. In *Klebelsberg Emlékkönyv*, 169–213. Budapest: Budapesti Hírlap nyomdája, 1925.

Jamroziak, Emilia. "East-Central European Monasticism: Between East and West?" In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 882–900. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Jankovics, Norbert. “A bugaci Pétermonostora egykori templom és kőfaragványai. Előzetes beszámoló a művészettörténeti feldolgozásról” [The Basilica of Pétermonostora and its Stone Carvings. A Preliminary Report]. *Műemlékvédelem* LXI, no. 1–2 (2017): 8-20.

Juhász, Irén. “A Csolt nemzetség monostora” [The Monastery of the Csolt Kindred]. In *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], edited by Tibor Kollár, 281–303. Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000.

Kahsnitz, Rainer. “Sieben halbrunde Emails in Nürnberg, London und Trier: zwei maasländische Phylakterien des 12. Jahrhunderts.” *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1992, 105–43.

Kandra, Kabos. *A váradi regestrum* [The Regestrum of Várad]. Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat, 1898.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “The Baptism of the Apostles.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9 (1956): 203–51.

Karácsonyi János. *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Kindreds of Hungary Until the Middle of the 14th Century]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900.

Kemper, Dorothee. *Die Hildesheimer Emailarbeiten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Objekte und Eliten in Hildesheim 1130 bis 1250. Regensburg; Hildesheim: Schnell & Steiner; Bernward Medien, 2020.

Kiss, Etele. “Az Árpád-kori magyar egyházak felszerelése” [The Artworks of Churches in Árpádian-age Hungary]. In *Az Árpádok országa* [Kingdom of the Árpádians], edited by Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 273–311. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2022.

Klaniczay Gábor. “A középkori magyarországi szentkultusz-kutatás problémái” [Problems in the Study of the Cult of Saints in Medieval Hungary]. *Történelmi szemle* 24, no. 2 (1981): 273–86.

Klein, Holger A. “Triptych of the True Cross.” In *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, edited by Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson, 180–81. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010.

Klemm, Elisabeth. *Ein romanischer Miniaturenzyklus aus dem Maasgebiet*. Wien: Adolf Holzhausens, 1973.

Knauz, Ferdinandus, ed. *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Vol. I. Strigonii: Aegydius Horák, 1874.

Kockerols, Hadrien. “Découverte d’un second dessin du retable de Saint Remacle à Stavelot.” In *Orfèvrerie septentrionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècle) L’Oeuvre de la Meuse*, edited by Philippe George, II:209–35. Feuillets de la cathédrale de Liège. Liège: Trésor de la Cathédrale, 2016.

Koszta László. *A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása* [The Formation of the Archbishopric of Kalocsa]. Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Egyháztörténeti Kutatóközpont, 2013.

Kötzsche, Dietrich. "Bodenplatten des Aachener Barbarossaleuchters." In *Rhein und Maas*, edited by Anton Legner, I:268–69. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

———. "Limoges et le Saint Empire." In *L'oeuvre de Limoges: art et histoire au temps de Platagenêts; actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel les 16 et 17 novembre 1995*, edited by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, 317–40. Collection "Conférences et colloques" du Louvre. Paris: La Documentation française, 1998.

Kozák, Éva. "A vértesszentkereszti románkori templom feltárása" [The Excavation of the Romanesque Church of Vértesszentkereszt]. *Archeológiai Értesítő* 97 (1970): 272–90.

Kristó Gyula. "Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról" [Benedictine Monasteries in Hungary Before the Mongol Invasion of 1241–1242]. *Századok* 138 (2004): 403–11.

Kroos, Renate. *Der Schrein des Heiligen Servatius in Maastricht und die vier zugehörigen Reliquiare in Brüssel*. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985.

Kubinyi András. "Királyi kancellária és udvari kápolna Magyarországon a XII. század közepén" [Royal Chancellery and Chapel in Hungary During the Middle of the 12th Century]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 46 (1975): 59–121.

Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jacqueline. "Oeuvres d'art mosan au Musée de l'Ermitage à Léningrad." *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 44, no. 2 (1975): 85–107.

Lasko, Peter. *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*. Pelican History of Art. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994.

Laszlovszky, József. "Hungarian University Peregrinatio to Western Europe in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century." In *Universitas Budensis 1395–1995. International Conference for the History of Universities on the Occasion of the 600th Anniversary of the Foundation of the University of Buda*, edited by László Szögi and Júlia Varga, 51–61. Budapest: Archiv der Loránd Eötvös Universität, 1997.

———. "Nicholaus Clericus: A Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century." *Journal of Medieval History* 14, no. 3 (1988): 217–31.

Laszlovszky, József, and Hedwig Röckelein. "Medieval Monastic Regions in Central Europe – The Spiritual and Physical Landscape Setting of Monastic Orders and Religious Houses." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 17 (2011): 296–308.

LecLercq-Marx, Jacqueline. "Autour de la Bible de Floreffe (région mosane, c. 1160): questions d'iconographie." In *L'art mosan: un art entre Seine et Rhin? Réflexions, bilans, perspectives. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Liège-Namur 7-8-9 octobre 2015*, edited by Sophie Balace, Mathieu Piavaux, and Benoit Van den Bossche, 71–83. Bruxelles: Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 2019.

Legner, Anton, ed. *Ornamenta ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Köln, 1985.* Vol. I–III. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985.

———, ed. *Rhein und Maas: eine Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums der Stadt Köln und der belgischen Ministerien für französische und niederländische Kultur, vom 14. Mai bis 23. Juli 1972 in der Kunsthalle Köln ; von 15. September bis 31. Oktober 1972 in den Königlichen Museen für Kunst und Geschichte in Brüssel*. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

Lemeunier, Albert. "Essai de reconstitution d'un phylactère mosan." *Revue belge d''archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 65 (1996): 27–39.

———. "Limoges et l'art mosan. Concordances et différences." In *Émaux de Limoges XIIe–XIXe siècle*, 43–52. Namur: Société Archéologique de Namur, 1996.

Lővei, Pál. *Porfír, kő, márvány: kőanyagok, kőfaragók, kőberakások a középkori Magyarországon* [Porphyry, Stone, Marble. Materials, Stonecarvers, Stone Inlays in Medieval Hungary]. Vol. I. Magyar történelmi emlékek, értekezések. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Művészettörténeti Intézet, ELKH, 2021.

———. "A tömött vörös mészkő – „vörös márvány" – a középkori magyarországi művészetben" ["The Red Marble" in the Art of Medieval Hungary]. *Ars Hungarica* 20, no. 2 (1992): 3–28.

Lux, Géza. *A zsámbéki templomrom* [The Ruin of the Romanesque Church in Zsámbék] Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1939.

Lyon, Jonathan R. "Nobility and Monastic Patronage: The View from Outside the Monastery." In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 848–64. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Makk Ferenc. "Relations hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31, no. 1/2 (1985): 3–32.

———. *The Árpáds and the Comneni Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989.

Marchandisse, Alain, and Marc Suttor. "L'histoire du pays mosan à l'èpoque romane (1000–1250)." In *L'art mosan: Liège et son pays à l'époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, edited by Benoit Van den Bossche, 37–60. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007.

Marosi, Ernő. *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.

———. "Die Kathedrale „Esztergom II" der bau der St. Adalbertskathedrale im 12. Jahrhundert." *Acta Historiae Artium* 59, no. 1 (2018): 69–142.

———. "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran (Esztergom)." *Acta Historiae Artium*, 1971, 171–230.

———. “Esztergom zwischen Ost und West: einige Fragen ungarischer Kunst unter Béla III.” *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 15 (1979): 51–69.

———. *Fénylik a mű nemesen. Válogatott írások a középkori művészet történetéről* [“Bright is the Noble Work.” Selected Writings on the History of Medieval Art], Vol. III (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2020).

———. “Szermonostor gótikus kerengőjének szobrai” [The Statues of the Gothic Cloister of Szer]. In *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], edited by Tibor Kollár, 107—122. Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000.

Mathews, Karen Rose. “Reading Romanesque Sculpture: The Iconography and Reception of the South Portal Sculpture at Santiago de Compostela.” *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000): 3–12.

Mezey László. *Deákság és Európa. Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata*. [Students and Europe. Introduction to the Foundations of Hungarian Intellectual Culture]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979.

———. “Les rapports intellectuels entre la France et la Hongrie des Árpáds. Recherches nouvelles textes nouveaux.” *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (1975): 327–34.

Migne, J. P., ed. “R. D. D. Rupertus abbas monasterii S. heriberti tuitiensis: De divinis officiis libri XII.” In *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CLXX:9–332. Paris: J.P. Migne, 1854.

Morgan, Nigel. “The Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels.” In *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur*, edited by Anton Legner, II:263–78. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

Muller, Josy, ed. *Tesori dell’arte mosana (950–1250)*. Roma: De Luca Editore, 1973.

O’Neill, John Philip, ed. *Enamels of Limoges: 1100–1350*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. “Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image: The Golden Retable of the Pentecost at Stavelot.” *Material Religion* 16, no. 1 (2020): 9–40.

Petrovics István. “Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája” [The Problems with the Concept of Kindred Monasteries in Medieval Hungary]. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: acta iuvenum: sectio historica* 1 (1978): 11–24.

Philippe, Joseph, ed. *Rapports historiques et artistiques entre le Pays mosan et la Pologne, du XIe au début du XIIIe siècle : colloque d’étude tenu a Liège, aux Musées Curtius et du verre, du 7 au 14 septembre 1980*. Liège: Musée Curtius, 1981.

Röckelein, Hedwig. “Monastic Landscapes.” In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 816–30. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Romhányi, Beatrix F. *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary: Catalog]. Budapest: Pytheas, 2000.

Rosta Szabolcs. "A Kiskunsági Homokhátság 13-16. századi településtörténete" [The Settlement History of the "Kiskunsági Homokhátság" Between the 13th and 16th Century]. PhD, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2014.

———. "Bugac-Pétermonostora egyedülálló leletei és kapcsolatai" [The Unique Finds of Pétermonostora]. In *Az Árpádok országa* [Kingdom of the Árpádians], edited by Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 304–7. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2022.

———. "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The Destruction of Pétermonostora]. In *"Carmen Miserabile" A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* [Traces of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], edited by Rosta Szabolcs and V. Székely György, 193–230. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.

Sárosi, Edit, and Szabolcs Rosta. "Privately Founded Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary – a Case Study." In *Religion, Cults & Rituals in the Medieval Environment*, edited by Christiane Bis-Worch and Claudia Theune, 103–13. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017.

Sebald, Eduard. "Fragment eines Psalters (?)." In *Ornamenta ecclesiae*, edited by Anton Legner, I:292–94. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985.

Seidler, Martin. *Der Schrein des Heiligen Heribert in Köln-Deutz*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016.

Simon of Kéza. *Gesta Hungarorum*. Edited by Frank Schaer and László Veszprémy. Translated by László Veszprémy. Central European medieval texts. New York: Central European University Press, 1999.

Skemer, Don C. *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*. Magic in History. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Squilbeck, Jean. "Le sacrifice d'Abraham dans l'art mosan." *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 37 (1965): 79–93.

Stiennon, Jacques. "Fragmente eines Psalters." In *Rhein und Maas*, edited by Anton Legner, I:296–97. Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

Stratford, Neil. *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*. Vol. II Northern Romanesque Enamel. London: British Museum Press, 1993.

Swarzenski, Hanns. *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*. London: Faber, 1974.

———. *Mosaner Psalter-Fragment: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 78 A 6 aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz-Berlin*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt. “A templomok nyugati térelrendezése és a ‘nemzetségi monostor’ kérdése” [The Western Complexes of Churches and the Question of Kindred Monasteries in Hungary]. In *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, edited by Daniela Marcu Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Péter Levente Szőcs, 71–98. Satu Mare, 2004.

———. “Bencés templomok az Árpád-korban: korszakok és régiók” [Benedictine Monasteries in Árpádian-age Hungary: Periods and Regions]. In *Örökség és küldetés: Bencések Magyarországon* [Heritage and Mission: The Benedictine Order in Hungary], edited by Illés Pál Attila and Juhász-Laczik Albin, 753–63. Budapest: METEM, 2012.

Székely, György. “Wallons et Italiens en Europe Centrale aux XI. - XVI. siècles.” *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae* 6 (1964): 3–71.

Szőcs, Péter Levente. “Monasteries Under Private Patronage Within the Social and Economic Topography: Centers, Residences, and Estates. Several Case Studies of Medieval Hungary.” In *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology*, edited by Ileana Burnichioiu, 161–70. Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015.

———. “Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries.” PhD, Central European University, 2014.

Szőke, Melinda. *Garamszentbenedeki apátság alapítólevelének nyelvtörténeti vizsgálata* [Linguistic Study of the Foundation Charter of the Monastery of Garamszentbenedek]. Magyar névarchivum kiadványai 33. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem kiadó, 2015.

Takács, Imre. *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* [The Reception of French Gothic Art in Hungary During the Reign of Andrew II]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2018.

———. “A Marble Throne from Esztergom with a View to the “Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.” In *Le plaisir de l’art du Moyen Âge: Commande, production et réception de l’oeuvre d’art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, edited by Rosa Alcoy, Dominique Allios, Maria Alessandra Bilotta, Lara Catalano, Manuela Gianandrea, Vinni Lucherini, and Géraldine Mallet. Paris: Picard, 2012.

———. *Az esztergomi Porta speciosa* [The Porta Speciosa at Esztergom]. Thesaurus Mediaevalis. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2020.

Trogmayer, Ottó. “Fecerunt magnum aldumas. Gondolatok Szer monostorának építéstörténetéről” [Considerations Regarding the Building History of the Monastery of Szer]. In *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Middle Ages], edited by Tibor Kollár, 81–105. Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 13. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000.

Une renaissance: l’art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250. Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013.

Usener, Karl Hermann. “Reiner von Huy und seine künstlerische Nachfolge.” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 7, no. 1 (1933): 77–134.

Valter, Ilona, and Judit Tamási. “Zsámbék — premontrei templom és kolostorrom” [The Premonstratensian Church and Monastery of Zsámbék] *Régészeti Füzetek.* I/40 (1988): 124–25.

Van den Bossche, Benoit, ed. *L’art mosan: Liège et son pays à l’époque romane du XIe au XIIIe siècle*. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2007.

van Os, Henk, ed. *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages*. Baarn: De Prom, 2001.

Varga, Livia. “A New Aspect of the Porphyry Tombs of Roger II, First King of Sicily, in Cefalù.” In *Anglo-Norman Studies XV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992*, 307–15. Boydell Press, 1993.

Vasiliev, A. A. “Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948): 1+3–26.

Verdier, Philippe. “Richesse et signification de l’iconographie mosane.” In *La Wallonie. Le pays et les hommes. Lettres - arts - culture*, 1:259–67. Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1977.

———. “The Cleveland Portable Altar from Hildesheim.” *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 61, no. 10 (1974): 339–42.

———. “Un monument inédit de l’art mosan du XIIe siècle. La crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery.” *Revue belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 30 (1961): 115–75.

Wenzel, Gusztáv. *Árpádkori új okmánytár* [A New Collection of Árpádian-age Charters]. Vol. II. Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottmánya, 1861.

Wescher, Paul. “Eine Miniaturenhandschrift des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Maasgegend.” *Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* 49 (1928): 90–94.

Williamson, Paul. *The Medieval Treasury: The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986.

———. *Medieval and Renaissance Enamels and Other Works of Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2021.

Zchomelidse, Nino. “Deus-Homo-Imago: Representing the Divine in the Twelfth Century.” In *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 107–27. Princeton, N.J: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2010.